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General Election 2024: Quick Count Accuracy and Reading Prabowo-Gibran's Victory

Arya Fernandes

Head of the Department of Politics and Social Change, CSIS

arya.fernandes@csis.or.id

The quick count (QC) results from several survey institutions confirm the victory of Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming Raka by around 57-58 percent. With this tally, it is almost certain that the presidential election will be done in a single round. This record surpasses President Joko Widodo's achievement of 55.50 percent in the 2019 Presidential Election.

The potential victory of Prabowo-Gibran has been detected early on. Surveys conducted before the general election had already identified a significant upward trend in Prabowo-Gibran's votes since November 2023. Despite leading in the surveys, Prabowo-Gibran's votes were not entirely

secure for winning in one round. This condition led several survey institutions to lack confidence in claiming whether the presidential election would take place in one round. Most signalled that while the chances of a one-round presidential election increased, the potential for two rounds remained open.

The positive achievement of Prabowo-Gibran leaves questions for survey and quick counts organizers. What factors enabled Prabowo-Gibran to reach around 57-58 percent? Referring to the latest surveys before the election, Prabowo's vote was estimated at 51-52 percent. Using the highest estimate following the threshold of plus-minus survey error tolerance (margin of error), at the highest threshold, Prabowo-Gibran's vote was estimated to only reach around 54-55 percent.¹

The rapidly changing electoral map in the days leading up to the election made other candidate teams think strategically. With a high vote gap, it became very difficult for Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar and Ganjar Pranowo-Moh. Mahfud MD to catch up with Prabowo-Gibran's skyrocketing votes. The only possibility at that time was to 'force' the presidential election to take place in two rounds. This situation could only occur if Anies-Muhaimin's votes could reach above 30 percent and Ganjar-Mahfud's above 20 percent. However, unfortunately, the situation became more complicated as Anies-Muhaimin's votes tended to stagnate at 24-27 percent, while Ganjar-Mahfud's votes continued to erode to below 20 percent. Not surprisingly, to influence voter attitudes at the end of the campaign period, Anies Baswedan chose to ease off on his 'attacks' in the final presidential candidate debate. Conversely, Ganjar became more aggressive in his attacks.

Quick Count in Elections

In a rapidly changing political situation, quick counts can provide more political certainty regarding election results and predict the winner compared to the hierarchical recapitulation by the General Election Commission (KPU). According to the election process, the national vote count recapitulation will only reveal the official results on March 20, 2024, although there are already online recapitulation results available.

Since its adoption in Indonesia during the 2004 presidential election by the Institute for Economic Research, Education, and Information (LP3ES), quick count results have been able to approximate manual and hierarchical vote counting results by the KPU with precision. In 2004, LP3ES's quick count results had a smallest difference of 0.26 percent and the largest of 1.15 percent compared to the manual recapitulation by the KPU (Table 1).

Table 1. The Comparison of 2004 Presidential Election's Quick Count Results with 2004 Real Count from KPU (in percentage)

Candidates	2004 Quick Count Election by LP3ES	2004 Real Count Election by KPU
Wiranto – Salahudin Wahid	23,3	22,15
Megawati – Hasyim Muzadi	26	26,61
Anies Rais – Siswono Yudo Husodo	14,4	14,66
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono – Jusuk Kalla	33,2	33,57
Hamzah Haz – Agum Gumelar	3,1	3,01

¹ See the release of Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI) on February 10, 2024, “*Survei Nasional: Elektabilitas Di Masa Akhir Kampanye dan Peluang Pilpres Satu atau Dua Putaran*” and the release of Indikator Politik on February 9, 2024, “*Peta Elektoral di Akhir Masa Kampanye: Satu atau Dua Putaran?*”

Quick count was first conducted in 1986 by NAMFREL (National Citizens Movement for Free Election) during the Philippine elections. The quick count was aimed to monitor the quality of the election process and to detect election fraud when Ferdinand Marcos faced Corazon Aquino. In the "Operation Quick Count," NAMFREL deployed more than 500 thousand volunteers and successfully indicated Aquino's victory. However, the election organizers announced Marcos' victory instead. This condition triggered widespread mass protests that led to the downfall of Marcos in the People Power Revolution in 1986. The Philippine experience was later adopted by several countries such as Chile (1988), Panama (1989), and to a limited extent in Indonesia (1999) (NDI, 2002).

NAMFREL's valuable legacy in detecting election fraud became an important source of knowledge for elections in several countries. After the Philippine experience, sampling methodologies experienced rapid development. In Indonesia's case, since 2004, the approach and methodology of conducting quick counts have undergone rapid renewal. The development of methodologies and information technology systems enables quick count results to be reported quickly and accurately. From 2004 to 2019, quick count results have been able to approximate the official KPU count precisely, even though only a small sample (2,000 to 4,000) out of hundreds of thousands of polling stations (TPS) was taken.

Since the 2004 election, Indonesia has had 20 years of experience in conducting quick counts. With a tested method in five elections since 2004 and conducted in hundreds of regional elections (Pilkada) in Indonesia, the 2024 quick count results are estimated to differ by only about 1 percent from the official count.

The Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS Indonesia) and the Cyrus Network (CN) are among the organizations that conducted quick counts on February 14, 2024. In addition to CSIS-CN, several members of the Indonesian Public Opinion Survey Association (PERSEPI) also conducted similar activities, with results ranging from 57-58 percent. The quick count results from CSIS and CN indicate that the 2024 presidential election will be decided in one round. Based on the quick count results, Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming Raka received 58.25 percent of the votes, followed by Anies Baswedan - Muhaimin Iskandar (24.91 percent) and Ganjar Pranowo - Moh. Mahfud MD with 16.84 percent.

The quick count was conducted by randomly selecting 2,000 polling stations (TPS) distributed proportionally across 38 provinces throughout Indonesia. The selection of sample TPS was done using the Multistage Random Sampling method. With a sample of 2,000 TPS, the quick count's margin of error is +/- 1 percent at a 95 percent confidence level.²

The quick count results can be compared with the KPU real count results, which are currently developing the *Sirekap* application (General Election Recapitulation Information System). Referring to the interim data as of the writing of this text, approximately 72.03 percent of the total TPS data has been successfully entered into the system. From the data entered until February 19, 2024, the Prabowo-Gibran votes in the real-time KPU count do not differ significantly from the quick count results. The interim KPU real count results show Prabowo-Gibran receiving 58.62 percent, while the quick count result is 58.25 percent (Table 2).

² Quick Count is the process of recording the recapitulation results of vote counting (C1) at sampled Polling Stations (TPS), by randomly selecting 2,000 out of 820,161 TPS. The selection of TPS samples is based on the principles of proportionality, randomness, and representativeness. A total of 2,000 sample TPS, distributed proportionally across 38 provinces, are randomly selected using the multi-stage random sampling method. The selection of TPS samples also takes into account the characteristics of urban and rural villages/neighborhoods. Quick count data is tabulated at each sampled TPS on Election Day, which is February 14, 2024, after the C1 forms are verified and signed by the KPPS officers and witnesses.

Candidates	Quick Count CSIS – CN 2024 (100% Data Entry)	Real Count KPU 2024 (72,03% Data Entry)
Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar	24,91	24,27
Prabowo Subianto – Gibran Rakabuming Raka	58,25	58,62
Ganjar Pranowo – Moh. Mahfud MD	16,84	17,11
Total	100,00	100,00

Source: Quick Count CSIS-CN 14 Februari 2024 dan *Real Count* KPU

(<https://pemilu2024.kpu.go.id/>)

If the quick count data is broken down by province, Prabowo-Gibran is estimated to lead in 33 provinces in Indonesia (Table 3). Anies-Muhaimin is leading in the provinces of Aceh and West Sumatra, while Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud leads in the Southwest Papua Province. The quick count results in the DKI Jakarta and Papua Highlands provinces still show a vote competition between Anies and Prabowo. This quick count data also indicates Prabowo-Gibran's victory in traditional PDIP strongholds such as Central Java, Bali, and North Sulawesi with significant margins. It's worth noting that the breakdown data for each province is only a representation and temporary estimation due to differences in the margin of error level in each province.

Table 3. Estimated Vote Acquisition of Presidential/Vice-Presidential Candidates based on CSIS-CN Quick Count (100% Data Entry)

PROVINCE	ANIES-MUHAIMIN (%)	PRABOWO-GIBRAN (%)	GANJAR-MAHFUD (%)
ACEH	73,22	25,00	1,78
NORTH SUMATERA	27,61	58,93	13,47
WEST SUMATERA	54,02	42,95	3,03
RIAU	35,02	53,84	11,14
RIAU ISLANDS	30,44	58,98	10,57
JAMBI	22,34	65,39	12,27
SOUTH SUMATERA	19,85	68,23	11,92
BANGKA BELITUNG	24,30	60,45	15,26
BENGKULU	14,91	73,91	11,19
LAMPUNG	14,23	70,16	15,61
JAKARTA	40,90	41,45	17,65
WEST JAVA	31,65	58,37	9,98

BANTEN	35,01	55,40	9,59
CENTRAL JAVA	12,21	52,20	35,59
YOGYAKARTA	22,63	50,50	26,86
EAST JAVA	17,29	65,11	17,59
WEST KALIMANTAN	26,95	57,43	15,61
CENTRAL KALIMANTAN	18,87	70,38	10,74
SOUTH KALIMANTAN	34,95	59,16	5,89
EAST KALIMANTAN	17,90	70,81	11,28
NORTH KALIMANTAN	21,73	70,64	7,63
NORTH SULAWESI	7,19	77,48	15,33
GORONTALO	30,29	65,52	4,19
CENTRAL SULAWESI	23,15	68,78	8,07
SOUTH SULAWESI	36,91	57,39	5,70
WEST SULAWESI	25,26	64,39	10,35
SOUTHEAST SULAWESI	23,15	70,19	6,66
BALI	6,72	52,73	40,55
WEST NUSA TENGGARA	24,06	65,79	10,15
EAST NUSA TENGGARA	3,72	62,47	33,80
MALUKU	24,72	63,38	11,90
NORTH MALUKU	25,38	66,58	8,05
PAPUA	12,98	61,63	25,38
WEST PAPUA	10,56	53,38	36,06
SOUTHWEST PAPUA	10,34	38,69	50,97
PAPUA HIGHLANDS	35,24	36,15	28,61
CENTRAL PAPUA	10,14	49,56	40,30
SOUTH PAPUA	14,22	60,30	25,48

Referring to the above quick count results, Prabowo-Gibran is estimated to have met the criteria for winning the presidential election as stipulated in Article 6 (3) of the 1945 Constitution. This article states that "Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates who receive more than fifty percent of the total votes in the general election with at least twenty percent of the votes in each province spread across more than half of the total provinces in Indonesia, shall be inaugurated as President and Vice-President."

Based on the CSIS-CN exit poll results, support for Prabowo-Gibran is evenly distributed across all population categories, including gender, education, occupation, and age.³ For example, in terms of age, the percentage of Prabowo-Gibran voters is higher in the Generation Z segment (aged 17-23 years) at 64.5 percent, followed by millennial voters (57.6 percent) and Generation X & Baby Boomers (48.7 percent) (Table 4). Conversely, the percentage of Anies-Muhaimin voters is higher among those aged 40 and above.

Table 4. CSIS-CN Exit Poll Results: Distribution of Presidential/Vice-Presidential Voters Based on Sociodemographic Categories

Description	Sample Basis (%)	Anies – Muhaimin	Prabowo – Gibran	Ganjar – Mahfud	Confidential/Do not Answer	Total
GENDER						
Male	50,0	21,9%	53,7%	17,1%	7,4%	100,0%
Female	50,0	22,7%	54,9%	14,8%	7,5%	100,0%
EDUCATION						
Junior High School or lower	40,1	18,9%	55,1%	20,1%	5,8%	100,0%
Senior High School or higher	57,4	24,8%	54,0%	13,2%	8,0%	100,0%
Do not answer	2,6	18,2%	48,7%	13,6%	19,5%	100,0%
OCCUPATION						
Housewife	28,4	23,8%	53,4%	15,4%	7,4%	100,0%
Private Employee	17,1	20,9%	57,8%	14,1%	7,2%	100,0%
Entrepreneur (Trader/self-employed)	20,8	24,1%	52,1%	17,0%	6,8%	100,0%
Student	9,5	20,3%	62,3%	12,5%	4,9%	100,0%
Others	23,0	20,9%	52,2%	18,8%	8,0%	100,0%
Do not answer	1,1	15,6%	37,8%	11,9%	34,8%	100,0%
AGE						
Z Generation (17-23 years)	15,8	18,1%	64,5%	11,3%	6,1%	100,0%

³ Exit Poll is a survey conducted face-to-face by interviewing voters who have just finished voting at the polling stations (TPS) on February 14, 2024. The respondents amounted to 11,990 individuals distributed proportionally across 2,000 TPS in 38 provinces in Indonesia. The respondents consist of 50 percent males and 50 percent females. This exit poll uses the multi-stage random sampling method, with a confidence level of 95%, and a margin of error of +/- 1.1 percent.

Millennial (24-39 years)	35,0	21,2%	57,6%	13,2%	8,0%	100,0%
X Generation & <i>Baby Boomers</i> (above 40 years)	49,2	24,4%	48,7%	19,4%	7,5%	100,0%

The resounding victory of Prabowo-Gibran can be analysed from three possibilities. First, the increasing preference of voters for strong leaders (firm/authoritative) by 6.6 percent from 16.4 percent (2019) to 23 percent (2023) as recorded in the CSIS survey in March 2019 and December 2023. The image of a strong leader is still deeply ingrained in the minds of voters regarding Prabowo, even though he has changed his image to be more amiable. After being inaugurated in October 2024, Prabowo will be the second military background president after the successful reform era who has become president, following former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) from 2004-2014.

Meanwhile, the survey also found a decrease in voter interest in leaders who are populist/simple by around 13 percent. This condition may be one of the reasons why Ganjar, who perceives himself as a "commoner" presidential candidate, is struggling to gain voter support. This is different from what we found a month before the 2019 election. At that time, more than a third of voters (37.9 percent) admitted to being interested in a populist/simple leader. The high appeal of a simple leader may explain the re-election of incumbent Joko Widodo for the second time. Another interesting aspect is the increasing interest of voters in honest and integrity-driven leaders, reaching 24.2 percent (Table 5).

Table 5. Reasons of Voters to Choose Presidential Candidates in 2019 and 2024⁴

Description	CSIS Survey 2019 (%)	CSIS Survey 2024 (%)	Difference
Populist/modest	37,9	24,9	13% lower
Strong leader (firm/authoritative)	16,4	23,0	6,6% higher
Honest and non-corrupt	11,9	24,2	12,3% higher
Leadership experience	11,4	8,5	2,9% lower
Religious	3,4	6,5	3,1% higher
Intelligent/Smart	-	8,6	2024 new variable
Others	16,2	3,2	13% lower
Do not know/Do not answer	2,8	1,1	

Secondly, Prabowo's victory can be elucidated by a relatively high incidence of split-ticket voting among supporters of the Anies-Muhaimin and Ganjar-Mahfud coalition parties. This condition evidently favored Prabowo, as he not only garnered support from his own party's base but also secured votes from other coalition parties.

For instance, a CSIS survey conducted from December 13-18, 2023, revealed that only 64.8 percent of total voters affiliated with the PDI Perjuangan claimed to have voted for Ganjar-Mahfud, while 25.4 percent opted for Prabowo-Gibran and 5.6 percent for Anies-Muhaimin. In

⁴ A nationwide survey across 34 provinces throughout Indonesia by CSIS conducted on March 15-22, 2019, and December 13-18, 2023.

contrast, in 2019, 88.8 percent of PDI Perjuangan voters supported Joko Widodo – Ma’ruf Amin. In the 2024 election, the overall split-ticket voting from PDI Perjuangan voters reached 31 percent, compared to only 7.5 percent in 2019 (Table 6). This situation arose due to the dilemma faced by PDI Perjuangan voters when President Joko Widodo, a cadre of the party, endorsed the Prabowo-Gibran ticket. Additionally, split-ticket voting also occurred within the Anies-Muhaimin coalition parties, with nearly a third of PKB and Nasdem voters choosing Prabowo-Gibran.

In terms of loyalty, the highest rate of straight-ticket voting is observed among Gerindra party supporters. A CSIS survey revealed that 91.6 percent of Gerindra voters cast their ballots for Prabowo, while 68.6 percent of PKS voters chose Anies Baswedan. A similar trend was also recorded in a CSIS survey conducted from March 15-22, 2019, where 83.5 percent of Gerindra voters and 71.4 percent of PKS voters admitted to voting for Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno.

Table 6. Cross-Tabulation: Distribution of Party Voters and Presidential/Vice-Presidential Candidate Choices Based on CSIS Survey on December 13-18th, 2023.

POLITICAL PARTIES	BASELINE (%)	ANIES-MUHAIMIN	PRABOWO-GIBRAN	GANJAR - MAHFUD MD	Confidential	TT/TJ
PKB	9,2	46,2%	31,9%	16,0%	5,0%	0,8%
GERINDRA	14,6	4,2%	91,6%	2,1%	2,1%	
PDIP	16,4	5,6%	25,4%	64,8%	1,4%	2,8%
GOLKAR	11,9	24,5%	60,0%	11,6%	1,3%	2,6%
NASDEM	6,4	60,2%	31,3%	6,0%	2,4%	
GELORA	0,4		40,0%	40,0%	20,0%	
PKS	11,8	68,6%	20,3%	6,5%	2,6%	2,0%
PKN	0,1	100,0%				
HANURA	0,5	57,1%		42,9%		
GARUDA	0,1		100,0%			
PAN	5,2	34,3%	53,7%	9,0%	1,5%	1,5%
PBB	0,2	50,0%	50,0%			
DEMOKRAT	4,8	22,6%	56,5%	14,5%	1,6%	4,8%
PSI	1,3	5,9%	76,5%	17,6%		
PERINDO	1,5	15,8%	42,1%	36,8%	5,3%	
PPP	3,5	22,2%	48,9%	28,9%		
UMMAT	0,1	100,0%				
Rahasia	5,9	7,8%	13,0%	7,8%	66,2%	5,2%
TT/TJ	6,4	8,4%	28,9%	10,8%	8,4%	43,4%

Thirdly, Prabowo's victory is further supported by the positive public perception of government performance and a perceived favorable economic situation due to increased budget allocations for social assistance programs from the state (*bansos*). A significant 74 percent of respondents in the CSIS survey (December 2023) expressed satisfaction with government performance, 86.1 percent had confidence in the President, and 31.6 percent of households reported receiving social assistance. In a scenario where the government wields substantial power and exhibits a political inclination towards the Prabowo-Gibran candidacy, it undoubtedly poses challenges for other candidates to compete competitively.

Fourthly, the triumph of Prabowo-Gibran can also be attributed to a shift in campaign strategy targeting the TikTok platform and the involvement of “social media’s influencers” in the national campaign team. Prabowo's contents reproduced on TikTok consistently went viral, garnering tens of millions of views. By searching for the keyword 'Prabowo Subianto' in TikTok's search feature and selecting the Top feature, numerous videos of Prabowo can be found, each viewed by millions to tens of millions of people. The prioritization of the TikTok campaign is also documented in a Drone Emprit study (2024), which identified a high total interaction for Prabowo-Gibran on TikTok compared to the other two candidates.⁵

The Party’s Voice is non-linear

The victory of Prabowo Subianto based on quick count results appears to be non-linear with the electoral performance of the Gerindra Party. Despite Prabowo's votes experiencing an increase of 13.75 percent, rising from 44.5 percent in 2019 to 58.25 percent (quick count CSIS-CN 2024), the estimated increase in Gerindra's votes is only 1.34 percent. Gerindra obtained 12.57 percent of the votes in the 2019 election and, according to the 2024 quick count, garnered 13.91 percent (Table 7). Similar results were also recorded in the KPU's Sirekap as of February 20, 2024, with a total data entry reaching 57.95 percent, where Gerindra received 13.33 percent of the votes. The electoral impact Gerindra gained from nominating Prabowo Subianto has not succeeded in elevating the party's overall vote share. This contrasts with the achievements of the PDI Perjuangan when supporting Joko Widodo in 2014 and 2019. For instance, PDI Perjuangan's votes increased from 14.03 percent (2009) to 18.95 percent (2014) and 19.33 percent (2019).

The quick count results of CSIS-CN 2024 also indicate a decrease in the vote share of PDI Perjuangan by approximately 2.87 percent, declining from 19.33 percent (2019 election result) to 16.46 percent (quick count result). Meanwhile, the Golkar Party experienced the highest increase in votes, approximately 2.83 percent, rising from 12.31 percent to 15.14 percent. Referring to the quick count results, PDI Perjuangan is estimated to secure the highest vote share at 16.46 percent, followed by Golkar at 15.14 percent, and Gerindra at 13.91 percent, representing the three major parties with the highest votes. The quick count results also suggest minimal likelihood for non-parliamentary parties and new parties to surpass the 4 percent parliamentary threshold (PT) for valid national votes.

⁵ Drone Emprit, “*Analisis Konten dan Interaksi Pasca Debat Kelima*,” 5 Februari 2024. <https://pers.droneemprit.id/analisis-konten-dan-interaksi-pasca-debat-kelima-di-tiktok/>

When cumulating the combined total votes of the four parties supporting Prabowo-Gibran that surpass the 4 percent PT (Gerindra, Golkar, PAN, and Demokrat), the total percentage of votes reaches only 43.57 percent. When converted into seats, the estimated percentage of seats is approximately 50 percent. This situation is likely to prompt discussions with other parties in both coalition axes to become part of the new cabinet. The election results are also predicted to increase the percentage of opposition party strength in parliament compared to the previous period. If this occurs, the check and balance function can effectively operate to control executive power.

No	Political Parties	2019 Vote Results (%)	2024 Quick Count Results (100% Data Entry)	Real Count KPU (57,95% Data Entry per 20 Feb 2024)	Comparison of 2019 Party Votes and QC 2024 (%)
1	PDI Perjuangan	19,33	16,46	16,91	-2,87
2	Golkar	12,31	15,14	14,93	2,83
3	Gerindra	12,57	13,91	13,33	1,34
4	PKB	9,69	10,87	11,8	1,18
5	Nasdem	9,05	9,15	9,31	0,1
6	PKS	8,21	8,63	7,48	0,42
7	Demokrat	7,77	7,53	7,4	-0,24
8	PAN	6,84	6,99	6,88	0,15
9	PPP	4,52	3,54	4,07	-0,98
10	PSI	1,89	2,67	2,53	0,78
11	Perindo	2,67	1,39	1,32	-1,28
12	Hanura	1,54	0,84	0,81	-0,7
13	Gelora		0,83	0,96	
14	Buruh		0,73	0,68	
15	Ummat		0,46	0,52	
16	PBB	0,79	0,37	0,42	-0,42
17	Garuda	0,50	0,27	0,37	-0,23
18	PKN		0,23	0,29	

Closing

Indonesia has gone through six democratic elections since the reform era began in 1998. In each election, we witness the rise and fall of power. Political changes come so quickly that we don't have much time to adapt. Democracy, with all its flaws, remains the best choice for us, and we need a democratic statesman to lead more than 270 million people in this country. To face the increasingly heavy domestic and global challenges in this year and the years to come, we need a competent and experienced cabinet, not mere cheerleaders on the sidelines. We also need a strong opposition party, civil society, and mass media, so that the president can be controlled, and so that democracy continues to flourish.

**CSIS Indonesia, Pakarti Centre Building, Indonesia 10160
Tel: (62-21) 386 5532 | Fax: (62-21) 384 7517 | csis.or.id**

**Please contact the editorial team for any enquiries at
publication@csis.or.id**