Voter Confusion in Surabaya: The Problem of Ballot Design and Incompetence

Kebingungan Pemilih di Surabaya: Masalah Desain Kertas Suara dan Inkompetensi

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Riwayat Artikel	*Abstract*
	The simultaneous scheme in the 2019 elections in Indonesia caused voter confusion, especially in the legislative elections. Citizens who are confused and disappointed when voting candidates characterize the declining quality of representation in electoral democracy. This study aims to determine the factors of confusion among citizens when they are in the voting booth. The case study research was conducted in Surabaya by interviewing 54 residents after the general election using recalling questions and in-depth interviews. The results show that the voter confusion factor is the effect of the complex design of the 2019 legislative election ballot paper, the lack of socialization about election procedures, and the difficulty of respondents understanding the simultaneous election models. The competency category shows that voter confusion is the respondents' low interest in political discussions and inadequate political knowledge. These two competence issues affect the quality of voters' political participation. Voter confusion in Surabaya generally motivates the phenomena of incorrect and misleading voting.

Keywords: Voting Behavior; Political Knowledge; Election Socialization; Simultaneous Election

Abstrak

Skema serentak dalam pemilu 2019 di Indonesia menimbulkan fenomena kebingungan pemilih, khususnya pada pemilihan legislatif. Warga yang bingung dan kecewa pada saat memilih kandidat mencirikan menurunnya kualitas representasi dalam demokrasi elektoral. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendapatkan faktor-faktor kebingungan warga saat berada di bilik suara. Penelitian studi kasus dilakukan di Surabaya dengan mewawancarai 54 warga pasca pemilihan umum dengan menggunakan teknik *recalling question* dan *deep interview*. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa faktor kebingungan pemilih merupakan efek dari desain kertas suara pemilihan legislatif 2019 yang kompleks, minimnya sosialisasi mengenai tata cara pemilu, dan sulitnya responden memahami pemilihan model serentak. Kategori kompetensi menunujukkan bahwa kebingungan terjadi karena rendahnya ketertarikan responden dalam diskusi politik dan rendahnya pengetahuan politik. Dua masalah komptensi ini berefek pada kualitas partisipasi politik pemilih. Kebingungan pemilih di Surabaya secara umum memotivasi fenomena *incorrect voting* dan *misleading voting*.

Kata Kunci: Perilaku Pemilih; Pengetahuan Politik; Sosialisasi Pemilu; Pemilu Serentak

Introduction

Election researchers have placed voter confusion into technical issues that can impact democratic values.[1] In a well-functioning democracy, voters must determine which politicians best represent their political views. Therefore, confusion in choosing candidates or confusion with the electoral system information will lead to the incorrect in voting.[2] These problems will point to essential improvements in disseminating the election organizers or changing the electoral system, including election procedures.

Frequently asked questions regarding voter confusion concern technical and non-technical factors in the electoral process. Why is there post-election voter confusion or dissatisfaction with expectations?[3] Non-technical factors have involved people's lack of understanding of the voting process, which is shown by weak political interest, political knowledge, and ignorance of the election. Meanwhile, technical factors involve voters' difficulties in reading ballot papers or being unable to distinguish one figure from another, unable to read information or a poor understanding of general election socialization.[4] Voter confusion then has consequences on several things: making voters incorrect[5], causing voter dissatisfaction, and delegitimating election administrators.

Research on voter confusion and incorrect voting is still rare in Indonesia. Generally, research on voting behavior places voters into two opposite poles of identity or the connectivity of voter identity and the media's influence to make choices in general elections. However, little is known about research that classifies voter confusion over general elections. This research departs from the problem of polarization in the 2019 general election, which was held simultaneously. Voter confusion in the simultaneous election model has been projected to cause various problems, the most troubling of which is triggering an experience of voting that focuses solely on the presidential election. In contrast, legislative elections have the potential to be neglected. That way, regional issues will potentially become unpopular.

This research is based on the complexity of the 2019 Concurrent Election, which included five elections in the same day. The simultaneous election model in Indonesia is the first time implemented in 2019. The primary purpose of this model was to get effective in the implementation of elections. This model in its application has shown many problems for electoral elements. For candidates, coattail effects work minimal for presidential candidates. For election organizers, workloads that are too high make many election workers become sick and die. For election management, the logistical delays in the election and the lack of socialization are also the main problems due to the islands' geographic distance. This phenomenon should prompt the government and parliament to stop choosing this model. An issue that was rarely raised after the 2019 election was confusion for non-partisan voters.

1   Roger Gafke and David Leuthold, 'The Effect on Voters of Misleading, Confusing, and Difficult Ballot Titles', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (1979): 394–401, https://doi.org/10.1086/268530; Maarten C.W. Janssen and Mariya Teteryatnikova, 'Mystifying but Not Misleading: When Does Political Ambiguity Not Confuse Voters?', *Public Choice* 172, no. 3–4 (2017): 501–24, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-017-0459-3.
2   John Curtice and Michael Marsh, 'Confused or Competent? How Voters Use the STV Ballot Paper', *Electoral Studies* 34 (2014): 146–58, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2013.11.002.
3   Curtice and Marsh, 67; B. K. Song, 'Misleading Ballot Position Cue: Party Voting in Korea's Nonpartisan Local Elections', *Electoral Studies* 58 (2019): 4, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2019.01.002.
4   Andrew Reynolds and Marco Steenbergen, 'How the World Votes: The Political Consequences of Ballot Design, Innovation and Manipulation', *Electoral Studies* 25, no. 3 (2006): 570–98, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2019.01.002.
5   A Nai - APSA 2009 Toronto Meeting Paper and undefined 2009, 'Explaining Correct Voting in Swiss Direct Democracy', *Academia.Edu*, accessed 7 January 2021, https://www.academia.edu/download/3660732/Nai_-_Explaining_correct_voting_in_Swiss_direct_democracy.pdf.

Voter confusion conditions describe 1) voters who are burdened with much information about candidates, 2) local issues are not dominant so that voters find it difficult to evaluate candidates, and 3) allow voters to be ignorant to the election process other than the presidential election.

Previous research on confusion and ballot paper design has shown that people with low literacy levels are perplexed in the voting booth. Illustrated ballot designs, for example, are the best alternative to overcome the disappointments of electoral democracy.[6] Voters with disabilities, illiteracy and lack of socialization of the election process tend to be confused.

The study proposes a different approach used by researchers before accessing the factor of voter confusion. A qualitative approach with a case study style is sought to provide depth to define and increase voter confusion. Therefore, this research answers questions that have never been asked before: 1) what is the definition of voter confusion? Why does the simultaneous election model in the case in Surabaya have implications for confusion among citizens? 2) How does voter confusion affect voting behavior? 3) What are the factors that cause voter confusion?

Methodology

This study uses a qualitative approach, with a methodology of the case study of voter confusion in Surabaya. The type of case study in this research is explanatory, where try to relate the phenomenon in the case with the theories that develop globally. This research's central case is the report on non-partisan voters' confusion after the election, especially in the legislative election. In the study of political sociology, voting behavior refers to society's social division structure and its institutional form as a determinant of mass election choices. Non-partisan voters are part of a division that allows associations as floating voters, evaluating voters, ignorant voters, and confused voters.[7]

The reasons for choosing Surabaya as a research location include: first, the concept of voter confusion related to individual competence. Surabaya is one of the cosmopolitan cities in Indonesia that is assumed the citizens to understand the use and communication media of democracy; thus, it is hoped that Surabaya's non-partisan citizens will have competence in understanding the election process. Second, on the other hand, in the context of voter confusion, Surabaya is a dense city that is also one of the highest numbers of voters in Indonesia. Third, Surabaya is a city that illustrates ideological similarities, where PDIP is the strongest popular party. Of the three reasons, I hope that the voter confusion factor occurs due to technical factors, not on the level of citizen interest in politics.

Sources of data in this study are the results of structured interviews with selected citizens (purposive interviews) of 24 residents of district of Gubeng, 19 local citizens of Gunung Anyar, and 11 residents over 50 years old conducted separately and in groups. The interviews were carried out during 2-9 March, 2020. The question uses a recalling question scheme, which is a question that attempts to stimulate the resource's memory of the election event in July 2019. When I collected the data, it will describe the affinity between the voters and the legislator they choose. All informants were verified to have participated in the 2019 election. In-depth interviews were also carried

6   Theresa Reidy and Fiona Buckley, 'Ballot Paper Design: Evidence from an Experimental Study at the 2009 Local Elections', *Irish Political Studies* 30, no. 4 (2015): 619–40, https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2015.1100802.

7   Chris W. Bonneau and Damon M. Cann, 'Party Identification and Vote Choice in Partisan and Nonpartisan Elections', *Political Behavior* 37, no. 1 (2015): 43–66, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-013-9260-2.

out with the Chairman of the Surabaya KPU in socialization to get the socialization process. Respondents in this study were also verified as non-partisan. They tended to be neutral and did not involve ideology in certain political parties. Processing and data classification using Nvivo 12 software.

Theory Framework

Confusion in voting is generally related to competence and capacity in understanding the rules or what is allowed or not in the technical election.[8] Confusion is usually associated to the complexity of the electoral system or even to the ballot paper design's complexity. In the context of confusion, voters are usually unable to interpret the ballot paper, resulting in weak voter confidence in their decisions.[9]

From a cultural perspective, the citizens of the city of Surabaya are a meeting between industrial society and traditional culture. Surabaya as a business center affects the development of media and science, especially the spread of schools and communication technology. From this pattern, the existence of politics has a pragmatic impact, in which the trading community is more concerned with their economic activities than conducting political activities. In particular, non-partisans or people who are not actively involved in and support a political party.

Interviews with citizens of Surabaya resulted in a variety of expressions of confusion. In general, it is associated with negative feelings in the form of sentences of disappointment or sincerity. The answers came from repeated questions to get to the essential of the respondents' confusion, "how do you feel when participating in simultaneous elections, especially before the voting booth and post-voting booth?" and How was your experience when you opened the three legislative ballots? Table 1 shows the classification of expressions referring to the theories of voter confusion. This study interprets voter confusion as difficulty facing challenges. Intuitively, confusion is not a primary emotion such as sadness, happiness, and anger. However, confusion in democracy can be measured by the concept of congruence between candidates and voters that each voter has clear preferences.[10] Therefore, voter confusion is a symptom that can distance voters from democracy. This problem means that the election as part of legitimizing leadership does not represent the preferences of voters.

The identification of the party or (partyID) has long been used to determine alignments in elections. Nonpartisan voters do not gravitate towards sure sides, which automatically depend on references and information outside the ballot paper. In general, on moderating partisanship, nonpartisan voters are closely related to how they evaluate candidates and determine their choice of competencies rather than support to party's ideology. In contrast to the strong partisan electorate. They tend to stick to the preferences of the political party of choice. Nonpartisan voters may use ballot captions to determine the best candidate.[11]

8   Matthias Trefs, 'Voter Confusion in German Federal Elections: The Baden-Württemberg Electoral System as a Possible Alternative', *German Politics* 12, no. 3 (2003): 82–106, https://doi.org/10.1080/0964400032000242707.

9   Curtice and Marsh, 'Confused or Competent? How Voters Use the STV Ballot Paper'.

10   Richard R. Lau and David P Redlawsk, 'Voting Correctly', *American Political Science Review* 91, no. 3 (1997): 585–98.

11   Alejandro Ecker, Konstantin Glinitzer, and Thomas M. Meyer, 'Corruption Performance Voting and the Electoral Context', *European Political Science Review* 8, no. 3 (2016): 333–54, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773915000053; Simon Toubeau and Markus Wagner, 'Party Support in Multi-Level Elections: The Influence of Economic Perceptions and Vertical Congruence', *Electoral Studies* 54 (2018): 22–34, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2018.04.019; Aryo Wasisto et al., 'Corruption as a Valence: The Paradox of Electorate Punishment of Political Parties in Indonesia', *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation* 24, no. 3 (2020): 2380–89, https://doi.org/10.37200/IJPR/V24I3/PR201886.

Table 1. Classification of Voter Confusion Expressions Post General Election

Ignorant	Misleading	Incorrect	Dissatisfaction
I feel confused, but I don't care about what I did. I've realized that I came to the voting booth, not for legislative candidates. When I opened the ballot papers for the provincial and district level legislative elections, I didn't care.	Actually, I wanted to vote for candidate A, but it seems I was wrong. Maybe I was wrong. Maybe I was right.	I realized what I had chosen was inappropriate. I should be able to consider others than him.	The 2019 elections are really troublesome. My confusion started from a two-fold dispute. There should be three candidates.
I only believe in the election of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. I do not have enough information to think about a large number of legislative candidates.	I'm sure I want to vote for candidate "A". I'm sure the party is right, but there are too many names. Hopefully I'm right.	I feel a lack of information about my chosen candidate. If I had known more about him, maybe I would have moved on	Opening, voting, and folding that many ballot papers, will you immediately get a good leader?
How can I know them? They don't know me. What is the importance of voting candidates?	I believe elections are important, but I'm technically unsure of my choice.	I am sincere about the 2019 election. I am not completely informed to vote for him.	I am confused as to why simple elections are made so complicated.
I did not see the photos of the faces on the ballot paper. It forced me to go through it.	I voted for legislative candidates in the DPR RI, Provincial DPRD and Regency DPRD, but now I forget their names		There are too many parties and candidates, my family is all educated, but they are confused. Why is democracy confusing?
I don't believe in political parties. The legislative elections prompted me not to vote for them because I didn't know them well enough.	I saw her face on the billboard, but I didn't see her on the ballot paper anymore.		The legislative election should be separate from the presidential election. Not only me confused, but the people in my neighborhood.

Source: direct interview with respondents

Based on the literature above, nonpartisan voters are associated with the inability to cope with the complexity of elections or the context of the electoral system that is too complex. Quantitative-based political science has linked misleading conditions in elections with their competencies. Dassonevile (2016) relates the political sophistication of each individual with their level of loyalty, which explains that the level of interest in politics can change loyalty in voting. Lau and Redlawsk (2006) developed a sophisticated concept of voter beliefs about politics to determine whether a person votes for the candidate that best

fits their preferences. They prove that voting correctly involves:[12] a substantial measure of the policies brought by the candidate in the campaign, the level of party identification and activity within the party, and the level of candidate social group linkages. They also try to find influential factors that can ensure that voters believe in candidates. The question is to identify an individual as nonpartisan or not by questioning their level of support for a political party or candidate, their evaluation of the incumbent candidate, and practical support activities.

Table 1 is showing the expressions of voter confusion in Surabaya. This study classifies the confusion into four to develop the differences that occur in the field. Voter confusion about the political system also takes into account the competence of voters from an educational perspective. Education and political knowledge are general supporting elements because they maximize voter literacy. Literacy becomes essential when the ballot paper design does not facilitate voters to understand their preferences, such as in a ballot paper describing the vision and mission or a ballot paper that does not include photos.

Table 1 shows the extreme difference between voters who ignored the legislative election process and those disappointed with the legislative election process in Surabaya. The difference is in a deep understanding of the objectives of the election. Ignorant voters tend to position themselves at a distance from the interaction process with the government. The respondents question the function of elections related to the conditions and economic situation in today's context.

Studies on ignorant voters relate more to the variables of citizens' inability to political information and political knowledge, such as

information about candidates at the domestic level.[13] The perspective of voters ignorant in the 2019 legislative elections shows asymmetric expressions between campaign functions and their realities. Voters who were disappointed in this research arose because of more technical problems. They are very close to the legislative election process, but they find it difficult to vote. They questioned the ballot paper design's complexity, the folding process, and too many candidates on one ballot sheet. Voters who better understand the electoral process emphasize the ideal situation in elections, specifically how there is a separation between local elections and national elections.

The problem that occurred in the 2019 legislative elections in Surabaya was a symptom of incorrect voters. Incorrect voters have high negative consequences on the quality of democracy in Indonesia, especially in the concept of quality of representation. Lack of information on candidates and competing political parties allows for high volatility. This effect has pushed the political system to become very dynamic. General elections always involve legitimacy as the basis of choice, which always involves citizens' affinity with the candidates' programs. Electoral volatility may describe the mental condition of voters to understand the performance of the incumbent. However, incorrect voters understand accurate information because of the weak campaign socialization and electoral institutions' role in showing candidates' programs.

Factors of Voting Confusion in Surabaya

This study's findings have confirmed that the voter confusion in the 2019 simultaneous elections consists of external and internal

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12 Sean Richey, 'The Social Basis of Voting Correctly', *Political Communication* 25, no. 4 (2008): 77, https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600802426973.

13 Christopher S. Elmendorf and David Schleicher, 'Informing Consent: Voter Ignorance, Political Parties, and Election Law', *University of Illinois Law Review* 2013, no. 2 (2012): 367, https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2010115.

factors. Internal factors refer to individual modalities and competencies. External factors refer to the function of the election institution. In deep research, this study found more than 200 words "confused" expressed by respondents so that in figure 1, this article has focused on non-partisan voter confusion in Surabaya, which has a direct effect on voting behavior. Direct answers from respondents can explain the phenomenon of voting behavior contrary to the ideal electoral democracy.

Incompetence Factor: The Lack of Interest in Politics and Political Knowledge

Figure 1 explains the causal flow of the occurrence of non-partisan confused voters in Surabaya. The low competency aspect is a possible factor motivating voter confusion. Low competence can also be influenced by several backgrounds: education and low interest in politics. Therefore, sophisticated voters can usually reduce unnecessary confusion bias in general elections because they usually already have sufficient information to process[14].

Political knowledge is one of the most valuable resources any citizen in a democracy can have. Political knowledge refers to factual information stored in long-term memory. A citizen with high political knowledge has the potential to behave in the direction of a well-functioning democracy, including having stable attitudes about a broad spectrum of political topics, ideological boundaries, high levels of political participation, and informed, value-maximizing voting decisions.[15]

In an interview with several non-partisan respondents, it was shown that their low political interest affected their confusion when they were in the campaign period. Voters who admit that their preferences are the same and consider the election to be patterned experience confusion, which makes them ignorant voters.

"I do not have enough time to understand legislative elections. I know their faces are everywhere, but will not that end in the same way. Of course, I do not care what I vote for. Nothing makes me interested in politics. My presence in the election booth is no guarantee that my life will be better. " (Heni, 45 years old)[16]

The case of Heni (45), a private teacher in Surabaya, shows that his low political interest did not make him absent from the election. She has voted for the competing candidates, but his indifference has a lot to do with his preferences. From this case, economic issues became the basis of his rationale.

Frankly, I do not understand politics; more specifically, I do not know how legislators work. At that time, I did not have sufficient reason to choose Mr. X. My neighbors also do not have enough reasons. I asked my son; he also didn't know the reason for voting. (Wisnu, 69 years old)[17]

Incompetence in understanding candidates and insufficient exposure to political information motivated confusion in the 2019 elections. In the case of Surabaya, low political knowledge caused voters to become confused about understanding complex political situations. This complexity motivates voters to be disappointed, ignorant, and incorrect in the election.

I do not know what political party functions. I also do not understand what members of the DPR are doing. I know that their election campaign distributed me clothes, and when I was lucky, I got pocket

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14 Dieter Stiers and Ruth Dassonneville, 'Do Volatile Voters Vote Less Correctly? An Analysis of Correct Voting among Vote (Intention) Switchers in US Presidential Election Campaigns', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 29, no. 3 (2019): 283–98, https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2018.1515210.

15 Mona S. Kleinberg and Richard R. Lau, 'The Importance of Political Knowledge for Effective Citizenship', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (2019): 2, https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfz025.

16 Interview with Heni, March 2, 2020.

17 Interview with Hasmoro, March 2, 2020.

money. But, the 2019 election confused me—too many candidates (Karyono, 55 years old)[18]

The causes of incompetence in Surabaya consist of two directions: weak socialization of local legislative issues and low citizen motivation to understand election system. Another trend is the ideological limitation of political belief. Non-partisans in Surabaya express their political stance on national issues or how the executive government works.

The 2014 and 2019 elections made me talk more about politics, especially the presidential election. My friends and I talk about politics but seldom discuss members of the DPR-RI or DPRD. Our ability is limited to discuss parliaments functions. We are talking about political parties; however, the discussion supports the discussion of the presidential election. (Hasmoro, 44 years old)

High political knowledge can be a factor in citizens becoming correct voters.[19] A high level of political knowledge can also become the basis for voters to evaluate incumbent candidates. In this case, low political knowledge is an important problem for nonpartisan voters. This incompetence can be proven by their inability to articulate factual ideas.[20] Sophisticated voters can usually convey issue positions that are consistent with ideological preferences. Confused nonpartisan voters in Surabaya seem to lack understanding of how the electoral system works. They tend not to question legislative elections as the substance of democracy.

This study also found that a low level of efficacy can encourage voters not to realize the importance of their right to vote. Political efficacy consists of two forms: internal and external. Internal efficacy refers to the level of self-efficacy in a political environment, including understanding their voting rights. External efficacy refers to political trust or distrust of the government. Generally, the two efficacies are linear and influence each other.[21] The cases of Waskita (45) and Imran show linear internal and external efficacy and are associated with electoral political confusion.

I don't believe in democracy. So far democracy can't give me a decent job? I am participating in the 2019 election not because my vote will bring about change. I feel I have to tolerate my neighbours. Honestly, elections only make corruption more and more. (Waskita, 45 years old)[22]

Confusion in understanding the 2019 election system has led respondents to become misled voters. They are less able to articulate their preferences because of a lack of understanding of how the system works. At the voting booth, they experience ignorance about the connectivity between preferences and candidate programs. They tend understand that legislators are figures who provide material directly or some donor agency. This situation allows a voter to be rational and easily trapped in the voting reward. The problem in Surabaya also shows that nonpartisan voters are a characteristic of citizens who are distant from the source of political knowledge, namely political parties.

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18 Interview with Karyono, March, 2, 2020.
19 Janssen and Teteryatnikova, 'Mystifying but Not Misleading: When Does Political Ambiguity Not Confuse Voters?', 505.
20 Vincenzo Memoli, 'Bulletin of Italian Politics How Does Political Knowledge Shape Support for Democracy? Some Research Based on the Italian Case', *Bulletin of Italian Politics* 3, no. 1 (2011): 44.

21 Raanan Sulitzeanu-Kenan and Eran Halperin, 'Making a Difference: Political Efficacy and Policy Preference Construction', *British Journal of Political Science* 43, no. 2 (2013): 295–322, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123412000324; Homero Gil de Zúñiga, Trevor Diehl, and Alberto Ardévol-Abreu, 'Internal, External, and Government Political Efficacy: Effects on News Use, Discussion, and Political Participation', *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 61, no. 3 (2017): 574–96, https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2017.1344672.
22 Interview with Waskita, March 2, 2020.

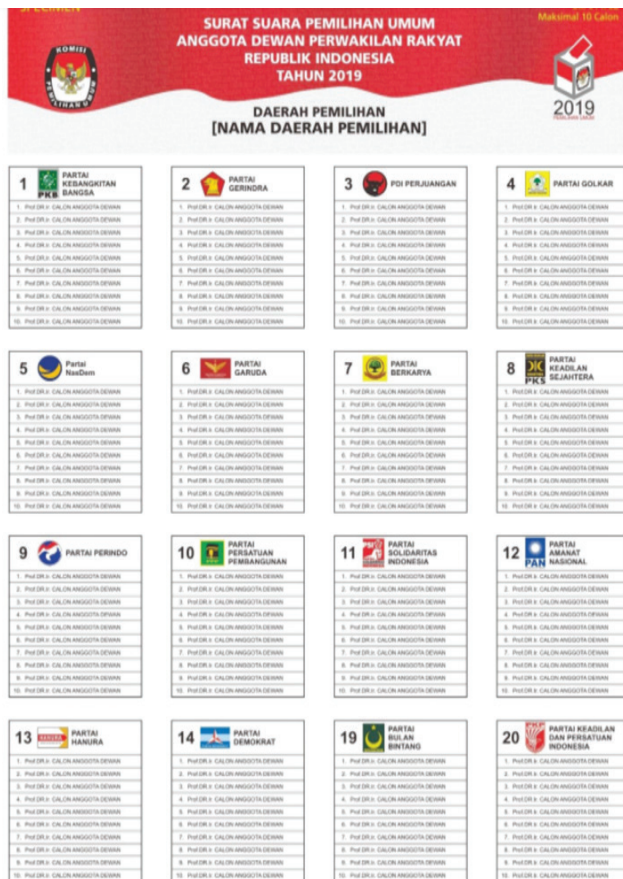**Figure 2**: 2019 national legislative election ballot paper

Figure 3: 2019 provincial legislative election ballot paper

Ballot Paper Design Factor

The literature on political sophistication shows that voters have different levels of understanding political information. There are fewer voters with political sophistication than those without. Regarding elections, voter confusion in digesting information on candidates and political parties is a democratic problem that should be corrected.[23] Voter confusion due to ballot paper design is a significant concern and note for the implementation of elections in Indonesia because of three things: 1) the presidential election confiscates almost all election topics national elections, 2) the design of the legislative election ballot paper does not include photos and consists of successive names making voters with good political knowledge confused, 3) does the confusion in legislative elections, most of the voters in Indonesia experience incorrect voting?

The findings in this study indicate that confusion occurs in voters who have sufficient political knowledge. Generally, these voters do not mind the political system but complain about the complicated design of the ballot paper.

I had tried to understand the legislative ballots well, but I was having a hard time. Maybe my attention was drawn to color photos, so I did not really care much about the programs of candidate legislators. Moreover, on the ballot paper, I was burdened with uninteresting understanding writings (Sakirin, 55 years old)

Simultaneous elections have consequences on the design of the ballot paper and the way the General Election Commission socializes to the broader community. For example, the

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23 Reidy and Buckley, 'Ballot Paper Design: Evidence from an Experimental Study at the 2009 Local Elections', 66.

design of the 2019 election paper seems to follow the concept of effectiveness to make it easier for voters to open and fold sheets but reduce the ease of understanding candidates. In Sakirin (55), who is a businessman and admits to being a participant, he is pretty familiar. However, he is disappointed with the voting process in the voting booth, especially when he opens the ballot paper and decides to vote. Most likely, he experienced incorrect voting at the same time with disappointment with the election process. The same thing happened to Rizal (34), who thought that the ballot papers for the legislative elections had deceived his right choice.

I do not know if it was right or wrong to vote. I had memorized my candidate's number and face, but all the paper in the voting booth distracted me. At that time, I could only remember the logo of his political party. However, that was not what I expected; I want to choose a figure. (Rizal 34 years old)[24]

The literature on the relationship between ballot design and non-partisan voting behavior has demonstrated the motivational concept that the impact of alphabetical voting tends to favor the top candidate. Another example, ballot papers that have color photos are potentially more open to voters evaluating candidates.[25] Voters with low levels of political knowledge make use of descriptive information on the ballot paper.[26] In the 2019 simultaneous elections, non-partisan voters behave in search of information that helps make choices. Such is the case of Akil (39), who was a motivated voter of color symbols. Sakirun (69) did the most straightforward thing when faced with confusion in the voting booth. Akil made the selection quickly to overcome the complexity.

He experiences feelings of depression when he does not understand the names of candidates or the logos of political parties. He is a characteristic of voters who are distrusted of political parties, and his presence in the voting booth is not to come into contact with political parties. He hopes to find a candidate during the pre-election.[27]

In Wirawan (44), an entrepreneur, also shows that the photo on the ballot paper will help him remember which legislator candidate he will vote for. Photographs and titles provide voters with useful information, even if they contain minimal information.[28] By viewing color photos, voters can relate their cognitions and preferences to leadership expectations. Color photos are helpful for voters who do not have much time to participate in socialization and simulations organized by the Regional General Election Commission.[29] Lack of understanding of the general election process tends to reduce voters' attention to the title on the ballot paper. This kind of voter tends to pay attention to color and can vote directly on the party logo. This study assumes that voters who do not remember the candidate they choose as a whole will determine their choice in the voting booth. These signs differ markedly between partisan voters who were prepared and their choices. Partisan voters have been regularly exposed to political programs and actors. Campaigns, interests, party-ID motivates them often intersect with political parties. Nonpartisan voters are less likely to make a choice. Therefore, partisan voters who work for political parties have the potential to be correct voters. However, the findings in Surabaya confirmed that nonpartisan and partisan voters were confused when facing the

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24 Interview with Sakirin in Focus Group Disccussion, March 6, 2021.
25 Curtice and Marsh, 'Confused or Competent? How Voters Use the STV Ballot Paper', 12.
26 Reynolds and Steenbergen, 'How the World Votes: The Political Consequences of Ballot Design, *Innovation and Manipulation*', 7.

27 Interview with Akil, March 9, 2020.
28 Interview with Wirawan, March 5, 2020.
29 Fiona Buckley, Neil Collins, and Theresa Reidy, 'Ballot Paper Photographs and Low-Information Elections in Ireland', *Politics* 27, no. 3 (2007): 43, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9256.2007.00297.x.

2019 election ballot paper.

In comparison, this study interviewed the case of partisan voters. Ridwan (56) as a person working for one of the candidates at the City DPRD level, was disappointed when he was in the voting booth. He found it difficult to be unsure of his choice because there were three ballot papers that he thought were almost the same. The confusion is almost the same experienced by some of his colleagues. This confusion depends on the individual's level of understanding. There are three things to identify problems that arise in this issue. [30], First, the nearly identical design of the three legislative ballots does not give importance to the convenience of the electorate. Second, the design of the ballot paper tends to focus on the interests of political parties (see figure 1 & 2). At this point, there is no identification of the figure. Third, the simultaneous election model burdens voters by folding too much paper.

A person with categories quickly identifies their economic preferences. Sufficient political knowledge also gives the desire to discuss politics so that it will reduce confusion. However, the case regarding the legislative elections in Surabaya shows a significant difference that technical confusion regarding the ballot paper has put much burden on the quality of democracy. Respondents became alienated from legislative elections because of the low candidate appearance aspect, increasingly complicated elections, identification of the same party, confusing ballot papers, and focus on figures exceeding political parties.

The problem of ballot paper design is closely related to the electoral model applied in Indonesia. The effort to simplify the ballot paper in the scheme of five elections in one day can create new confusion, except to provide a significant separation between the presidential and legislative elections. The electoral ballot with an open list system imposes a complex design on a single sheet of the ballot paper. Simplification of the ballot paper may solve problems such as confusion in folding but append new problems such as identifying candidates.

Low Exposure of Socialization

Exposure to political campaigns and advertisements is one of the variables that can explain how citizens vote. High exposure to campaigns and advertisements allows citizens to have a clearer understanding of the candidates' programs.[31] Dassonneville (2014) explains that citizens who have a high intensity of campaigning in television media can become volatile voters.[32] The consequences of this variable may be debated in a different light. For example, exposure to a political campaign may indicate a voter is partisan. Norris and Kennedy (2004) argues that information gleaned from political party candidates' campaigns can indicate community involvement, using indicators ranging from candidate knowledge to levels of social capital, political efficacy and trustworthiness, and campaign activism. With the ability to indicate the information from the candidates. It means there is soft mobilization. Citizens whom political parties do not contact (because they are not partisans) receive new information to make choices.[33]

Non-partisan voters in Surabaya try to understand the general election socialization conducted by the Regional General Election

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30   Interview with Ridwan, one of the party campaign managers in Surabaya, March 3 2020.

31   Michael M. Franz et al., 'Understanding the Effect of Political Advertising on Voter Turnout: A Response to Krasno and Green', *Journal of Politics* 70, no. 1 (2008): 8, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381607080188.

32   Ruth Dassonneville, 'Political Sophistication and Vote Intention Switching: The Timing of Electoral Volatility in the 2009 German Election Campaign', *German Politics* 23, no. 3 (2014): 23, https://doi.org/10.1080/09644008.2014.949682.

33   Pippa Norris and John F Kennedy, 'Tuned Out Voters? Media Impact on Campaign Learning', *Politeia Conference*, 2004, 55, www.pippanorris.com.

Commission as an election reality. However, non-partisan voters run into difficulties when the process is limited and less effective. Election socialization has two aspects that are useful in increasing participation and making it easier for voters to understand the technicalities of opening and folding ballot papers. Socialization is also helpful in learning about the layout and design of ballot papers that can be used. Non-partisan voters in Surabaya are possible in the category of floating voters. Instantly, voters in this category are those who exercise their right to vote in the voting booth. The case of Avianto (45) chose when he was in the voting booth and ignored the pre-election determination. According to him, the 2019 simultaneous elections did not give him the freedom to identify candidates for legislators at every level. Except for the presidential election, the rest is a confusing election. Hadi (29) felt that there was no comprehensive and comprehensive socialization. Voters should be happy in voting but become confused and nervous. Dissemination and advertisements from election administrators help reduce the level of confusion in the voting process. However, its effectiveness needs to be improved.[34]

The difference between the confusion in election simulation and the real election is the meaning of the consequences of democracy. Simulations do not describe the candidate they want to vote for. There is hardly any vital information that they can use to select a candidate. Therefore, socialization can be understood as neutral and technical.

Election socialization is closely related to the campaigns of political parties and candidates. Practical and attractive campaigns can directly increase participation. In the 2019 legislative elections, which were held simultaneously, residents were confused about the emergence of many figures. The overlapping of banners, billboards, and posters between contestants creates complexity that directly impacts confusion. Every two-dimensional advertisement that circulates, the consequence simultaneously is that non-partisan citizens are simulating it all into two types of camps: Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo, which will then become the trigger to motivate choosing a political party. In the case of Rizal (34), the confusion in the voting booth is a system and campaign problem that is also difficult to understand. The difficulty in coming up with concrete ideas because legislator candidates are attached to the presidential candidate is not the only factor that can explain voter confusion. This debate can return to voter capacity, for example, the interest of non-partisan voters in politics. Likewise, the inability to understand candidates well is also related to the competence of voters in terms of political literacy and political discussion.

The commissioner of the Surabaya City Election Commission in socialization and voter education, Subairi, stated that the quality and quantity of socialization is still limited. Constraints in socialization in Surabaya, among others, are the issue of time and community literacy. Socialization and the direct election is unpredictable. Voter confusion about the electoral system is also what drives the number of invalid votes. The public is also burdened with five ballot papers to vote. Voters tend to want to make simple elections. Therefore the concentration of citizens also tends to lead to more straightforward types of ballots.[35]

This research underscores the need to strengthen concurrent schemes. The 2019 election, especially in the legislative election, has harmed public perception. Confusion in the legislative elections can exacerbate institutional disaffection for political parties even though the election design entirely directs

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34   Focus group discussion with Rizal, Hadi, and Avianto inSurabaya, March 7, 2020.

35   Interview with Subairi, KPU Commissioner of KPU Kota Surabaya on March 5th , 2020.

the public vote for political parties. Confusion in voting can be seen from the use of an open list system and the design of the ballot paper that seems to favor political parties.

Conclusion

This study describes the phenomenon of a case study of voter confusion in Surabaya, especially in the legislative election. Simultaneous in the 2019 elections resulted in a decrease in the interest of voters in understanding more about knowledge about representative institutions.

Confusion in this study can be categorized into several classifications of expressions: ignorant voters, misleading voters, incorrect voters, and dissatisfied voters. This study emphasizes the importance of ease in choosing and voting correctly in a representative democratic system. Wrong voters tend not to understand who they choose, program identification, and preferences. In the 2019 election, non-partisan voters also tend to be burdened by the complexity of voting so that some of them mislead in voting, resulting in invalid votes.

Factors that confuse include the incompetence factor, which emphasizes the capability of voters. First, this study has placed interest in politics and political knowledge as the dominant factors as a determinant of whether the Surabaya community is in an area of quality political participation. In the legislative elections, non-partisan participation is absorbed in the presidential election.

Second, external factors, such as the electoral system and ballot paper designs, have become the dominant factor in voter disappointment in the 2019 election. The three legislative elections offer party logos and candidate names that make it difficult for voters to find their candidates. They are also burdened with folding too much paper. Third, the low role of election administrators and candidates plays a significant role in creating voter confusion. Society needs more mature socialization about the voting process.

voters' criticism of the simultaneous model selection shows the important role of simplifying the number of candidates, simplifying ballot paper designs, and further socialization efforts.

This study suggests improvements to the three institutions and the fourth pillar, including election organizers, at least on the type of ballot paper, election socialization, and separation of legislative elections. Problems like this have long demanded improvements in political education by political parties. On the other hand, the joining of executive and legislative elections deprives citizens of the importance of electoral democracy, the function of representation, and the inseparability between legislative candidates and political parties. Since partisan citizens, especially in Surabaya, have watched the presidential election much more deeply than the legislative election and are assumed to be dissatisfied with the legislative election, it can be said that elections for sustainable democracy need fundamental improvement.

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