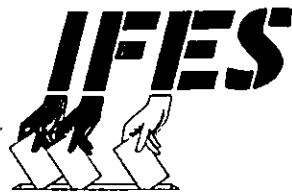


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MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

Republic of Indonesia

ELECTORAL SYSTEM PROPOSED IN
DRAFT ELECTION LAW

**Multi-Member District
Proportional Representation
and
Open-List Voting**

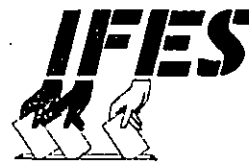
AN ANALYSIS BY THE
INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS

July 2002

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MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

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**ELECTORAL SYSTEM PROPOSED
IN DRAFT ELECTION LAW:**

**Multi-Member District Proportional Representation
and
Open-List Voting**

On 29 May 2002, the Ministry of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy of the Republic of Indonesia submitted a draft general election law to the People's Representative Council (DPR). This proposed law would govern elections – expected in mid-2004 – for representatives in national DPR, the new Regional Representative Council (DPD), and DPRD assemblies at provincial and regency/municipality (kabupaten/kota) levels.¹

For selecting representatives in DPR/DPRD legislative assemblies, the draft law proposes that elections “use the proportional system with an open candidate list” (*Article 6(1)*). The draft law further states that electoral districts for electing DPR members shall be “the Provinces, or parts thereof, as Electoral Districts” (*Article 7(1)(a)*).²

This report is intended to explain how these proposals could work if adopted by DPR.³ This report: 1) describes the main characteristics of a ‘multi-member district’ proportional representation system (‘MMD-PR’) and of ‘open-list’ voting; 2) identifies considerations for implementation of these electoral methods for election of DPR/DPRD representatives; and 3) provides sample maps to illustrate how more populous provinces of Indonesia could be divided into multi-member electoral districts of approximately equal population per seat for electing DPR representatives. (*See: “Implementing ‘MMD-PR’”* section, below, for an explanation of criteria used for ‘districting’ illustrations.)

¹ The new law would replace Law No. 3 of 1999 on General Elections, which governed general elections in Indonesia held in June 1999. The new draft law does not purport to govern (nor does it mention) direct elections for President and Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, which have been approved by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) and are also expected in 2004. A new draft political party law, which would replace Law No. 2 of 1999 on Political Parties, was also submitted to DPR by the Ministry of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy on May 29th.

² Similarly, in *Articles 7(1)(b)&(c)*, electoral districts for provincial DPRD are proposed as kabupaten/kota ‘or parts thereof’, and for kabupaten/kota DPRD are proposed as kecamatan ‘or parts thereof’.

³ For a more general discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of proportional representation, ‘open-list PR’ and other voting methods, see: ‘*Electoral Systems*’ in ‘*The ACE Project*’, <http://www.aceproject.org>. Developed by UNDESA, IFES and International IDEA.

ALLOCATION OF DPR SEATS IN 2004 ELECTIONS

For general elections in Indonesia in June 1999, 462 elected national DPR seats were allocated to (then) 27 provinces.⁴ Allocation of DPR seats was not solely based upon population ('one-person/one-vote/one-value' standard); instead, two initial requirements were imposed. First, allocating DPR seats for each province began with a 'guarantee' that each kabupaten/kota would be 'assigned' (at least) one seat; some provinces received an artificially high number of DPR seats based upon their number of kabupaten/kota.⁵ Second, the number of DPR seats in provinces reflected political consensus for a 'balance' between Java/Bali and outside Java/Bali – even though Java/Bali has 60% of the population of Indonesia.⁶

Last November, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) approved amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia to establish a new 'upper house' called the Regional Representative Council (DPD). Each province in Indonesia will elect an equal number of representatives to DPD.⁷ The intention of MPR appears to be that members of DPD will represent 'territory' and members of DPR will represent 'people'.

Thus, to properly and fairly represent people, allocation of DPR seats to provinces for 2004 should be based more strictly on population ('one-person/one-vote/one-value'). *Article 9* of the new draft election law recognizes this standard, but also gives discretion to the General Elections Commission (KPU) to determine the allocation of DPR seats⁸:

- 1) *The number of seats in the DPR for each Electoral District is determined based on the amount of population of the relevant Province divided by the amount of the total national population multiplied by the number of seats in the DPR.*
- 2) *Method for the calculation of the number of seats for each Province as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be determined by the KPU.*

The draft election law also proposes to increase the number of DPR seats for 2004 general elections from 500 to 550 (*Article 8*). If seats are no longer reserved to the military, the total number of DPR seats to be allocated to provinces will further increase.⁹ Therefore, even with a population-based allocation, few provinces will lose more than one DPR seat, and most provinces will gain seats in 2004.

Allocation of DPR seats to provinces is a preliminary electoral issue that requires serious and immediate attention by DPR in reviewing the new draft election law. To conform to democratic principles, international experience would advise that DPR adopt a population-

⁴ Thirty-eight DPR seats were reserved for the military/police.

⁵ *Example:* Nusa Tenggara Barat population 4,013,246 1999: 7 kabupaten/kota; 9 DPR seats
Nusa Tenggara Timur population 4,192,069 1999: 13 kabupaten/kota; 13 DPR seats

⁶ Population of Java/Bali is 60.3% of Indonesia; population of Outside Java/Bali is 39.7%. In 1999: Java/Bali were assigned 243 out of 462 DPR seats (52.6%); outside Java/Bali were given 219 (47.4%).

⁷ The draft law proposes that each province elect four representatives for DPD. The draft law allows voters to mark for up to four candidates (*Article 44(e)*). DPD representatives would be elected by "multi-member district system" (*Article 6(2)*), apparently by 'first-past-the-post' (not 'MMD-PR').

⁸ Number of seats allocated to each DPRD is according to population and is specified in the draft election law at *Article 10* (provincial DPRD) and *Article 11* (kabupaten/kota DPRD).

⁹ Four DPR seats previously allotted to the former province of East Timor will also be reallocated.

based standard ('one-person/one-vote/one-value') for allocating DPR seats, as proposed in the draft law, and avoid the two preconditions imposed in 1999:

- Dispersion of kabupaten/kota administrative districts among Indonesia's provinces is not a relevant or valid measure for DPR seat allocation. Population of kabupaten/kota varies widely. The number of kabupaten/kota in provinces is not systematic, and the number is still changing. Assigning seats for DPR in a fair manner should not be confused with 'aspirations' of regions addressed through regional autonomy. Thus, allocation of DPR seats should no longer provide the 'guarantee' of one seat for each kabupaten/kota that was contained in the 1999 election law. (See: **Overview: Kabupaten/Kota**, *attached*, for further analysis.)
- Establishing 'upper house' DPD to represent regions should make less necessary the imposing of a 'political balance' between Java/Bali and outside Java/ Bali in allocating DPR seats (but will depend upon the extent of powers given to DPD).

Chart One, *attached*, illustrates how 550 DPR seats could be allocated (apportioned) among Indonesia's 30 provinces.

Option 1 is by population ('quota' of approximately 364,000 persons per seat)¹⁰
= 322 seats to Java/Bali (58.5%); 228 seats to Outside Java/Bali (41.5%).

Option 2 is by 'weighting' population to favor Outside Java/Bali
= 281 seats to Java/Bali (51.1%); 269 seats to Outside Java/Bali (48.9%)

Option 1 demonstrates that – based on population – Java/Bali deserves almost 100 more DPR seats than outside Java/Bali. *Option 2*, by imposing a bias against Java/Bali, clearly violates principles of 'one-person/one-vote/one-value'; under *Option 2*, provincial 'quotas' for outside Java/Bali would average around 300,000 persons per representative, while 'quotas' inside Java/Bali would average 400,000 – 430,000 persons per representative. It is recognized, however, that some 'balance' (bias against Java/Bali) may still be viewed as politically necessary.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Proportional representation systems (PR) award legislative seats to political parties according to each party's share of the vote in an electoral district. To achieve proportionality among parties in awarding seats, PR systems must use multi-member electoral districts (MMDs). The number of representatives to be elected (seats) in an electoral district is called district 'magnitude'. General rule: the greater the 'magnitude' (seats to be voted) in a district, the more proportional the result – awarding of seats to parties more closely matches vote results, with fewer 'wasted' votes.

However, a high district magnitude (many seats per district) often rewards relatively small parties, because parties are able to win seats with only a small proportion of the vote. That may produce a legislature with a large number of small parties represented.¹¹ Province-

¹⁰ *Option 1* assumes a minimum of three DPR seats per province. Such a minimum is not required by current or proposed law, but may be politically desirable, and permits some proportionality in awarding seats in small provinces.

¹¹ Election laws in many countries using PR systems contain various forms of barriers - either on registration of political parties, on participation of parties in elections, or on representation in parliaments for

based elections for DPR produced that result in Indonesia in 1999: eight provinces elected fifteen or more seats; three heavily populated provinces in Java elected sixty or more seats in each PR 'constituency'. Ten political parties won only one DPR seat each in 1999; eight of those ten seats were won in provinces electing 13 or more seats.

Special Multi-Member Districts

As noted above, all proportional representation systems require multi-member districts. But democracies usually use some form of existing administrative boundaries (e.g., provinces or counties) for PR, rather than create specially defined geographic areas as multi-member electoral districts.¹² Some Scandinavian countries utilize regional party lists based on administrative regions for distribution of seats to a legislative body; Sweden splits a very few large counties into smaller multi-member electoral districts for national election purposes. Germany uses regional lists based on federal states (*Länder*) for distribution of seats for the party-list half of seats under a Mixed Member Proportional System (MMP).

The MMD-PR approach proposed in the draft election law would create new electoral districts for DPR/DPRD based upon existing kabupaten/kota and kecamatan. (See: discussion below about 'districting'.) These 'constituencies' would be created solely for electoral purposes: to aggregate Indonesian citizens in smaller multi-member electoral districts of approximately equal population per seat ('one-person/one-vote/one-value'). These new districts would not replace existing government administrative areas for any other functions. MMD-PR would not affect regional autonomy, but kabupaten/kota that were combined into an electoral district would need to cooperate on some administrative aspects.

Implementing 'MMD-PR'

= *District Magnitude*

The draft election law clearly states that a 'proportional' electoral system shall be used for DPR/DPRD elections (*Article 6(1)*). However, the draft law does not specify the number of representatives to be elected in each electoral district ('district magnitude').

In order to reach reasonable levels of proportionality – to fairly award seats to political parties based upon their share of the vote – PR generally requires multi-member districts electing five or more seats per district. Electing fewer seats per district does not provide very proportional results in awarding seats; districts electing only two representatives would have electoral consequences more comparable to winner-take-all electoral systems. Key policy objectives of MMD-PR are to allow reasonable proportionality in awarding seats, but with a reasonable limit upon district magnitude (to naturally limit number of parties winning seats).

parties who have competed in an election (or a combination of these) to limit the number of small parties that may be represented in the legislature.. Indonesia's Law No. 3 of 1999 on General Elections contains a 2% threshold for political party *participation* in the *next* election, not a *representation* threshold for gaining seats in DPR.

¹² 'Special' multi-member districts are used in 'single non-transferable vote' (SNTV) systems, but SNTV is not a proportional representation system and is not based upon party-lists; SNTV involves totally different voting, counting and seat distribution methods than the proposed MMD-PR system.

To facilitate these objectives, the remainder of this report assumes electoral districts for electing DPR under the proposed multi-member district proportional system will elect between five and nine members (district magnitude 5 – 9).¹³

Under such an MMD-PR approach, provinces allocated nine or fewer seats would each remain as one electoral district for DPR. An estimate of allocation of 550 DPR seats to Indonesia's thirty provinces based upon population (*Option 1, above*) results in fifteen provinces (half) being allocated nine or fewer seats. (See: **Chart One** and **National Map**). Thus, awarding of DPR seats to political parties in those fifteen provinces would continue to be based upon vote for DPR across the entire province.

An MMD-PR system would sub-divide the fifteen more populated provinces into special multi-member electoral districts. (See: **Chart Two** and **National Map**). To achieve fair and reasonable proportionality, each multi-member district in these fifteen provinces could elect between five and nine members (district magnitude: 5–9).¹⁴ Under such a plan:

- Six provinces would be divided into two electoral districts;
- Five provinces would be divided into three electoral districts;
- One province would be divided into four electoral districts; and
- Three most populated provinces (in Java) would be divided into between ten and fifteen electoral districts.¹⁵

Using this model, 465 DPR seats (84.5%) would be elected in the newly created electoral MMDs in the fifteen most populous provinces. The total number of electoral districts for DPR across Indonesia (including fifteen provinces each comprising one electoral district) would be between 76 and 91 – probably around 85.

Chart Two, *attached*, illustrates distribution of multi-member electoral districts in Indonesia for electing DPR (550 DPR seats / allocation of seats based on population / new districts established in the fifteen most populous provinces / each newly created district electing five to nine DPR members).

National Map, *attached*, identifies fifteen provinces that would remain as one electoral district for electing DPR representatives and fifteen provinces that would be subdivided into two or more new multi-member electoral districts for DPR elections.

= 'Districting'

As noted above, the draft election law states that electoral districts for electing DPR members shall be "the Provinces, or parts thereof, as Electoral Districts" (*Article 7(1)(a)*). The draft law does not provide any further description as to: how electoral district boundaries should be delineated ('districting'), the timetable for drawing district boundaries, or what body should produce or approve a 'districting' plan. International experience ('best practices') advises that a neutral, independent body (such as KPU) should have full and final responsibility for electoral districting.

¹³ The five smallest provinces electing three or four seats would be a permissible exception to this standard. Another exception would be to permit district magnitude up to ten seats in the three largest provinces to assist fair and convenient drawing of district boundaries. (See: **Provincial Maps**, attached.)

¹⁴ See: Footnote 13.

¹⁵ More flexibility in deciding both number of seats elected per district (within a range of five to ten seats), and total number of districts per province, could be allowed for the three most populous provinces in Java.

Basic boundaries of multi-member electoral districts for DPR within provinces would be based upon – and usually consist of combinations of – existing kabupaten/kota, and would use those existing (or combined) boundaries.¹⁶ It would be necessary in some cases to split kabupaten/kota along existing kecamatan boundaries to achieve approximately equal population per DPR seat among MMDs within a province – especially in areas of more heavily populated kabupaten/kota.¹⁷

Provincial Maps, attached, illustrate how boundaries of special multi-member electoral districts for electing DPR representatives could be delineated in the 15 provinces of largest population of Indonesia. These maps are for demonstration purposes only, and are not official or final districting maps. Maps used in this report were created to adhere as closely as possible to the guiding principles described below, but do not represent the only possible methodology for drawing MMDs. Colors used in these maps are completely random and have no political or demographic significance.

International experience ('best practices') advises that drawing electoral district boundaries should follow guiding principles that respect 'one-person/one-vote/one-value' standards and appropriate physical characteristics, as well as other factors. 'Districting' shown in maps used in this report observes the following guiding principles:

- Assumes MMDs electing five to nine DPR representatives (*See*: Footnote 13);
- Generally allows no greater than .25 deviation from cumulative population quota in determining districts for 'one-person/one-vote/one-value' (e.g., district electing 7 DPR members has population quota no less than 6.75 and no more than 7.25);
- Utilizes existing kabupaten/kota boundaries as much as possible, but takes DPR electoral district lines down to kecamatan level as necessary to stay within tolerance of deviation from population quota per seat;
- Draws districts as geographically 'contiguous' (adjoining) and relatively compact;
- Creates districts as compatible with geographic features (rivers, mountains & islands), economic development, transportation links (roads, bridges, & boat lines), communication networks, and 'communities of interest' (common history, culture, religion, language, shared racial or ethnic background, or socio-economic status).

Consequences of MMD-PR

Using new MMDs does not change basic aspects of conducting elections by proportional representation: votes are consolidated in the electoral district and seats are awarded to political parties according to parties' share of the vote in the electoral district.¹⁸ However, implementing a new MMD approach will have some important consequences for voters and political parties, and for election administration:

¹⁶ Combinations of kabupaten/kota, called keresidenan ('residences'), were formerly used in Indonesia as administrative areas below province level when Indonesia had fewer and much larger provinces (e.g., all of Sumatera); in some cases, these large districts were used to form new provinces. Size and populations of these areas are widely varying and arbitrary. Generally – as compared to creating MMDs from new combinations of kabupaten/kota – using old 'residence' boundaries for electoral districts would not provide sufficiently lower district magnitude (ten or fewer members elected per district), and would be more difficult to reconcile with full representational quotas (one-person/one-vote/one-value).

¹⁷ Districting for DPRD-Province would also follow existing kabupaten/kota and kecamatan boundaries, and DPRD-Kabupaten/Kota would follow existing kecamatan or lower level administrative unit boundaries.

¹⁸ The draft law appears to provide for a 'Hare' formula for distributing seats in Article 56; the provision is confusing in its wording, however, by not clearly specifying that the relevant 'valid votes received by a Political Party' and relevant 'available number of seats in the DPR' is within each electoral district.

- Political parties will submit candidate lists for approximately 85 DPR electoral districts, and will need to adapt campaign strategy to focus on new districts.¹⁹
- New level of election management bodies ('election committees') will need to be formed for each MMD to perform certain administrative functions related to electoral districts, including approving DPR candidate lists, distributing ballots, and consolidating votes; the relevant geographic area for this body will usually not correspond to any single existing government administrative area (e.g., MMD may often consist of a combination of, or part of, kabupaten/kota).
- An extensive voter education program will be necessary to inform voters about MMD-PR, and to explain: how number of DPR seats varies by district; 'districting' process; and particular MMD boundaries in each province.

'OPEN LIST PR'

Under proportional representation, political parties are awarded seats in legislative assemblies according to their share of the vote in electoral districts. Proportional representation systems utilize 'candidate lists' submitted by political parties to determine which individuals will fill the seats won by parties.

- In 'closed-list PR,' political parties decide the rank order of the candidates on their list for an electoral district in advance of the election.²⁰ Candidates are given seats beginning from the top of the list; the more seats a party wins, the further down on the list that candidates are given seats. Voters do not vote for candidates, but instead vote for a party (name and/or symbol).²¹ Since the rank order of candidates on the party list is decided before the election, voters may take an interest in which candidates are nearer the top of parties' candidate lists. Ballots sometimes include each party's list of candidates (or first few names on the list) near the party name and/or symbol.
- In 'open-list PR', as in all PR systems, political parties are awarded seats according to parties' share of the vote in the electoral district. However, under 'open-list', voters may vote their preference for one or more candidates on a political party's list of candidates, in addition to voting for that party's name or symbol.²² The preferences of voters determine the rank order by which candidates on parties' candidate lists will be given seats. A candidate is given a party seat according to his/her share of the total vote preferences for candidates of that party in the electoral district.

¹⁹ Under MMD-PR system, election law could permit political parties to sign 'Stembus Accord' agreements for sharing in vote consolidation and seat distribution, as a means for parties to combine election efforts.

²⁰ The system adopted for Indonesia's 1999 general elections attempted to introduce a 'district element' in assigning seats to particular candidates of winning political parties. This approach gave parties considerable discretion in giving seats to particular candidates after the election, and was not classic 'closed-list PR'.

²¹ In a Mixed Member Proportional System (MMP), part of an assembly is elected by single-member district elections and part by political party list. Voters cast a ballot for a candidate in a single-member district and also cast a ballot for a political party. The political party vote under MMP is usually by 'closed-list PR.'

²² Under some 'open list PR' systems, voting for a candidate or candidates on a preferred party's candidate list serves as the method of voting for the party (no separate mark is made on the ballot for the party).

Proposal for Open-List Voting

The new draft election law specifies that election of members of DPR/DPRDs shall use “the proportional system with an open candidate list” (*Article 6(1)*). Each political party that is qualified to participate in the election may nominate a list of candidates numbering up to two times the number of seats for each electoral district (*Article 25(2)*). The names of candidates nominated on parties’ candidate lists shall be compiled by the appropriate election committee “in an alphabetical order that does not constitute an order of rank” (*Article 27(4)*).

Ballots for DPR/DPRDs “shall contain the symbol of each Participating Political Party and the name of each candidate from such Participating Political Party for each Electoral District” (*Article 32(4)*). The KPU shall determine “the type, layout, size and color of the ballots...” (*Article 32(5)*).²³ Voting for DPR/DPRDs “shall be done by way of marking/punching a hole through a symbol of a Participating Political Party and marking/punching a hole through one of the squares situated next to the names of the candidates below the Participating Political Party’s symbol, for up to a maximum of the number of seats for the relevant Electoral District” (*Article 34*).²⁴ In the section regarding vote counting (*Article 46*), the draft election law does not contain any reference to or description of procedures for counting voter preferences for particular candidates on political party candidate lists. Also, the draft law explicitly permits candidates to decline to take their seat after the election (*Article 117*), which could be manipulated by political parties to negate choices of voters.

Open-List Ballot Example, *attached*, is based on the description provided in the new draft election law. This ballot example is not an official or final representation of how the ballot would look for 2004 elections.

Consequences of Open-List Voting

The proposal for ‘open-list PR’ voting contained in the new draft election law – permitting voters rather than political parties to determine the rank order by which a party’s candidates will be given seats – presents an important policy decision. Implementing this concept would also have important practical consequences for election administration and public confidence, which must be anticipated by election management bodies:

²³ The draft law does not specify how the order for listing political parties or candidates on ballots is decided.

²⁴ *Article 43* provides that ballots for DPR and DPRDs shall be considered valid if:

- 1) the ballot has been signed by the Chairman of the KPPS;
- 2) the mark to indicate the selected candidate for DPR, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD is affixed within the squares containing the symbols of the Participating Political Parties;
- 3) the selection mark is present only in one of the square columns which contain the names and symbol of the Participating Political Party; or
- 4) more than one selection mark is present, but are located within one square column containing the symbol of a Participating Political Party; or
- 5) the selection mark is given on a line of the square column containing the symbol of a Participating Political Party;
- 6) the selection mark is put inside the square column in front of the name of the candidates;
- 7) more than one selection mark is present, but are within the square column containing the name of the candidate; or
- 8) the selection mark is put on a line of the square column containing the name of the candidate; or
- 9) the number candidates’ names which are selected is not more than the number of seats for the relevant Electoral District.

- An extensive voter education program would be necessary to inform voters about how to vote and how candidates are elected.
- Ballots will need to be printed specifically for each district to list candidates, and could be extremely lengthy.
- Political parties would need to inform voters about their candidates; candidates would compete against candidates of their own party to win preference votes.
- Voting in polling places will proceed more slowly than in 1999: voters will need more time to mark their ballots for candidates, and are more likely to make a mistake and request a replacement ballot.
- Ballots might be susceptible to tearing if numerous punches are made close together, which would result in more invalid ('spoiled') ballots.²⁵
- Counting will be more complicated and slower to complete.
- Accountability of election results will be difficult, as numbers of votes for candidates will not match numbers of voters or ballot papers (if voters in each district are permitted to vote for a varying number of candidates).²⁶

CONCLUSION

The proposal in the draft election law for an MMD-PR electoral system for DPR/DPRD elections offers Indonesia an interesting policy alternative. MMD-PR is a 'middle way' between classic models of proportional representation and single-member districts. This innovation seeks to provide fair representation of diverse interests by allowing reasonable proportionality in awarding seats to political parties, yet would naturally limit the number of successful parties. It would also create smaller and more 'local' districts from which citizens would elect DPR representatives. MMD-PR could serve as a suitable transitional approach, or may prove an effective compromise method for electing representatives.

Similarly, 'open-list' voting offers an opportunity for voters to directly choose candidates for DPR/DPRD they prefer. This system may encourage political parties to offer stronger candidates, and may encourage candidates to communicate more directly with voters.

These innovations for Indonesia's electoral system and voting practices proposed in the draft election law are not too radical, but would have significant practical and political consequences nevertheless. The likely impact of implementation of these changes needs to be acknowledged and scrutinized during consideration of these proposals in the DPR.

²⁵ The draft law does not anticipate voter requests for replacement ballots in the event of a spoiled ballot.

²⁶ Also, some popular candidates of less preferred political parties may not win a seat, even though they may have personally received more total votes than the least popular candidate of a more preferred political party.

OVERVIEW :

KABUPATEN/KOTA

OVERVIEW: KABUPATEN/KOTA

Kabupaten/kota are administrative districts in Indonesia below province level. Indonesia currently has 375 kabupaten/kota in 30 provinces.

Kabupaten/kota boundaries generally date back to the Dutch colonial era. However, more than 50 new kabupaten/kota (and 4 new provinces) have been established since 1999 general elections.

Kabupaten/kota vary in population between less than 23,000 to nearly 3,274,000:

22,001	--	100,000	34
100,001	--	200,000	87
200,001	--	400,000	88
400,001	--	800,000	81
800,001	--	1,500,000	63
1,500,001	--	3,275,000	22

Using a population figure for Indonesia of approximately 197,400,000*, a 'quota' for 550 seats in DPR would be 359,000 persons per seat. Population data shows that 107 kabupaten/kota have populations of less than 179,500 (half the quota). Thus, 28.5% of all kabupaten/kota would not qualify as even one-half of a representational quota for DPR.

If no greater than 25% deviation from representational quota were permitted in creating electoral districts for DPR – to adhere to a 'one-person/one-vote/one-value' standard – then no kabupaten/ kota with less than 75% of the quota could individually serve as one electoral district. Applying this factor, 159 kabupaten/kota (42.4% of total) have insufficient population to reach one electoral district 'quota'. Thus, a 'guarantee' of one DPR seat to each kabupaten/kota inherently violates the 'one-person/one-vote/one-value' standard. A single-member district electoral system (SMD) that was strictly based upon kabupaten/kota would greatly conflict with a 'one-person/one-vote/one-value' standard.

Because of widely varying population and geographic characteristics, kabupaten/kota are difficult – but workable – 'building blocks' for drawing MMD boundaries ('districting'). MMD permits better flexibility in districting because districts are much larger than SMD and can more easily be built from a combination of kabupaten/kota.

For MMD 'districting', a permissible 25% deviation from population quota (for total seats in district; e.g., 5.75 – 6.25 for 6-member district) allows a 'swing' of one-half quota. However, only a few large kabupaten/kota would fit into such a range to become a single electoral district of 5, 6, 7, or 8 seats, and many such large kabupaten/kota could not become a single electoral district without leaving large deviations from representational quotas among remaining kabupaten/kota (and combinations of kabupaten/kota) in the same province. Also, in many cases, combinations of kabupaten/kota in a province will not fit within a permissible range of deviation from representational quotas, or would leave large deviations elsewhere in the province. Thus, a process for districting will inevitably require some splitting of kabupaten/kota along kecamatan ('subdistrict') boundaries to maintain reasonable adherence to a 'one-person/one-vote/ one-value' standard for DPR electoral districts.

* Source of data is Village Potential Data 2000 released by Central Agency of Statistics. This data base probably underestimates the total population of Indonesia, but provides the basis for individual kabupaten/kota population figures, which are necessary for analytical comparisons and for district mapping. Slightly lower figures (overall) do not significantly affect such comparisons or relative population within provinces.



CHARTS

**Projection for Allocation of DPR Seats
For 2004 Elections (MMD-PR system)
Based upon Population Data as of 31 December 2000***

NO	PROVINCE	POPULATION	KAB/KOTA	SEATS 1999	SEATS 2004 [Option 1]	QUOTA ** [Option 1]	SEATS 2004 [Option 2]	QUOTA ** [Option 2]
1	D.I. ACEH	4,119,344	15	12	11	374,486	14	294,239
2	SUMATERA UTARA	10,446,580	20	24	29	360,227	34	307,252
3	SUMATERA BARAT	4,601,881	15	14	13	353,991	15	306,792
4	RIAU	4,616,090	16	10	13	355,084	15	307,739
5	JAMBI	2,370,481	10	6	7	338,640	8	296,310
6	SUMATERA SELATAN	6,471,950	10	15	18	359,553	21	308,188
7	BANGKA BELITUNG	894,711	3		3	298,237	3	298,237
8	BENGKULU	1,577,784	4	4	4	394,446	5	315,557
9	LAMPUNG	7,132,674	10	15	20	356,634	24	297,195
10	DKI JAKARTA	7,536,638	5	18	21	358,888	18	418,702
11	JAWA BARAT	31,773,417	24	82	85	373,805	74	429,371
12	BANTEN	7,336,557	6		20	366,828	17	431,562
13	JAWA TENGAH	32,424,067	35	60	87	372,690	76	426,632
14	D.I. YOGYAKARTA	3,272,425	5	6	9	363,603	8	409,053
15	JAWA TIMUR	34,016,440	38	68	92	369,744	80	425,206
16	KALIMANTAN BARAT	3,855,623	10	9	11	350,511	13	296,586
17	KALIMANTAN TENGAH	1,750,476	6	6	5	350,095	6	291,746
18	KALIMANTAN TIMUR	2,291,315	12	7	6	381,886	8	286,414
19	KALIMANTAN SELATAN	2,977,516	11	11	8	372,190	10	297,752
20	BALI	2,935,701	9	9	8	366,963	8	366,963
21	NUSA TENGGARA BARAT	4,013,246	7	9	11	364,841	13	308,711
22	NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR	4,192,069	14	13	12	349,339	14	299,434
23	SULAWESI SELATAN	8,058,616	24	24	22	366,301	27	298,467
24	SULAWESI TENGAH	1,981,451	8	5	6	330,242	7	283,064
25	SULAWESI UTARA	1,898,967	5	7	5	379,793	6	316,495
26	GORONTALO	827,563	3		3	275,854	3	275,854
27	SULAWESI TENGGARA	2,340,798	6	5	7	334,400	8	292,600
28	MALUKU	1,323,709	5	6	4	330,927	4	330,927
29	MALUKU UTARA	825,896	3		3	275,299	3	275,299
30	PAPUA	2,329,598	14	13	7	332,800	8	291,200
	TOTAL	200,193,583	353	458	550		550	

* Source: Minister of Home Affairs & Regional Autonomy Decree Number 13 Year 2001

** QUOTA = Population / Seats

Projection for Allocation of DPR Seats
For 2004 Elections (MMD-PR system)
Based upon Population Data as of 31 December 2000*

#MMDist = Number of Multi Member Districts

NO	PROVINCE	POPULATION	KAB/KOTA	SEATS 1999	SEATS 2004 [Option 1]	QUOTA ** [Option 1]	#MMDist
1	D.I. ACEH	4,119,344	15	12	11	374,486	2
2	SUMATERA UTARA	10,446,580	20	24	29	360,227	4
3	SUMATERA BARAT	4,601,881	15	14	13	353,991	2
4	RIAU	4,616,090	16	10	13	355,084	2
5	JAMBI	2,370,481	10	6	7	338,640	1
6	SUMATERA SELATAN	6,471,950	10	15	18	359,553	3
7	BANGKA BELITUNG	894,711	3		3	298,237	1
8	BENGKULU	1,577,784	4	4	4	394,446	1
9	LAMPUNG	7,132,674	10	15	20	356,634	3
10	DKI JAKARTA	7,536,638	5	18	21	358,888	3
11	JAWA BARAT	31,773,417	24	82	85	373,805	10 - 15
12	BANTEN	7,336,557	6		20	366,828	3
13	JAWA TENGAH	32,424,067	35	60	87	372,690	10 - 15
14	D.I. YOGYAKARTA	3,272,425	5	6	9	363,603	1
15	JAWA TIMUR	34,016,440	38	68	92	369,744	10 - 15
16	KALIMANTAN BARAT	3,855,623	10	9	11	350,511	2
17	KALIMANTAN TENGAH	1,750,476	6	6	5	350,095	1
18	KALIMANTAN TIMUR	2,291,315	12	7	6	381,886	1
19	KALIMANTAN SELATAN	2,977,516	11	11	8	372,190	1
20	BALI	2,935,701	9	9	8	366,963	1
21	NUSA TENGGARA BARAT	4,013,246	7	9	11	364,841	2
22	NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR	4,192,069	14	13	12	349,339	2
23	SULAWESI SELATAN	8,058,616	24	24	22	366,301	3
24	SULAWESI TENGAH	1,981,451	8	5	6	330,242	1
25	SULAWESI UTARA	1,898,967	5	7	5	379,793	1
26	GORONTALO	827,563	3		3	275,854	1
27	SULAWESI TENGGARA	2,340,798	6	5	7	334,400	1
28	MALUKU	1,323,709	5	6	4	330,927	1
29	MALUKU UTARA	825,896	3		3	275,299	1
30	PAPUA	2,329,598	14	13	7	332,800	1
	TOTAL	200,193,583	353	458	550		76 - 91

* Source: Minister of Home Affairs & Regional Autonomy Decree Number 13 Year 2001

** QUOTA = Population / Seats

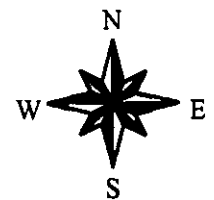
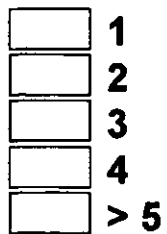
NATIONAL

MAP

Indonesia - MMD 2004



**Number of Multi-Member Districts
in the Province**





PROVINCIAL

MAPS

Aceh - MMD

11 Seats - 2 Districts

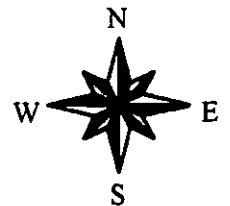


Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

6 (5.83)

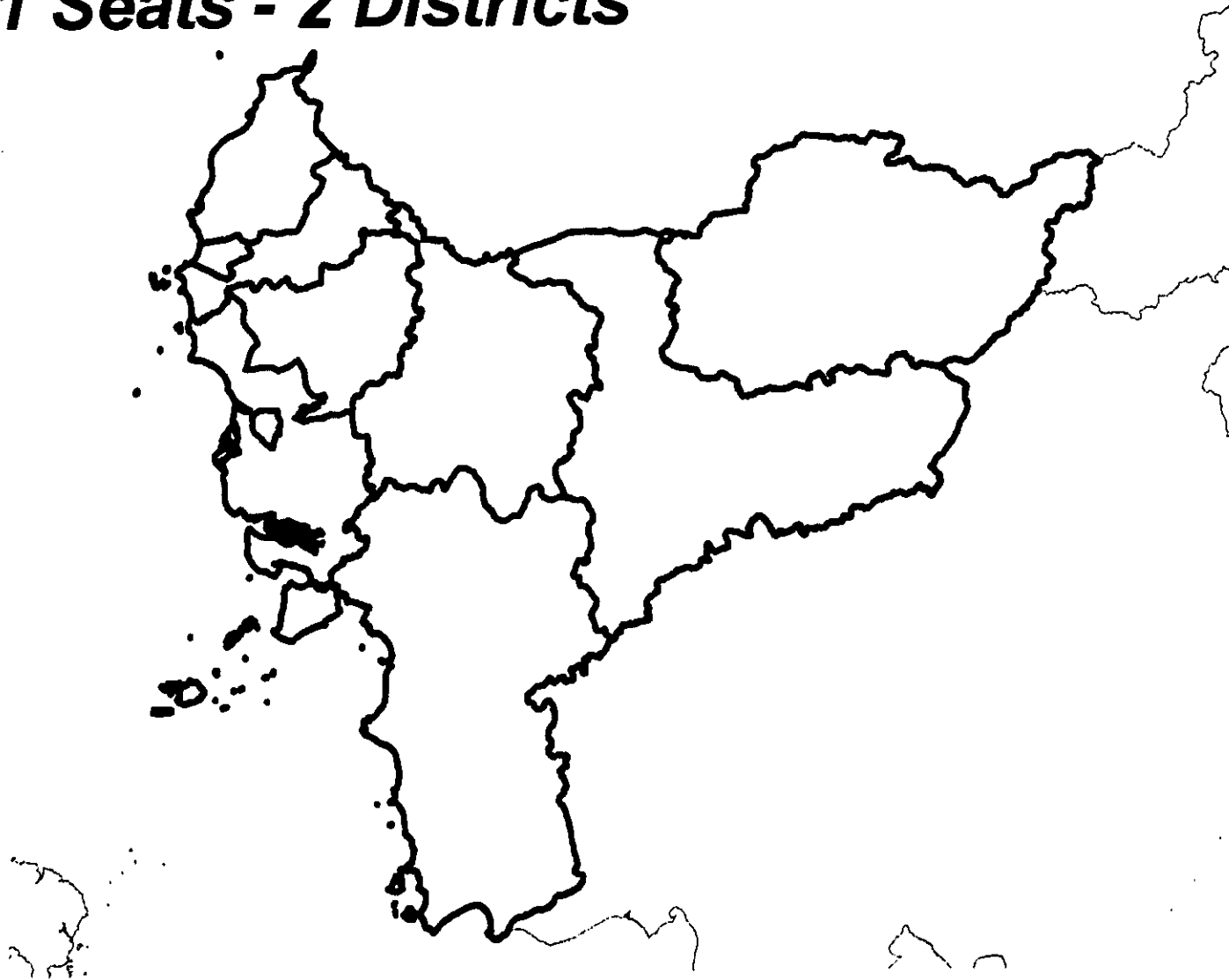
5 (5.17)

Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries

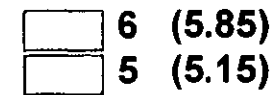


Kalimantan Barat - MMD

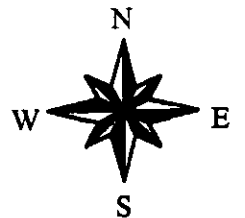
11 Seats - 2 Districts



Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

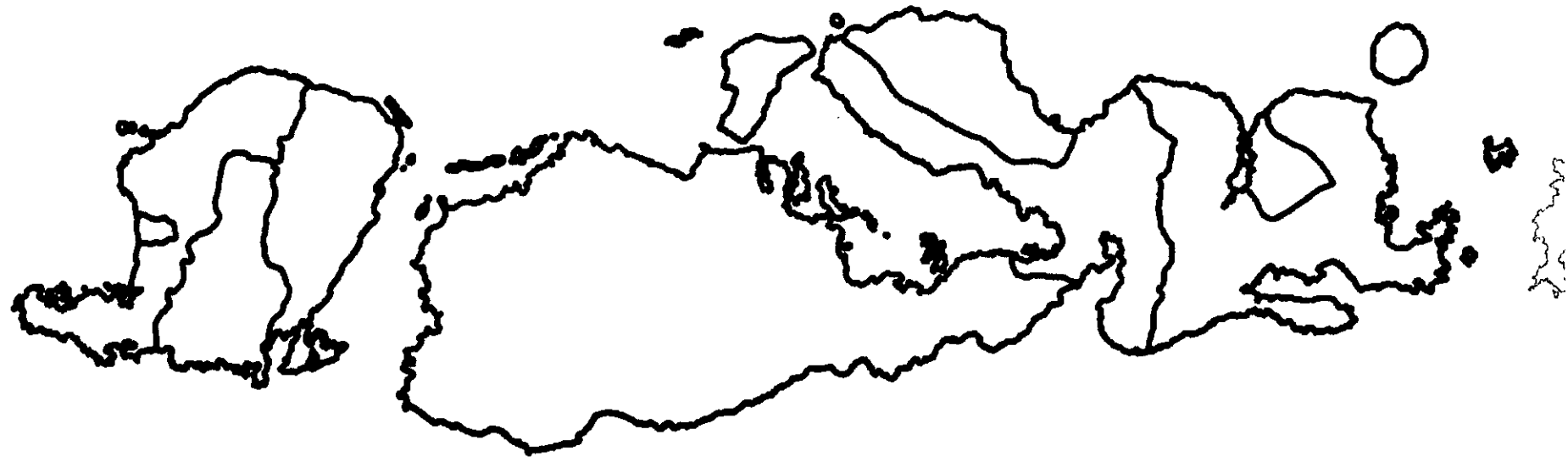


 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries





Nusa Tenggara Barat - MMD

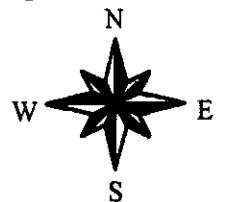
11 Seats - 2 Districts



 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries

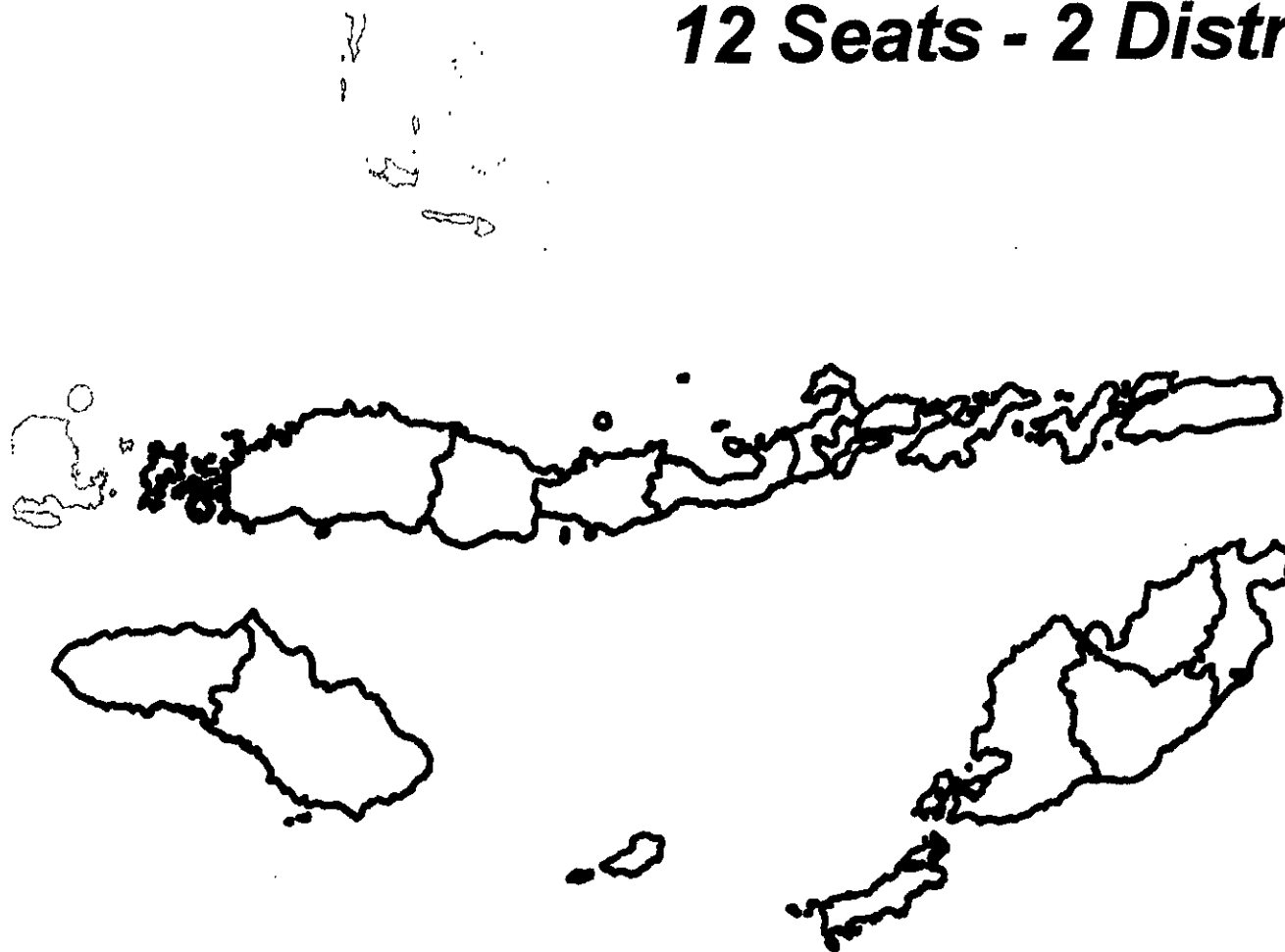
Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

 6 (6.01)
 5 (4.99)

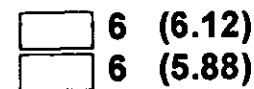


Nusa Tenggara Timur - MMD

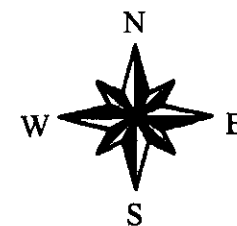
12 Seats - 2 Districts



**Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)**

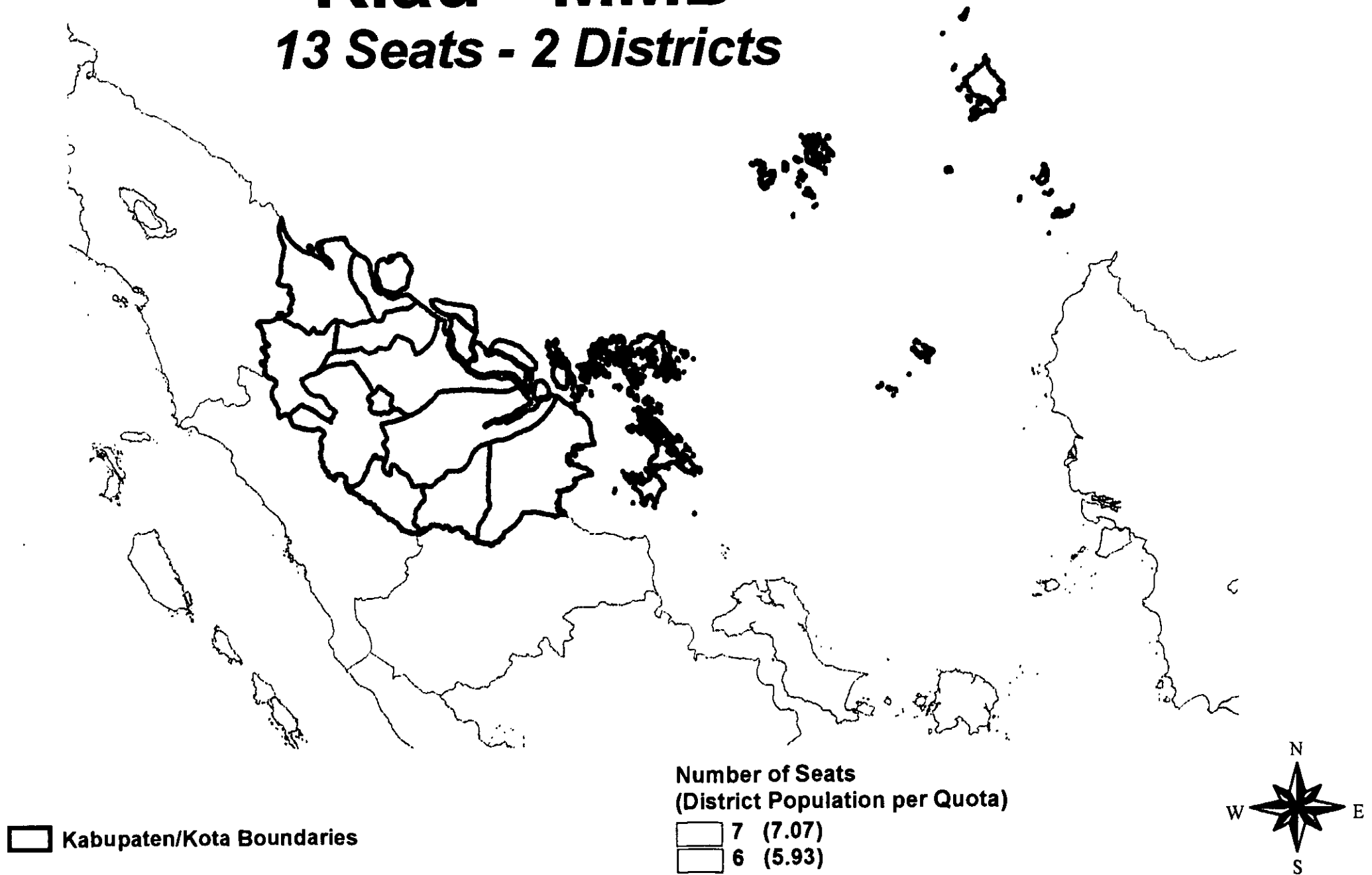


 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries



Riau - MMD

13 Seats - 2 Districts



Sumatera Barat - MMD

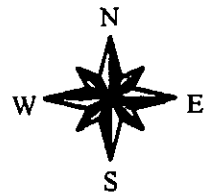
13 Seats - 2 Districts



Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

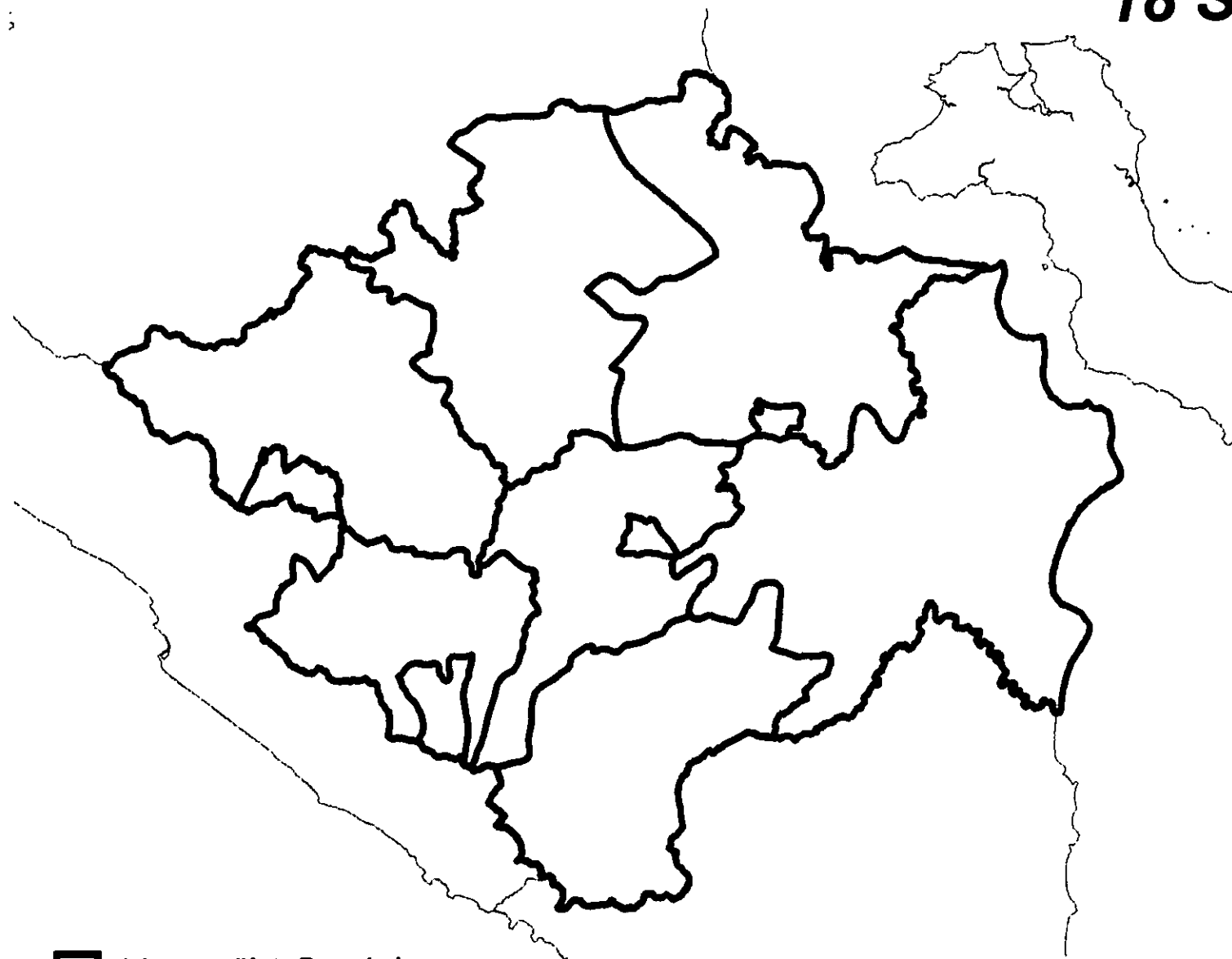
Light Gray Box	7 (7.04)
Light Blue Box	6 (5.96)

 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries






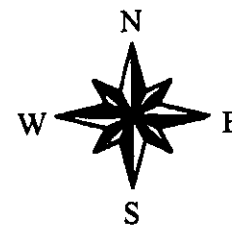
Sumatera Selatan - MMD

18 Seats - 3 Districts



Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

	7 (6.99)
	6 (6.19)
	5 (4.82)






 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries

Lampung - MMD

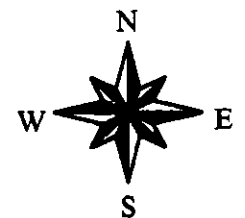
20 Seats - 3 Districts



**Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)**

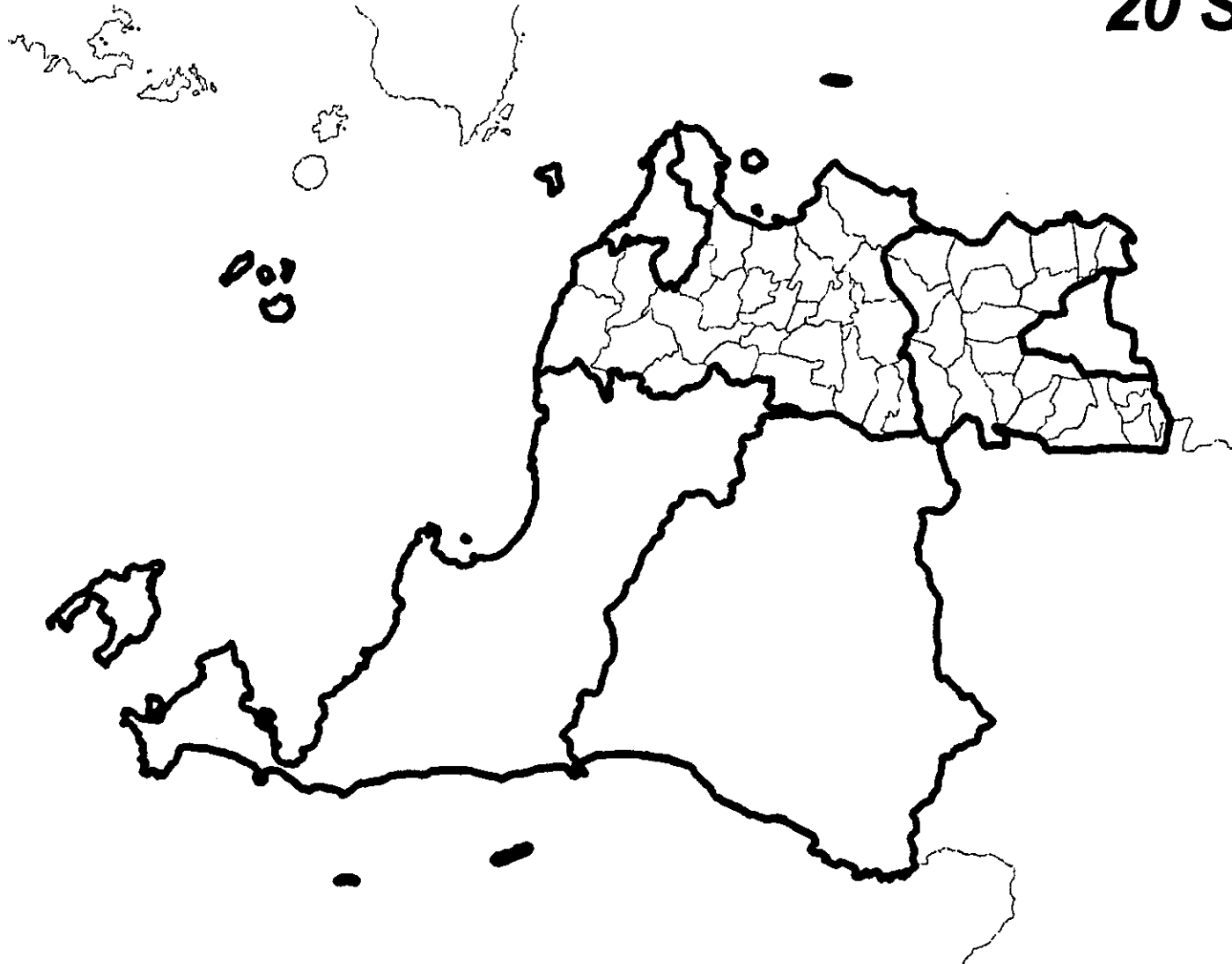
	8	(7.89)
	6	(6.07)
	6	(6.04)

 **Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries**

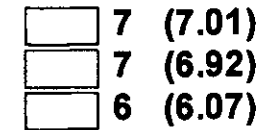


Banten - MMD

20 Seats - 3 Districts

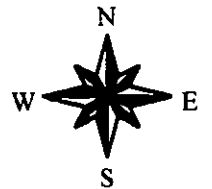


**Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)**



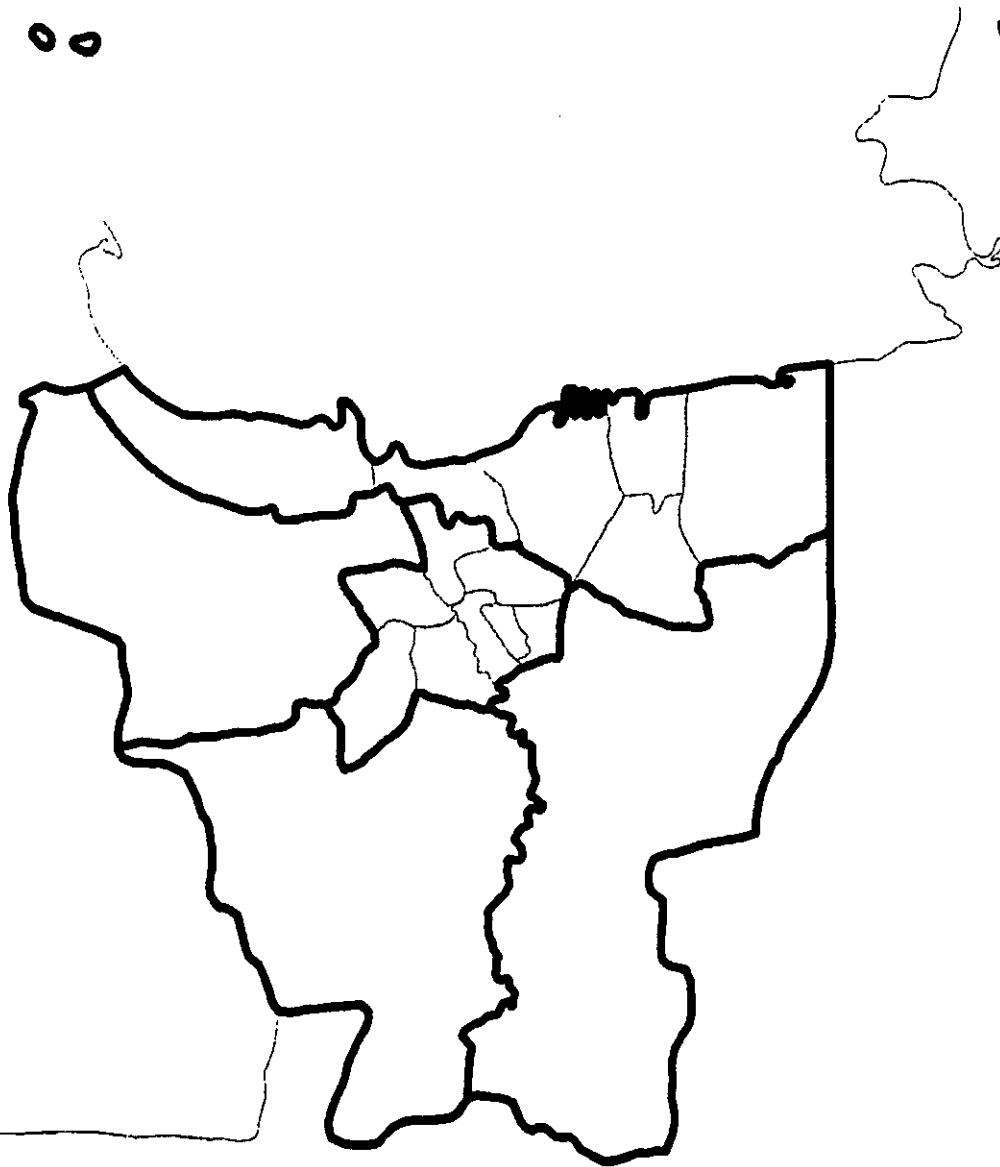
 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries

 Kecamatan Boundaries






Jakarta - MMD

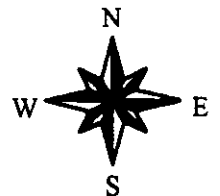
21 Seats - 3 Districts



Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

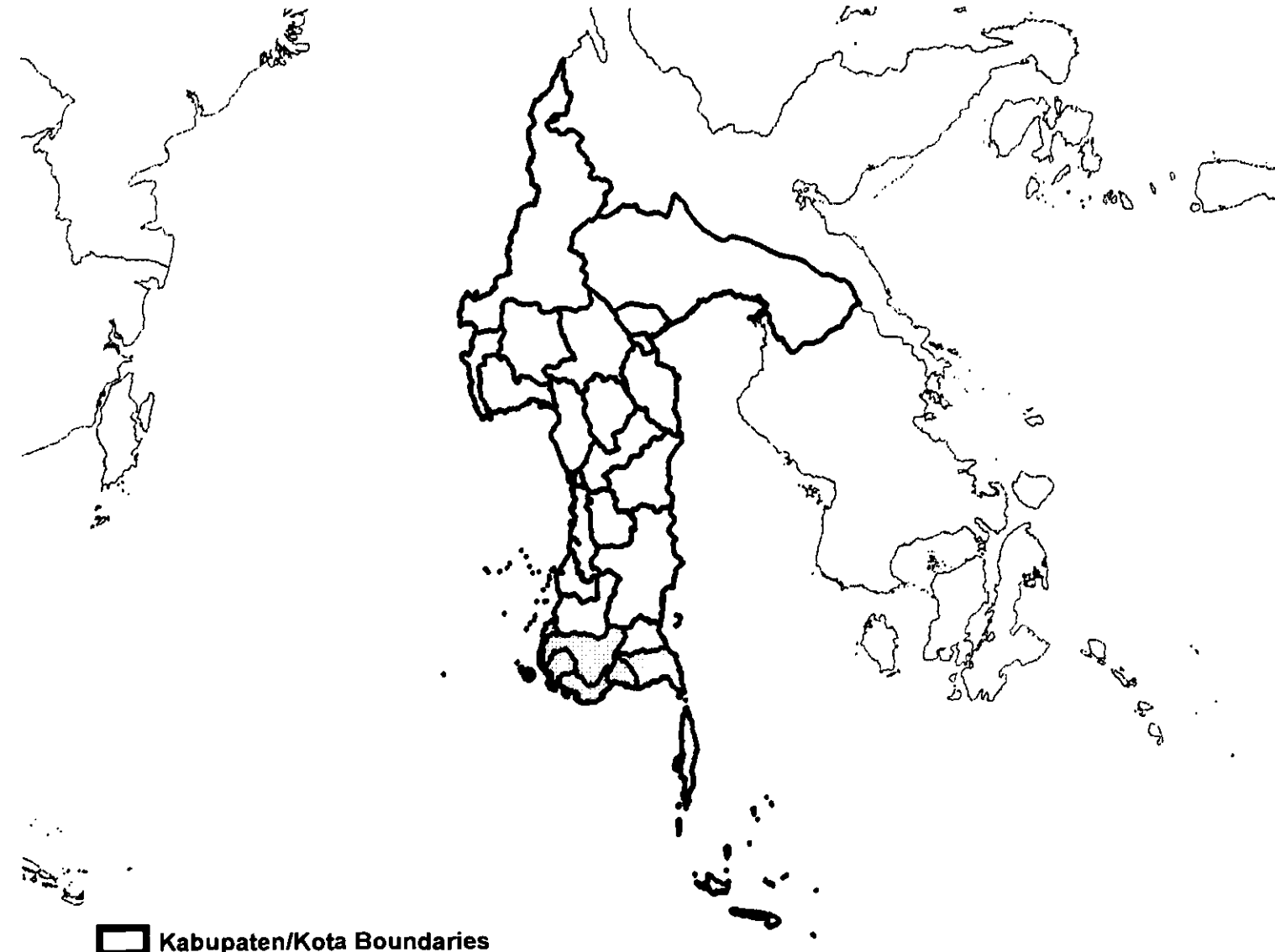
	7	(7.12)
	7	(6.96)
	7	(6.91)

 Kota Boundaries
 Kecamatan Boundaries






Sulawesi Selatan - MMD

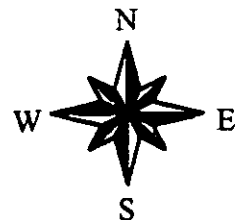
22 Seats - 3 Districts



Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

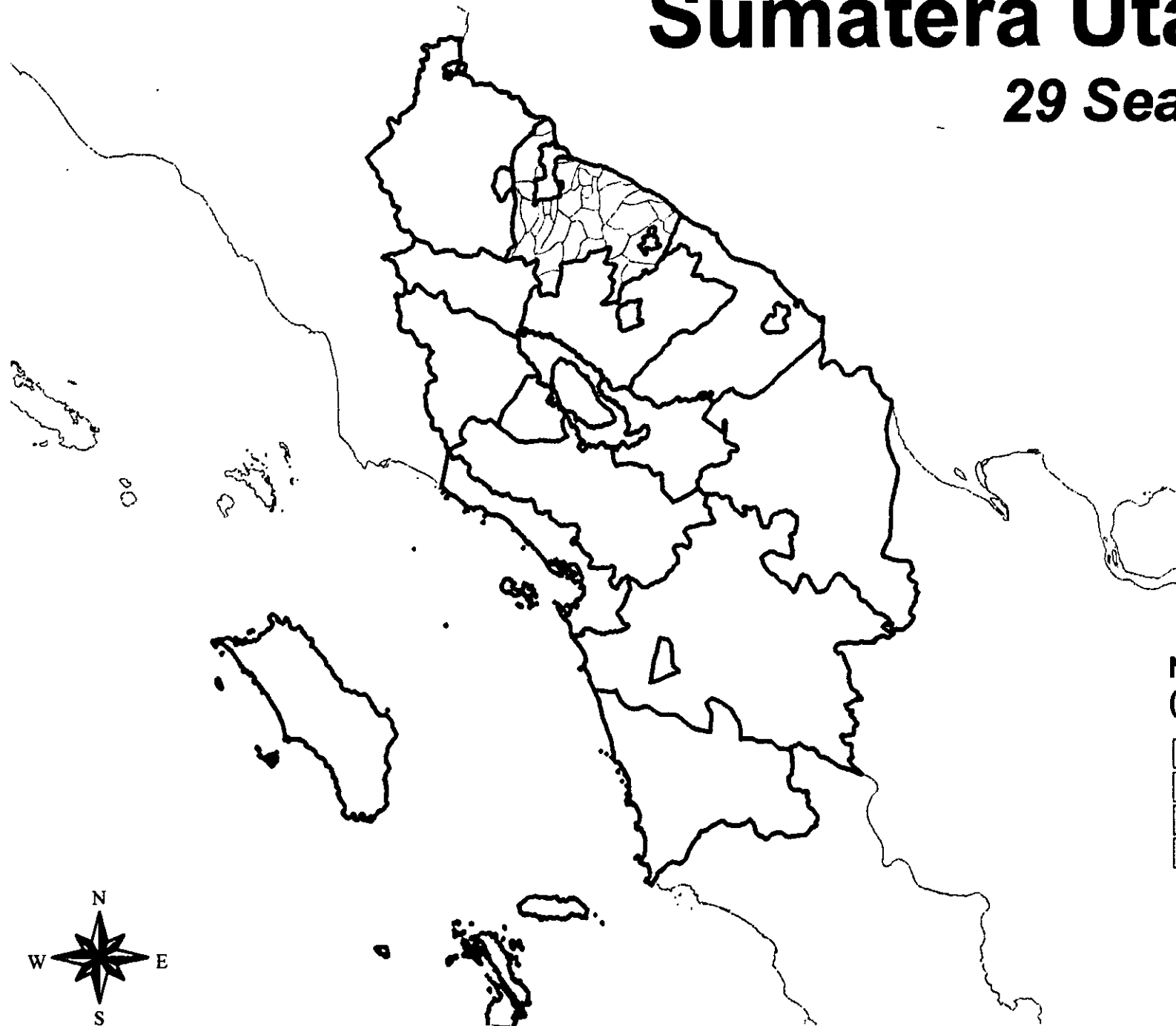
	8	(7.86)
	7	(7.19)
	7	(6.95)

 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries







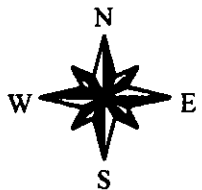
Sumatera Utara - MMD

29 Seats - 4 Districts



**Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)**

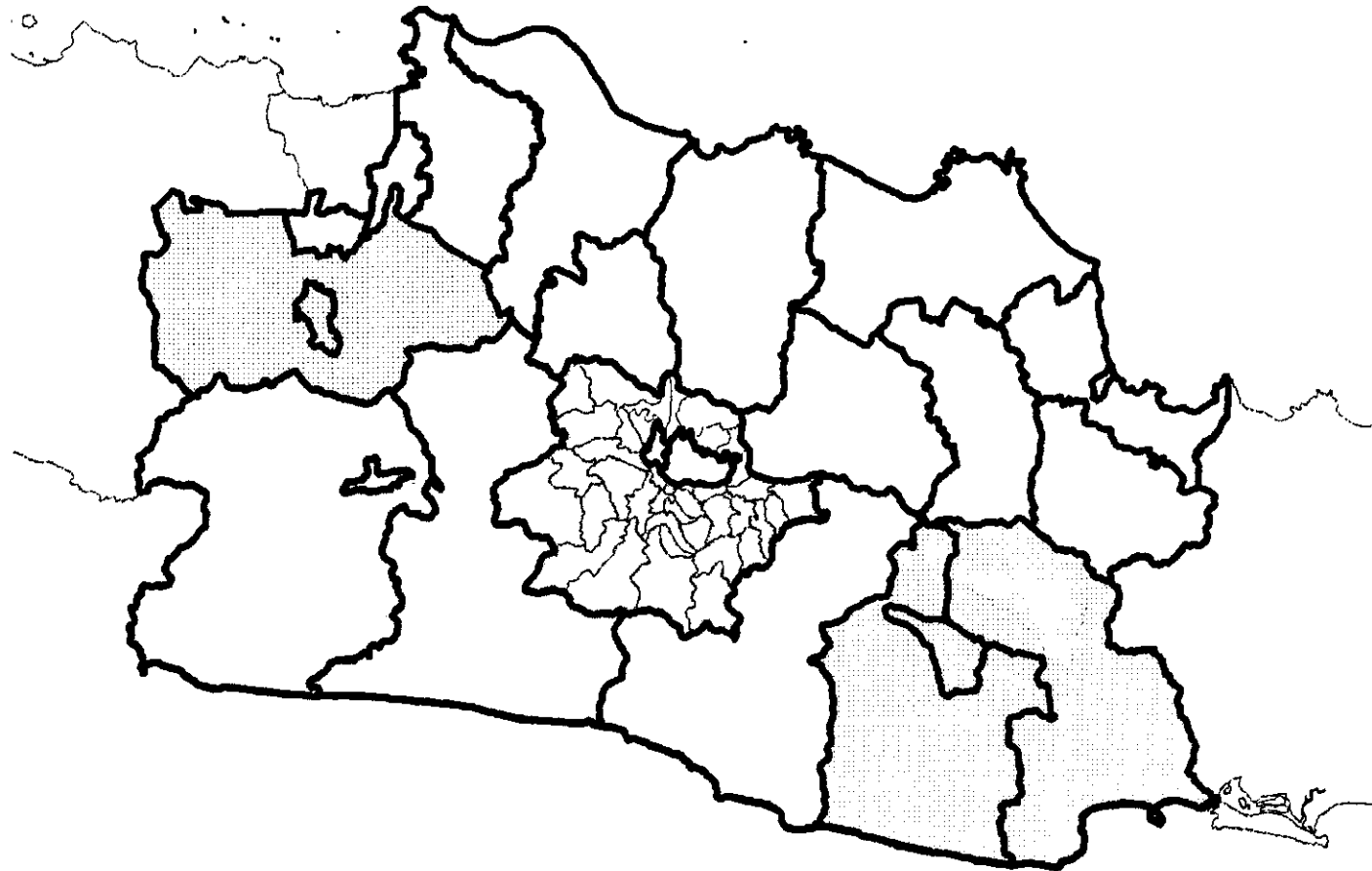
	8 (8.09)
	8 (7.85)
	7 (6.95)
	6 (6.11)















-  Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries
-  Kecamatan Boundaries

Jawa Barat - MMD

85 Seats - 11 Districts

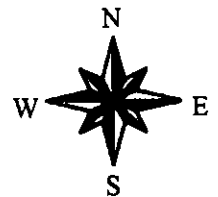


Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

	10 (9.80)
	9 (9.14)
	8 (7.99)
	8 (7.78)
	7 (7.29)
	7 (7.12)
	7 (7.11)
	7 (7.03)
	6 (5.86)
	6 (5.75)
	5 (5.13)
	5 (5.01)

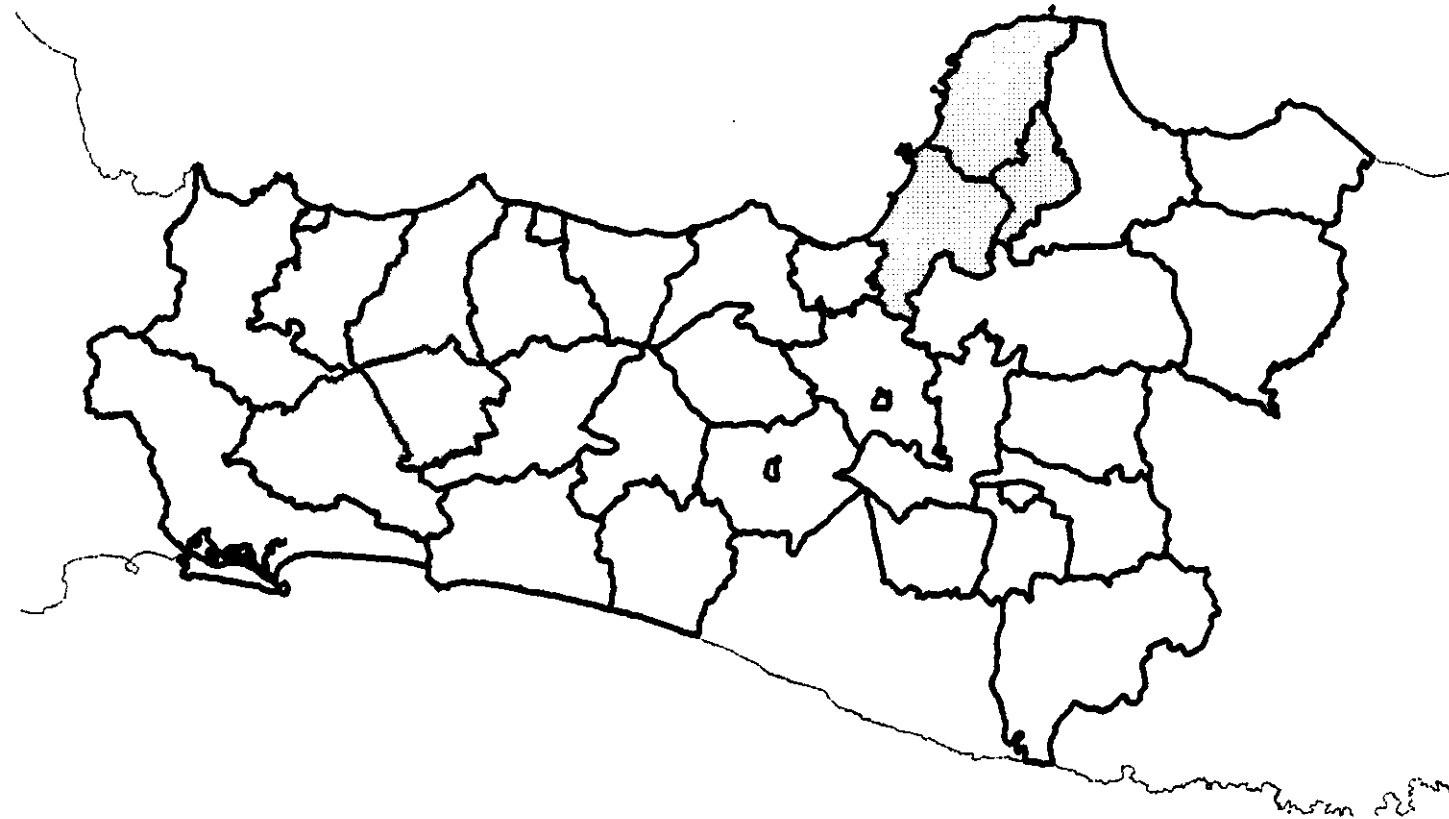
 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries

 Kecamatan Boundaries



Jawa Tengah - MMD

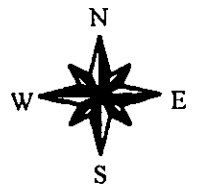
87 Seats - 12 Districts



Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

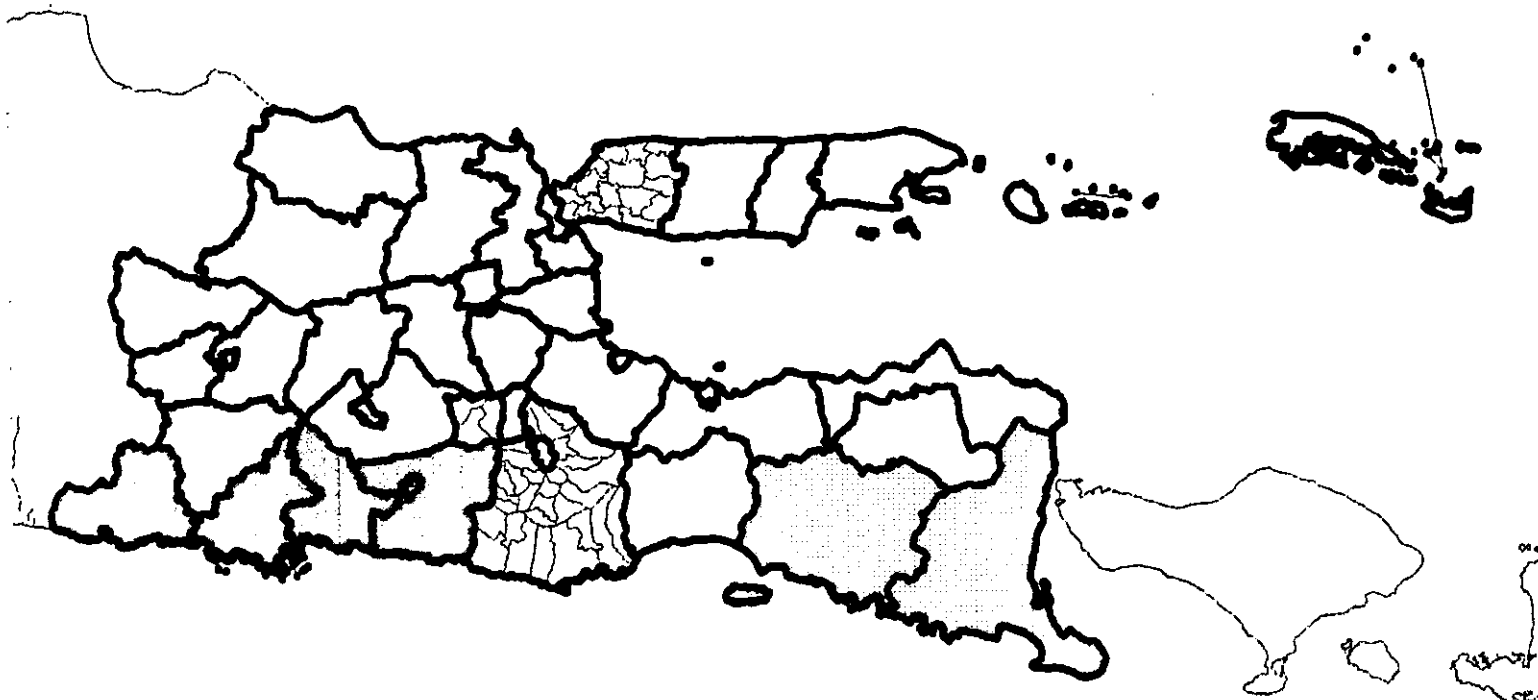
10	(9.90)
9	(8.93)
9	(8.78)
8	(8.11)
7	(7.16)
7	(7.06)
7	(6.94)
6	(6.11)
6	(6.06)
6	(6.02)
6	(5.99)
6	(5.94)

 Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries



Jawa Timur - MMD

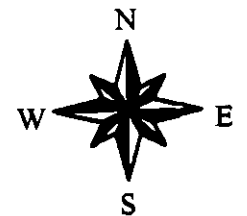
92 Seats - 12 Districts



Number of Seats
(District Population per Quota)

[Pattern]	10 (9.86)
[Pattern]	9 (9.00)
[Pattern]	9 (8.85)
[Pattern]	9 (8.83)
[Pattern]	9 (8.80)
[Pattern]	7 (7.10)
[Pattern]	7 (7.09)
[Pattern]	7 (7.06)
[Pattern]	7 (6.94)
[Pattern]	6 (6.10)
[Pattern]	6 (6.04)
[Pattern]	6 (5.79)

[Thick Line] Kabupaten/Kota Boundaries
[Thin Line] Kecamatan Boundaries





OPEN-LIST

BALLOT

EXAMPLE

SURAT SUARA PEMILIHAN UMUM

ANGGOTA DEWAN PERWAKILAN RAKYAT (DPR) TAHUN 2004











Provinsi :

Daerah Pemilihan :

DAERAH PEMILIHAN INI MEMILIH 7 ANGGOTA DPR

CARA MEMILIH :

Coblos/beri tanda gambar partai pilihan anda **DAN** coblos/beri tanda di kotak segiempat di samping nama calon pilihan anda sebanyak-banyaknya 7 (tujuh) calon dari partai yang telah anda pilih.

PARTAI A 1	PARTAI B 2	PARTAI C 3	PARTAI D 4	PARTAI E 5	PARTAI F 6	PARTAI G 7	PARTAI H 8	PARTAI I 9	PARTAI J 10
									
<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 1
<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 2
<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 3
<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4	<input type="checkbox"/> CALEG 4
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