

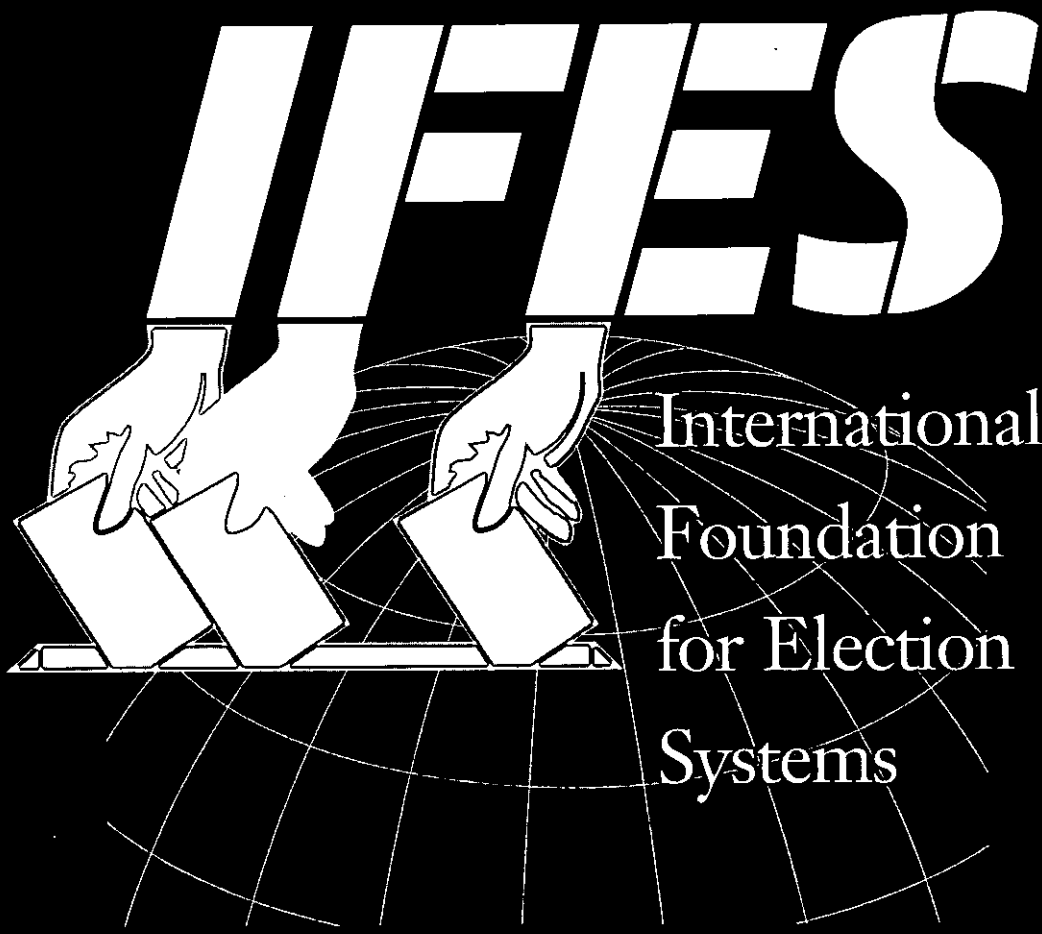
Date Printed: 11/03/2008

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JTS Box Number: IFES\_5  
Tab Number: 24  
Document Title: Evaluation of Election Management  
Structure  
Document Date: 2000  
Document Country: Indonesia  
IFES ID: R01662

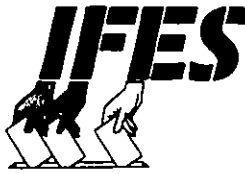


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## REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

# Evaluation of Election Management Structure

February 2000

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*This report was made possible by a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).  
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## LIST OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

DPR	National People's Representative Assembly
DPRD-I	Provincial People's Representative Assembly
DPRD-II	Regency/Municipality People's Representative Assembly
FG	Focus group
FGD	Focus group discussion
I	Interview (in depth)
IFES	International Foundation for Election Systems
JOMC	Joint Operations and Media Center
KABUPATEN/KOTAMADYA	Regency/Municipality
KECAMATAN	Local subdivision, below Kabupaten/Kotamadya
KELURAHAN/DESA	Village, below Kecamatan
KPPS	Polling station committee or pollworker
KPU	National Election Commission
PDI-P	Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle
PPD-I	Provincial Election Committee
PPD-II	Regency/Municipal (Kabupaten/Kotamadya) Election Committee
PPK	Kecamatan Election Committee
PPKO	Budget rule
PPI	National Election Committee
PPS	Kelurahan/Desa Election Committee
SAKSI	Witness in polling station, party agent
TPS	Polling Station
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

## **I. INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL SUMMARY**

The June 7, 1999 parliamentary elections in the Republic of Indonesia were a transitional step toward democratic rule and a professional, independent election administration. Although, for the most part, election day was a peaceful expression of the franchise, the election was seriously flawed administratively.

There were high expectations and strong support from the international community for professional election management; however, there was not a significant break from previous elections in terms of the election administration. In fact, election committee members from several levels reported that they were appointed to their committee and the committee had been organized long before any regulations were received from the National Election Commission (KPU). Several election administrators mentioned that those committee members with past elections' experience were relied upon for guidance.

Election committee members interviewed at all levels and provinces were unclear about their responsibilities on the election committee. Most could not define their scope of work and duties other than their participation in plenary sessions. Committee members indicated that they did the work that was assigned to them by the committee or chairperson. Many committee members expressed that they were active and worked very hard. However, they could not identify their specific work on the committee.

Election committee members reported that the training was inconsistent or non-existent throughout the country. As was discovered in phase one of the pollworker training evaluation, few election committee members received training. Instructors were not prepared or had little election knowledge. Respondents described the sessions as "poor". Training materials in most provinces were not used during the training or were received after the committee had concluded its work.

Election committee members reported confusion regarding the type of training that occurred. Some respondents indicated they attended training sessions two months before the election where voter registration was discussed. With the government's training effort beginning approximately three weeks before the election, it appears that training, not sanctioned or conducted by the National Election Commission (KPU) or the National Election Committee (PPI), was conducted by government officials who relied on past procedures and regulations, and not those of the General Election Law approved in February of 1999. Political party training also occurred throughout Indonesia and this also led to confusion regarding the "official" training for election committee members. As most committee members were active political party members, any training regarding the election could be misconstrued as election procedure training.

The election management structure evaluation clearly supports the serious need to professionalize the election apparatus, in which political parties can dominate, but do not necessarily run, the election committees. Most respondents observed that this dominance by

political parties at each committee level contributed to the conduct of "free and fair" elections. They also noted that they, as political party representatives, were ill prepared and not qualified for the election work.

In organizing the election administration, more concern was placed on the inclusion of all political parties in the system than on professional, impartial election administration. The inclusion of all political parties, in some instances, contributed to long delays in decision-making, partisanism, and a lack of objectivity on many issues.

One additional element contributing to the poor election management was the role of the Secretariat within each committee. In some cases, the Secretariat withheld information and regulations from the members of the committee. Respondents reported that most Secretariats controlled the funding provided by the KPU. Members also noted that some Secretariats perceived themselves as not accountable to the committee. Some respondents felt the cooperation between the committee and the Secretariat was poor.

In a country as large and diverse as Indonesia, it is critical that the KPU undertake an evaluation of the election management structure and be prepared to take the necessary steps to professionalize and standardize the administration of elections. Only with a competent group of professional administrators can election problems be avoided in future elections. The election process could be easily manipulated by partisan interests and unethical behavior if it is allowed to continue in the current manner.

## II. STRUCTURE OF THE INDONESIAN ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world, consisting of approximately 13,000 islands and 210 million people. The size and complexity of the country is reflected in the election administration structure. The structure is a complicated system established in the *Law Number 3 of 1999 on General Elections*.

To understand the structure, imagine a basic pyramid. At the top of the pyramid is the National Election Commission, or KPU, consisting of 53 members: five government-appointed representatives and one representative from each of the 48 certified political parties. This body is responsible for policy and implementation of the election laws.

Between the KPU and the KPPS (pollworkers), there are five graduated levels of election administration, each authorized to form an election committee, hire secretarial help, and prepare a budget in order to fulfill their duties. Directly below the KPU is the Indonesian Election Committee, PPI, comprised of six KPU members. The PPI is legally the implementation arm of the KPU.

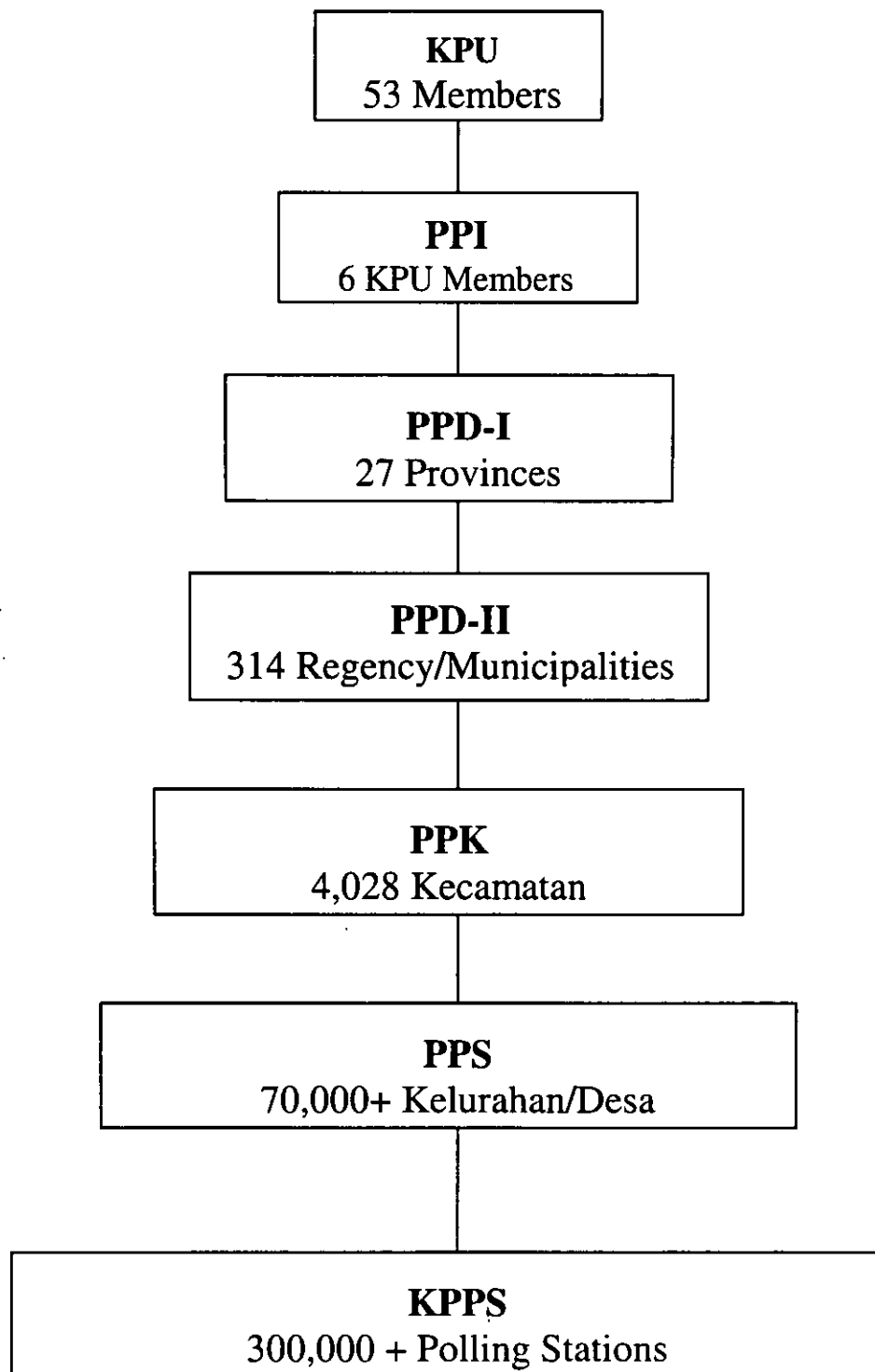
The next level below the national PPI is the Provincial Level Commission, or PPD-I. There was one provincial election administrative office in each of the 27 Indonesian provinces voting in the June 1999 election.

Down from the PPD-I level is the kabupaten/kotamadya (regency/municipality) level, PPD-II. There are 314 PPD-II in Indonesia. Below the PPD-II level is the kecamatan or PPK level consisting of 4,028 kecamatan. The next level down is the PPS or kelurahan/desa level consisting of more than 70,000. The base of the pyramid is the more than 300,000 polling stations, or TPS, staffed by the 2.8 million pollworkers as KPPS members.

To complicate the election administration further, each level has certain responsibilities, which affect the next level down. The training effort, as implemented by the KPU, was started at the provincial level (PPD-I) with training of trainers in each of the 27 provinces. The provincial trainers were then to train trainers at the next level, regency/municipality (PPD-II). The regency/municipality level was then to train the next level of people at the kecamatan (PPK) level. The kecamatan were to train the pollworkers (KPPS members), by-passing the village (PPS) level. The training program began approximately three (3) weeks before the June 1999 election.



## STRUCTURE OF THE INDONESIAN ELECTION ADMINISTRATION



### III. ELECTION PROCEDURE HIGHLIGHTS

The June 7, 1999 Indonesian elections presented a new opportunity for Indonesian citizens to experience a transparent election process. New procedures were established to ensure that voters cast their ballots with secrecy and that the ballots were counted properly. New items for this election included:

- **A ballot containing 48 political parties.** This ballot guaranteed all qualified parties the opportunity to participate in a democratic election process.
- **The participation of accredited national and international observers, in unlimited numbers, in each polling station.** These observers ensured the goal of free and fair elections. Party agents, *Saksi*, were integrated into the electoral process.
- **The requirement that the KPPS Chair, Vice-Chair, and one KPPS member sign each ballot before giving the ballot to the voter.** This procedure ensured that only official ballots were used and counted.
- **The requirement that a KPPS member stick the ballot hologram on each ballot before giving the ballot to the voter.** This is a second procedure to ensure that only official ballots were used and counted.
- **The requirement that the voter dip his/her finger in indelible ink after voting.** This procedure eliminated the possibility of any person voting more than once.
- **A requirement to record and reconcile the number of ballots issued to the polling station with the number of ballots used, spoiled, and invalidated.** This procedure ensured that ballots could not be illegally used or counted on election day.

Polling stations (TPS) were open for voting between 0800 and 1400 hrs. Electors voted for political parties, not candidates. There were three separate ballots - for National People's Representative Assembly (DPR), Provincial People's Representative Assembly (DPRD-I), and Regency/Municipality People's Representative Assembly (DPRD-II). The ballots contained the political party names and symbols. The DPR ballot was printed on white paper, the DPRD-I ballot was printed on pink paper, and the DPRD-II ballot was printed on gray paper.

All ballots were tallied and counted at the polling station in full view of witnesses. The results from each polling station were delivered to the PPS election committee. Totals from this level were sent to the kecamatan level (PPK) and then on to the regency/municipality level (PPD-II).

The provincial election committee (PPD-I) tabulated the final vote counts from each province and transmitted them to the PPI. The KPU reviewed all national results. These results were to be final and official after two-thirds of the members of the KPU signed the final statement of counts and tabulation. The KPU, however, never verified the results. President Habibie did so on 4 August 1999.

#### **IV. POLLWORKER TRAINING ASSISTANCE**

The professional training of election workers (pollworkers) at every level adds considerable capacity to election commissions around the world to administer elections. As the core group of people who execute the election regulations, the pollworkers play a critical role in proper implementation of the election. If the pollworkers are properly recruited and trained, the likelihood increases that the elections will be conducted smoothly, consistently, and transparently. In addition, a professional core of pollworkers increases the public's perception that the election is being conducted fairly by competent and impartial citizens.

Although Indonesia has held elections regularly since 1955, none of the electoral exercises lived up to international standards for free and fair elections. Rather, various fraudulent methods were employed to ensure that the ruling party would consolidate and maintain its lock on power. Therefore, the importance of properly trained pollworkers who could implement new and revised election procedures in a fair and transparent manner was particularly critical in the June 7, 1999 national elections. The pollworkers in the recent elections had the potential to provide an important impetus toward the development of proper administrative procedures, which, if followed, would confirm the professional legitimacy of the election.

Recognizing this important element of Indonesia's June 7, 1999 transitional election, the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) provided technical assistance to the National Election Commission and the National Election Committee. IFES provided two training specialists. With funding provided by USAID, IFES prepared election management manuals for selected levels of the Indonesian election administrative structure, PPD-II, PPK, and PPS. The purpose of these manuals was to provide to the committees consistent and proper information regarding their responsibilities in the administration of the election.

Although the national elections were a transitional step toward democratic rule and professional, independent election administration, the election was poorly administered. Serious delays in the transmittal of election returns from election committee to election committee tainted the election process. As the consolidation of vote totals from level to level dragged on, speculation rose throughout Indonesia that the election returns were being tampered with at each level. Political parties who did poorly in the election also delayed the process by objecting to the vote totals or refusing to sign, as required, on the consolidation forms.

An evaluation of the election management system was funded by USAID to provide recommendations for improved election procedures and training based on discussions and surveys with Indonesians who worked during the national elections. This project, started shortly after the June election, sought the opinions and suggestions of election day pollworkers and members of various election committees responsible for the administration of the election.

## V. ELECTION MANAGEMENT FUNCTIONS

The duties of each election committee level were:

### **PPD-I (Provincial) Level**

The PPD-I was responsible for organizing and managing a democratic election in the province. In June 1999, there were 27 provinces in Indonesia. The PPD-I also had responsibility for processing the candidacies for DPRD-I, consolidating election results from the PPD-II, and transmitting consolidated results to the national level (PPI). According to the proposed election process, the KPU was supposed to officially ratify the results; then the PPD-I allocates the seats in the province for DPRD-I and declares the elected candidates.

PPD-I was a subordinate committee of the PPI for the election. In 1999, the PPD-I was composed of representatives of political parties present in the province and five government members. Theoretically, the PPD-I could consist of as many as fifty-three members. A PPD-I office is located in each provincial capital.

The PPD-I had the following responsibilities:

- Oversee the organization of the election in the province.
- Monitor the election process and campaign in the province.
- Process candidacies for DPRD-I.
- Receive, store, and control the (very limited) election materials.
- Distribute election materials to the PPD-II.
- Receive and consolidate vote totals from the PPD-II.
- Transmit the consolidated vote totals to the PPI.
- Collect unused election materials.
- Investigate and report alleged irregularities.
- Train PPD-II members.
- Inform the public of their voting rights, the electoral process, and polling station locations.

### **PPD-II (Kabupaten/Kotamadya) Level**

The PPD-II was responsible for organizing and managing a democratic election in the regency/municipality. For the June 1999 elections, there were 314 regencies/municipalities in Indonesia. The PPD-II also had the responsibility of processing the candidacies for DPRD-II, consolidating election results from the PPK, and transmitting consolidated results to the PPD-I. According to the proposed election process, the KPU was supposed to officially ratify the results; then the PPD-II allocates the seats in the regency/municipality for DPRD-II and declares the elected candidates.

PPD-II was a subordinate committee of the PPD-I for the election. In June 1999, the PPD-II was composed of representatives of political parties having branches in the regency/municipality and three government members appointed by the regent (*bupati*) or mayor. Theoretically, the PPD-II

could consist of as many as fifty-one members. The PPD-II closes its office no later than two weeks after the official results of the election are announced.

The Chair, two of three Vice-Chairs, Secretary, and two Vice-Secretaries were elected from the political party representatives. One Vice-Chair was elected from the three government representatives.

The PPD-II had the following responsibilities:

- Oversee the activities of the PPK.
- Monitor the election process in its area.
- Process candidacies for DPRD-II.
- Receive, store, and control the election materials.
- Distribute election materials to the PPK.
- Receive and consolidate vote totals from the PPK.
- Transmit the consolidated vote totals to the PPD-I.
- Transmit vote totals to the Joint Operations and Media Center (JOMC), if not done by the PPK.
- Collect unused election materials.
- Monitor the election process and campaign.
- Investigate and report alleged irregularities to the PPD-I.
- Train PPK members.
- Inform the public of their voting rights, the electoral process, and polling station locations.
- Verify voter registry compiled by PPK.

#### **PPK (Kecamatan) Level**

The PPK was responsible for organizing and managing a democratic election in the kecamatan. There were 4,028 kecamatan in Indonesia during the June 1999 elections. The PPK had responsibility for processing the candidacies for DPRD-II, consolidating election results from the PPS, and transmitting consolidated results to the PPD-II, the JOMC, and the KPU's National Computer Center.

The PPK was a subordinate committee of the PPD-II for the election.

The PPK had the following responsibilities:

- Oversee the activities of the PPS.
- Monitor the election process in the kecamatan.
- Swear in the KPPS Chair and Vice-Chair.
- Receive, store, and control the election materials.
- Distribute election materials to the PPS.
- Receive and consolidate vote totals from the PPS.
- Transmit the consolidated vote totals to the PPK.
- Transmit vote totals to the JOMC.

- Collect unused election materials.
- Monitor the election process and campaign.
- Train PPS and KPPS members.
- Inform the public of their voting rights, the electoral process, and polling station locations.

### **PPS (Kelurahan/Desa) Level**

The PPS was responsible for organizing and managing a democratic election in the kelurahan/desa. There were more than 70,000 in Indonesia during the June 1999 elections. The PPS had responsibility for transmitting consolidated results to the PPK.

The PPS was a subordinate committee of the PPK for the election.

The PPS had the following responsibilities:

- Oversee the activities of the KPPS.
- Monitor the election process in the kelurahan/desa.
- Receive, store, and control the election materials.
- Distribute election materials to the KPPS.
- Receive and consolidate vote totals from the KPPS.
- Transmit the consolidated vote totals to the PPK.
- Collect unused election materials.
- Monitor the election process and campaign.
- Inform the public of their voting rights, the electoral process, and polling station locations.

### **Election Day Activities**

The activities of each level of election committee on election day varied. PPD-I and PPD-II election committee levels did not have many duties; PPD-II handled the shortfalls of election materials whenever possible on election day.

As can be expected, the PPK and PPS election committee levels were the most active on election day. The members of these committees monitored the election at the PPS and TPS. They also attempted to resolve shortages of election materials and voter eligibility issues. In practice, the PPK decided whether or not a voter was eligible to vote on election day. Typical problems experienced on voter registration included availability of appropriate registration forms and non-registered voters wishing to vote. Generally, these issues were resolved in a manner acceptable by all present.

## VI. Methodology and Objectives of Evaluation

The objective of this evaluation project was to determine the use and effectiveness of the election management structure in preparation for the June 7, 1999 elections in Indonesia. The evaluation also recommends priorities for election administration reform in Indonesia.

### Methodology

This project used the "focus group" and "in-depth interview" approach.

The standard focus groups consisted of four to six respondents. The in-depth interviews consisted of one respondent per interview. Age and gender of respondents was not pre-defined. Across the focus groups and in-depth interviews, respondents were predominately male; ages varied from 20-65 years.

The project fieldwork was conducted in eight provinces. The number of focus groups and in-depth interviews in each province is shown in the table below. In total, 12 focus groups and 14 in-depth interviews were conducted. The specific group and in-depth structure by province is also detailed in the table below.

Type	Focus Group			In-Depth Interview		
	PPD-II	PPK	PPS	PPD-I	PPD-II	PPK
Province						
Jakarta	N/A	1	N/A	1	N/A	N/A
West Java	N/A	N/A	1	1	N/A	1
East Java	1	N/A	1	1	N/A	N/A
Jambi	N/A	1	N/A	1	N/A	1
South Sumatra	1	1	N/A	1	1	N/A
East Kalimantan	N/A	1	N/A	1	N/A	1
North Sulawesi	1	N/A	1	1	1	N/A
Bali	1	N/A	1	1	1	N/A

Exact locations for each focus group (FG) and in-depth interview (I) by province are listed below:

**Province: DKI Jakarta**

PPD-I: DKI Jakarta-Jakarta (I)  
PPK: Jakarta (FG)

**Province: West Java**

PPD-I: West Java-Bandung (I)  
PPK: Bandung (I)  
PPS: Bandung (FG)

**Province: East Java**

PPD-I: East Java-Surabaya (I)  
PPD-II: Surabaya ((FG)  
PPS: Sidoarjo (FG)

**Province: Jambi**

PPD-I: Jambi-Jambi (I)  
PPK: Jambi (FG and I)

**Province: South Sumatra**

PPD-I: South Sumatra-Palembang (I)  
PPD-II: Belitung (FG and I)  
PPK: Tanjung Pandan (FG)

**Province: East Kalimantan**

PPD-I: East Kalimantan-Samarinda (I)  
PPK: Balikpapan (FG and I)

**Province: North Sulawesi**

PPD-I: North Sulawesi-Manado (I)  
PPD-II: Minahasa (FG and I)  
PPS: Minahasa (FG)

**Province: Bali**

PPD-I: Bali-Denpasar (I)  
PPD-II: Denpasar (FG and I)  
PPS: Denpasar (FG)

Topics to be covered in the focus groups and in-depth interviews were generally divided into seven categories:

Selection Process

Duties

Training

Election Materials

Finances

Reconciliation of Vote Totals

Problems

Questions on these topics addressed the following information:

**1. Selection Process**

- Appointment of the committee member.
- Political party representation.
- Position held.
- Political party of the Chairperson.



No clear guidelines were outlined for recruitment of the election committee members. The appointment and selection process varied. It was unclear to the evaluators how this would work and if it would be successful throughout the election process.

## **2. Duties**

- Direction of work given by whom.
- Description of work.
- Describe the relationship between the committee and the Secretariat.
- Were all the duties fulfilled.

The election administration was extremely complicated. While the June 1999 election was expected to utilize all-new procedures of operations, there were clear lines of reporting necessary.

## **3. Training**

- Describe any training received on duties.
- Who conducted the training.
- Training location.
- Was the training sufficient.
- Was a payment received for the training.
- Length of the training.
- What did the training cover.

A "training the trainers" method for pollworker and election administration training was planned prior to the June 7, 1999 elections. This broad, cascade-style program was meant to reach the more than 2.8 million KPPS members as well as the election administration committee structure. However, several weeks prior to the election, no clear training had started. This question was meant to discover how much training occurred and the uniformity of such training.

## **4. Election Materials**

- What shortages of ballots, holograms, or indelible ink occurred.
- How were the materials stored and kept safe.
- Who was responsible for controlling the materials.
- Describe the material distribution process to the next committee.
- Were materials delivered to the next committee in adequate time for the election.
- When were the election materials received.

The KPU was responsible for the distribution of election materials. The distribution system utilized was the system used previously, i.e., the postal service delivering materials in most cases to the PPD-II level. The PPD-II was responsible for distributing the materials to PPK, PPS, and the TPS. As the election neared, many provinces reported missing materials or a shortage of materials. The materials critical to the conduct of the election were:

- Sufficient ballots
- Hologram ballot seals
- Indelible ink
- Three ballot boxes
- Model C forms

#### **5. Finances**

- Allocation of election funds.
- Was every committee member paid.
- Were the financial reports returned to KPU.

Certain accountability questions arose concerning election finances. Allegations were raised about misuse of funds by political party campaigns, KPU funds, and general allotments of cash to election committee members. If the participants wanted to comment, they had the opportunity.

#### **6. Reconciliation of Vote Totals**

- Methods for reconciliation of the vote totals.
- Length of time needed to obtain all of the totals required.
- Delays that were experienced.
- Time and date the vote totals were finally sent on to the next level.

The reconciliation of the vote totals was expected to take about two to four weeks. The final announcement of the election results was first planned for the beginning of July 1999. However, due to delays, unforeseen problems, and new election administrators the official vote was not released until months later.

#### **7. Problems**

- Describe problems encountered.
- Problem resolution methods.

Certain areas experienced more problems than others. If the participants wanted to comment on one specific problem and its solution, they should be encouraged.

## VII. RESULTS OF THE EVALUATION PROJECT

Generally speaking, the results of the evaluation showed an inconsistent approach to the training of the election administration at all levels. Although there is always an anticipated variance in any training effort, the lack of uniformity and professionalism could have resulted in serious election day problems. Fortunately, the problems that did occur were resolved in appropriate ways, most often by referring to the IFES manuals or relying on previous election day experiences.

### 1. Selection Process

There was no clear selection process for political party members represented on the election committees. The majority of the election committee members were recruited from political parties, and a few were government officials. The selection process varied depending on the particular political party. The recruitment of the election committee members was often based on a consensus at a political party meeting, the results of voting at the political party meeting, or a mandate or direct appointment given to a member to represent the party on the committee. Government representatives on the election committee were selected by direct appointment from government authorities.

People with past political involvement and political experience were also selected as election committee members. Respondents revealed that a vast majority of the committee members had no prior election committee experience. Of those with previous election experience, the comments indicated that they were relied upon because of this knowledge. It should be noted that only a very few of the respondents had previously worked as election committee members. Of those who had worked as election committee members in previous elections, most were the government representatives.

With no clear guidelines for political party nomination to the election committees, no irregularities were identified as far as the appointment process. In general, most of the respondents felt that the process of appointment was fair and just.

The time of appointment varied from election day itself to two months before election day. Reasons for appointment varied from availability to do the job, political party leadership experience, experience in running an election committee, and perceived competency.

### Committee Organization

The organization of election committees was similar throughout Indonesia. The Chairperson of the election committee was typically elected by a majority vote. Candidates were nominated by the committee members. Nominated candidates were described as suitable persons with leadership experience. It was clearly understood and agreed upon by committee membership that the Chair should not be from the government. Most of the election committee Chairs believed that they had been selected because of their achievements, reputation, or standing within the political party. However, some cases were identified where the election of the Chair

of a committee was not based on the capability and experience of the person, but was instead based on giving the position to the major political party in the area.

The election of the Vice-Chair was typically made through the voting process; the person getting the second highest vote during the Chairperson's vote was awarded Vice-Chair. In some instances, the Vice-Chair was appointed. When appointed directly, the Vice-Chair was usually a government representative.

The majority of the respondents claimed that the committee was organized in a democratic manner. Decisions were discussed in committee meetings. The committee was led by the Chair, Vice-Chair, and Secretary. Yet, many respondents reported that the government representative assisted the committee operations.

Most election committee members reported good co-operation between the members. However, there were also comments about individuals making decisions, rather than the election committee team making decisions. Yet, the ultimate responsibility for the effective execution of committee tasks was perceived to be with the Chair of the election committee. In addition, there were also consistent claims of heavy workloads being carried by only a few people rather than the team.

## **2. Duties**

The duties of the election committee, at each level, were pre-defined by the KPU. These duties were communicated in writing by fax sent to the Chair at each committee level by the committee above. In addition to the communications sent to the Chair, most respondents had received a photocopy or fax of election regulations from the KPU. This included articles detailing tasks and duties of the committee, and a letter of instruction on procedures to follow when establishing the committee, composition of the election committee, and how to elect the executive committee positions. However, much of this information was made available after the committee had already been organized. Most election committee members also claimed they received only the IFES Management Manual, but this came just prior to election day. By this time, its usefulness was perceived to be lost. There was no report of receiving any other written manuals.

A majority of the respondents reported that they were tasked with their duties from their committee Chair by word of mouth. The duties given were typically based on decisions and allocations of tasks at the committee meetings. Respondents reported that each member did not have a pre-determined job description. The duties were performed in a subset called a working group or team within the committee. Some respondents also claimed to have carried a heavier workload compared to other members in their working group or team.

Many election committee members indicated that there were difficulties performing their duties due to the frequent changes of regulations and instructions. Normally, any confusion or disagreements on duties were resolved at committee meetings.

Overall, election committee members had a broad understanding of the role and function of their committee, but no specific understanding of their particular duties as election committee

members. They had no job description or understanding of the committee's responsibilities. The respondents who claimed to understand their responsibilities on the election committee indicated it was because they had previous election experience. For a majority of respondents, their exact responsibilities were unclear. They tended to define their responsibilities as completing the task allocated to them by the committee. Many also felt they were representing their political party's interest and not an independent professional election administration.

Some Chairpersons reported acquiring the description of committee responsibilities by gathering all available information from government representatives on the committee as well as the Secretariat, and written documents from the KPU or PPI. If the Chairs were able to obtain this information, then they distributed the tasks to members in the committee.

Most election committee members considered themselves to be active and hard-working members. Respondents reported many instances where there was lack of guidance and direction. In these situations, they used their own initiative, and sometimes information from the media, to proceed with tasks. For example, many commented that if a regulation or instruction was thought to contradict the situation and condition in the area, the election committee would hold a meeting to decide whether or not the regulation or instruction should be followed.

There were a few reports of one member or one party attempting to control the committee and its activities. But such control was perceived to be extremely difficult due to the number of people and political parties involved in the election committee structure. The majority of the respondents claimed that the Chair provided good leadership to their committee.

The quality of leadership of the Chair appeared to have significant impact on the effectiveness of the election committee. The Chair of the election committee was typically the key person directing the committee. The Chair contributed to managing the committee, conducting meetings, directing members in their tasks, solving problems in the committee, and communicating with the committee above them in the election administration structure.

From the election committee member's perspective, it was felt that their Chair was receiving direct instructions from the committee above, rather than making his own decisions. Members believed directions came from the higher-level committees to the committees below them and that these directions were received in writing, by fax. The directions were regulations, instructions, new regulations, or alterations to existing regulations and instructions, which sometimes came directly from the KPU.

#### Relationship with the Secretariat

A Secretariat was formed at each level, from the provincial to the kelurahan, by directly appointing government officials from the social and political affairs departments. The respondents perceived the Secretariats as basically handling the budgets and funds for the election committees. Another function of the Secretariat was a "check and balance" for the election committee regarding the use of election funds.

All funds requested by the election committee needed to be approved by the local-level Secretariat. The Secretariat then approved and disbursed the funds to the election committee. However, some respondents reported the election committee had no idea of how it could get election funding. The evaluation found that some Secretariats had blocked all information including procedures and regulations about official budget allocation, tasks, and responsibilities of the election committees. The respondents believed that the Secretariats wanted to control the election funding and control the election committee itself.

Most committee members reported the relationship between the election committee and the Secretariats to be uneasy and uncomfortable. Committee members appeared to have a suspicious and untrusting perception towards the local Secretariat because of its role in managing and allocating funds. They perceived the Chair was influenced and/or controlled by the Secretariat, who would make decisions without committee approval and would keep information from the members.

The Secretariats also appeared to have previous election experience and, thus, directed the election committee work based on previous elections. An example of this can be seen by reports indicating that old voter registration figures, instead of current registration figures, were used for the allocation of materials and supplies throughout the provinces.

### **3. Training**

The general purpose of the election day training was to expand knowledge and skills so that the election committee members could complete their duties in a competent manner. The level of training varied throughout the country. Committee members reported that some members received training; however, many election committee members received no training at all.

The training system used is called "train the trainer." The training was given to members of provincial election committees, the PPD-I. Those members then train the members of regency/municipality election committees, the PPD-II. The regency/municipality election committees give training to the PPK and PPS.

Some training of the election committee members was reported to have occurred two months to one week before election day. The early training appeared to cover voter registration issues and procedures followed in previous elections. Training held two months before the election was worthless as many procedures changed within that period. The PPD-I and PPD-II training was earlier than the PPK and PPS training. Election committee members at the PPK and PPS level received training closer to election day. Some PPK and PPS members stated their only training was in conjunction with the KPPS members' training.

Training covered the activity prior to and during election day, including the vote reconciliation procedures. Training was not felt to be well organized or very explicit in most provinces. Common criticisms raised from respondents were:

- Trainers had little election knowledge.
- Insufficient time was given for training.
- There was a lack of training materials.
- Materials related to the duties and responsibilities of committee members were not available.
- Some committee members received training only from their own political parties.

The type of training given to all levels varied. Training methods included lecture, video, and role-playing. At the PPD-I and PPD-II level, the typical training consisted of a lecture. At the PPK and PPS levels, the typical training was based on role-playing or the training video produced by IFES.

In one area, the training lasted two hours and was held two months before election day. The election committee members reinforced the opinion of the KPPS members (as reported in IFES' *Evaluation of Pollworker Training*) that the training was poor, inadequate, and inconsistent throughout the country.

The content of the training given to PPD-I committee members included technical aspects and election day voting procedures; some election management matters were also discussed. The PPD-II level received training similar to the PPD-I level. The training for the PPK and PPS levels used the IFES training video, role-playing, or a lecture describing election day and the KPPS members' responsibilities.

The quality of the training was rated poor by most of the respondents. Duration of the training sessions varied throughout the committees within each province. The material was generally not topical or detailed.

Training was felt to be ineffective due to the content and inadequate training length. Trainers who lacked election knowledge were also mentioned as one of the reasons for the ineffective training. Training was sometimes scheduled to last two days, but only lasted four hours because the trainer was not prepared and read from the written materials. The reported inconsistencies in the training of the election committee were magnified by the delays in the reporting of election results.

#### Training for KPPS Members

Since each level of the election committee had a responsibility to train the next committee level below them, and the respondents were unclear as to who was conducting the training, most agreed that the training was given too late. This is directly related to the fact that each committee was given training and then expected to conduct another training. There was not sufficient time prior to the election and the first round of trainings. In addition, new instructions or changes in instructions were sudden and there was not time to inform members about the changes.

Trainings were not structured or organized. Some KPPS members attended more than one training session, while others received no training at all. The election committee members acknowledged that the training they gave to KPPS members was insufficient because the trainers from higher election committees were not prepared. They had not received enough training for themselves or to train other people.

The election committee agreed that the written materials available enhanced their training of KPPS members at the time, including the IFES KPPS manual. The IFES video was also seen as very helpful because it gave KPPS members clarification of election day procedures.

#### Training Materials: IFES Management Manual

IFES produced three different management manuals to help the election committees understand and perform their duties as election administrators. The election management manuals for the PPD-II, PPK, and PPS levels were designed to help and complement the other IFES pollworker training materials.

Knowledge of the existence of the IFES management manuals varied throughout the country. Different levels received the manuals in different provinces. In some cases, the committee members received manuals in the form of reduced photocopies. Other committees received no manuals at all. In some provinces, committee members received no training manual, but did receive the IFES-produced *Election Day Instructions for KPPS Members*.

Respondents who did receive the management manual claimed that they received it too late and too close to election day. The manual specified the duties and responsibilities of the election committee members from the formation of the committee until election day. Since the manuals were received very late, election committee members felt their work was already completed.

Management manuals were received by most of the respondents across the region within two weeks of election day. Some respondents claimed to have only seen the management manual during the focus group and in-depth interview. Most election committee members were aware of and had seen the KPPS manual from IFES.

Respondents who received the management manual close to election day said that the manual was of little functional benefit to them, since most tasks or duties prior to election day had already been completed. In addition, some respondents claimed the text of the manual was difficult to understand and it contained too many procedures to be followed.

Those who did receive the management manual in sufficient time prior to the election claimed it helped them to be more effective in their jobs. Those who did not receive the management manual, and/or those who received the manual late, said that it would have enhanced their performance had they received the manual immediately after formation of the election committee.



#### **4. Election Materials**

Most respondents acknowledged shortages of election materials including both ballots and indelible ink. These shortages were caused by distribution and allocation problems. Although contrary to KPU regulations, election committees allocated materials based on voter registration figures from the 1997 election. In many instances, these old figures created difficulties in distributing the correct quantity of materials.

There were consistent complaints that there were not enough ballots or indelible ink, which created problems for the election committee. When the committee discovered that there were insufficient election materials, they blamed it on the fact that the materials were allocated based on the 1997 voter registration data. The election committee would contact the KPU and/or the committee at the next higher level in order to acquire the missing materials. This caused delays in the distribution, and in some areas, additional materials were still not available on election day. Election committee members found it necessary to borrow materials from other TPS, PPS, or PPK.

Some committee members said they were reluctant to count and distribute the election materials to the next level down. They were concerned that the Secretariat did not do it. Some committee members claimed that they had other duties to complete. Committee members commented that staff or administration assisting the committee should have organized and completed the allocation of election materials. It was felt the allocation of the materials should not be the duty of the election committee. However, some committee members did not know anything about the distribution of election materials because all distribution was handled by the Secretariat in their area. None of the respondents acknowledged any type of distribution plan or process. In addition, election funds were available late from the committee above and in some instances, were still not available after election day. The late disbursement of election funds made it very difficult to plan an effective distribution of the election materials.

Another important issue was security. The security of election materials was handled in various ways. At the PPD-II level, the police, government officials, and/or election monitoring committees were in charge of securing the materials. In the PPK and PPS level, the members, and/or a "Night Watch Officer" were in charge of securing the election materials. No specific committee members were actually in charge of the election materials. Some respondents even mentioned that the inventory of election materials was the Secretariat's responsibility. Given the level of disorganization, there was no acknowledged receipt procedure or uniform security plan in effect.

Respondents appeared to handle all situations in an appropriate manner, with little disruption of the voting process.

#### **5. Finances**

Most respondents reported that all things related to budgeting were fully controlled and dominated by the local-level Secretariat. The committee members did not have authority to

control or influence the budget. There was a general feeling across the committees that the Secretariats were not open and transparent regarding the budget or budget allocation. Some committee members had no information on the finances of the committee. When problems arose or funds were insufficient for tasks, the committee asked for clarification from the local Secretariat. In these circumstances, the Secretariats did open the books and attempt to clarify the budget to the committee. In most committees, there was no transparency in budget allocation and the committee was not involved with the budgetary aspects of the election.

Clearly, the Secretariats were in control of the budget. After disputes and disagreements with the committee members, some Secretariats were forced to be transparent and open the books to the committee. In some committees, respondents were told all financial matters were secret. However, some respondents indicated that there was a regulation regarding the budget (PPKO) but it was kept from committee members by the Secretariat. The committee members did not appreciate this lack of accountability and oversight afforded by the Secretariats to the election committees.

In regards to personal stipends for committee members, they acknowledged that stipends were paid, but most received less than they anticipated. Also, the stipend was paid long after the election so there was no recourse for dissatisfied committee members. Stipends for training were acknowledged, but most respondents knew very little about these stipends.

Finances for the June elections were not transparent. It was clear that the records of the financial operations were not available to most election committee members. This inhibited the work performance of the election committees as most did not even know their own working budget.

## **6. Reconciliation of Votes**

The procedure to reconcile votes was different from previous elections. While each committee did not report following the prescribed methods, the vote counting was verified to be clear of any substantial alterations. All ballots were first tallied and counted at the polling station in full view of witnesses. The results from each polling station were delivered to the PPS. The totals from this level were consolidated and sent to the PPK. The PPK level also consolidated the vote totals and passed them on to the regency/municipality level, PPD-II.

There was a general feeling that the reconciliation process was conducted fairly without interference or cheating. The process was perceived as going well, but very slowly. There was also a lack of consistency in the knowledge of which level was to transmit vote totals to the JOMC and the KPU's National Computer Center.

The PPK level was to transmit vote totals to the JOMC, but there was much confusion regarding this procedure among the respondents. Some PPD-II transferred the vote reconciliation directly to JOMC as well as to PPD-I. PPD-I passed the consolidated totals on to the PPI.

Committee members at all levels acknowledged the slowness of the reconciliation process. They also recognized counting errors in the process. Committee members claimed the main reason for

the slow reconciliation was that the TPS and lower committees made mistakes while counting. There was a lack of understanding on the proper procedures as well as how to fill in the required forms. There also was no uniformity in completing the forms. Political parties who disputed the vote reconciliation totals and did not sign the vote reconciliation results caused additional delays. Lack of training added to the lack of understanding concerning paper forms that needed to be completed. This added to delays caused by committee members. Delays occurred at every level of the election committees, from PPS to PPD-I.

## **7. Problems**

Election committee members interviewed mentioned many problems. These were included within the six topics discussed above. The main issues discussed by the respondents were a lack of clear understanding about their duties; incomplete or no training; lack of materials and supplies for election day; no knowledge about the election budget for each committee; and delays in vote reconciliation due to lack of knowledge about the process and counting errors.

## **VIII. SUGGESTIONS FROM ELECTION COMMITTEE MEMBERS**

### **1. Selection Process**

Overall, the respondents were content with the selection process. Although there was no clear method or consistent process used, the committee members believed that it was democratic and acceptable.

- Selection process should be standardized.

### **2. Duties**

Overall, the respondents answered that duties need to be clarified and clearly explained. This is true for each election committee as well as each member of the committee. Committee members described overlap and gaps that would not have occurred if the committee members fully understood their role and responsibilities.

- More emphasis should be placed on the procedures and duties of the election committee members.
- The higher-level election committee should not be allowed to interfere or control the activities of the lower level.
- PPD-I should be dissolved as it did not give any direction to PPD-II.

### **3. Training**

Overall, the respondents suggest a need for training for all committee members. The trainers should be able to understand the election regulations and clearly explain the duties of each committee and member according to the regulations.

- The election committee should have a separate task force of trainers to train the next committee below and the KPPS members.
- The quality of the "train the trainer" system should be improved; the training quality weakened and deteriorated as it moved down each level.
- Training materials should be available far in advance of the committee being organized.

### **4. Election Materials**

- Staff or administration assisting the committee should distribute election materials; distribution should not be done by the Secretariats.
- The election materials should come directly from the PPI to PPK level.

### **5. Finances**

Overall, the respondents suggest a need for more control of their election budget. Budget oversight by the election committees will enhance their performance, as they will be able to fulfill tasks that are required of them and within their budget.

- The election committee should have full authority to manage the financial disbursements; this should not be handled by the Secretariats.
- The Secretariats should be dismissed or reconfigured to serve the election committee. The Secretariats withheld information from the election committees and used the funds in the election budget without prior committee approval.

## **6. Reconciliation of Votes**

Overall, there was a general understanding of the new procedures to reconcile votes, but the respondents suggest a need to have the forms simplified. A clear, concise training in the usage of the forms could help the committee members perform this function correctly and in a timely manner.

- More training should be given on how to complete the tabulation forms.
- Forms should be simplified. There should be fewer forms.
- There was concern that a committee member's work during vote counting reconciliation could be influenced if said committee member was a legislative candidate. There was a lack of clarity concerning the potential for "conflict of interest."

The respondents' main concern was with the speed of the vote count and the provision of vote tallies to the PPI. The delays surrounding the reporting of information to the central authorities and the subsequent announcements of the official vote count weighed heavily among the respondents' concerns.

- Committees should be fully equipped with materials needed, such as calculators or computers, in order to ensure the official ballot results are produced in a speedy manner.
- The government should provide a centralized computer center that has Internet access. This would quicken the reporting of results to the central authorities.
- Vote results should be entered directly into a centralized computer in Jakarta.

## IX. CONCLUSIONS

The results of this evaluation support the serious need for professional election administration in Indonesia. In researching the various topics, it was apparent the Indonesian election committee members relied upon past experience and/or a consensus of the committee members to execute their duties. There was no apparent reliance on the General Election Law or KPU regulations, which were frequently disregarded if the majority of the committee members disagreed with the regulation.

Although most respondents maintained that their election committee was organized in a democratic manner, they were also concerned that their responsibilities were never clearly outlined. Committee members believed that they had performed their duties, but could not specify their duties. They only indicated that they did whatever was asked of them.

The majority of election committee members were either elected or appointed by their political parties. Only a few members had any previous election experience and much of it was at the lowest level, the KPPS. Therefore, election committees frequently relied upon the Secretariats and/or other committee members who had experience in past elections. This reliance on the past also negated any changes in the election process that the KPU sought to implement. The government representative on the committee was typically the person who knew the most about the committee duties and procedures. Thus, the committees were led to follow outdated regulations and procedures.

At various election committee levels, materials were to be distributed to the next level down and allocated by the number of registered voters and polling stations. Two weeks prior to the election it was learned that the voter registration figures and polling station numbers from the previous 1997 election were being utilized by the KPU Secretariat for all election material allocations. This resulted in numerous shortages of materials throughout the country, as well as delays in distributing the materials.

From a practical level, the Secretariat of each election committee had control over the entire election process from the budgeting to the allocation of materials. Many respondents commented that the local Secretariat did not share information about its duties. This lack of information included financial issues as well as keeping the election committee informed of its actions. Most reported the relationship between the election committee and the Secretariat to be uneasy and uncomfortable. The committee members were suspicious and untrusting of the Secretariat as it controlled the funds but did not inform the committee of their use. Most respondents had no idea of the budget or how the funds were allocated.

The training, as was seen in IFES' report, *Evaluation of Pollworker Training*, was inconsistent and insufficient. Many election committee members received no training at all. Many received training from their political party—not the official, KPU election training. Others indicated they attended training months before the election, prior to the distribution of regulations and instructions to the committees.

Of the KPU training for this election, many election committee members indicated the instructors were ill prepared and had no training materials for those in attendance. They also indicated that the training was, in many cases, too late as the election committee had already fulfilled most of its responsibilities. In some instances, the respondents learned of procedures from watching the IFES-produced video on television, not from the training that had been provided to them by the instructors. The length of the training was seen as inadequate and the timing of training, was in most instances, too late to be effective.

The election committees were responsible for training the committees directly below them in the administration chain. Many respondents felt that they were ill prepared to conduct the training and it should not have been their responsibility. They acknowledged that the training they gave to the next level down was insufficient because they themselves were not prepared and did not know enough about the subject matter.

One of the primary functions of the election committee was the allocation of election materials to the lower levels. For the most part, all election materials were mailed to the PPD-II level, thus by-passing PPD-I, the provincial level. In many instances, the PPD-II was to separate and allocate materials to the next level down, the PPK. In many provinces, not enough materials were received to adequately distribute them as needed, and at each subsequent level this was magnified as there were shortages in both ballots and indelible ink.

The distribution process was also very time consuming. Election committee members considered the distribution of the materials to be an inappropriate task for them. In some cases, the Secretariat handled the entire distribution process. This was not considered to be an ideal method of distribution either.

Throughout the evaluation, committee members reported no uniformity in the distribution process. It appears as though the entire distribution process was handled in the best possible way, depending on the election committee make-up, resources, and available finances. The KPU should revise the election material distribution process and implementation prior to the next general election.

The financial status of the election committee was a subject where little information was available from the respondents. Most were unaware of any committee finances, including which organization produced the budget or allocated it, other than the Secretariat. Some were aware of financial regulations provided by the PPI/KPU, however none admitted to participating in the budget process. There was uniform agreement that there was no transparency in the budget allocation and most committees knew nothing about the process at all. In some instances, however, where disputes arose regarding the budget, the Secretariat did "open the books" to the election committee upon demand of the committee members.

The other major issue raised concerning finances was the stipend for training participants. Although funding for training stipends was made available by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), very few respondents received a stipend for attending a training session. In many cases, stipends were not available until after the election. The KPU regulations indicated

that each TPS be staffed with seven KPPS members and two security guards (*hansip*). Many election committees, however, appointed only five KPPS members and used the remaining funds for other needs.

The vote reconciliation process was inconsistent. Election committee members provided numerous reasons for the delays experienced. The most common reason was errors received from the lower committee. These errors compelled election committee members to recalculate the vote totals. Another reason given for delays was an error in completing the vote tallying forms. The forms were often completed improperly or the wrong form was submitted. Another reason for the reporting delay was that certain political party members refused to sign the vote totals, which, to the committee member, meant that the totals could not be transmitted to the next level above.

Committee members complained about the number of vote reconciliation forms and the confusion in completing the forms as a reason for the slowness of the reconciliation of the vote totals. There was inconsistent knowledge regarding which committee level was to transmit vote totals to both the JOMC and to the KPU's national computer center.

The entire reconciliation of votes suffered due to poor training and information, as well as a complicated process, which had to be accomplished by largely untrained election committees.

Throughout this evaluation project, respondents frequently mentioned that certain activities were transparent and that the political party's involvement in the election process helped to ensure "free and fair" elections. Unfortunately, this transparency and involvement by the political parties, did not contribute to a professional election administration. Committee members at all levels indicated they were not prepared and were untrained for the duties that were required of them.

Suggestions by these election committee members included dissolving various levels of the election committees, eliminating the possibility of partisanism by prohibiting committee members from being candidates for office, allowing the election committee authority to manage the budget, and eliminating the Secretariat. Committee members suggested providing the election committee with an administrative staff to assist in duties. Other suggestions included more emphasis on training, separating the election committee duties from training for KPPS members, and improving the entire training system.

Election committee members also want improvements in the reconciliation process by simplifying the forms and training the committee members better. All committees requested better equipment including calculators and/or computers, and access to the Internet to help them fulfill their duties. There was strong criticism of last minute changes made by the KPU to the voter eligibility qualifications. These changes caused major problems and confusion at the committee level.



## **X. ISSUES FOR CONSIDERATION**

### **Electoral Reform**

In undertaking the evaluation of the election management system, the intention was to provide the election committee members with an opportunity to comment on their role in the election process. By hearing first-hand from the election committee members, a clearer understanding of the needs and desires of the Indonesian people was achieved.

It was apparent from the comments made during this research that the election structure was fragmented. There were numerous election management bodies at various levels that could not administer or enforce the General Election Law properly. In order to correct this situation, a complete review of the election laws should be undertaken since an election structure can only be as good as its legal foundation. Review of the election laws by the People's Representative Assembly and the National Election Commission should seek the perspective of the legal community, civil society, political parties, and international election experts to provide objectivity.

It would be unwise for the government to allow another election to be conducted without an independent, fully accountable, professional and uniform election management structure, which can be organized and implemented well in advance of the next election.

**Issue:** Revise the election law to provide for the establishment of an independent, nonpartisan National Election Commission, and election committees at provincial, and lower levels that are independent of government authorities, non-partisan and clearly under the authority of the National Election Commission.

**Issue:** Revise the electoral laws to provide a comprehensive and specific electoral legal framework, with which the National Election Commission and subsidiary election committees must comply in determining and implementing electoral policies and procedures.

**Issue:** Provide a legal framework for the timely and effective adjudication of complaints and challenges to the electoral process, and the establishment of an effective adjudicative body with adequate procedures for determining such complaints and challenges under the law.

**Issue:** Revise the election law to provide for the appointment by the National Election Commission of an executive director or chief of staff and sufficient administrative support and technical (secretariat) staff for the implementation of National Election Commission regulations and polices, and who are responsible solely to the National Election Commission.

**Issue:** Provide for the appointment by provincial and local election committees of an executive director or chief of staff and sufficient administrative support and technical (secretariat) staff for the implementation of National Election Commission regulations and polices, and who are responsible solely to the National Election Commission or to such subsidiary election committee as the National Election Commission may determine.

**Issue:** Establish effective and impartial voter registration procedures and deadlines within the election law.

**Issue:** Adopt a management plan for developing election regulations that ensures that all election regulations are finalized and distributed to all relevant persons in sufficient time to allow for their effective implementation.

**Issue:** Establish standardized formats for forms, ballots, procedures, and timelines to promote clarity, efficiency and professional implementation.

**Issue:** Require that National Election Commission regulations promote transparency and accountability in the preparation and conduct of elections.

### **Electoral Management Reform**

#### ***National Election Commission (KPU)***

One of the most obvious problems with the Indonesian election administration in 1999 was the ineffectiveness of the National Election Commission, or KPU. For example, two universal complaints were that election committee members at all levels were hampered in completing their tasks due to inaccurate voter registration figures and last minute changes in election regulations.

The KPU was neither non-partisan nor objective. The KPU allowed the partisan interests of its members to influence the procurement of materials, approved the candidacies of its own members, and permitted KPU members to campaign for their political parties, all of which are generally prohibited by independent electoral commissions.

The KPU must be structured as a non-partisan, independent, policymaking body. It must be empowered with an administrative staff and funding autonomy to carry out its mandate. Many of the relevant issues require amendment to the electoral laws and are dealt with in the previous section.

**Issue:** Establish a code of ethics and consequent transparency and accountability policies, to be formally accepted and followed by all KPU and election committee members, and secretariat staff.

**Issue:** Improve the clarity of regulations, policies and procedures determined and issued by the KPU.

**Issue:** Ensure that the KPU can carry out its mandate to plan, organize, and conduct elections by establishing an independent mechanism to provide sufficient funding for the effective and timely implementation of electoral activities.

### ***Secretariats/Election Civil Servants***

Respondents displayed concern about and distrust of the Secretariats, which were comprised, for the most part, of government employees. In some instances, the Secretariats withheld information from election committee members and attempted to control the election process.

Once the KPU is restructured and funded, a professional and more responsive election management structure must be established. This evaluation revealed that training conducted by the KPU was inadequate, there were shortages of materials, communication between the various levels of election administration was poor, and there was a lack of accountability and transparency in much of the work of the KPU's and election committees' Secretariats. These problems can be better solved with a professional staff organized into divisions with responsibilities that reflect the importance of the various functions conducted by the KPU and its subsidiary election committees. Appropriate communication mechanisms within the KPU and between it, election committees and other participants in the electoral process will provide accountability and transparency, both of which were missing in the administration of the June 7, 1999 general elections.

**Issue:** Clarify the respective roles, responsibilities, and lines of authority of the KPU members and their professional secretariat staff.

**Issue:** Revise the structure of the secretariats of the KPU and election committees to reflect the importance of the various operational, technical, and administrative support functions they provide.

**Issue:** Develop the professionalism, impartiality, and efficiency of the staff of KPU and election committee secretariats by adopting appropriate selection qualifications for all secretariat positions, giving the KPU and election committees full control over their staff appointments and reporting responsibilities, and implementing a comprehensive professional development program for all secretariats' staff.

**Issue:** Establish administrative procedures that ensure the integrity, transparency, and accountability of the election process.

**Issue:** Develop information collation, analysis, and dissemination strategies and consequent information systems that promote timely exchange of information within and between the election administration structures, and public transparency in all electoral activities.

### ***Election Committees***

Election committee members provided suggestions for electoral reform ranging from reducing election committee levels to eliminating or reorganizing duties of particular election committees. These comments reinforced conclusions of international election experts that the existing election structure in Indonesia was too layered and complicated. The election committee structure was based upon past election experience, not professional election management. Each committee had essentially the same duties, a small degree of autonomy, and a large composition of political party members representing their partisan interests.

A restructured election administration is needed to efficiently administer elections and ensure that democratic goals are achieved.

**Issue:** Professionalize and streamline the entire election administration structure, fully defining election committee duties and eliminating redundant duties at each level.

**Issue:** Adopt selection qualifications for election committee members that will enable the appointment of persons who are non-partisan and possess appropriate skills.

**Issue:** Implement a responsibility and accountability structure that ensures that election committees are fully bound by the policies and regulations determined by the KPU, and are given clear definition of the limited areas in which they may exercise their own discretion.

**Issue:** Clarify the respective roles and responsibilities of election committees and their professional secretariat staff, including the establishment of clear lines of authority between election committee members and their secretariats.

### **Training and Duties**

Past election procedures were relied upon by some election committees because they did not understand the training they were given regarding new regulations and procedures. Many members were not trained at all, and some were trained long after they had fulfilled their duties. Committee members did not have a clear understanding of their election responsibilities, but viewed their role on the election committee as representing the interests of their political party.

**Issue:** Establish an integrated professional training program for the members of the National Election Commission, election committees at various levels and their administrative and technical support staff (secretariats), and implement it in a timely and effective manner.

**Issue:** Produce instructional and training materials, in both written and video format, and provide these to election committee members before and during training.

**ATTACHMENT**

**INSIGHT REPORT**

# Election Committee Management Evaluation

*Prepared for the*  
**INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS**  
**(IFES)**

by



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**December 1999**

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**APPENDIX**

**GLOSSARY OF ELECTION TERMS**



# I. INTRODUCTION

# 1. RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

## OBJECTIVE

Phase 1 of this project studied the use and effectiveness of pollworkers during the June 1999 Indonesian general elections. Phase 2 of this project seeks to determine the use and effectiveness of the election management structure in the preparation of the June 7, 1999 general elections in Indonesia. The project also seeks to determine priorities for election administration reform in Indonesia.

## ELECTION MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE AND BACKGROUND

The election management structure for the 7 June 1999 elections consisted of four (4) election committee levels:

- PPD-I Provincial level
- PPD-II Kabupaten (regency) and Kotamadya (municipality) level
- PPK Kecamatan (district) level
- PPS Kelurahan (subdistrict) and Desa (village) level

### PPD-I

#### Overview

In each province, the PPD-I (Provincial Election Committee) is responsible for organizing and managing a democratic election. The PPD-I also processes the candidacies for the DPRD-I (Provincial People's Representative Council), consolidates election results from each PPD-II (Regency Election Committee), and transmits consolidated results to the PPI (National Election Committee). After the KPU (National Election Commission) approves the results, the PPD-I allocates the seats in the province for DPRD-I and announces the elected candidates.

#### Structure and Composition

The PPD-I is a subordinate committee of the PPI for the election. Each PPD-I comprises representatives of political parties having branches in the province, as well as five government members. Theoretically, a PPD-I can consist of up to 53 members. PPD-I offices are located in the provincial capitals.

#### Duties of the PPD-I

Each PPD-I has the following responsibilities:

- Oversee the organization of the election in the province.
- Monitor the election process and campaign in the province.
- Process candidacies for DPRD-I.
- Receive, store, and control the election materials, which are very limited.
- Distribute election materials to each PPD-II in the province.
- Receive and consolidate vote totals from each PPD-II.

- Transmit the consolidated vote totals to the PPI.
- Collect unused election materials.
- Investigate and report alleged irregularities.
- Train the PPD-II members.
- Inform the public of their voting rights, the electoral process, and polling station locations.

## **PPD-II**

### **Overview**

In each regency/municipality, the PPD-II is responsible for organizing and managing a democratic election. The PPD-II must also process the candidacies for DPRD-II (Regency/Municipality People's Representatives), consolidate election results from each PPK (District Election Committee), and transmit consolidated results to the PPD-I. After the results are officially approved by the KPU, the PPD-II allocates the seats in the regency/municipality for DPRD-II and announces the elected candidates.

### **Structure and Composition**

Each PPD-II is a subordinate committee of the PPD-I for the election. Each PPD-II comprises representatives of political parties having branches in the regency or municipality, as well as three government members appointed by the regent or mayor. Theoretically, each PPD-II can consist of up to 51 members. PPD-II offices close no later than two weeks after the official results of the election are announced.

### **Duties of the PPD-II**

Each PPD-II has the following responsibilities:

- Oversee the activities of the PPK.
- Monitor the election process in its regency/municipality.
- Process candidacies for DPRD-II.
- Receive, store, and control the election materials.
- Distribute election materials to the PPK.
- Receive and consolidate vote totals from the PPK.
- Transmit the consolidated vote totals to the PPD-I.
- Transmit vote totals to the JOMC (Joint Operations and Media Center), if not done by the PPK.
- Collect unused election materials.
- Monitor the election process and campaign.
- Investigate and report alleged irregularities to the PPD-I.
- Train PPK members.
- Inform the public of their voting rights, the electoral process, and polling station locations.
- Verify the voter registry compiled by PPK.

## **PPK**

### **Overview**

Each PPK is responsible for organizing and managing a democratic election in its kecamatan. Each PPK must also consolidate election results from each PPS and transmit consolidated results to the PPD-II, the JOMC, and the National Computer Center.

### **Structure and Composition**

Each PPK is a subordinate committee of the PPD-II for the election.

### **Duties of the PPK**

Each PPK has the following responsibilities:

- Oversee the activities of the PPS.
- Monitor the election process in the district.
- Swear in the KPPS (Polling Station Committee) chair and vice chair.
- Receive, store, and control election materials.
- Distribute election materials to the PPS.
- Receive and consolidate vote totals from the PPS.
- Transmit the consolidated vote totals to the PPD-II.
- Transmit vote totals to the JOMC.
- Collect unused election materials.
- Monitor the election process and campaign.
- Train PPS and KPPS members.
- Inform the public of their voting rights, the electoral process, and polling station locations.

## **PPS**

### **Overview**

Each PPS is responsible for organizing and managing a democratic election in the kelurahan. Each PPS must also transmit consolidated results to its PPK.

### **Structure and Composition**

Each PPS is a subordinate committee of the PPK for the election.

### **Duties of the PPS**

Each PPS has the following responsibilities:

- Oversee the activities of each KPPS.
- Monitor the election process in the subdistrict.
- Receive, store, and control election materials.
- Distribute election materials to each KPPS.
- Receive and consolidate vote totals from each KPPS.
- Transmit the consolidated vote totals to the PPK.
- Collect unused election materials.
- Monitor the election process and campaign.
- Inform the public of their voting rights, the electoral process, and polling station locations.

## 2. PROJECT METHODOLOGY

The project used both a “focus group discussion” and an “in-depth interview” approach.

The focus groups consisted of four to six members. The in-depth interviews consisted of one respondent. Age and gender of respondents was not predefined. Respondents in both the focus groups and the interviews were predominately male, and ages varied from 20 to 65 years.

The project fieldwork was conducted in eight provinces; the number of focus groups and in-depth interviews in each province is shown in the table below.

**In total, 12 focus group discussions (FGDs) and 14 in-depth interviews were conducted.** The specific number of FGDs and interviews by province is also detailed in the table below.

Province	Focus Group Discussion			In-Depth Interview		
	PPD-II	PPK	PPS	PPD-I	PPD-II	PPK
Jakarta	N/A	1	N/A	1	N/A	N/A
West Java	N/A	N/A	1	1	N/A	1
East Java	1	N/A	1	1	N/A	N/A
Jambi	N/A	1	N/A	1	N/A	1
South Sumatra	1	1	N/A	1	1	N/A
East Kalimantan	N/A	1	N/A	1	N/A	1
North Sulawesi	1	N/A	1	1	1	N/A
Bali	1	N/A	1	1	1	N/A

Locations for each FGD and interview, by province, are listed below:

**Province**      **DKI Jakarta**  
 PPD-I          DKI Jakarta–Jakarta          → 1 Interview  
 PPK             Jakarta                                → 1 FGD

**Province**      **West Java**  
 PPD-I          West Java–Bandung          → 1 Interview  
 PPK             Bandung                              → 1 Interview  
 PPS             Bandung                              → 1 FGD

<b>Province</b>	<b>East Java</b>	
PPD-I	East Java–Surabaya	→ 1 Interview
PPD-II	Surabaya	→ 1 FGD
PPS	Sidoarjo	→ 1 FGD
<b>Province</b>	<b>Jambi</b>	
PPD-I	Jambi–Jambi	→ 1 Interview
PPK	Jambi	→ 1 FGD and 1 Interview
<b>Province</b>	<b>South Sumatra</b>	
PPD-I	South Sumatra–Palembang	→ 1 Interview
PPD-II	Belitung	→ 1 FGD and 1 Interview
PPK	Tanjung Pandan	→ 1 FGD
<b>Province</b>	<b>East Kalimantan</b>	
PPD-I	East Kalimantan–Samarinda	→ 1 Interview
PPK	Balikpapan	→ 1 FGD and 1 Interview
<b>Province</b>	<b>North Sulawesi</b>	
PPD-I	North Sulawesi–Manado	→ 1 Interview
PPD-II	Minahasa	→ 1 FGD and 1 Interview
PPS	Minahasa	→ 1 FGD
<b>Province</b>	<b>Bali</b>	
PPD-I	Bali–Denpasar	→ 1 Interview
PPD-II	Denpasar	→ 1 FGD and 1 Interview
PPS	Denpasar	→ 1 FGD

## **II. RESEARCH FINDINGS**

# 1. RECRUITMENT

## 1.1. ELECTION COMMITTEE RECRUITMENT

- The majority of election committee members were recruited from political party members, and a few were government officials.

*"I am the chair of the party, so automatically I have to be a member of the election committee." (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

*"Being a member of the PPK, I was chosen to represent my party. Frankly, I didn't want to, but because I was chosen I had to participate." (PPK, South Sulawesi)*

*"I am on the staff of the government district office, and the members of the PPK come from the parties and government." (PPK, West Java)*

- The recruitment of election committee members was based on
  - consensus determined at the political party meeting;
  - results of voting at the political party meeting; and
  - mandate or direct appointment of a member to represent the party on the committee.

*"They held a party congress at their own party meeting and were elected by voting" (PPK, West Java)*

*"I am on the committee of PDI-P; I was given a mandate letter." (PPD-II, South Sumatra)*

*"We cannot be a member of an election committee without a mandate letter from a political party." (PPS, Bali; PPS, Bandung)*

*"I am not a political party member, but I was registered with the party as a candidate to be on an election committee." (PPD-I, Bandung)*

*"I became a committee member based on the party meeting, and they assigned me to sit on the committee." (PPK, Jakarta; PPS, Surabaya; PPD-II, Surabaya)*

- Election committee members' past political involvement and political experience were also taken into account in selecting candidates to serve as election committee members.

*"I think I was chosen as a committee member because of my past experience in coordinating the same events in previous general elections, as well as because of my wide involvement in bureaucratic activities." (PPD-I, Samarinda)*



- Most respondents had a fairly clear understanding of why they had been selected to work as election committee members.
- Discussion revealed that a vast majority of the respondents had no prior experience on election committees.
- The main differences between the 1999 election and the previous election, as identified in the focus group discussions and the in-depth interviews, are that the 1999 election was run more fairly and honestly, and that multiple political parties were involved in the election committees.

*“The previous election was too controlled. In the past it was arranged with too much interference by government. So the percentage to win was actually already calculated. The election was just a formality. In this election, however, we had voting to determine who was eligible for chair, and so on.” (PPS, North Sulawesi)*

*“We observed big differences from the previous election. For example, the witnesses were all present on election day.” (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

## **1.2. APPOINTMENT**

### **1.2.1. Methods of and Reasons for Appointment**

- Appointment method varied from direct appointment to represent a political party to a voting process within the party to identify who should represent the party on the election committee.
- Government representatives on the election committee were selected by direct appointment from the authorities.
- Among the respondents interviewed in this research, no irregularities were identified as far as appointments were concerned. Consistency in appointment approach and reasons for appointment were identified across provinces.
- Reasons for appointment varied, such as willingness or availability to do the job, political party leadership experience, experience in running an election committee, and perceived competencies.

*“As a lecturer at the biggest student university, I became a bridge between the PPD-I and the students.” (PPD-I, Jambi)*

*“[I was] trusted by the party.” (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

*“I am chair of the branch Balikpapan Timur. That’s the reason why I was appointed as a committee member.” (PPK, Balikpapan)*

*"[There was] no specific reason [for my appointment]. I think I was appointed just because I am a party member and someone has to be represented in the committee from my party."*  
(PPK, Jakarta; PPS, Surabaya)

### 1.2.2. Time of Appointment

- Time of appointment varied; some members were appointed on election day itself, while others were appointed two weeks to two months before the June 7 elections.
- Only a very few respondents had previously worked as election committee members. Of those who had worked as election committee members in previous elections, most were the government representatives.
- In general, most respondents felt that the process of appointment was fair and just, with no dispute.

*"The 1999 election was very different from the previous election; now, most election committee members are from a political party. Because most political parties are new, most of the election committee members had no experience in running an election committee."*  
(PPS, Bandung and Bali)

*"Any kind of appointment is always based on the spirit of deliberation and consensus."*  
(PPD-I, East Kalimantan; PPK, East Kalimantan)

### 1.3. COMPOSITION OF THE ELECTION COMMITTEES

- The election committees consist of a chair, vice chair, secretary, and members.
  - Each PPD-I is composed of representatives of political parties having branches in the province, plus five government representatives.
  - Each PPD-II is composed of representatives of political parties having branches in the regency or municipality, plus three government representatives.
  - Each PPK consists of representatives of political parties in the *kecamatan*, plus one government representative.
  - Each PPS consists of representatives of political parties in the subdistrict, plus one government representative.
- The number of members on each committee varied enormously by region and committee. Committees tended to be larger at the PPD-I level and decreased in size by district level. When asked about the size and composition of their committees, respondents replied:

*"A total of 45 people with myself as the chair including the government representative."*(PPD-I, East Kalimantan)

*"In Palembang it was full—48 from parties, four from government."*(PPD-II, South Sumatra)

*"In all, 30 people. More or less there are 28 parties [represented] here in Bali, plus one member from the college delegation and one from government." (PPD-II, Bali)*

*"In South Jambi we have 32 PPK members, including two from government." (PPK Jambi)*

*"Various, depends on the amount of parties in each subdistrict. But minimum was seven to eight party members and then one from the government, but he was directly appointed as vice chair." (PPS, North Sulawesi)*

*"There are six members: one from the government and five from political parties." (PPS, Surabaya)*

*"There are nine, one from government." (PPS, Surabaya)*

**Table 1: Composition of Election Committees across the Regions**

<b>Election Committee</b>	<b>FGD or Interview</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>No. of Election Committee Members from Political Parties</b>	<b>No. of Election Committee Members from Government</b>	<b>No. of Election Committee Members in Total</b>
PPD-I	Interview	Jakarta	48	5	53
PPK	FGD	Jakarta	32 to 38	1 to 2	33 to 40
PPD-I	Interview	West Java	48	5	53
PPK	Interview	West Java	18	2	20
PPS	FGD	West Java	6 to 9	1	7 to 10
PPD-I	Interview	East Java	48	5	53
PPD-II	FGD	East Java	48	3	51
PPS	FGD	East Java	5 to 8	1	6 to 9
PPD-I	Interview	Jambi	48	5	53
PPK	Interview	Jambi	27	2	29
PPK	FGD	Jambi	29 to 30	1 to 2	30 to 32
PPD-I	Interview	South Sumatra	48	5	53
PPD-II	FGD	South Sumatra	22 to 25	3	25 to 28
PPK	FGD	South Sumatra	20	2	22
PPD-I	Interview	East Kalimantan	40	5	45
PPK	Interview	East Kalimantan	35	2	37
PPK	FGD	East Kalimantan	30 to 36	2	32 to 38
PPD-I	Interview	North Sulawesi	39	5	44
PPD-II	Interview	North Sulawesi	37	3	40
PPD-II	FGD	North Sulawesi	36 to 38	2	38 to 40
PPS	FGD	North Sulawesi	4 to 8	1	5 to 9
PPD-I	Interview	Bali	31	5	36
PPD-II	Interview	Bali	28	2	30
PPD-II	FGD	Bali	28	2	30
PPS	FGD	Bali	4 to 6	1	5 to 7

### 1.3.1. Appointment of Chair and Vice Chair

- A voting process was typically used to elect the chair of the election committee. Candidates were nominated before voting by the committee members. Nominated candidates were described as suitable persons with leadership experience or similar backgrounds. Committee members clearly understood that the chair should not be from the government.

*“All of the committee members from different parties gathered at the social politics office and there we had a democratic election. We used folded paper where we could write the name of the preferred chair candidates.” (PPD-II, Bali)*

*“We took a vote, but the vice chair was directly chosen by the elected chair.” (PPS, East Java)*

*“The chair had to be from the party; he could not be from the government.” (PPS, North Sulawesi)*

*“There was an instruction from the government to avoid electing their person as the chair.” (PPD-II, South Sumatra)*

- In the PPK in East Kalimantan, a lottery approach was used to elect the chair, vice chair, and secretary. The first name picked became the chair, the second name picked became the vice chair, and the third became the secretary.

*“A lottery system was used; whoever’s name was drawn became chair.” (PPK, East Kalimantan)*

- Most of the chairs of the election committees felt that they had been selected because of their achievement and reputation.

*“I think I was elected as chair of the committee because of my age. I am the oldest member of the committee.” (PPK, Jakarta)*

*“I was elected as chair of the committee because of my party name and reputation in Surabaya.” (PPD-II, Surabaya)*

*“He is a high school principal; he holds a diploma.” (PPD-II, South Sumatra)*

- In South Sumatra and North Sulawesi, committees were reported to have rejected their elected PPD-I chairs. As a result, a new chair and management team had to be appointed for each. Reasons for rejection of the elected chair were as follows:
  - South Sumatra: The chair was considered incapable.
  - North Sulawesi: The chair was perceived to be arrogant and thought of the members on his committee as his employees.

- Some cases were identified in which the election of the chair was based not on the person's capability and experience, but instead on who represented the major political party.

*"[I am] not sure of his background; he had experience before as vice chair of the PDI-P ... [He was] elected because he was the representative from the biggest political party." (PPD-II, Bali)*

- There was one case in Bali reported where the chair, elected via a voting process, refused to take the position. The position was given to the person who got the next highest vote.
- The election of the vice chair was typically made via voting process—that is, the recipient of the second highest number of votes became vice chair; otherwise, the vice chair was directly appointed. Many committees reportedly had two-thirds of the members holding vice chair positions; this was considered acceptable.
- When appointed directly, the vice chair was usually a government representative.

### **1.3.2. Appointment of Secretary**

- Typically, the same voting process for chair and vice chair was also used to elect the secretary of the election committee; that is, the recipient of the third highest number of votes became secretary.
- Most had been selected because of their administration and operational skills.

*"The secretary of the committee was a retired assistant secretary to the Regency/Municipality government office, so he is capable and understands administration affairs." (PPD-II, South Sumatra)*

*"The person who is the secretary basically is the person with the next highest vote after the vice chair." (PPD-I, Bali; PPD-II, Bali; PPS, Bali; PPD-I, Bandung; PPK, Bandung; PPS, Bandung; PPD-I, East Kalimantan; PPK, East Kalimantan)*

## 2. ELECTION COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION AND DIRECTION

### 2.1. ELECTION COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION

- The majority of the respondents claimed that the committee was organized in a democratic manner. All decisions were discussed in the committee meeting.
- The committee had to have a quorum (attendance of at least two-thirds of the election committee members) to make a decision at the committee meeting.
- The committee was led by the chair, vice chair, and secretary, with assistance from the government representative on the committee.
- Most committees reported good cooperation among members. However, there were also comments about specific individuals making decisions, rather than the team making decisions.
- The ultimate responsibility for the effective execution of committee tasks was perceived to lie with the committee chair.
- Many claimed that the committees were generally broken down into a number of working groups or teams to whom tasks were allocated. However, there were consistent claims of heavy workloads being carried by only a few people rather than by the whole team.

*"Each member has his own assignment. The result was pretty good." (PPS, West Java)*

*"The chair checked everything." (PPS, West Java)*

*"As a chair, I couldn't expect the assignments given to members would be done correctly; I had to check everything." (PPS, West Java)*

*"We were well organized because we had our job assignment according to our own job—actually, we were in good control of the system. We realized we had to help our leader to finish his tough job." (PPK, West Java)*

*"To organize 45 people, we decided to set up work groups." (PPD-I, East Kalimantan)*

*"We were divided into a number of 'pokja' [working groups] to make it easy to conduct our duties." (PPD-I, East Kalimantan; PPK, East Kalimantan)*

## 2.2. SECRETARIATS

- The government representatives on the committees, from the provincial to the subdistrict level, formed secretariats by direct appointment; the secretariats consisted of government officials from the social and political affairs department.
- The study found that the secretariats were basically handling the budget and funds for the election committee.
- The secretariats also performed a check-and-balance function vis-à-vis the election committee concerning the use of election funds.
- The secretariats had to approve election committee fund requests, and then disburse the funds to the election committee.
- There was one case in Bali where the PPD-II had no idea of how and where it could get election funding. In this case, the study found that the secretariat had blocked all the information, such as procedures and regulations about official budget allocation, tasks, and responsibilities of the election committee. The reason for this was apparently because the secretariat wanted to control the election funding and control the election committee itself.

Further probing of the problem revealed that the cause of the secretariat taking control of the election committee was because the chair of the PPD-II in Denpasar-Bali was selected based on the majority political party in the area. The selection did not take into account personal experience and capability. The perceived inability of the chair in this respect caused the secretariat to take advantage of the situation and control the committee. The chair therefore received a vote of no confidence, and his role and tasks were taken over by the secretary of the committee.

- The relationship between the committee and the secretariat was often reported to be uneasy or uncomfortable. Committee members appeared to be suspicious and mistrustful of the secretariat because of the secretariat's role in managing and allocating funds.

*"The chair seems influenced and controlled a lot by the secretariat. The chair always makes his own decisions without asking for committee approval." (PPD-II, Bali)*

*"The members of the secretariat always keep all the information away from us. They also corrupt the budget. The PPD-II didn't know anything about the budget. The secretariat does all the work, without asking the committee's consideration." (PPD-II, Bali)*

*"It was a one-man show, because the secretary did all the work and informed the members after the fact. None of the members had experience in running committee tasks, and time was so limited. So, if I had to discuss everything with members, then the tasks would not all be completed." (PPD-I, Bandung)*



*"The secretariat controlled the finance allocation for committee." (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

*"The secretariat seems to be dominant in allocating the budget on the committee." (PPD-I, South Sumatra)*

### **2.3. ELECTION COMMITTEE DIRECTION**

- Directions came from the higher-level committees to the committees below them. Typically, the directions came to the chair or vice chair, and then the chair informed the committee members of what needed to be done.
- The directions were received in writing most often by fax direct from the committee above. The original documents were sourced from the KPU.
- The directions were in the form of regulations or instructions—either new regulations and instructions or alterations and changes to already existing regulations and instructions.
- When the regulations and instructions were perceived to not suit or to contradict the situation at the lower level, the particular election committee held a meeting to decide whether the orders should be followed.
- The committee members reported many instances in which there was lack of guidance or direction. In these situations, they resorted to their own initiative, and sometimes to information from the media, to proceed with tasks and election organization.
- There were no reports of control of the committee and committee activities either by one member or by one party. Such control was perceived to be extremely difficult because of the number of people and political parties involved in the committee and election.
- The only report of inappropriate control of committee activities was the case already documented above of the secretariat apparently controlling the PPD-II in Bali.

*"In case of no direction from the upper-level committee, we depended on our creativity in making decisions, as long as our ideas did not go against the election regulations." (PPK, Balikpapan)*

*"All instructions and directions from the PPD-I and KPU were basically delivered by fax." (PPD-II, East Java)*

*"The PPI was responsible for supervising and monitoring the PPD-I." (PPD-I, East Kalimantan)*

## 2.4. ELECTION COMMITTEE LEADERSHIP

- The majority of the respondents claimed that they had experienced good leadership from the chair of their committee.
- There was an exception to this in Manado (North Sulawesi), where members challenged the leadership, causing chaos in the committee organization. Reasons behind the leadership challenge in Manado were because the chair of the provincial election committee and the chairs of two regency election committees did not cooperate with the rest of the committee members, and they reportedly always controlled their committees, often making decisions by themselves.
- The quality of leadership of the chair appeared to have a significant impact on the effectiveness of the election committee.
- The chair of the election committee was typically the key person directing the committee. The chair contributed more effort toward the management of the committee, such as by serving as speaker of the meeting, directing member tasks, solving committee problems, and communicating with the committee above.
- From the election committee members' perspective it was generally felt that their chairs would receive direct instructions from the committees above, rather than make their own decisions.

*"Our chair was a good leader; he could unite us on the committee, even though we came from different political parties, to achieve the success of the election." (PPD-II, East Java)*

*"Obviously, a chair that came from a political party had a certain interest in the election—that is, to make his party win the election—but he could not do [anything about] that because the most important thing was for this election to succeed, and that requires working together. I think the chair realized that." (PPK, West Java)*

*"In our committee, basically, the secretary is the one who always gives direction, because we do not believe in our chair. The chair always made his own decisions. Finally, we gave him a vote of no confidence." (PPD-II, Bali)*

### 3. DUTIES OF THE ELECTION COMMITTEES

- The duties of the election committee at each level were predefined by the KPU. These duties were communicated by the committee above usually to the chair of the committee below by written fax.
- Most election committee members claimed they did not receive the “Petunjuk Pelaksanaan” (IFES Management Manual) until very close to election day. By this stage, its usefulness was perceived to be virtually nil. There was no report of receiving any other written manuals. Most committees had, however, received a photocopy or fax of the election regulations from the KPU (with articles detailing the tasks and duties of the committee) and a letter instructing the committee on establishing procedures, composition of the election committee, and electing the executive committee positions.
- The majority of the respondents claimed that their committee chair assigned tasks to them by word of mouth.
- The tasks assigned were typically based on decisions made at the committee meetings; members did not have preset job descriptions.
- The committee working group or team then performed the tasks. However, individuals often claimed to have carried a heavier workload than did other members in their working group or team.
- Many election committee members claimed to face difficulties in performing their duties because of the frequent changes of regulations and instructions. Normally, confusion or disagreements on duties were resolved through discussion at the committee meeting.
- Overall, it would seem that election committee members had a good, broad understanding of the role and function of their committee, but no specific understanding of their particular duties as election committee members.

*“We have no job description at all. Also, we don’t know what the committee’s responsibilities and tasks are. So, we have no clue at all in doing our jobs.” (PPD-II, Bali; PPD-II, Surabaya)*

*“The management manuals were received two weeks before the election day, so they were of no use since most tasks of the election committee were done.” (PPD-II, East Java)*

- People such as local community dwellers and students were hired to fold the ballots.
- On election day, the election committees—especially the PPD-I and PPD-II—had few activities to perform. The PPK and the PPS were in charge of taking care of the election process.

- Only a few of the respondents claimed that they understood their responsibilities on the election committee; these respondents had prior experience in running an election committee.
- For the majority of respondents, their exact responsibilities were unclear. They tended to define their responsibility as completing the task allocated to them by the committee.
- The chair generally acquired the description of committee responsibilities by gathering all available information, such as from the government representative on the committee, the secretariat, and written documents from the KPU or PPI (articles and faxes of regulations).
- The chair, along with his vice chair(s), then distributed the tasks to members in the committee.
- Most of the respondents considered their fellow election committee members to be active members.

*“Of course we were all active members; we devoted almost 24 hours [a day] to taking care of the problems, and we had been working in committee and even at home. We had to take care of election problems.” (PPD-I, South Sumatra)*

*“I spend all my days doing committee jobs. Even on election day and during the vote reconciliation process, I worked 24 hours a day.”(PPD-I, Bali; PPD-II, Bali; PPD-I, Bandung)*

*“I slept on the table in the PPK secretariat’s office, and even took days off from my teaching job.” (PPK, South Sumatra)*

*“As a chair, I routinely came to the committee every day, but morally I was responsible and available for 24 hours.” (PPS, East Java)*

- The election materials were distributed from PPD-II to PPK, from PPK to PPS, and from PPS to TPS (polling station).
- The election committee performed political functions such as allocating the candidacies for the legislative member of the parliament. Each PPD-I, PPD-II, PPK, and PPS was also responsible for the distribution of election materials and administration, such as registering voters, determining voter eligibility, counting votes, and reconciling votes.

## 4. TRAINING

- The purpose of the election training was to expand the knowledge and skills of the election committee members, so they could carry out their functions in the most competent and productive manner.
- The training process used a system called “train the trainer.” First, the training was given to members of the provincial election committee (PPD-I). Then those members trained the members of the regency or municipality election committee (PPD-II). The regency and municipality election committee members then trained the district and subdistrict election committee members. KPPS members at the polling station level were trained by any of the above election committee members.

*“Each political party sent one of their representatives to come to the training; there were about 36 people from 36 political parties. After that, each of these people became a trainer (instructor) in every subdistrict.” (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

- Training of the election committee members was generally given between one week and two months before the election day. PPD-I and PPD-II training was given in advance of other election committees, followed by PPK and PPS training. Election committee members at the PPK and PPS level received training closer to election day, and some of these members said they only received training together with KPPS members.
- Not all PPD-I and PPD-II members received training; only representatives of the committee received training.
- Some PPD-I and PPD-II members—in North Sulawesi and East Kalimantan—did not receive any training at all.

*“We did not receive any training or briefing whatsoever; the duty of the PPD-II was to initiate the training of the PPK, but after the committee training began, we just worked alone.” (PPK, East Kalimantan)*

- PPD-I and PPD-II members recall that the first training for PPD-I and PPD-II was given in Bogor, West Java. The training was conducted by the PPI.
- They recall that the training was basically about the activity prior and during the election day, and also about vote reconciliation procedures.
- There were many comments that, during training, materials such as those related to the duties and responsibilities of election committees were apparently not available and not explained to participants.
- Some respondents claimed that they received training from their own political parties.

*"The training for the PPD-I was held one month before election day at the President Hotel and lasted two days." (PPD-I, Jakarta)*

*"We have received no training from the KPU [National Election Commission] or the PPD-I, but some of our committee members were trained in their political parties' training sessions for election day." (PPD-II, East Java)*

#### **4.1. TRAINING SHORTCOMINGS**

- Key complaints aired by respondents in this study were the time constraint between the creation of the election committee and the election day, inadequate training, and lack of training materials.
- Most of the respondents considered the training sessions inadequate; key reasons for perceived inadequacy were a feeling that trainers were ill equipped in terms of their knowledge and the apparent lack of training materials.

*"The training was only for two hours and was held two months before election day, and the training basically concentrated on voter registration." (PPS, East Java)*

*"We understand if KPPS members were not satisfied with the training, because we as committee members felt the same. We did not get proper training either." (PPS, East Java)*

*"There were complaints from the PPK level that members had to read a very thick written manual (modules) in only a few days. It could be a problem for those who were not clear about the content." (PPD-II, South Sumatra)*

#### **4.2. CONTENT OF TRAINING**

##### **4.2.1. Types of Training**

- The type of training given to the PPD-I, PPD-II, PPK, and PPS levels was varied; it included lectures, videos, and role-playing situations.
- For the PPD-I and PPD-II levels, the typical training received was a lecture, whereas for the PPK and PPS levels, the typical training received was based on role-play or video.

*"In the training, the voter-registration process and implementation was explained, and there were explanations of a number of forms used in this election. A video was also shown and there was role-play in the training." (PPD-I, Jakarta)*

*"They showed us a video." (PPD-II, Bali)*

*"We were given a lecture during the training and a very long and exhaustive role-play; there were many interruptions during the training." (PPS, North Sulawesi)*

*"Explanation, lecture, monologue ... it may have been much more understandable if we read the manual ourselves rather than being lectured." (PPS, North Sulawesi)*

*"They also showed us the video on election procedures in the training." (PPK, Bandung)*

*"The instructor was more suitable to be called a text reader than lecturer, because he always read from the book." (PPK, South Sumatra)*

*"We had a role-play and simulation technique during the training." (All committees, East Kalimantan)*

- Some of the respondents claimed to see the video far before the election day and did not remember the actual or precise timing of seeing it. In fact, the video was shown in the training session close to the election day, and most of the respondents saw the video either in the training session or on TV, but they did not specify whether it was the short or long version of the video.

#### **4.2.2. Content of Training**

- The training given to provincial election committee members (PPD-I) covered technical aspects and voting procedures on election day. It also covered election management areas.
- The PPD-II level received training whose content was more or less the same as that received by the PPD-I.
- The content of the training for the committee levels below the PPD-I and PPD-II levels concentrated only on election day procedures.

*"I was the secretary of the PPD-II; during the training, they explained about our job and function as the PPD-II and nothing else, and I was supposed to pass on these explanations to other members of my committee. But there was no supporting written material to assist me, so the explanations given during the training were rather vague to me." (PPD-II, Bali)*

#### **4.3. QUALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF TRAINING**

- The quality of the training across the region was rated poor by most of the respondents.
- The duration of the training sessions varied across areas, within each level of election committee, and within provinces.

*"Poor/bad training, because the explanation was not focused and detailed; all very general." (PPK, South Sumatra)*

*"Not good; we were supposed to have three days' training but instead had only one day, and that training was only a quick and unfocused lecture." (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

*"I think the training didn't work at all, because all the participants, after they had the training, still didn't know what they should do." (PPD-I, Bandung)*

*"The training did not work well. I think it is because of lack preparation as well as poor capability of the trainer." (PPK, Balikpapan)*

*"I would rate the training as average, neither good nor bad." (PPD-I, Jakarta)*

- The reasons mentioned for the low effectiveness of the training were inadequate training length and content.
- Poor knowledge on the part of the trainers is further mentioned as one of the causes of ineffective training.

*"The training was held two months before the election day, but by election day many procedures that were previously explained in the training had changed." (PPS, East Java)*

*"The training was supposed to be held for two days, but for some reason they squeezed it into one day." (PPD-II, Bali)*

*"The schedule for the training was for two days, but the actual training was only for four hours. The trainer was not prepared and read from the written manual." (PPS, North Sulawesi)*

*"I think it would have been far better and more understandable if everyone had been given a written manual during the training and we read it ourselves, rather than listening to the trainer who was reading from the written manual." (PPS, North Sulawesi)*



## 5. TRAINING INSTRUMENTS

### 5.1. IFES MANAGEMENT MANUAL

#### 5.1.1. Knowledge of Its Existence

- Bandung: PPS and PPK respondents who had received training said they received the IFES Management Manual during the training; those who were not trained only received the photocopy. PPD-I members received neither training nor the manual.
- Bali: The PPD-II received the management training manual, while the PPS received a budget allocation statement from the KPU; the PPD-I did not receive any manual.
- North Sulawesi: The PPS received the KPPS manual. The PPD-I members received manuals in the form of a reduced-size photocopy. Others received no manuals at all.
- East Kalimantan: No committee members received a training manual, but on election day they received the KPPS manual.
- South Sumatra: PPD-I members and some PPK members received a copy of the KPPS manual; PPS, PPD-II, and some PPK members received no training manuals at all.
- Jambi: The PPK received the management training manual, but the PPD-I received no training manual at all.
- Surabaya: No manuals were received, only written fax copies about regulations, as well as some sort of unidentified written materials.
- Jakarta: The PPD-I received the KPPS manual. Other manuals were not received until close to election day.
- The election committees in South Sumatra, Bandung, and Jambi received a photocopy of the KPPS manual.
- The respondents who did receive the management manual claimed they received it too late, and too close to election day. The manual apparently specified the duties and responsibilities of the election committee members from the formation of the committee until election day. Since the manuals were received so late, they were of little use to the election committee members.

*"We received a written manual just one day before the election day; I think it was the KPPS Manual by IFES." (PPS, North Sulawesi)*

*“Written material on how to register was given during the training, but the problem was the training was too short to comprehend the written material given.” (PPS, East Java)*

- One member at the PPD-II level (Surabaya–Urban), who was also an instructor, had never seen the KPPS manual before.

**Table 2: Training Materials Received by Election Committees for Each Region**

	Jakarta	Bandung	Surabaya	Bali	Jambi	South Sumatra	East Kalimantan	North Sulawesi
IFES mgmt. manual	*	PPK/PPS	*	PPD-II	PPK	*	*	*
Copy of IFES mgmt. manual	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	PPD-I
Copy of other written manual or regulation	*	*	PPD-I/ PPD-II/ PPK/PPS	*	*	*	*	*
IFES KPPS manual	PPD-I/ PPD-II/ PPK/PPS	*	PPD-I/ PPD-II/ PPK/PPS	*	*	PPD-I/ PPK	PPD-I/ PPD-II/ PPK/PPS	PPS
Copy of IFES KPPS manual	*	PPD-I/ PPD-II/ PPK/PPS	*	*	PPD-I/ PPD-II/ PPK/PPS	PPD-I/ PPD-II/ PPK/PPS	*	*

\* No information reported

### 5.1.2. Time of Receipt of IFES Management Manual

- Most respondents across the region claim they received management manuals within two weeks of election day.
- Some respondents claimed not to have seen the management manual until the focus group discussion and in-depth interview.
- Most election committee members were aware of and had seen the KPPS manual from IFES.

### **5.1.3. Functional Benefits of the IFES Management Manual**

- Those who did receive the management manual claimed it helped them to be more effective in their job.
- Those who did not receive the management manual, and/or those who received the manual late (close to election day), said that it would have helped them had they received the manual immediately after the election committee was formed.
- Those who received the management manual close to election day also said the manual had little functional benefit to them, as most tasks or duties prior to election day had already been done.
- Most of those who received the management manuals claimed that the manuals were difficult to read and contained too many procedures to be followed.

## **6. RELATIONSHIP OF COMMITTEE WITH THE KPPS**

### **6.1. TRAINING AND TRAINING MATERIALS FOR THE KPPS**

- Training sessions were usually given late to the KPPS because they were given too late to the committee above.
- The election funds were late from the committee above and had not been cleared even until election day, especially in South Sumatra and North Sulawesi. Late disbursement of election funds made it very difficult to plan the election station, consumption, and material stock.
- New instructions or changes in instructions were so sudden that there was no time for training, and barely enough time to inform committees of the changes.
- The training was not structured and organized; some KPPS members received more than one training session, but some received no training at all.
- The election committee members acknowledged that the training they gave to KPPS members was insufficient, because the trainers themselves were not prepared and had not received enough training to equip them to train others.
- The election committee members felt their training of KPPS members was helped by the written materials available at the time, including one manual from IFES, the KPPS manual. Videos were also mentioned as a helpful training tool for the KKPS.

## 7. ELECTION MATERIALS

### 7.1. ELECTION MATERIALS

- The PPD-I did not receive any election materials, as the materials were sent directly to each PPD-II.
- Each PPD-II received the election materials directly from the PPI. Each PPD-II then distributed the election materials to the PPK.
- Each PPD-II allocated the election materials to each PPK based on the number of registered voters in each PPK.
- Each PPK allocated the election materials to each PPS based on the number of registered voters in each PPS.

*"We don't know if they received ink, ballots, holograms, or books, because we received all the election materials in a sealed box and were not allowed to open it." (PPS, Bali)*

#### 7.1.1. Security

- At the PPD-II level, the police, government officials, and the National Election Monitoring Committee were in charge of safeguarding the election materials.
- At the PPK and PPS levels, PPK members, PPS members, and night watch officers were in charge of safeguarding the election materials.
- Further probing revealed that, out of those mentioned above, no specific personnel were actually in charge of looking after the election materials. Some respondents mentioned that election material inventory was the secretariat's responsibility.

*"We guard the election material; night watch officers, committee members, and local community members were standing by to guard the election materials. No specific personnel were in charge, but for sure somebody [was always] there to guard them." (PPS, Surabaya)*

#### 7.1.2. Evaluation of Adequacy of Election Materials

- There were consistent complaints that the materials were insufficient, especially the number of ballots and amount of indelible ink.
- Problems arose when election materials were insufficient or overstocked. This was apparently because the lists of registered voters in the 1999 election were not followed for material allocation. Some election committees were allocated the election materials based on the previous election's voter registration data. This happened at the PPD-II level.

- Some PPD-II members said they were reluctant to count and distribute the election materials to each PPK. The secretariat did not do it and PPD-II members claimed they had more important things to do, such as processing the legislative candidates for the region. They felt that counting and distributing election materials should be a task given to staff or administration assisting the PPD-II.

*“The allocation of election materials should be done by staff or administration assisting the committee. If a problem arises, like the secretariat members did not do their job, we could always replace their function. In the end, the secretariat did its job, but the members got it wrong anyway.” (PPD-II, Surabaya)*

*“Ballots were short; they were not the same as the order placement.” (PPS, North Sulawesi)*

*“All the ink received in Tondano was not indelible ink.” (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

*“Indelible ink was in short supply, but it was short from the committee above.” (PPD-II, North Sumatra; PPD-I, Bali)*

*“East Kalimantan is such a huge and vast area. From one PPD-II to another PPD-II was tens of kilometers. We have suggested to the KPU that it send all the election materials to us at the PPD-I and we will distribute them. But what actually happened was that the KPU sent the election materials directly to each PPD-II, so things happened: the documents were lost, election materials were short.” (PPD-I, East Kalimantan)*

## 7.2. PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

- In North Sulawesi, the PPD-II did not know anything about the distribution of election materials; all distribution was handled by the secretariat.
- In South Sumatra, the PPD-II did not know what the hologram should be used for and what its function was. This resulted in mistakes in the hologram use.
- There were comments that the distribution of materials was often controlled by the secretariat without the involvement of other committee members.
- The secretariat apparently did not always allocate the election materials based on the current election voter registration data, but instead used the previous election data.

*“The secretariat handled everything. We did not know anything at all, and we were very confused.” (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

*“As it was not being explained during the training, we did not know how to use the hologram.” (PPD-II, South Sumatra)*

*“The secretariat was in control of the distribution of election materials, and we as the election committee did not know what they were doing.” (PPD-II, South Sumatra; PPK, Jambi; PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

## 8. FINANCES

### 8.1. FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

- In some cases, the committee had no authority to control the budget, and all things related to the budget were fully controlled by the secretariat. (PPD-II, South Sumatra; PPK, Jambi; PPD-II, North Sulawesi; PPD-II, Bali; PPD-I, Bandung; PPK, Bandung; PPD-I, East Kalimantan)
- The secretariat was perceived to be in control of the budget for the election. There was a general feeling across committees that the secretariat was not open and transparent regarding the budget or its allocation.
- When problems arose—such as when insufficient funds were allocated for certain items—some committees asked for clarification from their secretariat. In these circumstances, the secretariat opened its books and attempted to clarify the budget to the committee. (PPD-II, Surabaya; PPK, Jakarta)

### 8.2. DISPUTES OR DISAGREEMENT ON BUDGET ALLOCATION

- **There was no transparency in budget allocation and the committee knew nothing at all about it.** (PPD-II, South Sumatra; PPK, Jambi; PPD-II, North Sulawesi; PPD-II, Bali; PPD-I, Bandung; PPK, Bandung; PPD-I, East Kalimantan)
- The secretariat was in control of the budget, but after disputes and disagreements with the committee, the secretariat was forced to be transparent and open its book to the committee. (PPD-II, Surabaya; PPK, Jakarta)

*“Even the chair did not know the total amount of the budget.” (PPK, Jambi)*

*“Once I asked the secretariat members about financial matters, but they told me that was secret.” (PPD-II, South Sumatra)*

*“The secretariat kept the PPKO (budget rule) to itself, and we never received it. So, we didn’t know anything about the budget.” (PPD-II, Bali; PPD-I and PPK, East Kalimantan)*

*“Even now I have not signed the financial report, since it was the secretariat’s responsibility.” (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

- All respondents claimed they had received their stipend. The respondents were well aware of the training stipend, which they were to receive for serving as committee members for six months. Different stipends were identified during research across the regions. In some areas, stipends were initially different for the chair, vice chair, and members, but later all members and officers received the same amount (see table below).

**Table 3: Stipend Received by Election Committee Members for Each Region**  
*(Salary shown in Indonesian Rupiah)*

Election Committee	FGD/ Interview	Province	Period	Chair	Vice Chair	Secretary	Member
PPD-I	Interview	Jakarta	6 mo.	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000
PPK	FGD	Jakarta	6 mo.	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
PPD-I	Interview	West Java	6 mo.	65,000	55,000	45,000	35,000
PPK	Interview	West Java	6 mo.	NA	NA	NA	12,000
PPS	FGD	West Java	1 <sup>st</sup> per.	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000
PPS	FGD	West Java	Later	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000
PPD-I	Interview	East Java	1 <sup>st</sup> per.	65,000	65,000	65,000	65,000
PPD-I	Interview	East Java	Later (*)	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000
PPD-II	FGD	East Java	1 <sup>st</sup> per.	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000
PPD-II	FGD	East Java	Later	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
PPS	FGD	East Java	6 mo.	25,000	20,000	20,000	15,000
PPD-I	Interview	Jambi	6 mo.	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000
PPK	Interview	Jambi	1 <sup>st</sup> 4 mo.	40,000	35,000	30,000	20,000
PPK	Interview	Jambi	2 <sup>nd</sup> 2 mo.	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
PPK	FGD	Jambi	1 <sup>st</sup> 4 mo.	40,000	35,000	30,000	20,000
PPK	FGD	Jambi	2 <sup>nd</sup> 2 mo.	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
PPD-I	Interview	South Sumatra	1 <sup>st</sup> 2 mo.	50,000	NA	NA	35,000
PPD-I	Interview	South Sumatra	2 <sup>nd</sup> 4 mo.	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
PPD-II	FGD	South Sumatra	1 <sup>st</sup> 3 mo.	NA	NA	NA	35,000
PPD-II	FGD	South Sumatra	2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 mo. (**)	85,000	85,000	85,000	85,000
PPK	FGD	South Sumatra	1 <sup>st</sup> 4 mo.	40,000	35,000	30,000	20,000
PPK	FGD	South Sumatra	2 <sup>nd</sup> 2 mo.	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000
PPD-I	Interview	East Kalimantan	1 <sup>st</sup> 3 mo.	60,000	50,000	NA	35,000
PPD-I	Interview	East Kalimantan	2 <sup>nd</sup> 3 mo.	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000
PPK	Interview	East Kalimantan	1 <sup>st</sup> 4 mo.	40,000	NA	NA	30,000
PPK	Interview	East Kalimantan	2 <sup>nd</sup> 2 mo.	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000



PPK	FGD	East Kalimantan	6 mo.	50,000	NA	NA	30,000
PPD-I	Interview	North Sulawesi	1 <sup>st</sup> per.	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000
PPD-I	Interview	North Sulawesi	Later	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000
PPD-II	Interview	North Sulawesi	6 mo.	25,000– 40,000	25,000– 40,000	25,000– 40,000	25,000– 40,000
PPD-II	FGD	North Sulawesi	6 mo.	250,000	250,000	250,000	250,000
PPS	FGD	North Sulawesi	1 <sup>st</sup> 4 mo.	25,000	20,000	20,000	15,000
PPS	FGD	North Sulawesi	2 <sup>nd</sup> 2 mo.	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
PPD-I	Interview	Bali	6 mo.	135,000	135,000	135,000	135,000
PPD-II	Interview	Bali	1 <sup>st</sup> per.	NA	NA	35,000	27,500
PPD-II	Interview	Bali	Later	150,000	125,000	100,000	75,000
PPD-II	FGD	Bali	1 <sup>st</sup> per.	NA	NA	35,000	27,500
PPD-II	FGD	Bali	Later	150,000	125,000	100,000	75,000
PPS	FGD	Bali	1 <sup>st</sup> per.	NA	NA	35,000	27,500
PPS	FGD	Bali	Later	150,000	125,000	100,000	75,000

(\*) Gross (before 15 percent income tax)

(\*\*) Net (after income tax)

## 9. ELECTION DAY ACTIVITIES

- The activities of each level of the election committee on election day varied. The PPD-I and PPD-II level had little to do. PPD-II members handled the shortage of election materials on election day.
- The PPK and PPS levels were the most active on election day. The committee members had their tasks allocated to each PPS or TPS (polling station) to monitor the election. Handling the shortage of election materials and dealing with voter eligibility problems were the main activities at the PPK and PPS levels.
- The PPK was the last resort to solve voter eligibility problems. At this level, the PPK decided whether the voter was eligible to vote. Typical problems experienced concerning voter registration were availability of the appropriate voter registration form, and unregistered voters wishing to vote.
- Some PPS members were also KPPS members in some TPS locations.
- In North Sulawesi, South Sumatra, and Jambi, problems were related to the shortage of election materials, especially ballots and indelible ink.
- In North Sulawesi, the PPS had to deal with the rejection by the KPPS of different forms of the ballot because of different printing; this caused the shortage in ballots.

## 10. RECONCILIATION OF VOTES

### 10.1. RECONCILIATION OF VOTES

- Committee members claimed that the vote counting in polling stations (TPS) started right after the vote casting and counting of the unused or spoiled ballots.
- From the TPS the results of the counting were brought to the PPS to be reconciled with other polling stations in the PPS area.
- The votes were reconciled at the PPS level, then at the PPK level, then at the PPD-II level, and then at the PPD-I level. The PPD-I then passed on the reconciled votes to the PPI, the KPU, or the JOMC (or any combination thereof).
- In some cases, the PPD-II transferred the reconciled votes directly to the JOMC as well as to the PPD-I.
- There was a general feeling that the reconciliation process was conducted fairly, without interference or cheating.
- The respondents felt the process went well, albeit very slowly.

*"The situation during the vote reconciliation counts was safe; there was no disturbance or protest. I think it was quite good; nobody was trying to cheat, and the situation was under control." (PPS, East Java)*

*"The vote reconciliation process took three days; everyday we worked until midnight. At the end we transferred the result by fax to the PPD-I as well as to our party's main office in the regency." (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

### 10.2. REASONS FOR DELAYS IN VOTE RECONCILIATION

- There was broad acknowledgement of the slowness of the counting procedure and the existence of counting errors. Committee members claimed the main reasons for the slow reconciliation were as follows:
  - The TPS and lower committees made mistakes counting the grand total.
  - There was a lack of understanding on the procedure and how to complete the required forms.
  - There was no uniformity among the committee members when completing the form.
  - Some political parties disputed the vote reconciliation totals and did not sign the vote reconciliation result.
  - In some cases, such as North Sulawesi, South Sumatra, and Jambi, there were too many paper forms, and the wrong form was completed.

- Delays in the vote reconciliation can be explained by two problems, as follows:
  - Disputes. The vote counts obtained from the next level down were not the same as those reported by the political party figures.
  - Suspicion. Some political parties asked that the ballot be recounted. The vote counts obtained from the next level down were not the same as the number of ballots recounted at the next higher level.
- The reasons for the delays, as stated above, happened at every election committee level, from the PPS to the PPD-II.

*“Mistakes happened at the PPK stage. Because there were some weaknesses in counting the tabulation that might ruin the vote’s final result, we had to open the ballot boxes one by one.” (PPD-I, Jambi; PPD-II, North Sulawesi)*

*“The mistakes happened because people at the KPPS level were unable to make a distinction between the spoiled ballots and the invalid or rejected ballots; then they made mistakes making the tabulation.” (PPK, South Sumatra; PPS North Sulawesi)*

*“The PPK vote counts were different with those of the PPS; so to solve this problem we cross-checked the total with the PPS, and we found that in the PPS there was one TPS that needed to recount.” (PPK, Jambi)*

*“The vote results from PPD-II [had to be] compared with the tabulation or calculation from political parties. If the number did not match, we had to check and reopen all the boxes again. This meant more delays because we had to do the same thing twice. But here we are talking about a big city; imagine if this happened in a rural, remote area. Then it would be much more difficult.” (PPD-I, East Kalimantan)*

### 10.3. PROCEDURE OF RECONCILIATION

- Respondents used the standard C4 Form to reconcile the vote total.
- Political party representation signatures were required to obtain legitimate vote reconciliation results.
- Delays were experienced because some of the political party representatives in the committee did not want to sign the vote reconciliation results.
- In Surabaya Regency, the vote reconciliation was done with a computer at the PPK level, so the result was obtained and sent quickly to the PPD-II.

*“A few political party representatives in my committee did not want to sign the vote reconciliation, so we used deliberation and consensus to finalize the problems. Some other committees might have had to recount the ballots.” (PPS, Surabaya)*

*“We made our own computer program to manage the vote counting process; so from each TPS, we simply needed to enter the data and the computer did the rest. So, we sent the data to the KPU very fast (we were number 2, after Jakarta).” (PPD-I, Bandung)*

## 11. INTERVIEWEES' SUGGESTIONS TO IMPROVE THE PROCESS

### On Election Committee Organization and Direction

The South Sumatra PPD-II expressed the view that the PPD-I should be dissolved because PPD-I gives no direction to the PPD-II. According to PPD-II members, they had to bear responsibility for mistakes made. (\*)

Committee members should not be legislative candidates because of a potential "conflict of interest." There was concern that their work during vote counting and reconciliation would be unduly influenced. (PPD-I, North Sulawesi; PPD-I, Jakarta; PPD-I, Bandung)

The election committee should have full authority to manage financial disbursements. Some committees expressed the view that this function should not be handled by the secretariat. (North Sulawesi, South Sumatra, Jambi, Bali, Bandung)

The higher-level election committee (PPD-I) should not be allowed to interfere with or control the activities of the lower level. (PPD-II, North Sulawesi) (\*)

A Bali PPD-II expressed the view that the secretariat should be dismissed, as it did not give the committee all the information that should be forwarded to it. Moreover, the secretariat apparently used the funds in the election budget without PPD-II approval.

(\*) The view was direction versus control/interference by the higher-level election committee.

### On Training

More emphasis should be placed on explaining the procedures and duties of the election committee members during election committee training.

The committee should have a separate task force of trainers to train the committee below and to train KPPS members.

The quality of the "train the trainer" system should be improved. Some committees expressed the view that the training quality weakened and deteriorated as it moved down each level.

### **On Training Materials**

Training materials, particularly the management manual, should be available far in advance of the committee's establishment.

### **On Election Materials**

Election materials should be distributed by staff or administration assisting the PPD-II. The committee should not depend on the secretariat for this function. (PPD-II, South Sumatra)

The election materials should come directly from the PPI to the PPK. (PPK, South Sumatra; PPS, Bali)

### **On Procedures**

Committee members need an improved understanding of how to fill out the tabulation form. (PPD-II, North Sulawesi)

There should be fewer or more simplified forms. (PPD-I, Jambi)

### **Other**

Committees should be fully equipped with all items needed from the PPI, such as a calculator or computer, to ensure that the official ballot results are produced more quickly. (PPD-II, Jambi; PPK, Jambi; PPD-I, South Sumatra; PPD-II, South Sumatra; PPK, South Sumatra)

The government should provide a centralized computer center that has Internet access, so the vote result data could be sent directly to Jakarta. This should help reduce human error in recalculating and also make the counting process faster. (PPD-I, Bandung)

### **III. CONCLUSIONS**



## SELECTION PROCESS

- Political party representatives formed the majority of the election committees at all levels.
- Members from political parties were elected or mandated by the party to sit on the election committee.
- The government was represented on the committees either at the vice chair level or as members. The number of government representatives on each committee varied, between one and five members.

## DUTIES

- Duties were officially unclear; members had their duties determined at the committee meetings and allocated by the committee chair.
- Most of the committee members claimed that they had received notification of regulations and instructions only via fax or letter from the KPU or PPI. They did not have any written statement of their responsibilities and what tasks they should do to carry out their targeted responsibilities.
- The government representative on the committee was typically the one who knew more about the duties and procedures on the committee, as he or she had experience in the previous elections.

## TRAINING

- Training was considered insufficient.
- The trainers were not knowledgeable about and were insufficiently equipped to follow the new election procedures.
- Training problems included a lack of written materials, such as a manual.
- More emphasis should be placed on the procedures and duties of the election committee during the election committee training.
- The committee should have a separate task force to train the committees below and to train KPPS members.

## **MATERIALS**

- Election materials were counted by the PPD-II to distribute to the PPK. The PPK recounted the election materials to be distributed to the PPS and then the KPPS. This lengthy, bureaucratic process increased errors and problems in material distribution to the lower-level election committees.

## **POLICY**

- Election policies such as regulations and instructions were changed many times. These changes caused major problems and confusion at the committee level.
- There was strong criticism of the last-minute changes to the voter registration policy.

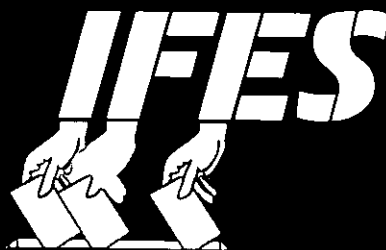
# **GLOSSARY OF ELECTION TERMS**

<b>INDONESIAN</b>	<b>ENGLISH</b>
APBD (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah) (No. 2 / 1999)	Regional budget
APBN (Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Nasional)	State budget
Ayat	Paragraph / Sub article / Section
Bab	Chapter
Badan Perwakilan	Assembly
Berita acara Perhitungan	Statement of the count
Berita acara Perhitungan Suara (SHTPS)	Statement of the consolidation of results
Berita acara TPS	Statement of the poll
Bilangan Pembagi Pemilihan (BPP)	Quota divider
Bilik Pemungutan Suara	Voting booth
Bukti Pendaftaran Pemilih	Notice of Registration
Calon Legislatif (Caleg)	Legislative candidate
Camat	District Head
Daerah Pemilihan	Constituency (electoral district)
Daftar Calon Sementara (DCS)	Preliminary List of Candidates
Daftar Calon Tetap (DCT)	Official List of Candidates
Daftar Pemilih	Register of Electors
Daftar Pemilih Sementara	Preliminary Register of Electors
Daftar Pemilih Tetap	Official Register of Electors
Demokratis dan Transparan	Democratic and transparent
Departemen	Ministry
Desa	Village (rural equivalent to 'kelurahan')
DPA (Dewan Pertimbangan Agung)	Supreme Advisory Council
DPP (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat) Partai	Party Central Committee
DPR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat)	People's Representative Council
DPRD I (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah	Provincial People's Representative Council
DPRD I (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah	Regency / Municipality People's Representatives
Fraksi	Party bloc / fraction
GBHN (Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara)	Broad Outlines of State Policy
Gubernur (Kepala Daerah (KDH) Tingkat I)	Governor
Haluan Negara	State policy
Hansip (Pertahanan Sipil)	Civilian Guards
Hasil Akhir	Official results
Hasil Pemungutan Suara	Polling day / Voting day / Election day
Hasil Sementara	Preliminary results
Juklak (Petunjuk Pelaksanaan)	Operational guidelines
Juknis (Petunjuk Teknis)	Technical guidelines

<b>INDONESIAN</b>	<b>ENGLISH</b>
Jurdil (Jujur dan Adil)	Free and fair
Kabupaten (Daerah Tingkat (Dati) II)	Regency
Kamra (Keamanan Rakyat)	Civil Security Force
Keberatan	Objection
Kecamatan	District
Keluhan	Complaint
Kelurahan	Subdistrict
Kepala Desa (Kades)	Village Head
Kepala Negara	Head of State
Kepala Pemerintahan	Head of Government
Keputusan	Decree
Keputusan Presiden / Menteri	Presidential / Ministerial Decree
Kertas / Kain penyekat, ruang pencoblos	Voting screen
Ketua	Chairperson
Kotak Suara	Ballot box
Kotamadya (Dati II)	Municipality (Urban equivalent to regency)
KPPS (Kelompok Pelaksana Pemungutan Suara)	Polling Station Committee
KPU (Komisi Pemilihan Umum)	National Election Commission
Kursi Sisa	Remaining seats
LUBER (Langsung, Umum, Bebas, Rahasia)	Direct, Universal, Free, and Confidential
Lurah	Kelurahan Head
Menghitung Suara	Count ballots / votes
Menteri Dalam Negeri	Minister of Home Affairs
MPR(Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat)	People's Consultative Assembly
Musyawaharah Mufakat	Deliberation and consensus
Negara Kesatuan	Integrated state
Official Ballot	Regular ballot
P4U (Partai Politik Peserta Pemilihan Umum)	Contesting political party
Panwas(Panitia Pengawas)	Supervisory / Monitoring / Oversight Committee
Panwascam (Panitia Pengawas Pemilu di	District Election Monitoring Committee
Panwaslu(Panitia Pengawas Pemilu)	National Election Monitoring Committee
Panwaspus(Panitia Pengawas Pusat)	Central Election Monitoring Committee
Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu	Competing / Contesting political party
Pasal	Article
Pembagi Kursi (Sebelum Pemilu)	Apportionment of seats
Pembagi Kursi (Setelah Pemilu)	Allocation of seats
Pembagi Suara	Quota divider
Pemilihan Umum	Election
Pemilu Sistim Distrik	Single Member Plurality Election System
Pencalonan	Candidacy

<b>INDONESIAN</b>	<b>ENGLISH</b>
Pendaftaran Partai	Registration of parties
Pengadilan Negeri	Appeals court
Pengurus Partai	Party Committee
Perhitungan Suara dari beberapa TPS	Consolidation of the results
Perundang-undangan	Legislation
PPD-I (Panitia Pemilu DATI I)	Provincial Election Committee
PPD-II (Panitia Pemilu DATI II)	Regency Election Committee
PPI (Panitia Pemilihan Indonesia)	National Election Committee
PPK (Panitia Pemilu Tingkat Kecamatan)	District Election Committee
PPS (Panitia Pemungutan Suara); Panitia	Subdistrict Election Committee
Propinsi (DATI I)	Province
Proses Pemilu	Election process
Rumus rata-rata tertinggi	Highest average formula
Rumus sisa paling tinggi	Highest remaining formula
Saksi Utusan Partai	Party agent
Satgas (Satuan Tugas) Parpol	Political Party Security Unit
Segel	Seal
Sekretariat Pemilu Nasional	National Election Secretariat
Sertifikat Hasil Perhitungan Suara (SHPS)	Statement of the Count
Sistem Pemilu	Election system
Sistem pemilu Distrik	First-past-the-post election system / single
Sistem pemilu Proporsional	Proportional representation election system
Suara sah	Valid ballot
Suara tidak sah	Plurality / Majority
Surat Suara	Ballot paper
Surat Suara Palsu	Fake / Counterfeit ballot
Surat Suara Rusak	Spoiled ballot
Tempat pendaftaran	Registration station
Tingkat I	Province level
Tingkat II	Regency / Municipal level
Tinta Pemilu	Indelible ink
TPS (Tempat Pemungutan Suara)	Polling station
Tuntutan / permohonan	Appeal
Utusan Golongan	Society / Functional group
UU Parpol (Undang-undang Partai Politik)	Political Party Law
UU Pemilu (no.3 /1999)	Election Law
UU Susduk (Undang-undang susunan dan	Law of Structure and Composition of MPR, DPR
UUD (Undang-undang Dasar) 1945	1945 Constitution
Wakil Ketua	Vice Chair
Walikota / Walikotaamadya (KDH Tingkat II)	Mayor





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