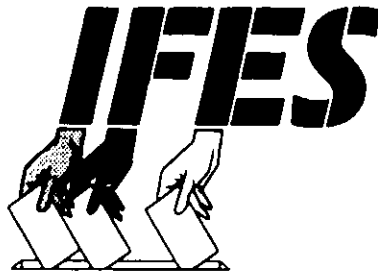


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Republic of Indonesia

**ALLOCATION OF SEATS TO POLITICAL PARTIES
FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY (DPR)**

ALOKASI KURSI BAGI PARTAI POLITIK UNTUK DPR-RI

**Implementation of the Proportional Representation System In Awarding National DPR Seats
Based on Results of June 1999 Elections**

**Penerapan Sistem Proporsional dalam Pembagian Kursi DPR-RI
Berdasarkan Hasil Pemilu Juni 1999**

September 9, 1999

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BACKGROUND

On June 7, 1999, elections were held in Indonesia for the 462 elected seats in the national People's Representative Assembly (DPR) and for assemblies at the provincial and district levels. The election law approved in January provided for assembly seats to be allocated to political parties contesting the election according to a proportional representation system.

The voting process in Indonesia's June 7 elections was generally viewed by domestic and international monitors as reasonably competent, fair and transparent. Consolidation of the vote count following the elections proved to be a slow and difficult process, however. Numerous administrative problems and allegations of voting irregularities held up tabulation and certification of the election results. A stalemate within the National Election Commission (KPU) on vote certification was surmounted when President Habibie signed a decree on August 4 validating the voting results from the June elections.

Allocation of seats to political parties based upon the certified results was further delayed because of controversy over application of regulations passed only weeks before the election by the KPU regarding seat allocation. These regulations introduced an element called "stembus accords," by which parties could enter into pre-election agreements to combine their "remainder" votes to improve chances of being awarded seats (*see* discussion below

LATAR BELAKANG

Pada tanggal 7 Juni 1999, Pemilu diadakan di Indonesia untuk memperebutkan 462 kursi di DPR Pusat, dan kursi bagi para anggota legislatif di tingkat propinsi dan kabupaten/kotamadya. Undang-undang pemilu yang disahkan bulan Januari menerapkan sistim proporsional dalam pembagian kursi bagi partai politik yang ikut pemilu.

Para pengamat politik nasional dan internasional, pada umumnya, memandang pemungutan suara tanggal 7 Juni cukup baik, adil dan transparan. Meskipun demikian, proses perhitungannya terbukti lambat dan sulit. Banyak masalah administrasi dan dugaan-dugaan kecurangan menghambat tabulasi dan sertifikasi hasil pemilu. Kebuntuan di KPU mengenai proses sertifikasi suara teratasi dengan ditandatanganinya keputusan pengesahan hasil pemilu oleh presiden Habibie pada tanggal 4 Agustus lalu.

Pembagian kursi berdasarkan hasil sertifikasi tertunda lagi karena perdebatan tentang penggunaan undang-undang pembagian kursi yang diberlakukan beberapa minggu menjelang pemilu. Peraturan ini dikenal dengan nama "stembus accord." Peraturan tersebut memperbolehkan kesepakatan pra Pemilu untuk menggabungkan "sisa suara" demi perolehan kursi. (lihat pembahasan di bawah

of seat allocation procedures, including use of vote quotas and “largest vote remainders”). The lack of clarity in the rules and the short time period for forming the accords caused some confusion.

Disputes arose after the election over which parties had made valid stembus accord agreements, and whether such agreements advantaged or disadvantaged their parties’ overall seat allocation. Some parties that performed poorly in the elections sought to form post-election agreements to share votes, and some even argued they should each be given a seat despite lack of voter support. A renewed KPU stalemate was finally resolved by a vote on August 30 to simply disregard the stembus accords in allocating seats to political parties for the national DPR.

Thus, the Indonesian Election Committee (PPI) was unable to finalize seat allocation for the national DPR until September 1. Of 48 political parties qualified to contest the election, 21 parties succeeded in receiving a share of the 462 elected DPR seats. These 21 parties received 96% of the 105,845,937 valid votes cast for national DPR. Of those votes cast for the 21 winning parties, the top five parties obtained 90% of that vote and 90% (416) of the seats allocated.

mengenai prosedur pembagian kursi, termasuk pencapaian kesepakatan penggabungan memunculkan penggunaan “kuota” dan “sisa suara terbanyak”). Ketidakjelasan peraturan dan keterbatasan waktu kerancuan dalam pelaksanaannya.

Sesudah pemilu, muncul perbedaan pendapat mengenai partai mana yang sudah membuat stembus accord yang benar, dan apakah kesepakatan semacam itu menguntungkan atau merugikan perolehan kursi partai secara keseluruhan. Beberapa partai yang perolehan suaranya kecil mencoba mencari kesepakatan paska pemilu, dan beberapa partai bahkan mendesak diberi satu kursi, meskipun tidak mendapatkan suara. Kebuntuan di KPU tersebut akhirnya dipecahkan dengan voting pada tanggal 30 Agustus, yang menyatakan bahwa stembus accord dalam pembagian kursi tingkat DPR pusat dibatalkan.

Jadi, Panitia Pemilihan Indonesia (PPI) baru dapat menyelesaikan pembagian kursi di tingkat DPR pusat pada tanggal 1 September. Dua puluh satu (21) partai dari empat puluh delapan (48) partai yang ikut pemilu berhasil mendapatkan jatah kursi di DPR. Kedua puluh satu partai ini memperoleh 96% dari 105.845.937 suara sah untuk tingkat DPR pusat. Dari 21 partai tersebut, lima partai besar mendapatkan 90% suara dan 90% (416) dari kursi yang ditetapkan.

ALLOCATION OF SEATS UNDER PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION SYSTEM

The law governing Indonesia's elections on June 7 provided that seats for legislative assemblies at the national, provincial and district levels were allocated to political parties according to proportional representation. Each of Indonesia's 27 provinces served as an electoral area for distribution of the 462 elected seats in the national DPR (38 DPR seats were assigned by law to the military). Each province was apportioned a number of DPR seats reflecting its population and number of component districts (*kabupaten/kotamadya*). Under proportional representation, each party winning sufficient votes in a province wins a share of DPR seats roughly proportionate to that party's share of the vote in that province.

Pursuant to the election law and KPU regulations, and consistent with international practices for implementing proportional representation, the process of allocation of seats to political parties begins by awarding seats to parties for each "quota" of votes they receive in the province. A provincial quota is calculated by dividing the total number of valid votes for DPR in the province by the number of DPR seats apportioned to the province ($\text{votes} / \text{seats} = \text{quota}$). A party receives a seat for each quota it has achieved in total valid votes for DPR in the province.

PEMBAGIAN KURSI DENGAN SISTIM PROPORSIONAL

Undang-undang Pemilu menyatakan bahwa Pemilu tanggal 7 Juni membagi kursi anggota legislatif tingkat nasional, propinsi dan kabupaten/kotamadya berdasarkan sistim proporsional. Pembagian daerah pemilihan didasarkan kedua puluh tujuh propinsi untuk memperebutkan 462 kursi di DPR Pusat (38 kursi dialokasikan bagi TNI berdasarkan Undang-undang). Setiap propinsi mendapatkan jatah kursi yang dihitung berdasarkan jumlah penduduk dan jumlah kabupaten/kotamadya. Menurut sistim proporsional, setiap partai yang memperoleh suara cukup di suatu propinsi, juga mendapatkan bagian kursi di DPR yang kurang lebih sama dengan bagian suara partai di propinsi tersebut.

Sesuai dengan undang undang Pemilu, peraturan KPU, dan sejalan dengan kebiasaan internasional, pelaksanaan sistim proporsional mengisyaratkan bahwa proses pembagian kursi bagi partai-partai politik dimulai dengan memberikan kursi bagi setiap "kuota" suara yang diperoleh dalam propinsi tersebut. Kuota propinsi dihitung dengan membagi jumlah suara sah yang masuk untuk DPR Pusat dengan alokasi kursi untuk propinsi tersebut ($\text{suara sah} / \text{alokasi kursi} = \text{kuota}$). Sebuah partai mendapatkan sebuah kursi untuk setiap kuota berdasarkan jumlah suara sah DPR di propinsi tersebut.

Obviously, not all seats for the province can be distributed to political parties by application of the quota: parties' total votes will not exactly match quota(s), and many parties will receive fewer votes than the quota number.

Of the 462 DPR seats elected on June 7, 342 seats were allocated to parties according to provincial quotas. All of the "quota seats" went to the seven parties that finished highest in both total votes and total seats for DPR nationally.

Absent the step of combining votes of parties through "stembus accords," eventually rejected by the KPU, the next stage in allocation of seats not distributed by the quota method is according to a ranking of parties' "largest vote remainders" in each province. "Vote remainders" include a party's votes "leftover" after it has received seats under the provincial quota (total party vote minus quota[s] used to receive seats) as well as total votes of each party that did not achieve a quota. The vote remainders are ranked highest to lowest in the province for each party. DPR seats for the province not already distributed by quota are then allocated to those parties with the "largest vote remainders." Because the number of seats is finite per province, some parties are not awarded a seat though their vote total may have been close to the last of the "largest vote remainders" to qualify for allocation.

Jelas bahwa tidak semua kursi dalam propinsi tersebut dapat dibagikan kepada partai politik dengan mempergunakan kuota (BPP): jumlah suara total partai tidak akan persis sama dengan kuota, dan banyak partai akan memperoleh suara yang lebih sedikit dari bilangan kuota (BPP).

Dari 462 kursi DPR yang diperebutkan pada Pemilu tanggal 7 Juni, hanya 342 kursi terbagi berdasarkan kuota propinsi. Semua "kursi kuota" menjadi milik tujuh partai yang terbesar baik dalam total suara maupun dalam total kursi untuk DPR secara nasional.

Tanpa mempedulikan lagi penggabungan suara lewat "stembus accord", yang akhirnya ditolak oleh KPU, langkah yang diambil sesudah tahap kuota adalah berdasarkan urutan partai dengan "sisa suara terbanyak" di masing-masing propinsi. "Sisa suara" termasuk "sisa" suara partai yang sudah dibagikan berdasarkan kuota propinsi. (jumlah suara partai dikurangi jumlah suara yang sudah dipakai berdasarkan perkalian kuota) dan juga jumlah total suara partai yang tidak mencapai kuota. Sisa suara tadi diurutkan dari yang tertinggi sampai yang terendah untuk setiap partai dari masing-masing propinsi. Kursi DPR yang belum habis terbagi berdasarkan jumlah kuota kemudian diberikan kepada partai-partai dengan "sisa suara terbanyak." Karena jumlah kursi per propinsi dibatasi, beberapa partai pasti tidak akan mendapatkan kursi meskipun jumlah total suaranya sangat dekat dengan "sisa suara terbanyak terakhir."

The top seven parties that won all of the 342 quota seats also received 94 of the 120 seats allocated by “largest vote remainders” – those seven parties’ leftover votes after filling quotas were still substantial. The other fourteen winning parties shared 26 seats; ten of these parties received only one seat each.

DESCRIPTION OF CHARTS

Implementation of the methods for allocating seats for the national People’s Representative Assembly (DPR) under proportional representation are illustrated in the following charts. These charts are based on official data and information released by the Indonesian Election Committee (PPI) on September 1.

Chart One (p. vii)

Allocation of DPR Seats to Political Parties:
Comparison to National Vote Results

- Political parties in descending order of national vote performance
- Total party vote and percent nationally
- Seats allocated by quota, seats allocated by remainder and total seats

Tujuh partai papan atas yang memenangkan 342 kursi kuota juga mendapatkan tambahan 94 kursi dari 120 kursi yang dibagikan berdasarkan “ sisa suara terbanyak”- sisa suara partai masih cukup besar meskipun sudah dibagi berdasarkan kuota. Empat belas partai pemenang yang lain mendapatkan 26 kursi; sepuluh partai lain hanya mendapatkan satu kursi.

KETERANGAN BAGAN

Bagan dibawah ini menunjukkan cara pembagian kursi DPR Pusat berdasarkan sistim proporsional. Bagan dibawah ini dibuat berdasarkan data resmi dan informasi yang diperoleh dari PPI pada tanggal 1 September.

Bagan Pertama (hal. vii)

Alokasi Kursi DPR menurut Partai Politik
Perbandingan terhadap Hasil Perolehan Suara Nasional

- Partai-partai politik berdasarkan perolehan suara nasional dari yang paling besar ke yang paling kecil
- Jumlah perolehan suara partai total dan persentasinya secara nasional
- Jumlah kursi yang dibagikan berdasarkan kuota, dan jumlah kursi yang dibagikan berdasarkan sisa suara dan jumlah total kursi.

Chart Two (p. viii)

Allocation of DPR Seats to Political Parties:
Distribution to 27 Provinces

- Total DPR votes and DPR seats for each province
- Seats allocated to 21 political parties by province

Provincial Charts (pp. 1-27)

Allocation of DPR Seats to Political Parties:
Results by Province for 21 Parties Receiving Seats

- Political parties in descending order of provincial vote performance
- Total party vote and percent in province
- Seats allocated by quota, seats allocated by remainder and total seats

Appendix 1

Comparison to Unofficial Results of JOMC

Appendix 2

Names and Abbreviations for Political Parties

Bagan kedua (hal.viii)

Alokasi Kursi DPR menurut Partai Politik
Pembagian dalam 27 Propinsi

- Jumlah suara DPR dan jumlah kursi DPR keseluruhan untuk setiap propinsi.
- Kursi yang dibagikan untuk 21 partai berdasarkan propinsi

Bagan Propinsi (hal. 1-27)

Alokasi Kursi DPR menurut Partai Politik:
Hasil per Propinsi bagi 21 partai yang memperoleh kursi

- Partai-partai politik berdasarkan perolehan suara nasional dari yang paling besar ke yang paling kecil
- Jumlah perolehan suara partai total dan persentasinya secara nasional
- Jumlah kursi yang dibagikan berdasarkan kuota, dan jumlah kursi yang dibagikan berdasarkan sisa suara dan jumlah total kursi.

Appendix 1

Perbandingan dengan Hasil tidak Resmi JOMC

Appendix 2

Nama dan singkatan-singkatan partai politik

Appendix 1

**COMPARISON TO UNOFFICIAL ELECTION RESULTS
OF JOINT OPERATIONS MEDIA CENTER (JOMC)**

The National Election Commission (KPU) and the international community, with support from the United Nations Development Program and donor countries, organized a cooperative effort called the Joint Operations and Media Center (JOMC) to provide early unofficial results for Indonesia's June 7 elections. JOMC vote results were based on reports from election officials at 4000 kecematans. The JOMC received data for 80% of the national vote within the first 17 days after the election.

JOMC projections proved remarkably accurate. The JOMC predicted 344 DPR seats would be determined by provincial quotas for seven parties; 342 quota seats were ultimately awarded to seven parties. The following table illustrates JOMC projections for vote percentages and number of quota seats for these top seven parties compared to final results:

(see next page)

Lampiran 1

**PERBANDINGAN DENGAN HASIL TIDAK RESMI
JOMC**

Komisi Pemilihan Umum dan masyarakat internasional, dengan dukungan dari United Nations Development Program dan negara-negara donor, mengadakan kerjasama yang disebut Joint Operations and Media Center (JOMC) untuk melaporkan hasil awal Pemilu 7 Juni. Hasil perhitungan dicatat dari laporan petugas Pemilu di 4000 kecamatan dan berhasil mendapatkan 80% data suara nasional dalam 17 hari sesudah Pemilu.

Projeksi JOMC ternyata sangat tepat. JOMC meramalkan bahwa 324 kursi DPR akan terbagi dalam tujuh partai besar berdasarkan kuota propinsi; Ternyata 342 kursi pada akhirnya benar benar diperoleh oleh ketujuh partai tersebut. Daftar berikut ini menggambarkan projeksi JOMC untuk prosentase suara dan jumlah kursi kuota bagi tujuh partai besar tersebut dibandingkan dengan hasil akhir:

(lihat halaman berikut)

Political Party	JOMC %	Official %	JOMC Quota Seats	Official Quota Seats
PDI-P	34.29	33.73	138	135
GOLKAR	22.06	22.43	98	99
PKB	12.19	12.6	39	40
PPP	10.69	10.7	39	39
PAN	7.49	7.11	27	26
PBB	1.97	1.94	2	2
PK	1.4	1.36	1	1