

who are given money may not vote your way even if they take your money.

Khairul Fahmi, Political Observer from Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISISS) said that TPS are critical points because conspiracies may occur between organizers and candidates. These spots are still vulnerable to vote rigging, even though anticipatory steps are taken. In order to minimize this occurrence, there is no other way than to improve the capacity and capability of anticipating weak points during election processes, whether related to organizers, candidates, or other relevant parties – even to the front line. Simply put, we all must be ready to open our eyes, ears, and mouths. The incumbent may have all abilities and devices to help him with, but smart challengers would not lose so easily. This is like the duel between David and Goliath. Let us remember Max Weber's famous words, "The people are an extremely powerful force."

The fact that foreign citizens holding Indonesian ID cards is a serious problem that we have not anticipated until late and it has become a risk. However, it is not fully the organizer's fault, as the initial voter database originates from data managed by the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is mostly the Ministry's neglect.

The finding of 17.5 million suspicious DPT data by Prabowo-Sandi's BPN is something that KPU must explain openly

Khairul Fahmi
Political Observer
from Institute for Security and Strategic Studies (ISISS)



The finding of 17.5 million suspicious DPT data by Prabowo-Sandi's BPN is something that KPU must explain. It is also a potential fraud, because anyone has the opportunity to make use of this suspicious data. Khairul Fahmi stated that the remaining time before elections should also be used to check carefully for the possibility of unqualified people who are still listed as voters.

Many surveys and studies stated that money politics in the form of "sudden dawn attacks" to constituents are still expected by some of the people. However, the same surveys and studies also shows that the ability of such moves to affect change of voting decision becomes smaller as time goes by. This means that such "dawn attacks" no longer determine victory, but functions more as increase of votes in order to ensure victory and expand the gap with competitors. "I find that it is the money politics that occur during the initial stages and in the middle of the campaign period, which includes various schemes of vote-buying, are better able to affect selection. Especially since the undecided voters' niche is still quite large, and they contain not only transactional voters but also rational or pragmatic voters. For example, the incumbent extravagantly raised Civil Servant wages, raised the benefits for Village Mentor Soldiers (*Bintara Pembina Desa* – "Babinsa"); that's a clear form of transactional activity," Khairul Fahmi said.

Ujang Komarudin has criticized and disapproved of cardboard ballots from the get go. "If it rains on cardboard boxes, or if we take them to extreme regions, there is a large potential of fraud. Therefore, why don't we make it from aluminium from the start, so we can also save money by using them from one election to another. I really regret KPU having made such a decision. However, because it is decided, let us monitor it together," he said.

As for foreign citizens holding ID cards, Ujang believes that this is stark carelessness on the part of the election

politics will continue to increase massively and widely in this Elections. What are the indicators? The Elections are being held simultaneously, and many legislative candidates are new and unknown faces. Most people only know Presidential Candidate Pairs. "This lack of recognition provides a great potential for money politics. The people will then vote based on what they are paid for," he said.

Former KPU Commissioner Hadar Nafis Gumay said that foreign citizens who might potentially vote may occur if their names are listed in the DPT. However, officers on duty in TPS will check the electronic ID cards belonging to these foreign citizens and check their names and citizenship statuses. If they are proven to be foreign citizens, they may not vote. News that foreign citizens are mobilized as voters in Indonesia must also be confirmed. In any case, the potential for it is slim, because there is a control mechanism involved in the processes performed in the TPS. Even if foreign citizens are caught voting because the officers are careless, then the entire TPS must redo the voting.

Prabowo-Sandi BPN found 17.5 million suspicious DPT data items. KPU is free to check this claim and explain it. "I think our citizenship and voter lists are imperfect for many understandable reasons, for example some voters are recorded as having the same birthday because they did not remember their birth dates, so a random date is assigned to them. The people actually exist, but they simply do not know for sure when they were born," Nafis said.

KPU must truly explain what it has been doing, what mechanisms they have in place to minimize fraud, to ensure that the officers work according to the set procedures. We need to remind everyone not to attempt any funny business in elections. Prevention of potential fraud must also start from the candidates, and we must make the election's candidates, organizers, monitors, and law enforcement aware of the importance of this event. Elections are democratic, and candidates must play fair in order to get voters to agree to their programs.

When the people doubt the election organizer, KPU should evaluate itself and work more professionally

Ujang Komarudin
Political Observer
from Al-Azhar Indonesia University



Titi Anggraini stated that the people pay more attention to Presidential Elections because of Presidential Election euphoria. Therefore, monitoring in TPS becomes weak, because later, they would first count Presidential Elections votes in TPS, then for the People's Representative Council (DPR), House of Regional Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* – "DPRD"), Provincial Regional Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* – "DPRD"), and Regency/Municipal DPRD. This opens up opportunities of transactional politics and manipulations in Legislative Elections, such as rigging the results, acrobatics for changing votes, and transfer of legislative candidate votes. In the 2009 elections, when the threshold was 2.5% votes won with 38 parties competing. Therefore, the parties who did not meet the parliamentary threshold requirement performed transactional politics by selling their votes to other political parties. Such practices might not be as vulgar and blatant as before, but they might still occur.

Some practices in the field are inconsistent with proper law enforcement. For example, some acts that involve the incumbent are not considered to be violations, but public meetings involving the opposition is frequently marked as violations while they have the same legal application. This inconsistency is easily capitalizing as a form of legal injustice and it will be easy to provoke the public with them

Titi Anggraini
Association for Elections and Democracy Executive Director



that there are voters with the same birth dates. The Directorate General of Demographics and Civil Registry (*Direktorat Jenderal Kependudukan dan Pencatatan Sipil* – "Ditjen Disdukcapil") explains that if a person forgets his/her birth date month, then his/her data is listed as the same with several other people already listed. This is what KPU must explain to back up its guarantee that the person really does exist. Something like this should have been identifiable from the start. KPU must be open for input and validate and clarify data items carefully. KPU needs only explain and communicate the data findings openly, transparently, and accountably to the public. This will help the public to understand the situation and accept it. The longer KPU takes to communicate to the public, the bigger our concern that some people would insinuate that there is fraud involved. Political parties can still control the DPT until Election Day because they will get copies of DPT per TPS, and there are witnesses in each TPS. Therefore, if there is suspicious data, we can watch it all the way until Election Day.

Ballots made of cardboard are actually not an issue, as long as the integrity of the officers assigned to guard them is intact and they are credible. As for foreign citizens having ID cards and potentially voting, Titi believes that the conflict occurs because there is a gap of information and the public does not understand about e-ID cards for foreign citizens. The people only know that e-ID cards are the primary requirement for voting and proof of Indonesian citizenship. Therefore, anyone having an e-ID card is an Indonesian citizen. "However, I do not think that the listing of foreign citizens in the DPT is not by design, but because of carelessness, neglect, and limited knowledge of e-ID cards. Especially since the foreign workers' e-ID cards are too similar with Indonesian citizen e-ID cards. Most of these foreign citizens do have e-ID cards because they have permanent residence permits due to their marital status. This is a highly sensitive issue, because anything that is related to foreigners easily triggers the people's emotions – especially if they are related to Chinese citizens. If the issue is not straightened up immediately and good public communication is built from various elements, the Government will especially be accused of injustice. We must remember that many Indonesian citizens are still waiting on the administration and delivery of their own e-ID cards," she said.

Former KPU Commissioner Chusnul Mar'iyah believes that everyone involved in the execution of the elections have the potential to perform fraud, especially the candidates. They might perform any type of fraud, starting from vote buying. But the one with better access for performing fraud is the incumbent, because the incumbent controls all State apparatus: the bureaucracy, the military, the police, and even the intelligence agency. Furthermore, they have unlimited access to both the State Budget and Regional Budgets. "Incumbent" here includes both the executive power incumbents and legislative power incumbents. "I

monitoring Committees in the District, Bawaslu in Regency and Provincial Level, and Central Bawaslu. Any and all of these have the possibility of committing fraud.

Actors whom can also be monitored to prevent election fraud are the economic oligarchs or major entrepreneurs who are involved in the support of Presidential Candidate Pair. The Law has rules for giving donations, both individuals and corporations have donation limits according to the constitutions. Political parties may conspire with economic oligarchs. Many entrepreneurs cash in by taking projects only after Presidential Elections are won according to their preference. Other actors that may perform fraud are media with fake news, as well as survey agencies that can be used as propaganda tools, depending on who pays them. Another fraud that voters must monitor are foreign workers, because it is possible that these non-citizens are given e-ID cards and vote with us. We must be especially wary of these things.

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Chusnul Mar'iyah
Former KPU Commissioner



The finding of the 17.5 million suspicious DPT data items must be investigated. The one most guilty in this case is the Ministry of Home Affairs, because this is their task. The ones who get the funds for updating voter data are the Ditjen Disdukcapil of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Therefore, to be more specific, the Ditjen Disdukcapil must take responsibility. KPU should have obtained clean demographics data from Ditjen Disdukcapil, in order to prevent our State from double expenditures of the budget. Imagine, two agencies doing the same thing, yet KPU must still request quite a large amount of funds for the coldit process, for voters' data and information system (*sistem informasi data pemilih* – "sidah"), and for rectify in the field. What happened to the funds granted to the Ministry of Home Affairs for this purpose? This is why we must reopen the case, especially since some of the deviants who corrupted e-ID cards funds have also been jailed.

"I disagree with the idea of assigning the building of our demographic system using the services of private companies: that's not proper. Our demographic database has 12 variables. This system was first made in RI by the KPU of 2004, when I was still there. After it was completed, we transferred it to the Ministry of Home Affairs on 8 December 2004 gratis. Then in the subsequent elections, they changed the database's nomenclature to the List of Potential Election Voter Citizens' List (*Daftar Penduduk Pemilih Potensial Pemilihan Umum* – "DP4"). In the 2014 elections, the nomenclature was changed again into e-ID cards. When I worked for KPU in 2004, we had Rp 427 billion budgeted for our creation of the demographics database. They then changed it to DP4 with a budget of Rp 3.8 trillion, then to e-ID cards with a budget of Rp 5.8 trillion. Even then, KPU still requested Rp 1.6 trillion to clean up the data created by the Ministry of Home Affairs for updating. Therefore, the Ministry of Home Affairs did not create new data but merely updated it, this is a problem. The fact in the field shows that there are some foreigners included in the DPT, yet there are some Indonesian citizens – our own citizens – who have e-ID cards but whose data is

programs. How far would KPU consider this as a method of money politics? Why is it done only within the past two months? That's the question. The one that we need monitor for this type of transaction is the PPK, which is located far from TPS and whose duty is to total the results gained by Sub-district TPS.

Campaign Obstruction

When Prabowo-Sandi had the difficulty of renting venues for their campaigns, as what happened in Yogyakarta and Bandung, they actually earned a positive brand image from the public: that the Presidential Candidate Pair number 02 are the victims of an obvious injustice. This is not a problem – in fact, this builds up strong militancy among their followers. How come? "I think that apart from vulgar and blatant attempts at obstruction, Jokowi's government lacks internal integrity at organizer security level. For example, there are rifts in the police and intelligence," Hendrajit said.

During the campaign period, it must be admitted that Prabowo-Sandi found it difficult to lease venues to perform their campaigns. Khairul Fahmi admitted that their difficulty in getting campaign venues cannot be called a fraudulent act, as it is about taking sides and being influenced. If the lease is related to private parties, we cannot charge them as being fraudulent as long as there is no evidence of the involvement or intervention of either the election organizer or anyone else behind the rejection. "Therefore, I suggest that it is important to ensure that all terms and conditions, including those related to necessary documents, be satisfied in order to pre-empt any reason to obstruct any of our activities. If we have satisfied all requirements but we still get obstructed, then we may have our suspicions," he said.

Ujang stated that the State must treat both Presidential Candidate Pair number 01 and number 02 fairly. Complaints from Presidential Candidate Pair 02 that states that they find it hard to get a building for campaigns must be especially noticed, because fairness is something that all citizens must enjoy. It would be unreasonable and dangerous if justice and fairness are no longer there. Therefore, we request that law enforcement remains professional in their work. After all, they belong to the people, so everyone is granted with the same opportunities and time in order to ensure that the contest is being held fairly. This would bring pride to all of us," he said.

Democratic Consolidation

Hendrajit concludes that when the 2019 Elections are completed, the situation if Jokowi loses would not be too far different than when it happened to Ahok: the potential for riots would only last for a week or two, but if Prabowo loses, the public would think that Prabowo-Sandi were cheated. The people's power will rise, because the foundation has been made through the 411 and 212 rallies. The basis is no longer about reacting towards blasphemy, but also triggering the sub-consciousness of elements of the people relating to economic injustice, legal injustice, group discriminations, etc. that would lead towards people power comprised of people who share the chemistry of race and ideas, so that they gather massively. Even the 212 Reunion was worthy of consideration in terms of both mass and quality. If people power is raised, Prabowo-Sandi cannot be damned, because people power is peaceful and non-violent. Despite being a moral movement, its political volatility is quite large, and its revolutionary implications enormous. Just look at the Philippines in 1986, when President Cory Aquino first came into power.

Election fraud occurs through three

normative processes of elections to still run smoothly. Building trust in the organization is very important. We must be anticipative, skeptical, critical, and wary, but that does not mean that we are pessimistic and suspicious, let alone being excessively so. Remember, anyone still has the potential for winning and losing. Don't build a perception of early defeat by basing on the assumption that the elections process is untrustworthy.

Khairul Fahmi also hopes that the law can be upheld near the Presidential Elections, even though we are all aware that our law enforcement is still a problem. The problems are not related to elections only. There is still the basic problem that our law enforcement still finds it difficult to maintain an ideal distance from power. It would potentially injure somebody when law enforcement is partial, and this is our classic problem. We must remain critical.

The hope for honest and fair elections can be felt by the Indonesian people. Khairul Fahmi continues to hope and to maintain the hope, whether through moral speeches and real actions. For example, he reports all types of organizer actions and policies that are suspected to lead to partiality or fraud. Remember, we still have the Elections Organizer Honorary Council (*Dewan Kehormatan Pelaksana Pemilihan Umum* – "DKPP") that serves as the dispenser of justice relating to organizer ethics. We cannot just rush into pessimism and do nothing but grumble, as that means that we simply close our eyes and suffer things to happen. Whether our reports are followed up or not, whether the results are according to our expectations or not, that is a different matter entirely. We can measure the quality of the organization and results of elections from there.

Elections is a democratic way, and candidates must play fair in order to get voters to agree to their

Hadar Nafis Gumay
Former KPU Commissioner



Titi Anggraini believes that with the current condition of our election organizer, this is the fifth elections being held after reforms. It is an extremely important turning point for consolidating democracy in Indonesia. Therefore, the honesty and fairness – or lack of these – in our elections depend on many parties and many factors: election regulations, election organizer, candidates, and voters. The public must also control the election process. The people must really want to participate and contribute by monitoring and guarding the entirety of the process. "I believe that the fraud can be suppressed. As for total elimination, I believe that there is not a single election in the world is free from frauds or violations, but they can be minimized. Therefore, the people's role for caring is extremely important, and the assistance of the media in providing sufficient information to voters so that they can take part in the monitoring and guiding of election processes is extremely important," she said.

Titi suspects that fraud will increase within the context Legislative Elections, and that currently there are some disparities or inconsistencies in elections law enforcement that can easily be perceived as injustice towards the opposition. Such treatment can be capitalized on optimally, because it is in fact there. Law enforcement processes must be performed openly, transparently, and accountably. The people must be given measurable explanation of these processes, because issues relating