

9-2019

Challenges and Innovation of Indonesia Overseas Election in Tokyo

Gusti Raganata
University of Tokyo, raganatagusti@g.ecc.u-tokyo.ac.jp

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/politik>



Part of the [Other Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Raganata, Gusti (2019) "Challenges and Innovation of Indonesia Overseas Election in Tokyo," *Jurnal Politik*. Vol. 5: Iss. 1, Article 4.

DOI: 10.7454/jp.v5i1.1021

Available at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/politik/vol5/iss1/4>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at UI Scholars Hub. It has been accepted for inclusion in Jurnal Politik by an authorized editor of UI Scholars Hub.

Challenges and Innovation of Indonesia Overseas Election in Tokyo

GUSTI RAGANATA*

Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo

7-3-1 Hongo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113-8656

Japan

Email: raganatagusti@g.ecc.u-tokyo.ac.jp

ABSTRAK

Pemilu luar negeri di Indonesia dimulai sejak tahun 1955. Akan tetapi, regulasi pemilu luar negeri Indonesia memiliki banyak kekurangan seperti tidak adanya aturan spesifik mengenai pemilu luar negeri dan hampir tidak ada perbedaan khusus antara aturan luar negeri dan dalam negeri. Pada akhirnya, problem tersebut menghambat Panitia Pemilu Luar Negeri (PPLN) untuk menjalankan pemilu serentak dengan baik serta memengaruhi kualitas pemilu tersebut. Ketika pemilu Indonesia biasanya dijalankan secara tradisional dengan kertas dan proses pengambilan data secara manual, PPLN mempromosikan inovasi-inovasi untuk mengatasi masalah tersebut. Dalam perjalanannya, PPLN Tokyo menghadapi hambatan-hambatan tersebut ketika mengimplementasikan solusi inovasi teknologi. Beberapa inovasi yang dilakukan dapat menjadi solusi yang dapat dipelajari, direplikasi dan diterapkan bagi pemilu domestik di Indonesia dan membuat kualitas pemilu menjadi lebih baik.

Kata kunci: Pemilu luar negeri, inovasi teknologi, PPLN Tokyo

ABSTRACT

Indonesian overseas elections were first done in 1955. However, Indonesia has lacked specific laws in regards to regulating overseas elections, with almost no distinction between overseas and domestic elections. It has barred the Overseas Election Committee (PPLN) from properly conducting simultaneous elections as well as affecting the quality of the elections. Whereas Indonesian elections are traditionally done through paper ballots in which data are collected manually, PPLNs have promoted innovations to overcome challenges. Constraints are faced by PPLN Tokyo when implementing technology-based solutions. Several of the innovations done can be studied, replicated, and applied in Indonesia's domestic elections and can improve the quality of the elections overall.

Key words: overseas election, technological innovation, PPLN Tokyo

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v5i1.255>

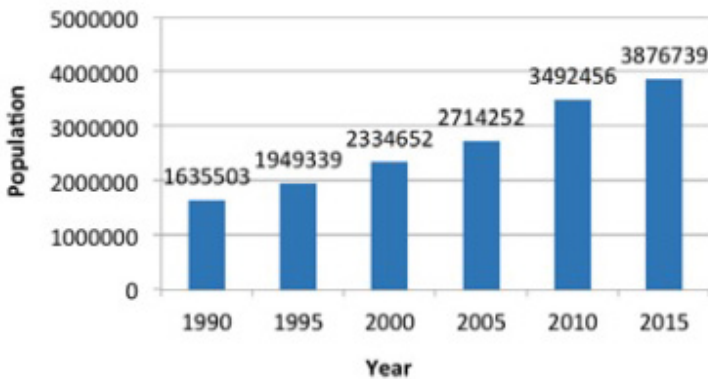
INTRODUCTION

The 2019 Indonesian election has recorded two million registered voters overseas. The number may increase since, according to the United

* The author is a former student of Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo

Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), Indonesia's diaspora population in 2015 reached 3.8 million people. Based on the figure below, the population has increased by around 230% since 1990. Calculations of UNDESA is based on data obtained by respondents' ethnic/national identities.

Figure 1 Indonesia Living Abroad 1990–2015



Source: UNDESA, Population Division 2017

However, based on official data collected from Indonesian embassies, the number could be as high as 8 million individuals (Setijadi 2017, 10). With this figure, there are voters potential to get where the chance of fraud will followed. In this manner, the conduct of overseas elections should be treated in a manner similar to domestic elections.

This lack of effort in regulating overseas elections without disrupting the overall election process has impacted negatively on the event itself. Cases of fraud in overseas elections have happened, for example in Malaysia, where some ballots were sent to addresses not inhabited by Indonesians at the time and some were even casted before the official voting date (The Straits Times 2019). Based on that, we recognize the urgency to implement innovation in technology in overseas elections, including the legalization of certain regulations in support of it.

Both domestic and overseas elections are conducted based on Law No. 7/2017 about Election and KPU Regulation No. 3/2019 about

Voting Implementation. The problem is that there is a difference between the conduct of domestic and overseas elections. Therefore, it has prevented the Overseas Indonesia Election Committee (PPLN) from running elections in a proper manner. The challenges in general are structural, informational, time-related, and behavioral. In Indonesian elections in Japan, these challenges have impacted the turn out rate of voters in 2014 to only 55% (Tempo.co. 2014). Current election regulations have constrained overseas elections, resulting in the officials' inability to distinguish the technical aspects of the election process both overseas and domestic.

In order to hold elections on schedule, PPLN has to find some holes in the regulation and utilize information technology (IT). It raises the question of how technological innovations implemented by PPLN Tokyo have helped in reducing overseas election challenges. These challenges refer to all circumstances based on the different characteristics of domestic and overseas elections without any distinctions on regulations. To prevent any problems from occurring, PPLN Tokyo made several innovations which can be replicated by other PPLNs. Moreover, it can also be implemented domestically.

There are numerous studies on elections in political science. But discussions on overseas elections, especially by Indonesia, are limited. The US is the most-discussed country in academic papers on overseas elections (Alvarez and Hall 2008; Cain, Mac Donald, and Murakami 2008; Moynihan and Lavertu 2012). In Asia, the Philippines have taken the lead on analyzing the voting behavior of their diaspora in previous elections (Alarcon Jr. 2012). In a comparative manner, the US and the Philippines conduct overseas elections but have different implementations. For example, in US elections, voters cast their ballots in a certain area where they originally live through postal services, or through the Direct Recording Electronic (DRE). In Philippines, all Filipinos are encouraged to come to diplomatic missions to cast their votes and are restricted from doing so if they were not previously registered in the Philippines. Although Indonesia is mentioned in Andrew Ellis' book about the history and the implementation of external voting, there are

virtually no academic papers discussing the conduct and evaluation of overseas elections by the Indonesian Election Committee (KPU) (Ellis 2007).

This paper uses a literature review and in-depth interviews to obtain data. Primary data is obtained from interviews of the representatives of Indonesian community in Tokyo, Head of PPLN Tokyo 2019 members where the writer also became part of the committee, *Panwaslu* (Election Supervisory Committee) Tokyo 2019, and Head of PPLN Tokyo 2014. The secondary data is from reports of overseas election implementation in Japan by PPLN Tokyo. The structure of this paper will share the concept of overseas election and IT utilization in an election, where both are discussed within the literature review. The next part will be explaining the challenges of an overseas election in Tokyo as well as how PPLN Tokyo utilized IT to help run the elections. The last part will conclude the findings in the paper.

OVERSEAS ELECTION: CONCEPT AND HISTORY

An increasing number of professional groups, students, tourists elevate the demand for external voting practices to function in different circumstances. External voting or overseas elections are procedures which enable some or all electors of a country who are temporarily or permanently abroad to exercise their voting rights from outside the national territory. (Braun and Gratschew 2007, 8). The history of the overseas election started in Iceland in the early 20th century by allowing Iceland fishermen to cast their ballots earlier (Ellis 2007, 3). It is currently adopted by 115 countries and territories around the world. In the case of the US and Philippines, a number of military postings abroad and the amount high/low skill migrants drive demands for overseas elections. It is also the case that they are a potentially important political force whose votes can, in many cases, shape election results. However, practical implementation of overseas elections is complicated by several factors, such as the number of voters, their locations, distances involved, cost of overseas elections and the complexity of the voting system (Ellis

2007; Cain, Mac Donald, and Murakami 2008; Alarcon Jr. 2012; Hermonson et al. 2015).

In general, overseas elections can take the form of national or local elections. However, countries commonly allow overseas elections for national-level elections to elect Presidential and legislative members. People who are eligible to vote are migrants, refugees, professionals, and all currently-abroad citizens of a country (Green 2007, 93). These people include illegal workers without proper documents, which makes it difficult for them to both register and vote as external electors and leads to feelings of insecurity as they fear being penalized if they do so. The country holding the elections needs to know where its electors are located, the fact that there may be security problems in organizing elections in a certain area or country, and the question whether agreements need to be reached with the host country. Besides, these elections may involve high costs, and careful and timely planning may be crucial to the electoral process (Thompson 2007).

There are some restrictions on the right to vote abroad that certain countries have struggled (Nohlen and Grotz 2007). Restrictions are normally related to the time spent or the activities carried out abroad. Around 30 countries in the world have restrictions in place for external electors. For practical reasons, a country may limit the availability of external voting to citizens living or staying in certain (in some cases neighboring) countries. The entitlement to vote from abroad is sometimes restricted to voters who are assumed to have a connection with their home country. They may have to show an intent to return to their country of origin, as in the case of the Philippines.

When it comes to voting, the countries offer alternative methods for voting from abroad, while other countries limit their options to one, for logistical or financial reasons. Some options are more costly than others, while some offer a more secure or faster voting channel. There are four main methods to cast a vote from abroad (Braun and Gratschew 2007, 6-7). First, personal voting, the voter must go to a specific place and cast his or her vote there in person. This can be a diplomatic mission or a polling place specially set up abroad. This is the procedure

most widely used for casting an external vote and is found as the preferred voting method in Afghanistan, Argentina, Hungary and South Africa. Second, postal voting. The voter fills out the ballot paper at a place he or she chooses and the vote is then sent by post to the home country. Sometimes witnesses are required to confirm the identity of the voter and witness that he or she has filled in the ballot paper freely and without interference. Postal voting is one of several voting methods in Indonesia, Canada, and Mexico. Third, Proxy vote. A citizen living or staying abroad may be enabled to vote by choosing a proxy who casts the vote for the voter at a polling place in the home country, or abroad. All but four countries that provide this method provide it in combination with personal voting or postal voting. Last, electronic votes. The voter may use the Internet, smartphones, or telephones to cast his or her vote. This type of electronic voting is most often referred to as remote electronic voting, or e-voting and may become more common in future.

The most common option, made available by most countries that practice external voting, is personal voting. Voting often takes place in diplomatic missions or other official facilities. This option is used by 55 countries. The main advantages of this option are that it ensures the secrecy of the vote and that the voter's choice is guaranteed to end up on the ballot paper. The second most common single option is postal voting. The advantages of this option include that it can be practiced in most countries in the world, while the disadvantages may include high costs and slow postal services. However, mixed systems, which offer external voters more than one voting option, are not uncommon and are found in 27 countries. Mixed systems can, for example, offer personal voting and postal voting, or proxy voting and postal voting. Very few countries have started using electronic voting for their external voters, although several tests are being carried out, and systems are being piloted. Furthermore, the terms overseas election and external voting are interchangeable. Expressions such as 'absent voting', 'absentee voting' or 'out-of-country voting' mean the same thing.

INNOVATION AND TECHNOLOGY IN ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

An election is a way to exercise the right of citizenship. To make it work, elections should be run independently in a fair and transparent manner. Two of the most important goals of administering elections are to register eligible citizens and to count votes in an impartial, efficient, and accurate manner (Cain, Mac Donald, and Murakami 2008). Technology has become a key means by which governments seek to foster and improve quality and efficiency. The mandate is to run a more efficient overseas election to overcome all the constraints. But, quite often, the potential for new technologies depends on the preferences of individual administrators. Using the experience of US overseas election, several articles that I have reviewed shed light on how technological innovation shape a better implementation.

Adopting recent technology is specifically designed to address the trust deficit between electoral stakeholders. In many cases, however, the technology does not necessarily improve trust in the process or address the problem it sought to resolve. In other context, technology has been introduced with inadequate research, planning, testing, training, or voter education, resulting in decreased trust in the process and increased costs to electoral budget (International IDEA-RECEF 2018, 7). The main point of technology is to introduce greater electoral efficacy and electoral transparency (Cheeseman, Lynch, and Willis 2018, 1398). Greater efficacy and transparency will save electoral budget and increase the trust of voters.

Discussions on innovation and technology in elections usually revolve around how to vote from abroad using electronic means, which most people may know as electronic voting or e-voting. That term includes the administration and casting of the votes through IT services and is different than traditional ballot casting (Alvarez and Hall 2004; Cain, Mac Donald, and Murakami 2008). There are pros and cons of e-voting. The proponents of e-voting have several arguments why e-voting should be applied (Alvarez and Hall 2004, 6). First, it lowers the cost of participation for certain special populations. According to

Downs, lowering cost to votes may increase turn out ration (Downs 1957). It will be a game-changer for the fact that overseas voting usually has a lower turn out and participation rate. Second, promoting an inclusive way for people with disabilities and frequent travelers abroad to vote. Third, e-voting may reach out the previously marginalized voters. Even though the proponents of e-voting shows the opportunity of the e-vote system, those against it have argued that the e-vote system may lead into a disaster because of the security implications and whether such a system would favor some voters at the expense of others. Both arguments are valid since favoritism can become a concern to observers of Internet development: the growth of significant differences in the quality of Internet access. However, Innovations in voting technology may lower some hurdles (Alvarez and Hall 2004).

Alvarez (2008) and Cain, Mac Donald, and Murakami's (2008) articles refer to US elections where they use electronic ballots overseas. This circumstance was enabled due to the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA), which permits voters abroad to register through the internet while still casting ballots in the traditional way. Moreover, the US has also permitted the utilization of Direct Recording Electronic (DRE), a machine that looks like an Automatic Teller Machine (ATM), which shows the candidates and from which voters choose directly and it will record the votes automatically (Moynihan and Lavertu 2012). E-voting became possible through these regulations.

In other cases, such as the Philippines and Indonesia, regulations are not in support of e-voting or any technology-based ballot casting. But the case for them in using technology is to help in counting the votes or for voter-registration purposes. These efforts need to be supported through thorough Standard Operation Procedures (SOPs). By developing compatible SOPs, the integrity of election committees will remain secure because it promotes the assumption that the voting process, starting from the registration period up until the ballot count, remain transparent and through clear procedures (Alvarez and Hall 2008). In the end, maintaining thorough and appropriate SOPs is the mechanism

that can be used to prevent election fraud and make sure the technological innovations being used in the election process are accountable.

BRIEF BACKGROUND AT INDONESIAN OVERSEAS ELECTION

Implementation of overseas elections by Indonesia is as old as domestic elections in Indonesia. In the first election in 1955, under the mandate of election law No. 7/1953, the ambassadors were to appoint foreign election committee (PPLN) in each embassy office. Their responsibility is to deal with election administration such as to manage electoral registration, voting and the counting of ballot papers (Wall 2007). It continued through the New Order era elections, when the PPLN consisted of bureaucrats and worked under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and supervised by the Minister of Home Affairs following the election law No.15/1969 that became the main regulation for elections during the New Order era.

As Soeharto stepped down before the beginning of the reformation era, elections became implemented differently. Now, all the election committees consist of party representatives under the supervision of the Ministry of Home Affairs but independently-elected by the President. Similar changes also happened abroad, where the PPLN now consists of party representatives abroad but working under the same framework operated in elections under the New Order. However, constitutional changes done up until 2002 brought changes to election administrations. Now, an election committee is independent, undergoing recruitment processes in parliament, and impacting the PPLN where they are now appointed by KPU and working under KPU supervision with help of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Overseas election constituents are part of DKI Jakarta II, which consists of South Jakarta, Central Jakarta, and Overseas ballots. In 1999, the overseas voters only had the option to choose a member of parliament from the DKI Jakarta province, but changes were made in 2004 to allow voting for both an elected member of parliament and the President. Parliamentary elections were held using the new election law No.

12/2003 that used an open list proportional representation (PR) system. It required voters to vote for their preferred political party, with the option to vote for their preferred candidate from that party's candidate list for the relevant electoral district.

It was argued, successfully, that it was not possible for external voting stations to cope with administrative materials for the 69 national electoral districts, and that neither the political parties nor the electoral administrators had the capacity to provide information at all external voting locations about the candidates standing on party lists in all these districts. To simplify the administration, the KPU determined that, in the 2004 elections, votes casted by external voters would continue to be amalgamated with votes casted in the Jakarta province. However, the Jakarta province is now split into two electoral districts for the DPR elections. Arguments were made for continuing the historical arrangement whereby all external votes were amalgamated into the votes for the electoral district where the headquarters of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is located, but this was not accepted. Instead, external votes were divided into what the KPU believed would be relatively equal shares. Votes for the DPR from external voters in Malaysia and Singapore were amalgamated with votes for one Jakarta electoral district, and votes from external voters at all other locations were amalgamated with votes for another Jakarta district (Wall 2007).

All these elections were to be held on the same day. Subsequent presidential elections were to be held using a two-round election system. But in 2019, under the Election Law No.7/2017, the elections must be done simultaneously where the people vote for their member of parliament of choice and the President on the same day. Moreover, the administrative arrangements for external voting for the 2014 and 2019 elections were similar to those in previous elections. The process was managed by the KPU, in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. External voting facilities were located at Indonesian diplomatic missions and managed at each location by an independent PPLN, appointed by the KPU. *Panwaslu* were also established at each external voting location. *Panwaslu* is a uniquely Indonesian institution, formed

at each election administration sites. They are responsible to the KPU and charged with supervising the election processes, handling complaints, resolving disputes that do not involve a breach of the law, and reporting on alleged breaches of the law to the relevant authority.

Indonesians overseas who meet the qualifications to vote were able to register at Indonesian diplomatic missions in the city they reside in. PPLNs at each mission were responsible for registration: it could be done in person, by email or by post. Electors registering overseas were not included in the population counts used to determine the number of seats in the DPR allocated to the Jakarta province, or the districts within the province. A single electoral register was constructed for each mission, later to be broken down into lists to be used at each polling station within the mission (the electoral law sets a maximum of 300 electors per polling station). Voting in person at diplomatic missions was held simultaneously with the voting process in Indonesia. Observers, party agents and *Panwaslu* members had the same rights to observe the election processes at external voting locations as their counterparts in Indonesia. Since the 2004 elections, external voters could also apply for postal ballots, which had to be received by the relevant mission within ten days of election day. Votes lodged in person and by post at external voting locations were counted at that location and the results faxed or emailed to the KPU's headquarters in Jakarta.

In 2004, between 405,000 and 460,000 people registered as external electors, of an estimated 2 million of Indonesians overseas. External voter turnouts at these elections, at between 55 per cent and 60 per cent, was significantly lower than the turnouts within Indonesia. Funding requirements for external voting are specifically recognized in the KPU's budget. During the period in which new election laws were being developed for the 2004 elections, there was some discussion, initiated by civil society organizations, as to whether external electors could also be eligible to vote in elections other than those for the DPR and the presidency, but such proposals were not strongly argued or seriously considered.

REGULATION AND DATA CONSTRAINTS DURING INDONESIA ELECTION IN TOKYO

All 2019 elections in Indonesia follow the Election Law No. 7/2017 and their technical aspects are regulated by KPU regulation No. 4/2018. These two regulations are fundamental in running elections both domestic and overseas. On the other hand, the voter data is collected domestically and is provided by Indonesian diplomatic missions. One breakthrough from KPU is the introduction of *Sistem Informasi Data Pemilih (Sidalih*, ‘Voter Data System’) (Paat 2017). This is an online platform where the voters can check whether their names are already registered or not. This system was proposed as a solution to voter registration problems in Indonesia. In general, KPU is capable of running both domestic and overseas elections. However, during the implementation phase, anything can happen especially when there are cracks in the details.

In the context of overseas election, PPLN Tokyo’s jurisdiction is in the same area as the Indonesian embassy in Tokyo, except for the diplomatic mission in Osaka where they have their own PPLN. The Indonesian nationals (WNI) population who live in the area under jurisdiction of the Indonesian embassy in Tokyo is 51,881, spreading from Okinawa in the south to Hokkaido in the North. Other concentrations of Indonesian nationals reside in the Aichi Prefecture (6,462), Tokyo Great Area (4,751), and Ibaraki Prefecture (3,457), most of which consist of trainees (23245), students (6,677), and Indonesian nationals with permanent residence (6,313) (PPLN Tokyo 2019, 5). Japan’s geography is constrained by the fact that it is an archipelago, making Indonesian nationals populations loosely concentrated, are too spread out and hard to reach.

The PPLN was appointed in March 2018 and established the voters registration committee (*Pantarlih*) as mandated by KPU Regulation No.32/2018. *Pantarlih*’s one-month working period in overseas elections are similar to the *Pantarlihs* in domestic elections. However, according to an interview with Makmur Lubis, Head of PPLN 2019, *Pantarlih* found that it was hard to register or even confirm the voters in an

existing list. Previously, *Pantarlih* received a list of Indonesian citizens who reside in the PPLN Tokyo area. The database was sourced from the Indonesian embassy and KPU who had collected the data in the previous years. Thus, *Pantarlih*'s working period had been deemed insufficient, since the data was not accurate and that their working period is in parallel with a long holiday, in which people were usually not at home and the post office was closed (Interview with Makmur Lubis, August 2019). Henceforth, the inaccuracy of the registered voters list impacted the ballot availability since the ballot reserve was only 2% from total registered voters.

Table 1 Indonesian nationals in Tokyo

Information	Data Sources				
	DP4LN-KPU	SAKURA INDONESIA (After Sept 2017)	Indonesia Immigration (After Sept 2017)	New Voters	Total
Benchmark Data	13992	1578	734	-	16304
Early Verification Process					
Data Duplication	24				
Corrupted Data	555				
Data ready to Verified	13413	1578	734	-	15725
Outreach Process					
Email	1819	1239	-	-	3058
Post	10339	330	-	-	10669
Total Data Verified	12158	1569	-	-	13727

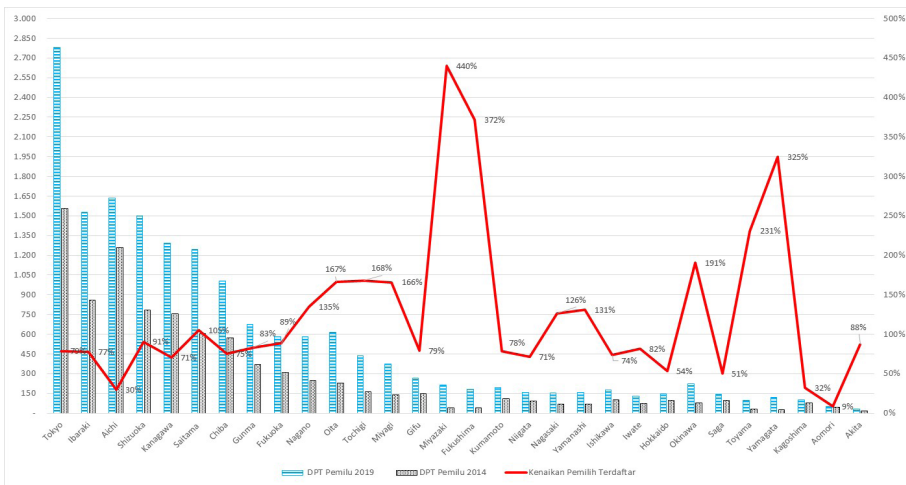
Source: PPLN Tokyo 2019

Pantarlih have received data copies from *Data Penduduk Potensial Pemilihan Pemilu di Luar Negeri* (DP4LN, Data on Potential Overseas Election Voters), Sakura Indonesia, and Indonesia Immigrations. DP4LN is data given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to PPLN with only three variables: name, passport number, and birthdate without address. Sakura Indonesia is data owned by the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo, and the Indonesia Immigration data is based on Indonesian nationals who have reissued Indonesian passports. Interestingly, *Sidalih* is not connected with all overseas database. It opens the risk for someone who had already casted their ballot abroad to vote again domestically, considering that overseas elections are held earlier. The reason why data inaccuracy becomes a problem is due to the Indonesian embassy's

inability to access any data on Indonesian nationals within the Japanese Immigration system because of data privacy regulations in Japan. Furthermore, Indonesian nationals are not compelled to report their movements within and outside Japan. The proactiveness of Indonesian nationals becomes the only way for the Indonesian embassy to obtain the specific addresses of the voters. The *Sidalih* system is also disconnected with the Indonesian diplomatic mission, further emphasizing the risk of data duplication and should be considered upon for next elections.

According to the table above, the number of Indonesian nationals responding to the *Pantarlih* confirmation effort amount to only 13,727 people. It is very far from the total Indonesian nationals known to live in the PPLN Tokyo area. In comparison, the number of registered voters in the 2014 elections amount to 10,565 people. Around 579 voters were removed on grounds of duplication.

Figure 2 Comparison of DPT in 2014 and 2019



Source: PPLN Tokyo 2019

In overseas elections, an Indonesian national can register as a voter if they can provide a passport, e-KTP (Indonesian electronic identification card), or SPLP (letter of citizenship recognition), in accordance to

KPU regulations. However, differing views arise in the case of someone who only shows their residence ID instead of the three mentioned national IDs. Lubis said that there are misperceptions on the contents of the technical guidance (Interview with Makmur Lubis, August 2019). It may have been the result of a misinterpretation of regulations or misunderstandings in citizenship verification. PPLN Tokyo had refused to accept people who tried registering as a voter if they only show a residence ID card instead of a valid Indonesian identity. However, in other countries, some PPLNs accept non-national IDs. Such issues lead to regulation inconsistencies and may affect the quality of overseas election results.

The problem may persist in future registration attempts, but according to KPU regulations, all voters who have registered and confirmed by *Pantarlih* will be included in the temporary voters list (DPS). From DPS period to fixed voter list (DPT) period there will be 3 months to give people to be in the DPT where it will be fixed in August. However, the due dates are oftentimes pushed with KPU giving instructions to extend registration periods. Although it will help people who were not inside the DPT, it will show that PPLN did not have integrity. It will also restrict them from fixing the DPT. Furthermore, this problem would affect the logistics configuration. With all these challenges, breakthrough must be done. Therefore, innovation and technology should be one of the solutions.

PPLN TOKYO'S TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION AS A SOLUTION

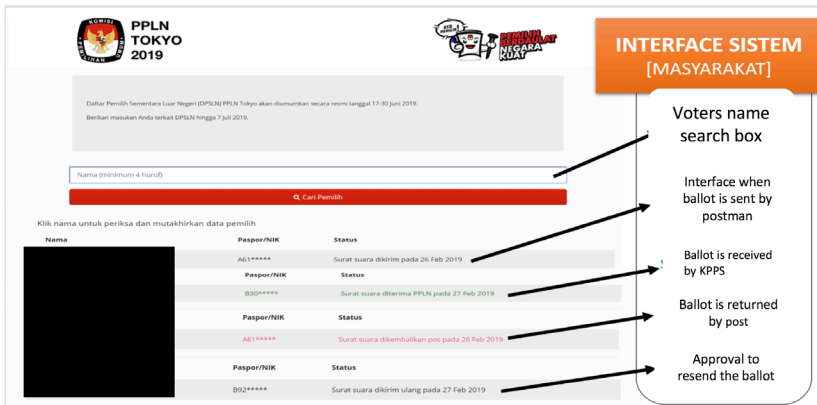
Since the establishment of PPLN Tokyo, the idea of innovations in technology has already been discussed. The first task of PPLN was to do voter registration. By the time of the *pantarlih* recruitment, PPLN also received the information of WNI population in Japan. They were told that data sources may vary and none should be considered accurate. Another issue faced was how to reach the voters who lived far from major concentrations of Indonesian nationals. According to Muhammad Husni Thamrin, Head of PPLN Tokyo 2014, a solution had

been applied in 2014 though it has not yet resulted in an increasing number of voters (Interview with Muhammad Husni Thamrin, August 2019). However, Muhammad Arief, *Panwaslu* Tokyo 2014 and 2019, said that there were differences between the usage of IT in 2014 and in 2019. During the former, the usage of IT did not have established networks across Japan but, during the latter, PPLN held many face-to-face meetings to address a voters registration website that have helped people who otherwise cannot go to the Indonesian diplomatic mission in Tokyo to register (Interview with Muhammad Arief, August 2019). The discussion then shifts to building an IT portal and lowering the cost to vote, as well as establishing communications between PPLN and voters.

Current election regulations provide three methods to cast ballots in overseas elections: polling stations, moving ballot boxes, and postal ballots. Elections in Tokyo only provided polling stations and postal ballots. Additionally, advanced logistics technology in Tokyo has inspired PPLN members to make breakthroughs in ballot casting using the two methods. However, problems remain to plague the overseas elections in Tokyo. In the last election, the polling stations were overcrowded and had long queues. Previously, in 2014, a polling station in Tokyo had similar identifiers with another station used in the domestic election. Moreover, postal ballots as a method is impractical, as it is hard to be certain of whether the ballots had been received or sent back by the voters to PPLN.

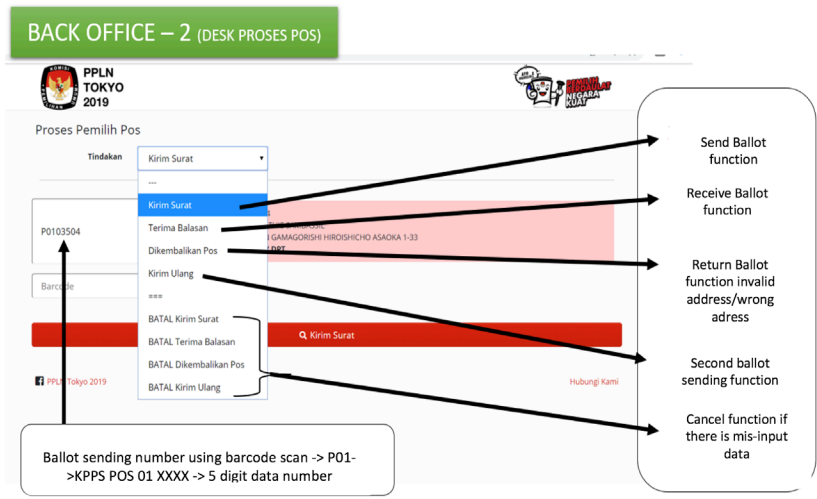
In answering this challenge, PPLN Tokyo has built a website-based IT portal. The website have enabled people to self-register, notified voters of their ballot status and also whether they have been registered in the DPT or in an additional voters list (DPK). One PPLN member is responsible on managing the data and to develop the website. This website also features a barcode system that is being tested in the voter confirmation period by *Pantarlih*. The data obtained is used to a rarely measure the validity of existing voter data, helping the *Pant* and PPLN in counting the number of confirmed voters.

Figure 3 Website User Interface



Source: PPLN Tokyo 2019

Figure 4 Postal Ballot Website Interface



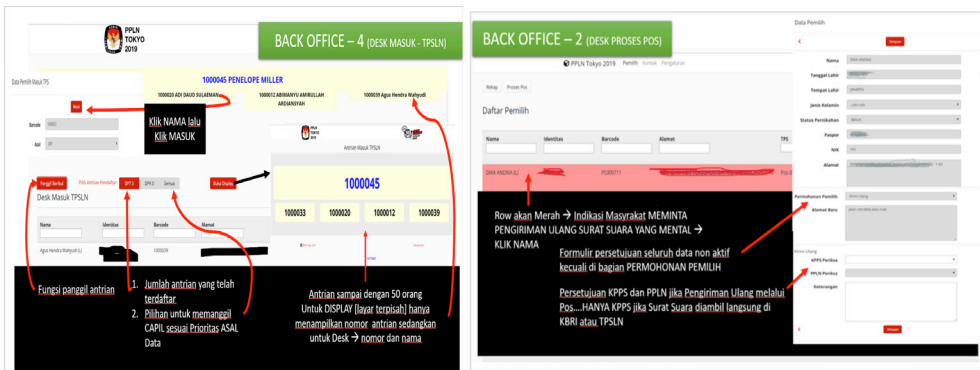
Source: PPLN Tokyo 2019

In the case of postal ballots, local polling administrations (KPPS) use barcodes to check the ballots already sent to each voter's address before being shown in website. The problem is that, in the US, postal ballots are usually returned to the sender because of incorrect addresses. In PPLN Tokyo's system, if the ballot is returned to the post office and KPPS, the latter will recheck the ballot so that the voters will be noti-

fied in the website. The voters may then request ballot reposts after inputting the correct address. When this system was used, PPLN was able to track down invalid ballots and ones that have been sent twice to the same address. At one point, KPPS found an individual with the same name, and birthdate but have registered his name using a different ID.

In the context of polling stations, voters who have been registered in the DPT are only required to show proof before queueing. It is easier than verifying each individual traditionally as done by KPPSs in Indonesia. On April 14, 2019, more than 1,200 Indonesian nationals came to the polling station to vote, though only 30% of them were in the DPT. Those already registered in the DPT could vote within fifteen minutes, whereas the rest still in DPSs and DPKs had to redo registration. Barcode had helped with decreasing the workload of KPPS in the polling stations.

Figure 5 Polling Station Queue Interface



Source: PPLN Tokyo 2019

The last is social media outreach. A representative of the Indonesian community in Japan, Ari Tamat, said that IT innovations certainly have helped Indonesians in registering as voters, but there is some disappointment specifically on why they would need to register again when they were already listed as voters in 2014 (Interview with Ari Tamat, November 2019). Indonesian nationals in Japan are spread across the archipelago and are mostly disconnected with each other. In 2014, the

PPLN utilized Facebook to inform the Indonesian nationals in Japan about the election. It was ultimately unsuccessful since they did not go door-to-door and visit every community to promote the election. In 2019, utilizing both social media and door-to-door visits helped in succeeding PPLN's outreach effort to potential voters. Optimizations for social media were done using WhatsApp groups and Facebook pages, which have helped in informing the voters of every reopening of voter registrations. In short, technological innovations done by PPLN Tokyo such as the website, barcode system, queuing automations, and optimizations of social media have simplified the voter registration process and increase the number of registered voters in the 2019 Indonesian elections in Tokyo.

CONCLUSION

Generally not all PPLNs utilize IT innovations, but it has been shown that such innovations have reduced the risk of errors and should be replicated domestically. Moreover, the decision to utilize IT has increased the quality of overseas elections. Based on Cheeseman, Lynch, and Willis' article stating that IT innovations could improve efficiency and transparency in elections, it was shown that PPLN Tokyo could have reached out to more Indonesians in Japan without any budget limitations, but they were already able to increase the number of registered voters in Japan due to technological assistance. This is part of efficacy. In terms of transparency, as Ari mentioned, voters can go online and see whether their names have been registered or not. However, the lack of training and tech literacy remain challenges that prevent the full adoption of IT innovations, not only in Indonesia but also in Japan. This is proof that technology may potentially be a burden if there are gaps in research, planning, testing, or a lack in training or voter education (International IDEA-RECEF 2018).

Cain, Mac Donald, and Murakami (2008) stated that there are four challenges of administering overseas election: structural, informational, time-related, and behavioral challenges. Although structural challenges were not solved by IT innovations, it maximizes the chance to lessen

any negative impacts. Table 2 below gives insight on how the movement of data could be tracked in every re-opening of the voter registration periods. This system could also be used to analyze where the concentration of Indonesian nationals is located. Areas which have the highest population of Indonesia residents would increase the possibility to open new polling stations like being shown in figure 2. IT innovations have addressed both informational and temporal issues of voting as it has helped in reaching out to potential voters. The high usage of mobile phones and social media ensures voters to receive new information in any place and time as long as they remain connected to the internet. The one problem PPLN is still facing is that not every nationals living in Japan is technologically savvy, potentially constraining the use of further IT innovations in the future. SOPs also affect how PPLN Tokyo utilizes IT innovations in the voting process.

Table 2 Tokyo Voters Data

Data Source	Verification Process			Temporary Voters Data	Revision Voters Data (12-11-2018)	Fixed Voters Data (10-12-2018)
	Early	Invalid Data	Valid Data			
KPU	13413	4683	8730	8730	8730	8730
Sakura Indonesia	1578	354	1224	1224	1224	1224
Immigration	734	14	720	720	720	720
Website			3503	3503	5855	6125
Total	15725	5051	14177	14177	16529	16799

Source: PPLN Tokyo 2019

Even though there was an increase of almost 90% in DPT throughout 2014 to 2019, the disparity between the registered and the maximum number of potential voters within PPLN Tokyo remains high. In the future, with an increasing number of Indonesians living in Japan in the next few years, IT innovations such as electronic voting and data integration will become increasingly important to achieve election goals. The key is data sharing between domestic regulators and the Indonesian embassies. If *Sidalih* becomes a fully mature system with the resources it needs and is integrated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and KPU databases, it may help in reducing the risks of data duplications and invalid data.

Figure 2 above shows that IT innovations have increased the number of listed voters including turn out (90%) in Tokyo polling stations compared to the previous elections in Tokyo. According to data analysis, most of the voters coming to the polling station were influenced by social media campaigns both from candidates and PPLN. The website allows for the lowering of costs to voters, in line with the hypothesis from Downs (1957) that said that voters will vote when it is easy enough to do so. These methods, combined with IT innovations, have reduced the efforts required of voters to come and register themselves. In comparison, PPLN Osaka still uses emails to register and the committee still uses Excel to list voters, making them more susceptible to errors such as data duplications. They also are complicating the voters who want to register (Interview with Muhammad Arief, August 2019). Despite its upsides, IT will not tackle regulation gaps in overseas elections. To aim for better quality in elections, regulations should be discussed and revised. It will therefore maximize the effectiveness of PPLN's efforts to improve elections and to achieve a greater degree of transparency, efficiency, and voter turnouts.

The findings in this report are incomplete and require further studies. The lack of data to compare with other PPLNs, as well as literatures on Indonesian overseas elections, should empower more researchers in political science or public administration to work together in evaluating PPLNs and their innovations as well as implementation efforts across the world.

REFERENCE

- Alarcon Jr., George. 2012. "Diaspora and Democracy: Overseas Absentee Voting, Elections, and the Challenges for a Working Democracy in the Philippines." *Ritsumeikan Studies in Language and Culture* 23 (4): 183–200.
- Alvarez, R. Michael and Thad E. Hall. 2004. *Point, Click and Vote: the Future of Internet Voting*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.

- _____. 2008. "Building Secure and Transparent Elections through Standard Operating Procedures." *Public Administration Review* 68 (5): 828–838.
- Braun, Maria and Gratschew, Maria. 2007. "Introduction." in *Voting from Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook*, edited by Andrew Ellis, Carlos Navarro, Isabel Morales, Maria Gratschew, and Nadja Braun, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1–8.
- Cain, Bruce E., Karin Mac Donald, and Michael H. Murakami. 2008. "Administering the Overseas Vote." *Public Administration Review* 68 (5): 802–813.
- Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. 2018. "Digital Dilemmas: The Unintended Consequences of Election Technology." *Democratization* 25 (8): 1397–1418.
- Dawn Snape and Liz Spencer. 2003 "The Foundation of Qualitative Research." in *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, edited by Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis, London: SAGE Publications, 1–23.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. "An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy." *Journal of Political Economy* 65 (2): 135–150.
- Ellis, Andrew. 2007. "The History and Politics of External Voting." in *Voting from Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook*, edited by Andrew Ellis, Carlos Navarro, Isabel Morales, Maria Gratschew, and Nadja Braun, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 41–48.
- Green, Phil. 2007. "Entitlement to Vote." in *Voting from Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook*, edited by Andrew Ellis, Carlos Navarro, Isabel Morales, Maria Gratschew, and Nadja Braun, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 89–103.
- Herrnson, Paul S., Ho Youn Koh, Michael J. Hanmer, and Claire Smith. 2015, "Message, Milieu, Technology, and Turnout among Military and Overseas Voters". *Electoral Studies* 39: 142–152.

- International IDEA-RECEF. 2018. *The Use of New Technologies in Electoral Processes*. Workshop Report. Accessed September 11. <http://recef.org/wp-content/uploads/Rapport-CV-Final-ANG.pdf>.
- Interview with Ari Tamat, November 2019.
- Interview with Makmur Lubis, Head of PPLN Tokyo 2019. August 2019.
- Interview with Muhammad Arief, Panwaslu Tokyo 2014 and 2019. August 2019.
- Interview with Muhammad Husni Thamrin, Head of PPLN Tokyo 2014. August 2019.
- Moynihan, Donald P. and Stéphane Lavertu. 2012. "Cognitive Biases in Governing: Technology Preferences in Election Administration." *Public Administration Review*, vol. 72 (1): 68–77.
- Navarro, Carlos, Isabel Morales, and Maria Gratschew. 2007 "External Voting: A Comparative Overview." *Voting from Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook*, edited by Andrew Ellis, Carlos Navarro, Isabel Morales, Maria Gratschew, and Nadja Braun, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 11–36.
- Nohlen, Peter and Florian Grotz. 2007 "The Legal Framework and an Overview of Electoral Legislation." in *Voting from Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook*, edited by Andrew Ellis, Carlos Navarro, Isabel Morales, Maria Gratschew, and Nadja Braun, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 65–75.
- Paat, Yustinus. 2017. "Jelang Pilkada Serentak 2018 KPU Luncurkan Sidalih." *Berita Satu*. July 11. <https://www.beritasatu.com/nasional/440964/jelang-pilkada-serentak-2018-kpu-luncurkan-sidalih>
- PPLN Tokyo. 2019. "Final Report on the Implementation of the 2019 General Elections."
- Russell, Martin and Ionel Zamfir. 2018. "Digital Technology in Elections, Efficiency Versus Credibility?" European Parliament Think Tank. September 10. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/625178/EPRS_BRI\(2018\)625178_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/625178/EPRS_BRI(2018)625178_EN.pdf)
- Setijadi, Charlotte. 2017. "Harnessing the Potential of the Indonesian Diaspora". *Research Collection School of Social Sciences*. Paper 2888. https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/soass_research/2888/

- Tempo.co. 2014. “Ini Hasil Rekapitulasi Pilpres di TPS Luar Negeri.” July 20. <https://pemilu.tempo.co/read/594424/ini-hasil-rekapitulasi-pilpres-di-tps-luar-negeri>
- The Straits Times. 2019. “Indonesia Probes Election Fraud in Overseas Voting in Malaysia.” April 12. <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/indonesia-probes-election-fraud-in-malaysia>
- Thompson, Judy. 2007. “The Implementation of External Voting”. in *Voting from Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook*, edited by Andrew Ellis, Carlos Navarro, Isabel Morales, Maria Gratschew, and Nadja Braun, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 113–126.
- Wall, Alan. 2007 “Indonesia: A Long Established System for External Voting at Diplomatic Mission.” in *Voting from Abroad: The International IDEA Handbook*, edited by Andrew Ellis, Carlos Navarro, Isabel Morales, Maria Gratschew, and Nadja Braun, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 53–55.