AUTONOMOUS REGION IN MUSLIM MINDANAO, THE PHILIPPINES

REGIONAL ELECTION 2008


by

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Prepared by

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Photos courtesy of mission observers

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While this election was not at the national level and many Philippine nationals viewed this political exercise as unimportant for their country, ANFREL considers the ARMM to be a crucial study in its election observation history.

We thank COMELEC for accrediting observers and Commissioner Sarmiento for receiving feedback from observers after the election. We applaud all COMELEC officials and others involved in the election for all their hard work.

COMELEC should build on the positive aspects of this election into the future. At the same time, electoral processes in the Philippines would benefit from improvements in other areas such as the secrecy of the vote, ending proxy voting and otherwise protecting the rights of voters.

ANFREL would also like to sincerely thank Ambassador de Villa, PPCRV and Citizens Care for their kind assistance and despite the tense situation. Their support was invaluable as we carried out our mission in the ARMM.

We were happy to see media and journalists present throughout the mission, all of whom were cooperative and covered some of the crucial points raised by ANFREL. We thank all speakers who contributed information, analysis and experience to observers during the briefings in Manila.

Last but not least we thank the 22 international observers, NGOs, local interpreters, drivers and others who contributed their time and energy to this mission.

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Mabuhay, Maraming salamat

Somsri Hananuntasuk
Executive Director
September 5th, 2008
Map of Mindanao, Philippines

http://www2.eastwestcenter.org/environment/spatial/ewc_sdi/maps/mindanao.pdf
Abbreviations and definitions

ACM Automated Counting Machine
AFP Armed Forces of the Philippines
ARMM Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
ASG Abu Sayyaf Group
Barangay Village
BEI Board of Election Inspectors or polling staff
BOC Board of Canvassers or counting officer
CA Court of Appeals
CAPP Coalition of Administrative Political Party
Citizens Care, Citizens Coalition for ARMM
C-Care Electoral Reforms, Inc
CHAMP Clean Honest Accurate Meaningful Peaceful
CIC Commissioner in-Charge
CIDA Canadian International Development Agency
COAV Committee on Overseas Absentee Voting
COMELEC Commission on Elections
CSO Civil Society Organization
DepEd Department of Education
DRE Direct Recording Electronic / voting machine
Election return The counting forms/certificates
EVM Electronic Voting Machine
EO Election Officer
GI COMELEC’s General Instructions
GRP Government of the Republic of the Philippines
LAKAS-CMD LAKAS-Christian Muslim democrats
LDP Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino
MARADECA Maranao People Development Centre
MILF Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF Moro National Liberation Front
NLRV National List of Registered Voters
OMR Optical Mark Reader / the scanner counting machine
PDSP Philippine Democratic Socialist Party
PES Provincial Election Supervisor
Precincts Polling stations / polling side
PNP Philippine National Police
PPCRV Parish Pastoral Council for Responsible Voting
RPDB Regional Planning and Development Board
RPDO Regional Planning and Development Office
RRUC Regional Reconciliation and Unification Council
TAF The Asia Foundation
TRO Temporary Restraining Order
1. Summary

The Philippines’ Commission on Elections (COMELEC) used automated election systems during the recent election of a Regional Governor, Vice Regional Governor and Assemblyman for the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). COMELEC is authorized to use automated election systems, whether paper based or direct recording electronic systems, by the Republic Act No. 969. COMELEC selected the ARMM’s six provinces to test two new automated election systems for the first time. Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs) were used in the province of Maguindanao and Automated Counting Machines (ACMs) were used in the provinces of Lanao Del Sur, Shariff-Kabunsuan, Basilan, Sulu and Tawi Tawi.

Local monitoring organizations and international observers saw much potential for electoral processes in the Philippines to improve during the 2008 ARMM regional elections. It was hoped that the new EVMs and ACMs would reduce voting irregularities, and that institutions in the Philippines would resolve the many problems that have occurred during past elections. From the pre-election period until the result was announced, ANFREL’s 22 observers devoted their attention to voters’ behavior, the electoral laws and regulations, the performance of independent institutions, the work of the Board of Election Inspectors (BEI) and the process of the election generally.

In the midst of uncertainty whether the election would be postponed to give way for peace processes in the ARMM, ANFREL was heartened to see the continued commitment of COMELEC and other election stakeholders in preparing to hold the elections. COMELEC solved many logistical challenges to keep to the election schedule and deliver and set up the new machines. ANFREL observers even witnessed COMELEC, SMARTMATIC and AVANTE technicians sacrificing sleep in the precincts two days early before the polling day only to ensure the machines were in order. COMELEC should be commended in this regard. However, a number of issues must be improved in the future.

The 11th August election was more peaceful than expected. Overall, there was less disruption and violence than during the general elections in 2007. The AFP (Armed Forces of the Philippines) and PNP (Philippine National Police) maintained control of the situation at all times. The Philippine Government and COMELEC respected the decision of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) who boycotted the elections and called for MILF members not to vote. These steps reinforced the MILF’s rejection of the Government’s agenda in the region.

LAKAS–CMD was considered as the strongest party and most likely to win the election. For the posts of Governor and Vice Governor, many people believed that Mr. Datu Zaldy Puti Uy Ampatuan and Mr. Ansarudin Abdul Malik Alonto Adiong were likely to be elected. Competition from other candidates was weak. Some people believed that several candidates contested the elections simply as a formality, to give the impression that there was real competition, which is a precondition to a fair election. The most intense competition was for posts of Assemblyman, since these were fought at the local level in each constituency.
ANFREL deployed 22 international observers from seven countries to all six provinces in the ARMM to study and observe the election. ANFREL’s mission ran from 4th August till 13th August 2008. Observers visited a total of 443 precincts on Election Day; the precincts were randomly selected from all barangays in the region.

ANFREL has taken a holistic approach in making recommendations for the future. More commitment is needed from all stakeholders, and more cooperation from political parties and candidates to improve the credibility of the election. Voter education and outreach must be improved in all areas because it was the first time voters experienced the new voting machines. Media could play a crucial role in assisting COMELEC on this matter. ANFREL believes that the integrity of the voter list has been improved by using photographs and original thumb marks of registered voters.

The election in the ARMM would have faced far fewer problems if candidates and their clan members were honest and adhered to electoral laws. Candidates and their supporters tried to manipulate the electoral process to promote their own interests in a number of ways. Common problems in the ARMM election included biased BEIs; underage voting; under age voters being instructed to vote in a certain way; vote buying; exposed voting booths (making it hard to vote in secret); and distributing food and drink to voters as well as transporting voters to polling stations. The lack of confidence and familiarity using the EVMs and ACMs created a new kind of irregularity, that of votes being cast by BEIs or electoral assistants on behalf of voters. ANFREL is concerned that many voters did not vote by themselves. Observers in several villages recorded serious incidents of booth capturing and fake ballots being issued.

Philippine authorities and institutions such as COMELEC must prioritize the uniform enforcement of electoral and security laws. The influence of local tycoons or mafias must not lead to concessions during the electoral process or avoidance of punishment for violations of the law. The Philippines must look to improve upon the ARMM elections in the future and strive toward democratic development and the elimination of impunities. Credible elections could bring trust and justice to the people of the Philippines, paving the way for future peace and reconciliation. For this report, ANFREL has not emphasized the cases of violence that took place during election, as our observers could not identify whether these cases were related to the election. It is left to local observers and institutions to draw these conclusions.

2. Pre-Election and Campaign Environment

Candidates were able to campaign freely in the lead up to the ARMM elections, and did not report any serious threats or complaints. Candidates were able to place banners and posters throughout the ARMM, and campaign door-to-door without the need for security personnel. In general, the campaign was quiet and orderly, unlike the general election in 2007 when many more candidates contested and more rallies were observed moving along the roads.
The PNP and AFP maintained a large presence throughout the election and tightened security in sensitive areas by setting up road check points. Some ANFREL observers in Lanao Del Sur were stopped by the police and military from time to time and prevented from carrying out their observations. The authorities had not received any instructions from COMELEC or the relevant government body about the coming of international observers.

Many political parties across the ARMM had enlisted the relatives of candidates (both on the National list and Independent) as party agents, since the election was largely family-oriented. The recruitment of party agents was thus from a relatively narrow pool. Many agents were sent to electoral training by local NGOs.

3. Security

COMELEC, AFP, PNP and the Mayor’s Office of most of the cities in the ARMM had declared that as of 8th August the security in most areas was conducive to hold the election, unless an emergency situation resurfaced. The Senior Superintendent of Police in Lanao Del Sur believed that since most of the police were recruited locally (meaning that they are Maranao), the level of trust among the populations was high.

The Supreme Court of Philippines imposed a Temporary Restraining Order (TRO) to prevent the signing of an agreement between the GRP and the MILF (which almost took place in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia). The order was issued to make sure that any MoU signed on issues of ancestral domains be explained transparently by the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP). The TRO gave way for the election preparations and campaigning to continue smoothly. The Philippine National Police (PNP) consistently offered the candidates security personnel should they need protection for campaigning purposes.
The security situation was ANFREL’s largest concern. ANFREL’s senior team in Cotabato city met with the MILF’s Vice Chair of Political Affairs to discuss the security situation and the election generally. This leader stressed that the MILF has never had a policy of kidnapping people, unlike the Abu Sayaff group, who have allegedly been involved with kidnappings for ransom.

A number of incidents involving feuding families occurred during the pre-election period, leading to intense monitoring of several barangays neighboring Lanao del Norte and Cotabato City. No reports were available regarding the clashes between clans but the ongoing feud means that the nature of the clashes was ‘horizontal,’ or between families. In Lanao del Sur, particular families dominating the areas were the Alonto, Dimaporo and Adiong. Threats by bandits in remote municipalities, where the government and military exercise less control, were also reported but ANFREL was unable to confirm their reliability.

The AFP and PNP worked together with regional offices and demonstrated their commitment to the elections by deploying at least one squadron (9 armed personnel) in normal areas, and up to one battalion in high risk areas (25 – 50 armed personnel).

One of the most serious clashes occurred the night before the election, in the Ba’as District located on the highway to Tipo-Tipo, Basilan. One civilian died due to the fighting between the rebel MILF fighters and Government forces. Some people in the nearby community were evacuated to Lamitan City. The precinct in Ba’as was moved to Lamitan City in order to protect the civilians and to avoid further incidents.

The military and police guarded the entire city of Basilan, particularly in Lamitan Central Elementary School which was the counting center for six barangays and located close to areas of security concern.

A lot of gun fires and election-related violence took place outside the perimeters of Lamitan central districts as well as in parts of Maguindanao and Kabuntalan, Shariff Kabunsuan.
4. Voter Views

The implementation of new electoral processes may have affected the views and level of understanding of the general population. Some voters had registered long before the Election Day was announced. Some people checked with organizations such as PPCRV (Parish Pastoral Council for Responsible Voting), MARADECA (Maranao People Development Centre, Inc) and Citizens Care (Citizens Coalition for ARMM Electoral Reforms, Inc) regarding the voter list. Many residents, particularly first-time voters, did not know where they would be voting. Ordinary citizens enjoyed freedom of association, speech and movement. Some voters had received threats of harm if a particular party did not win, but these were not acted upon.

People in remote areas were not aware of the new automated election system despite assurances by COMELEC officials that the new methods had been tested in almost every area. Many voters were skeptical as to whether the new machines would lead to an improvement in the quality of elections or future governments. The EVM and ACM might help to prevent cheating through altering results, or “dagdag bawas,” but vote cheating could be done in other ways before and during the polling day. Many feared that the politicians would prove to be “smarter” than COMELEC. Some young voters in Basilan described the elections as an “unfair game”. Some election officials were not free from fear in Shariff Kabunsuan Province.

In the field, ANFREL was informed that “the election in ARMM is one sided, the government is partisan and they want their candidates to win in the election by hook or by crook.” A local electoral official in Basilan could not prepare their work properly and they appeared to be influenced by a political party.

5. Election Administration

ANFREL observers noted that throughout the election period COMELEC Commissioners stressed the need for officials (especially those coming from outside the Mindanao Province) to abide by the Code of Conduct and other related provisions of COMELEC’s General Instructions.

COMELEC authorized SMARTMATIC\(^2\) to deliver and set up the new Electronic Voting Machines and Automatic Counting Machines, and the tabulation and transmission centre. SMARTMATIC was assisted by the AFP and PNP in land and air transport. The EVMs were

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\(^1\) Interview with voter who attended the training for the traditional leaders towards understanding: Islamic Leadership and Values for the Promotion of Good Governance, organized by RIDO in Iligan City on 6-7th August 2008

\(^2\) SMARTMATIC is the company contracted to provide the technology, training, distribution services and maintenance of the machines. SMARTMATIC technicians assisted the BEI to set up the machines, arriving three days before polling day. They slept in the precincts together with the machine.
delivered to the Maguindanao Province three days before polling day, accompanied by SMARTMATIC technicians who assisted the BEIs, made sure that the machines were in order and then sealed them for security. With the exception of a problem in transmission that took some time to rectify, all equipment performed well. Back-up equipment was in place in the event of any failures.

In the five provinces which were not implementing direct voting, electoral materials arrived 24 hours before polling day. They were stored in municipal halls for collection by the BEIs in the early morning before the opening of the precincts.

The Direct Recording Electronic voting machine (DRE) transmitted directly from precincts to three different tabulation destinations. For the Optical Mark Reader (OMR) the results were to be televised within the first 12 hours after the arrival of the boxes in counting centers in municipal capitals or other designated places.

Regarding the neutrality of the election officials, people generally thought that the election was a ‘one-way ticket’ for the candidates to enjoy carefree time until the National Elections in 2010. The election officials did not demonstrate their neutrality or commitment to a transparent electoral process to the people of the ARMM.

Observers were happy to see all precincts located within public school compounds. These were in good locations and were easily accessible. Voters were checked against an excellent voter list (using name, ID number, photo and fingerprint). Voter lists were posted outside the precinct and electoral assistants also had a copy inside the precinct in case voters could not find their names posted outside for validation.

As regards COMELEC itself, observers were told that COMELEC in Manila seemed to be strong but COMELEC officials in the provinces were susceptible to political manipulation. The general mood was that COMELEC’s officials were not considered neutral.

The AFP was seen as the most neutral body during the election. Army personnel were mostly from Luzon and Visayas, and thus had no personal interest in the outcome of the election. Most problems with the electoral process were associated with BEIs, BEI assistants and party agents.
6. Observation

6.1 Cooling Day (9th-10th August, 2008)

ANFREL observers witnessed several events during the cooling-off period that raise serious doubts over the integrity of the democratic process in Tawi Tawi. At approximately 10 pm on the 10th August an ANFREL team witnessed large groups of people gathering outside houses, by which time locals are usually asleep. On being interviewed, these people told the observers that they were waiting on the street for a candidate’s agent to come and give them money, saying “no money, no vote.” One of the people who waited there told observers that this was the second day that he waited for money. The candidate (who remained nameless) promised to give money to them and people sat all night long to wait.

The largest group of people waiting for money was in Lamion Barangay. When ANFREL observers approached them in their car, some voters shouted that “money is coming.”

Besides these events, a further problem was continued campaigning throughout the cooling off period and even on polling day. The observers in Tawi Tawi observed one car carrying posters of the candidates Sahali, Omar and Ahaja driving around the road (Tubig-Tanah polling center).

6.2 Other observation/monitoring groups

For the ARMM elections alone, PPCRV trained more than 3000 volunteers. Citizens Care trained volunteers, including 32 municipal coordinators, in 744 barangays. Other agencies have similar numbers of officials in each district. PPCRV and Citizen Care played crucial role in many areas of the ARMM. NAMFREL, as the Philippine’s most experienced election observation organization, did not perform a separate ‘quick count’ since COMELEC’s new election systems allowed machines to do this work.

Most domestic observers were perceived as politically neutral. A more secure peace and better livelihood for the population has freed domestic observers from negative attitudes and perceptions of bias experienced in previous elections. The recognition of their neutrality enabled local NGOs to more effectively observe the ARMM elections and promote their peace agenda.

6.3 Election Day Observation

On 11th August 2008, ANFREL observers visited 443 precincts in total; these were randomly selected from precincts existing in the six ARMM provinces. Observers were surprised to see the ARMM’s polling day so much different from the practices in other Asian countries. The standards fell below what they expected as international best practice, although the polling itself went smoothly and without any major disruption or accidents.
6.3.1 Pre-opening the precincts

Generally, the BEIs in most provinces were ready on time with all electoral materials to hand. However, a number of precincts opened late. The organization and logistics of all precincts were considered sufficient, except in Lanao del Sur where materials arrived late, and in Basilan where there was a lack of pencils for ballot shading, and other precincts which lacked pens to sign documents.

In opening proceedings the BEIs at some precincts did not show the empty ballot boxes before sealing them. The polling center for Barangay Ba’as was transferred to the ABC oval City Center, Lamitan City, due to a gunfight between the military and the MILF on 10th August. Only the polling watchers representing LAKAS-CMD were present in most of the polling precincts.

A common and disturbing practice was the nepotistic appointment of BEIs. In Sultan Mastura, Barangay Balut, a husband and wife pair led two precincts at the school. This also occurred in Matanog and Barira municipality.

The election environment was found to be relatively peaceful. There were no road blockades on the day that curtailed the access of the people to the polling centers. Some security personnel could be seen inside some of the precincts. People were moving freely in the polling centers and were participating at large. Yet there could be seen substantial influence of supporters and candidate agents on voting, and they were openly recording the names of voters.

Illegal mobilization happened as many voters were transported from inside and outside the ARMM to the voting places. Some trucks were observed to have carried people from Cotabato heading to the Shariff Kabunsuan in the early morning before the opening of polls. Food and drink were distributed to the voters for breakfast and lunch in Maguindanao. Children were used for campaigning and were distributing candidate materials in Marawi City, Maguindanao and Basilan. Both adults and underage voters hung around the precincts waiting for money in almost all polling stations visited.

Illegal mobilization of voters
6.3.2 Opening the precincts

Many precincts opened on time but several of them were not able to open at 7.00 am. Some opened later than 8.00 am or even 9.00 am. This was because the officials had not been able to activate the voting machines in time for the electronic voting in Maguindanao. The precincts at Tugaya Central Elementary School, Lanao Del Sur opened at 9:44 am because the boxes and materials had arrived late. In Bongao most precincts were opened around 7.30 am, though officials had been ready at 6.00 am, as they waited for the poll watcher before starting. Bacarat Central Elementary School in Marawi city opened late at 8:28 am because the BEIs arrived late.

Voter names were called out by the BEI chairperson only in a few precincts. Most precincts did not follow the same practice. The voters’ list was put on the wall close to the door of all precincts observed. Most BEIs and their assistants in Maguindanao did not carry identification cards, making it hard to distinguish the BEIs from ordinary citizens. A number of voters’ names were not found in the voters list in most of the precincts in Basilan. Some brown papers inside the yellow ballot boxes were only removed at the suggestion of observers, while other precincts did not remove the papers at all.

6.3.3 Voting Process:

Identification of Voters

ANFREL observers had reported that they had hardly seen the BEIs checking the fingers of voters as they entered the precincts. No ID cards were requested inside the precincts visited to avoid multiple votes. The BEIs were confident that they could identify the voters since they knew most of the voters in the village, saying “it’s almost impossible the voter could cheat in the identification process”.

Non secrecy of votes

Secrecy of votes in the ARMM election was not guaranteed, and this is a major failing of the electoral process in the Philippines. Booths were generally not arranged properly so as to ensure that ballot papers could be marked in secret. These procedures seemed not clearly understood, particularly with regard to the DRE and OMR machines. Many BEIs seemed ignorant of the need to protect the secrecy of votes, and often did not have sufficient equipment to do so.
None of the precincts had adequate secrecy maintained around the voting equipment for voters to secretly cast their vote as is their right and norm under international standards. Even the TV and media showed how the people were voting. The basic right of the voters to vote in secret is captured in the following international instruments:

**UDHR (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) Article 21:**

“The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures”.

**ICCPR Article 25:**

“Every citizen shall have the right to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors”.

**Declaration on Criteria For Free and Fair Elections, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Article 2(7):**

“The right to vote in secret is absolute and shall not be restricted in any manner whatsoever”.

The BEIs also failed to prevent unauthorized people from entering the precincts, as well as controlling the roles of the party poll watchers. ANFREL observers witnessed polling environments like fiestas, with many onlookers present in the precinct area directly and indirectly influencing illiterate voters in precincts within Sulu, Tawi Tawi, Shariff Kabunsuan, Maguindanao and other provinces.

**Indelible ink problem**

The importance of using indelible ink seemed entirely forgotten during the ARMM elections. Most BEIs were not applying the ink to voters’ fingers. Those who did use ink improperly applied it in many cases, placing it on the nail side of the finger where it is easy to clean off with water or chemicals. The BEIs were not aware that the use of the indelible ink is one of the most important steps in preventing multiple votes, and of the importance of applying it correctly to ensure it cannot be removed. A group of voters in Parang municipality, Barangay Nituan, Shariff Kabunsuan, had removed the ink easily with a particular chemical.

**Lack of uniform election procedures**

The electoral procedure to be followed in the ARMM election was not complicated, besides the technical detail related to the new automated election systems and the
transmission of results. As occurred in 2007, the management of the BEIs was often poor. This made the voting process harder to understand for many voters.

Observers in many precincts witnessed BEIs not following the proper election procedure issued by COMELEC. Significant variations were recorded between precincts with respect to registration and voter identification, thumb marking, voter signatures, issuing ballots, vote casting, finger inking, and sealing boxes at the end of the day. BEIs seemed to implement whichever practice they themselves believed appropriate without referring to the proper electoral procedure, even deciding to set up the precinct in a different location to COMELEC’s instructions.

Of significant concern were a number of ballot boxes found to be not sealed or locked in Basilan (Precinct no. 0012A and 0012B), Lower Banas Lantawan (Precinct no. 66A and 67A), Upper Port Holland Maluso (Precinct no. 67 B and 67C), Upper Port Holland Maluso (Precinct no. 005A and 006A), Town site Maluso (Precinct no. 0009A and 0010A), Town site Maluso (Precinct no. 12B), and in Barangay Switch Siakal.

With regard to physical process, electoral assistants in Basilan had different ways of folding ballot papers before giving them to voters. They could often see whom the voters had voted for. In fact, most polling officers did not follow the procedure on vote casting.

Other cases of deviations from uniform voting procedures witnessed by ANFREL observers include:

- Lack of official identification cards for BEIs in most precincts visited.
- Some BEIs gave voters both parts of the ballot paper at once, without explaining that one of them needed to be validated by an electoral assistant. Many voters simply put both papers into the ballot box.
- Some polling staff placed a part of ballot papers with the thumb mark in the voting folder (when it should be placed inside the designated box), and others left the paper on the table.
- Some voters folded their ballots and others did not.
- Some BEIs took ballot papers directly from voters, and were able to see who they had voted for. For example, this occurred in Maguindanao where the BEI chair-person controlled the signing and depositing into boxes of voting slips for the DRE. This practice meant that the BEI could freely see the ballot paper as marked by the voter.
- Voters were not warned that the barcode on their ballot paper was delicate. Many inadvertently smudged the barcode with their fingers, meaning the machine could not read it and their vote was invalidated.
- BEIs were folding ballot papers in half so that ink from voters’ thumb prints transferred to other parts of the paper, invalidating the ballot. Some BEIs were not aware that such ballot papers would be invalid.
- BEIs at Tubigan and Maluso were not aware of the importance of the upper part of the ballot, and did not ensure that thumb marks were made on all ballots. Also, many did not place the upper part of the ballot paper on the correct side of the ballot box.
Lack of Voter Education

On Election day, voters crowded in front of the precincts in almost all centers. They were trying to find their name in the list, while talking among themselves about how to vote and who to vote for. Many were asking those who had just cast their vote what the paper and the method looked like.

Party poll watchers took advantage of this situation by pre-marking ballot papers to indicate particular candidates (particularly the current Regional Governor and Vice Regional Governor) and asking voters to follow the sample ballots. ANFREL observers in many precincts witnessed this practice.

Voter confusion was also observed in Parang Elementary School, where the observers witnessed a party poll watcher standing outside the precinct teaching a group of voters how to vote for their candidates. Other voters approached ANFREL observers asking how to vote.

For the EVM system in Maguindanao and irregularities

- Most BEIs had no ID cards hanging on their necks to identify their status.
- As observed on Election Day throughout the Maguindanao province, the presence of voters was not high but number of votes cast seemed surprisingly high even before noon time.
- BEIs used brown cardboard paper as a booth cover for the machine, but did not cover the voting pads, which were an important area to keep secret as it revealed the voter’s choice.
- Some precincts did not have booths, and there was no consistency in how booths were set up.
- Assistants and influential persons assisted voters to press the buttons at the machine without asking them for candidates they want to vote for.
- Most voters do not know how to vote. Many illiterate people did not know which positions were being contested or what kind of election they were participating in.
- BEIs did not know the correct process for polling day. Some took the paper trail (slip) from voters and looked at who the voter had chosen, before signing the back of the paper.
- BEIs, electoral assistants and party agents could sometimes view the ballot paper showing voters’ choice of candidate when the ballots are deposited into the ballot boxes.
- BEIs did not reconcile the number of ballot papers against the number of voters that attended each precinct.
- The new automated election system relied too heavily on technology and technicians. The operation was not as simple as expected, particularly with regard to transmission of results.

Improper influences and complaints

One Municipal Administrator in Maguindanao (Mr. Ugalingan) had been following observers at Mapayag Elementary School (3 precincts) and at another two schools in
Talayan. He followed an ANFREL team and tried to signal BEIs and people outside the precincts to warn them about ANFREL’s visit to the particular precincts. ANFREL observers suspected him of attempting to hide something. He was aware about food and drinks distribution and tried to defend the irregularities that the observers queried him about. He also tried to influence the BEIs and other staff at the precincts.

ANFREL received a number of complaints directly from party agents, who did not want to lodge their complaint with COMELEC. They believed that their complaints would not be resolved by COMELEC, and that they may get into trouble with the Philippine election authorities for lodging them.

At the Pandiaraanao Elementary School, precinct 26, in municipality Tugaya of Lanao Del Sur, a poll watcher of a senior candidate shouted in anger to another poll watcher in the precinct who was seen carrying a pre-marked ballot paper. Because of this, four voters were obstructed from voting. The BEI assigned in the precinct did not respond and took no steps to ensure that those voters managed to vote.

Independent candidates in Marawi told observers that “they would not have a chance to win due to their opposition nature. Other stakeholders in the election, namely the COMELEC, was siding with the ruling party (LAKAS CMD). The PPCRV and other NGOs were COMELEC helpers”. The independent candidate telephoned ANFREL on Election Day from Calanogas, saying that election had been settled during the night of Aug 10th. When advised to launch a complaint with COMELEC, the candidate replied that COMELEC ‘will not believe me, but they believe you’. However, both international and local observers concluded that the election in Basilan was not free and not fair.

6.3.4 Closing the Poll

The closing processes went smoothly. Voters who were already in the queue were allowed to cast their vote after the closing time was announced. The unused ballots were counted and torn in half lengthwise. In one instance, however, a BEI (in Lanao Del Sur) took the unused ballot papers to the municipal hall in Balindong Municipality rather than tearing them at the precinct.

A voting centre in six precincts in Matanog Central Elementary School closed early at 1 p.m. The closing was done and logistics loaded in the vehicle ready to be delivered to the counting center. There were no clarification for early closing and they did not answer when asked about re-opening the voting precinct if there were voters who came to vote after 1 p.m. After the observers’ interpreter interviewed the BEI members, it was found that the BEIs were son and wife of the Matanog Mayor.

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3 The illegal marking of the ballots before the Election Day was allegedly arranged by particular candidates agents. Ironically this practice was acknowledged by voters but no one dared to lodge the complaint as the area was controlled by some powerful leadership.
The same team observed a lack of understanding about closing processes in five precincts at the Miramar Elementary School, Parang Municipality. Polling boxes were not sealed, and BEIs told the observers that it was not necessary to seal them. The BEIs used padlocks to lock the boxes while they were transported from the municipality to the counting centre.

The voter turn-out in the area was high, with approximately 95-98% in most precincts. However, ANFREL does not believe these figures are reliable. In Kaumpang Elementary School (Patikul), ballot box in Precincts 116A and 117A were already sealed at 2 p.m., one hour before the closing time. According to the voters list there, only 200 out of 206 voters have cast their votes, leaving six more. In the same voting center, in Precincts 0164A and 0165A, a ballot box was re-opened and the ballots inside “re-arranged,” according to the BEI Chairman. This was done by three BEIs and one “assistant’. In Datu Uddin Elementary School (Patikul), Precincts were closed 10 minutes earlier than closing time.

Generally, BEIs were able to carry out the closing processes for the EVMs smoothly. However, there were some problems with the transmission of data, particularly in Maguindanao, and it took BEIs and SMARTMATIC staff a long time to realize the failure. BEI staff was responsible for placing the USB thumb drives into brown envelopes and then marking the envelopes with their fingerprints. Envelopes were not sent immediately after they were sealed. In some precincts using EVMs, there was 100% voter turnout.

6.3.5 Counting Process

ANFREL observers recorded a number of problems with the counting process. Most counting centers were unable to cope with the high number of ballot boxes arriving from 6 pm to 8 pm. As a result, many people were to be found carrying ballot boxes aimlessly around the halls. The set up of the counting center in Sulu State College was particularly poor, although the one in Mindanao States University was good.

Local stakeholders had hoped that the new automated election systems, particularly the EVMs and OMRs, would speed up the counting process. OMR units had been installed two days prior to election day under close supervision from party agents and independent observers. Once the ballot papers had been marked, BEIs were to accompany the ballot box to the counting centre for the papers to be processed there on a first come, first served basis.

However, many delays slowed the automated process. Human assistance was necessary to insert the ballot papers into the OMR, and confusion was caused by the absence of an orderly queue of people waiting to access the machine. Strict oversight by police personnel also slowed the process. The Commissioner in Charge had predicted that counting in precincts using EVMs would be over and results able to be officially announced by midnight on election day, however, in some precincts counting was still progressing 24 hours later.
The handling of ballot boxes in precincts using EVMs was also of concern to ANFREL observers. Many boxes were left outside, some already open and hence vulnerable to interference. BEIs at the counting center in Polytechnic College in Cotabato were working in dark corridors at 10 pm, with no backup source of electricity or light.

Counting was chaotic in Basilan and some other centres. The machine counting was slow and confusing, and many people became impatient. Electoral assistants split ballot papers into groups to help “organize” them before counting. Eventually many ballot papers intended for the Automated Counting Machines (ACMs) were counted manually.

Outside one counting centre in Sulu, people became impatient and angry at having to wait, and began quarrelling with the canvasser in the counting center.

As regards the ACM system, ANFREL observers found that the reconciliation of used, unused and spoiled ballot papers outside Maguindanao province was insufficient. While most ballots were counted accurately, those that had been invalidated due to technical deficiencies were not. These deficiencies included obscured or smudged barcodes, more shaded ovals than was permissible and photocopied ballot papers. Additional technical problems which may have interfered with an accurate count include the EVM overheating, faulty wiring, arrangement of ballot papers before counting, appreciation of the ballots and the inefficient system of orderly prioritizing of the ballots.

ANFREL acknowledges that throughout Maguindanao all observers, poll watchers and party agents were free to observe the entire counting process.

Eight copies of the election report were not posted in a public place although copies were distributed to partisan and non-partisan representatives. Some of the watchers failed to sign the election returns due to the chaotic situation in the counting centers.

6.4 Post Election Assessment

Violence was observed in some areas on the day after the election, but it did not appear to be related to the poll. No cases of violence or intimidation were observed, besides continuing non-election related fighting between the MILF and the AFP both inside and outside the ARMM.

District Election Officers can learn much from the conduct of the ARMM elections. They must focus on the development of voter education programs; better training for BEIs, staff and poll watchers; and improved cooperation with local election observers. These initiatives will contribute to the long term development of democracy in the Republic of the Philippines.
7. Elections irregularities and lack of law enforcement

ANFREL recorded many violations of electoral laws during the 2008 ARMM elections. Examples of such violations are listed below.

7.1 Irregular campaigning

In Baeinomba Elementary School in Marawi City under 1st District of LDS, many poll-watchers were seen wearing vests carrying candidate names, and vehicles used to transport ballot boxes were posted with LAKAS CMD candidates’ posters.

Many precincts were crowded with candidate agents wearing vests displaying candidate names. They assisted voters to shade the ballot papers for their candidate which meant that many votes may not have been freely cast, some without any secrecy at all. One poll watchers in Tawi Tawi wore a t-shirt displaying a picture of Sahali and Ahaja for the assembly-woman and Ampatuan for the governor.

At Balingdong’s Central Elementary School, the Barangay chairman and his assistants wore candidate vests clearly displaying Alouya’s name. Small leaflets carrying names of candidates were placed at the voting tables. These tables had no voting booth to allow votes to be cast in secret. Many poll watchers filled out ballot papers on behalf of voters. Indelible ink was often not used and the BEI chairperson’s signature was not seen before handing over the ballot paper to the voter in almost all the precincts observed.

In the view of ANFREL’s international observers, many voters were ‘guided’ or forced to choose candidates in the ARMM election. This influence was exerted by two main groups, namely the respective Barangay chiefs (and their followers), and those poll watchers ‘masterminded’ by candidates.

Unauthorized persons as well as voters were free to roam around inside the precincts without any complaints or restriction from BEIs or party agents. At most precincts that ANFREL observers visited, the BEIs, assistants and party poll watchers were the persons who assisted the voters to cast the votes and drop their ballot in the boxes.

Military presences were found inside the 30 m parameter of each precinct even though the COMELEC guideline stipulated 50 m. Some military even entered the precincts.

7.2 Multiple Votes

A number of multiple votes were observed in the six designated provinces such as: In Basilan, a person voted in the absence of other people (Precinct numbers 38A, 38B, 39A, 40A, 36A and 37A, all in Tubigan Maluso, as well as Precinct no 81A and 82A at Lower Port Holland Maluso).

Many instances of multiple voting and unauthorized persons within precincts were observed in almost all precincts in Shariff Kabunsuan province. Many voter attendance
signatures in this province appeared to have been signed by the same person, the pattern and handwriting recognized as similar without the need for a handwriting expert. One voter cast two votes in Payan and Katiduan at Lower Taviran, of the mother of Kabuntalan in Shariff Kabunsuan. A Lakas CMD poll watcher cast many votes for female voters. In Patikul, Sulu, the number of ballots cast was 80% by 11 am, but only a small number of voters were observed near the area.

Illegal assistance was observed in many areas, with ANFREL observers witnessing voters arriving at precincts, signing the voter attendance list and then leaving without casting their ballots. Party agents or poll watchers would then cast the ballot on behalf of the voter, without asking who the person wanted to vote for or whether they wanted to vote themselves.

ANFREL also observed poll watchers being very active in guiding the voters to vote for particular candidates inside the precincts as found in Shariff Kabunsuan and Maguindanao. Most of the time the BEIs allowed this practice and did not complain at all.

Multiple signatures by the same person indicate multiple voting
7.3 Vote Buying

ANFREL is concerned at the prevalence of vote buying in the ARMM. Authorities took no action to stop this practice, with some stakeholders acknowledging to ANFREL observers that vote buying is a common practice in the Philippines.

In Balindong Central Elementary School of Lanao Del Sur, Balindong Municipality, ANFREL observers witnessed an agent of a candidate standing in front of the precinct with money and a poster of the candidate in hand, blatantly trying to buy the votes of nearby citizens. At Pandag of Maguindanao, many people remained inside the precinct at Lepak Elementary School. Some of them were even eating inside the precinct.

In Matanog Municipality, Barangay Bugasa, brown envelopes were spread over the ground outside the elementary school. The names of the candidates were written on these envelopes. Envelopes displaying candidates’ names were also found at Miramar Elementary School. A similar practice was observed at Parang Elementary School, Shariff-Kabunsuan, where the envelopes were found to contain 100 pesos. The coordinator of the “pulung-pulung” himself confessed to having prepared the envelopes. He appeared not to consider this practice was wrong, as he approached and introduced himself to ANFREL observers.

Vote buying strategies included distributing envelopes containing money and voting instructions, and food containers displaying candidate names.

At Moh Tulawie Central School, Barangay San Raymundo Jolo, Sulu, a candidate by the name of Almina Tingkahan was seen in the voting center. A voter remarked that “she distributed money to voters who will vote for her”. In Sulu, at Laud Hasiman Elementary School, Barangay Tulay, the voters came to check their names and then they went out into the Barangay Action Center located across the voting center. Then, only after they came out of the Barangay Action Center did they cast their votes. According to one of the voters, the Chief Barangay was giving money to the people in the Barangay Action Center.

In Basilan the vote buying was obvious, even taking place inside the precincts. This was observed in Precinct No. 0015A and 0015B. Pamucalin, Lantawan; Precinct No. 16A and 16B,
Pamucalin, Lantawan; Precinct No. 83A, 84A, 0081A and 0082A, Lower Port Holland, Maluso; and Precinct No. 13A and 14A, Fuente Maluso.

Vote buying was also prevalent in Tawi-Tawi, where an average amount of 50-100 PHP was enough to buy someone’s vote. In Basilan, the price ranged from 50 to 200 pesos, while the price in Sulu was from 20 to 150 pesos.

### 7.4 Illegal ballot papers

The ballot papers used in the ARMM election were designed to be counted by ACMs (Automated Counting Machines). The papers displayed the names of candidates in Roman and Arabic characters, with an oval mark for the voters to shade their choice with a pencil. The papers were barcoded to avoid illegal duplication. Five provinces used an OMR (Optical Machine Reader) system which automated the counting of votes, which sped up the process and reduced the possibility of manipulations.

#### Sample ballot papers

COMELEC distributed sample ballot papers to assist voters in understanding what they must do to cast their vote. On the example ballot paper one oval was already shaded. Unfortunately, the sample ballots were not marked in any way (e.g. with the word “SAMPLE” stamped across it) and ANFREL observers felt that this was a deliberate omission favoring the candidate whose oval was pre-shaded.

#### Fake ballots

ANFREL observers were concerned to witness fake ballot papers being distributed around a number of precincts. This was a clear attempt to deceive voters by powerful interests in the ARMM with access to photocopying equipment and the locations where ballot papers were stored before transport to the precincts. In several cases ANFREL observers were not permitted to see the original ballots stored in municipal halls prior to polling day, raising suspicions as to what was occurring inside.

The security barcoding of ballot papers had not dissuaded these people from creating fake ballot papers, but it meant that those ballot papers were not recognized by the OMR system. On polling day a number of people told ANFREL observers that they suspected the BEIs and local authorities of complicity in switching real and fake ballot papers.

In Barangays Mataya, Calaan and Cabayan in the Municipality of Buldon, fake ballot papers (photocopies of original ballot papers) were observed being issued to voters. They were not sample ballot papers as no ovals had yet been shaded. In one instance, ANFREL observers arrived at a precinct with no voters queuing or casting ballots. A group of seven youths acted as if they were casting their ballots, but observers became suspicious after watching them remain in the voting booth for fifteen minutes without moving. It became clear that they were not voters as the officials could not show their names on the voters attendance list. They had been using photocopied ballot papers.

The BEIs of this precinct refused to answer questions from ANFREL observers. With the assistance of an interpreter, ANFREL observers eventually identified a young BEI
chairperson, although he did not have an identification card. After some negotiations, the BEI produced an unused official ballot paper. The BEI was then questioned about a large bulk of photocopied ballot papers but he had no response. The same situation was experienced at two other precincts. One senior BEI chairwoman refused to show the ballot papers in her precinct to ANFREL observers; she clutched the ballot papers tightly to her body.

The BEI of the Precinct at the Buldon Elementary School said that the official ballot papers had been taken by “the chief” when questioned by ANFREL observers, although she refused to explain which “chief” she was referring to. Meanwhile, other BEIs in the precinct had left the area and were not seen again while the ANFREL team remained there. Observers attempted to enter another six classrooms in the school, but they were blocked by an anonymous group of people. Observers were told that there was “no problem here, everything is okay, please leave as we want to lock the classrooms during lunch break”.

At a nearby polling center in the same municipality, BEIs again became very nervous upon the arrival of ANFREL observers. Some tried to hide ballot papers. After extensive questioning and observation of the voting process, observers discovered that fake ballots were being used in the precinct. Worryingly, people within the precinct increasingly pressured ANFREL observers to leave, making them feel unsafe and indicating that the environment was not conducive to a free and fair election.

7.5 Booth Capturing

Original (left) and fake (right) ballot papers. Fake ballot papers were used in one municipality in the ARMM elections.
“Booth capturing” refers to the illegal actions of a political party or other group in taking over a voting precinct and excluding poll watchers, party agents and other stakeholders.

Booth capturing occurred in Barangay Luppawan in Barrira Municipality, particularly the four precincts located at the Central Elementary School. The polling center was locked from the inside, windows were covered by curtains, and “guards” were placed in front of the locked classrooms. These “guards” chased ANFREL and PPCRV observers away. The guards were not PNP or AFP because they were not in uniform and were not displaying any identification.

There were no observers or poll watchers inside the locked classrooms. The BEI Chairperson shouted at the ANFREL team when they tried to look through the window and see what activities were taking place inside. The team had to immediately leave the area as the tensions were high.

7.6 Underage Voters

ANFREL observed many underage voters present near voting precincts and participating in the voting process across the ARMM. At the Talayan National High School in Maguindanao five very young boys had come to the precinct to vote. Observers invited one outside the precinct for some questions after he voted. He could not state his date of birth or answer other simple questions. While the ANFREL observers were talking with this boy the others ran away.

ANFREL and PPCRV observers found that underage voters were being influenced by older persons in and around the precincts. Three female party supporters at the Maitu-a-lg Elementary school (Datu Unsag. Maz) in Maguindanao, for example, with logos of political parties on their shirts, were guiding voters’ choices by helping them to vote. Other underage voters were loitering around the precinct, apparently waiting for money. They were reluctant to answer questions from ANFREL observers but remained outside the precinct talking with young people.
7.7 Other irregularities

7.7.1 Campaigning inside the Precincts

The neutrality of BEIs was doubted in some precincts. In Paaralang Elementary School, Balindong Municipality of Lanao Del Sur, a BEI chairman was wearing a t-shirt of the candidate Alurah. Candidates’ agents were seen campaigning inside Precinct No. 36A and 36B at the Tugaya Elementary School in Barangay Ingud Poblacion, Municipality Tugaya.

Children were observed distributing stickers and papers displaying candidates’ names in Sulu and Tawi-Tawi.

7.7.2 Intervention of party agents

Party agents were observed interfering in the voting process by assisting or guiding voters in casting their vote, and even voting on their behalf. This practice was recorded by ANFREL observers at Balut, Nituan, Tapayan, Parang Marawi city and Basilan and many other precincts in the Provinces of Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Maguindanao, Sharif Kabunsuan, Lanao Del Sur and Basilan. The team also witnessed candidate agents holding the ballot paper belonging to a voter in their hand, while this voter only came to sign and put the thumb mark in the original voter list.

7.7.3 Unauthorized persons

Unauthorized persons were observed freely roaming inside many precincts without restrictions from BEIs or party agent.

7.7.4 High voter turnout unlikely

ANFREL was glad to see a significant voter turnout, and congratulates COMELEC for the free and fair spirit in which it conducted its preparations for the election. However, the mission suspects that multiple and arranged votes contributed to this high voter turnout. Both of these practices were rampant across the ARMM on polling day.

Comparisons with other missions support this conclusion. In the entire history of ANFREL’s election observation in democratic countries, almost no polling stations ever record a 95% voter turnout. In the ARMM, however, most polling stations were reaching this mark with ease.

In Paaralang School of Barangay Bugassan, the ANFREL team found more than 95% of voter turn-out had been recorded by 2 pm. The team doubted the figure since there were no voters in or near the precinct when the team arrived, and the polling boxes in 5
precincts were not locked and sealed. As soon as the team questioned why the ballot boxes were left open, the officials locked them up.

At the Morog Mamalakat Elementary School of Barangay Marang, Barrira Municipality, Precincts No. 37A and 38A were observed as having 94% turnout at 1 pm, or 310 out of a 330 person voter list. Were this figure accurate, each voter would have had 1.16 minutes to vote (according to the simple calculation of voter turnout divided by time in minutes). As this is obviously impossible, ANFREL concludes that at least some of the votes in this municipality had been fabricated. Similar results were observed in five precincts in the area.

ANFREL observers had difficulty observing voter turnout in some precincts because the BEIs were sleeping inside the precincts when the team arrived, and the transparent boxes had been covered by brown paper, obscuring the view of cast ballot papers.

In Kajatian Elementary School (Barangay Kajatian, Indanan), BEIs were out to lunch. In Precinct 36B and 37A, the door was closed while the BEIs were having their lunch inside the precinct without any party agents or poll watchers accompanying them. In Anuling Elementary School (Patikol) the barangay captain was inside the precinct when the classroom was locked. There were 11 precincts being put into 1 classroom.

8 Overall Assessment Of The Polling and Counting Process:

Our overall assessment of the 2008 Automated ARMM Election is POOR for the following reasons:

- The election was characterized by fraud. Many ballots were not cast in secret, and unauthorized persons were able to pressure citizens to vote in a particular manner. Vote buying was prevalent across the ARMM, and at least one booth was captured by supporters of one political party. Unauthorized persons and even BEIs filled in ballot papers on behalf of others on many occasions, preventing those people from casting their vote independently. Multiple votes and phantom votes were also cast.
- BEIs were primarily chosen from the relatives of barangay captains and mayors.
- The presence of mayors, Philippine tycoons and other influential persons contributed to an atmosphere of fear which was not conducive to the exercise of free will.
- Mayors and other influential persons were free to act as they pleased without reprimand or sanction from COMELEC or the Philippine authorities.
- BEIs, poll watchers and domestic and international observers felt unable to make complaints to COMELEC or other authorities because of fear.
- Violent conflicts in Maguindanao, Shariff Kabunsuan and Basilan meant that freedom of movement in the days immediately prior to the election was severely restricted.
Polling procedures outlined by COMELEC were not followed uniformly by the BEIs across the ARMM contributing to unnecessarily inefficient processes.

BEIs felt able to “pick and choose” which of the general instructions issued by COMELEC they wanted to follow in their precinct.

COMELEC’s instructions regarding the use of election materials were not simplified enough, leading to confusion as to what was appropriate.

Many voters were confused by the new EVM technology. If COMELEC intends to use this technology for future elections it should increase public education and BEI training. This will increase familiarity and confidence and reduce errors during the voting processes.

While many female residents of the ARMM voted, very few disabled or physically challenged people were observed coming to vote. No Braille language ballot papers were observed, which would have enabled blind people to vote.

9 Media

The media in Manila and the ARMM welcomed ANFREL’s mission. Representatives from various media outlets helped to disseminate ANFREL’s information and messages to the Philippine public. Alternative media outlets were free to disseminate partial news stories, such as the official MILF website. Most reporting was accurate and impartial, however, some media appeared to write news stories according to their ‘angle’ and some favored particular political parties.

A coalition of media in the ARMM named Mindanews facilitates the dissemination of information about the elections through a periodic forum called Media Summit. ANFREL worked together with the media during observation on Election Day, for example by interviewing people in conjunction with media crews. ANFREL recognizes the valuable role the media can play in educating citizens in the ARMM about election-related issues, and hopes that media outlets can reveal the main problems with this election to the public and work towards improving the conduct of elections in the future.

10 Recommendations: Focus on Future Electoral Reform

Campaigning

1. All political parties and candidates are called upon to campaign in a more honest and professional manner, and not use their money to illegally influence the election.
2. COMELEC could cooperate with local media to develop and implement voter education programs.
3. Local monitoring organizations in the ARMM must be pro-active in identifying and reporting problems with the electoral system. They must also cooperate with COMELEC to improve voter education.
4. Children must not be used for campaigning or voting.
5. Campaigning must not be done other than at places and times permitted in the regulations. Breaches of these regulations must be punished.

**BEIs and Assistants**

6. BEIs and their official assistants must be selected carefully. They should not be affiliated with political parties or candidates.
7. If anyone is found to be involved in cheating or other irregularities, they must be punished and black listed. Such BEIs should not be invited to do the work again for future elections.
8. BEIs must not allow underage voters to cast votes on behalf of absentee voters, even for family members. There must be no exceptions to this practice.

**COMELEC**

9. National and Provincial arms of COMELEC are requested to maintain the highest standards of neutrality. All COMELEC officials should have their background thoroughly checked and be closely monitored.
10. Voter education, outreach and civic education are crucial. COMELEC and local NGOs can continue their voter education and outreach campaigns on cooling days to encourage voters to vote. COMELEC may need to share experiences and learn techniques from election commissions in other countries.
11. The media must cooperate with COMELEC and the Philippine authorities to enhance voter education. The media should donate free airtime during the election to COMELEC for communication with all stakeholders.

**Underage Voters**

12. COMELEC is encouraged to cooperate with all schools to inform students under 18 years of age about what activities will be illegal on polling day. Students must not be coerced or hired by anyone to vote on behalf of their family members or others. This information must be distributed to all poor families, farmers and workers.

**Security**

13. While ANFREL acknowledges the difficulties in bringing conflicting groups together, all candidates and political parties should be asked to sign an agreement denouncing force, threats and all forms of violence during the election period.
14. Security personnel including police officers and the military should be familiar with Philippine electoral laws. For a fair election it is crucial that security bodies uphold these laws. These agencies must act to protect the people, not the politicians, except where there is some special need for protection.

**Law Enforcement**
15. Law enforcement must be a priority for Philippine institutions and authorities. Punishment for breaches must be enforced without fear of local tycoons or mafias. 
16. In sensitive areas, officials including BEIs should be deployed in municipalities that are different from their home municipalities, minimizing their influence over the local population. 
17. It is important to hold a re-election if booth capturing occurs.

**10.1 Voting day and voting processes**

**Voter List**

18. While the voter list itself does not need to be changed, COMELEC must establish a procedure for preventing abuse of this list by corrupt BEIs or other authorized persons.

**Identity card**

19. Identity cards should be used to check the person against the voter list to ensure that the person carries their own document to vote. This method of “double screening” will avoid phantom and underage voters.

**Voting Secrecy**

20. Polling booths (big privacy screens) should be produced and circulated as part of the election materials provided by COMELEC. This would overcome the problem of people casting their votes in public view. The booth must be big enough to cover the machine and voters while voting. 
21. No matter what machine, ballot paper or any other kind of voting system is used, no one can vote on behalf of other voters. Those who assist the disabled or elderly must be checked to confirm he/she is the appropriate person to help them. 
22. Paper receipts from EVMs should not be viewed by BEIs or assistants. BEIs must ask voters to cast their votes by themselves.

**Indelible ink**

23. The quality of the indelible ink must be improved, and BEIs must check voters’ fingers more closely for signs of ink. Some voters in the ARMM election were able to use chemicals to clean their fingers and vote a second time. Meanwhile indelible ink should be applied at the end of the process.

**Transporting Voters**

24. No politician or party should be permitted to transport voters to polling centers, even those living in remote areas. Instead, more polling centers must be set up reducing the need for such transport.
25. Vehicles transporting voters must be checked by the police and/or military, especially those vehicles transporting voters from outside the ARMM.

Unauthorized persons

26. COMELEC should issue stronger regulations forbidding unauthorized persons from entering polling centers. The only authorized persons should be BEIs, poll watchers and voters. After voting, voters must be asked to leave the precincts immediately. Those who remain must be investigated.
27. BEIs who allow unauthorized persons (including underage voters) to enter precincts must be investigated.
28. Any person who attempts to influence the manner in which people intend to vote, whether by offering money, food and drink or any other thing, must be punished.

Vote Buying in Cash and in Kind

29. COMELEC must amend its regulations to clarify the prohibition against vote buying, and the limits on distributing food and drink to voters.
30. All instances of vote buying must be prosecuted swiftly. Candidates involved in this activity must be disqualified before or after the election. Candidates found guilty must be punished regardless of the outcome of the election.
31. Witness or others providing information to COMELEC must be protected.

Uniform Process

32. Precincts should open and close according to the schedule. All processes and systems are expected to be uniform and consistent.
33. BEIs who close precincts early must be investigated.
34. All ballot boxes must be locked and sealed according to the regulations. Ballot boxes must be larger to accommodate a greater number of ballot papers. Taking ballot papers from inside the boxes or placing them into the boxes must be done according to the voting process.
35. No one must campaign on the polling day, neither inside nor outside the precincts.

Paper Trail and Ballot Papers

36. Voter numbers according to the paper trail of the EVM system should be reconciled with the voter list to determine any discrepancies. No one must look at the candidate names on this paper and no one must take it outside the precincts.
37. For the OMR system, COMELEC should print a separate ballot paper sample clearly displaying the word “SAMPLE” to display near the precincts, but should not shade or mark the sample in a way which could influence people to vote for a specific candidate. Photocopies of ballot papers must be prohibited.
38. The spare ballot papers must be destroyed at the precinct, not at the counting center.
Counting

39. Counting ballot papers for the ACM system must not be done by unauthorized persons and not counted manually.
40. COMELEC should provide more counting machines to speed up the process, saving time for BEIs and reducing tension at the end of polling day.
41. Counting should not be done in the dark or outside the counting center building.
42. No party agents or candidates should be allowed to enter the counting center. Only BEIs, poll watchers and observers should be permitted.
43. The system to transmit the result from the EVM system should be improved. The machine may not be suitable for remote areas where there is no signal.

*Polling Station Chief and COMELEC officials share findings with ANFREL observers at the counting center in Polytechnic Hall in Cotabato*
# 8 List of Annexes

Annex 1  | List of ANFREL’S news in Philippines media
Annex 2  | Election result
Annex 3  | Deployment table
Annex 4  | ANFREL’s mission profile in ARMM – Philippine
Annex 5  | Background information on ANFREL
Annex 6  | List of previous & present ANFREL missions
Annex 7  | Display Photos
### Annex 1 – The list of ANFREL’s news in Philippines media

<table>
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<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>MEDIA</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
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<tr>
<td>Technology Small Comfort in ARMM’s wild poll zone</td>
<td>July 15, 2008</td>
<td>Business Mirror</td>
<td>Business Mirror Perspective, C1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Event Description</td>
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<td>Foreign observers say ARMM voters know little of automation</td>
<td>Aug. 11, 2008</td>
<td>The Philippine Star</td>
<td><a href="http://www.newsflash.org/2004/02/hl/hl107774.htm">www.newsflash.org/2004/02/hl/hl107774.htm</a></td>
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<td>Peace falls to pieces in the Philippines</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 2008</td>
<td>Asia Times</td>
<td><a href="http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Area/JH16Ae01.html">http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Area/JH16Ae01.html</a></td>
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Annex 2 – The Election Result

ELECTED REGIONAL GOVERNORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
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<th>ELECTION RESULT</th>
<th>PICTURE</th>
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<tr>
<td>AMPATUAN, ZALDY PUTI UY</td>
<td>LAKAS CMD</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISNAJI, ALVAREZ SILAL</td>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>17,973</td>
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<td>OMAR, ALI JUMADIL</td>
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<td>PARTIDO NG MASANG PILIPINO</td>
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<td>ARABANI, JUPAKAR PINDAH-ASIA</td>
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<td>IBRAHIM, ISMAIL BERTO</td>
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<td>NOOH, AHMAD DARPING</td>
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ELECTED REGIONAL VICE-GOVERNORS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
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<th>PICTURE</th>
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<td>ADIONG, ANSARUDDIN-ABDUL MALIK ALONTO</td>
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<td>MASIHUL, KADRA ASANI</td>
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<td>SUSULAN, AILANI JR. TAN</td>
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# Elected Regional Legislative Assemblymen

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<td><strong>Lanao del Sur (1st District)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1. Salic, Samer Umpar/Makil</strong></td>
<td>Lakas CMD</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2. Salic, Sulaylah Racman-Pimping Maniri</strong></td>
<td>Lakas CMD</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>3. Adiong, Jeha Racman Alonto</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lanao del Sur (2nd District)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1. Balindong, Yasser Alonto</strong></td>
<td>Lakas CMD</td>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>2. Menor, Alexander Boloto-Malawani</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>3. Salic, Rasmia Usman Romato</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Basilan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1. Hataman, Juhan Sbbiehi</strong></td>
<td>Nacionalista Party</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>2. Asarul, Nasser Amin</strong></td>
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<td><strong>3. Akbar, Rajam Mutamad</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Maguindanao</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1. Mentang, Pike Terando</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>3. Datumanong, Umbrah Ampatuan</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Shariif Kabunsuan</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1. Ibay, Cahar Pendat</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2. Tomawis, Abdulradzak Dagalingit</strong></td>
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<td><strong>3. Sinsuat, Roonie Quesada</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sulu (District 1)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1. Nivocadneza Tulawie</strong></td>
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<td><strong>3. Nahil Maldisa</strong></td>
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<td><strong>1. Benshar Estino</strong></td>
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<td><strong>2. Nashuper Daud</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Tawi Tawi</strong></td>
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<td><strong>1. Rejie Sahali</strong></td>
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<td><strong>3. Nur Mahadil Ahaja</strong></td>
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## Annex 3 – Deployment Table

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<td></td>
<td>Ichal Supriadi</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>MG-2</td>
<td>Mr. Reno Reach Sy Fisher</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ms. Taskin Fahmina</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
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<td>Shariff kabunsuan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>SK-1</td>
<td>Mr. Kingsley Rodrigo</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Chatchawan Rakchat</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>SK-2</td>
<td>Ms. Margaretha Tabitha Andoea</td>
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<td>Lanao Del Sur</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Cambodia</td>
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<td>Basilan</td>
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<td>Mr. Ramesh Prasai Kumar</td>
<td>Nepal</td>
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<td>Mr. Pongsak Chanon</td>
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<td>Sulu</td>
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<td>Tawi-Tawi</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>Ms. Triana Mulianingtias</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
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</table>

Update on July 31, 2008 (11:00)
Annex 4 – ANFREL’s Mission Profile in ARMM – Philippine

ANFREL’s mission in the ARMM was initiated to continue the effort to improve the election environment in the region, a core objective of the ANFREL Foundation. ANFREL was concerned that serious improvements were required as recommended by ANFREL after its observation of widespread irregularities and fraud in the 2007 Mindanao elections.

ANFREL’s mission to observe the ARMM regional elections is another of ANFREL’s missions to post-conflict zones undergoing peace processes, alongside the observation of local elections in Aceh in 2006.

The mission deployed 28 short-term observers recruited from 13 different countries and 19 different organizations, predominantly Asian NGOs working on election issues. Observers were deployed in pairs, two teams for each of the six existing provinces (i.e. four observers per region), covering all part of the province.

The mission was supported by The Asia Foundation with funding from the CIDA-Canadian International Development Agency.

ANFREL’s local partners in Mindanao are the Parish Pastoral Council for Responsible Voting (PPCRV) and NAMFREL (National Citizen’s Movement for Free Elections), both member organizations of ANFREL’s network. The ANFREL Chief of Mission was Mr. Kingsley Rodrigo, ANFREL Secretary-General and the Chairperson of the People Actions for Free and fair Elections (PAFFREL), the largest election monitoring NGO in Sri Lanka.

The ANFREL observation team after returning from the field
Profile of ANFREL senior team of observers

CHIEF OBSERVERS
Mr. Kingsley Rodrigo (Sri Lanka) is the Secretary General of ANFREL and the Chair of the People’s Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL) in Sri Lanka. He is a committee member of the National Commission against the Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms in Sri Lanka. Kingsley has led observation missions and electoral assessment teams to many Asian countries.

Mr. Sakool Zuesongdham (Thailand) is an executive committee member of ANFREL and a board member of the Poll Watch Foundation in Thailand. Mr. Sakool has worked previously with the Election Commission of Thailand’s Bangkok division for four years. He is the Chair of Arom Pongpangan Foundation, an organisation working for the rights of workers and trade unions.

SENIOR OBSERVER
Ms. Somsri Hananuntasuk (Thailand) is the Executive Director for ANFREL and the former Chair of Amnesty International, Thailand. She has observed elections in more than 15 countries in Asia and has organized about 30 missions for more than 1000 international observers to be deployed in different parts of Asia. She also serves as a member of the sub-committee for Prisoners and Juveniles Detainees of the National Human Rights Commission and as a board member for the Campaign Committee for Human Rights in Thailand. She is also a board member of the Thai Action Committee for Democracy in Burma (TACDB) and a coordinator for the Peace for Burma coalition in Thailand.
## ANFREL OBSERVERS LIST

### ARMM REGIONAL ELECTION 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Mindanao</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mr. Ichal Supriadi</td>
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<td>Indonesia</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Mr. Pongsak Chanon</td>
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<td>Thailand</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Mr. Kingsley Rodrigo</td>
<td>PAFFREL</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Ms. Somsri Hananuntasuk</td>
<td>ANFREL</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mr. Sakool Zuesongdham</td>
<td>Pool Watch</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Mr. Muhammad Badrul Hisham Ismail</td>
<td>NIEI</td>
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<td>Mr. Tadzrul Adha Tahir</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Ms. Siti Darojatul Aliah</td>
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<td>Mr. Pradip Ghimire</td>
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<td>Ms. Moline YIN</td>
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<td>Mr. Rano Reach Sy Fisher</td>
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<td>Mr. Sok Pitour</td>
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<td>Ms. Triana Mulianingtias</td>
<td>Arus Pelangi</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
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<td>Ms. Taskin Fahmina</td>
<td>Odhikar</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
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<td>NEOC</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Ms. Yusariha Podao</td>
<td>Women Muslim</td>
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</table>

Update: July 30, 2008 (17:00)
Annex 5 – Background information on ANFREL

Introduction

Formed in November 1997, the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL) has established itself as the preeminent NGO in Asia working on elections. ANFREL’s main focus is in observing pre- and post-electoral processes, and developing and training civil society groups that are actively working on organizations in their home countries. We also undertake specific research projects and advocate on good governance issues in Asia.

Since its formation, ANFREL has operated in more than 30 elections in 15 countries across Asia, from Timor-Leste to Japan to Afghanistan.

ANFREL draws its observers from a network of partner civil society organizations in Asia, listed below. Our long-term aim is to build expertise on elections and governance in the region, entrenching a culture of democracy that is seen as locally developed rather than externally imposed. Through observing election administration internationally, our observers have developed a strong understand of international best practice – knowledge that can then be applied in their respective home countries.

Objectives

As part of its overall objective of supporting organizations efforts in Asia, ANFREL is committed to supporting national based organizations initiatives on:

A. Election monitoring / pre-post election, referendum and local election and other democracy-related processes
B. Education and trainings on election and democracy-related studies
C. Research on election and democracy-related issues and cover electoral and democratic reforms
D. Conduct campaigns and advocacy work on issues related to democratic processes
E. Information dissemination and publication of material related to election and other democratic processes
F. Creation of an environment conducive to a democratic development in the spirit of regional solidarity

Election observation mission objectives

For all of our election observation missions, we aim:

1. To support the enhancement of the integrity of electoral processes and minimize election irregularities and election-related human rights violations
2. To provide accurate, impartial information and analysis on issues related to general elections in particular and prospects for democratic development in general
3. To enhance and sustain the capacity of civil society organisations to ensure an environment conducive for the conduct of free elections as well as for the realisation of people’s aspiration for democracy
4. To strengthen the civil society among participating nations (achieved in training and promotion of democratic values among members of the observation mission)
5. To support and strengthen local networks of elections observation bodies in organising, information gathering and data exchanging activities during missions
6. To publish a mission report which underlines the outcome of the observation mission of the observation team, together with recommendations for the electoral process

For Further information about ANFREL, please visit our website: www.anfrel.org

National member organisations

Afghanistan  Free and Fair Election Foundation of Afghanistan (FEFA)
Bangladesh  ODHIKAR
          The Fair Election Monitoring Alliance (FEMA)
          Committee for Free and Fair Election (COMFREL)
Cambodia  Neutral & Impartial Committee for Free & Fair Elections in Cambodia (NICFEC)
India  Programme for Comparative Democracy (LOKNITI)
          Komite Independen Pemantau Penilu (KIPP)
Indonesia  The People’s Voter Education Network (JPPR)
Japan  InterBand
Malaysia  The National Institute for Electoral Integrity (NIEI)
Mongolia  Women for Social Progress (WSP)
Nepal  National Election Observation Committee (NEOC)
          National Election Monitoring Alliance (NEMA)
Pakistan  Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP)
          The Free and Fair Election Network (FAFEN)
          Institute for Political and Electoral Reform (IPER)
Philippines  National Citizen Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL-NCR)
            The Parish Pastoral Council for Responsible Voting (PPCRV)
South Korea  People Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD)
Sri Lanka  People Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL)
Thailand  Open Forum for Democracy Foundation (Poll Watch Foundation-Thailand)
Timor Leste  Women Caucus for Politic, Timor Leste Rua Villa Verde
Board of directors

FOUNDING MEMBER & AMBASSADOR EMERITUS
General Saiyud Kerdphol (Retd.)
People’s Network for Free Elections, Thailand

CHAIRPERSON
Mr. Damaso G. Magbual
NAMFREL, Philippines

VICE-CHAIRPERSON
Mr. Koul Panha, COMFREL, Cambodia

SECRETARY GENERAL
Mr. Kingsley Rodrigo, PAFFREL, Sri Lanka

TREASURER
Mr. Sakool Zuesongdham
Open Forum for Democracy Foundation
(PollWatch) Thailand

MEMBER
Mr. Kapil Shrestha (NEOC, Nepal)
Mr. Adilur Rahman Khan (Odhikar, Bangladesh)
Ms. Lestari Nurhayati, representing KIPP, Indonesia
Ms. Kazumi Abe (INTERBAND, Japan)

ADVISOR
Dr. Withaya Sujiaratthanarak
Dr. Laddawan Tantvitayaphitak

Secretariat
Executive Director  Ms. Somsri Hananuntasuk
Advisor and Consultant Mr. Sanjay Gathia
Project Coordinator Mr. Ichal Supriadi
Technical Training Officer Mr. Pongsak Chanon
Finance Officer Ms. Sirirak Preedametawong
IT/Web Mr. Chatchawan Rakhat
## Annex 6 – List of previous ANFREL missions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Election / activity type</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
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