



WEST PAPUA LOCAL ELECTION 2011



Report of the International Election Observation Mission
The Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL Foundation)

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¹ Retrieved from <http://search.4shared.com/search.html?searchmode=2&searchName=Peta+Papua+Barat>

ABBREVIATION

ANFREL	Asian Network for Free Elections
Bawaslu	Badan Pengawas Pemilu - National Election Supervisory Body
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistic - Central Bureau Statistic
Bupati	Head of Regency
DAP	Dewan Adat Papua - Papuan's Ethnic Council
Desa	Village
DPRP	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua Papua people's Representative Council or Papua House of Representative
DPR-PB	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Papua Barat West Papua People's Representative Council or West Papua House of representative
DPS	Daftar Pemilih Sementara – Temporary Voter List
DPT	Daftar Pemilih Tetap = Final Voter List
Inpres	Instruksi President – Presidential Instruction
Kabupaten	Regency
Kecamatan	District in West Papua
Koramil	District Military Command
Kota	City Administrative
KPPS	Kelompok Panitia Pemungutan Suara - Polling officers
KPUD	Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah Regency Elections Commission
KPU-P	Papua Provincial Elections Commission
KPUPB	Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah Papua Barat West Papua Provincial Elections Commission
KPURI	Komisi Pemlihan Umum Republic Indonesia General Elections Commission Republic of Indonesia
MK	Mahkamah Konstitusi - Constitutional Court
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat The People's Consultative Assembly (National Upper House)
MRP	Majelis Rakyat Papua - Papuan;s People Council
MRPB	Majelis Rakyat Papua - West Papuan's People Council
NKRI	Negara Kesatuan Republi Indonesia – Unitary state Republic of Indonesia
Panwaslu	(Panitia Pengawas Pemilu) - Election Supervisory Committee in provincial, district and sub-district as subordinate of BAWASLU
Perdatus	Peraturan Daerah Khusus – Special provincial regulation
POLDA	Polisi Daerah - Provincial Police Command
POLRES	Polisi Resort – Regional Police Command
PPD	Panitia Pemilihan District - Ad-hoc election commission in district level
PPDP	Petugas Pemuktahiran Data Pemilh – Voter list updater officer
PPS	Panitia Pemungutan Suara di tingkat Desa/Kelurahan Ad-hoc election commission at village/Kelurahan level
PTUN	Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara - The State Administration Court
RRI	Radio Republic of Indonesia
TPS	Tempat Pemungutan suara - Polling Station Unit
UU	Undang-Undang - The Law
UUD 1945	Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 - The Constitution 1945

WEST PAPUA GOVERNANCE, A GLANCE²

The province of West Papua, formerly known as West Irian Jaya, was proposed by UU no. 45 year 1999 which outlined the formation of West Irian Jaya Province, Central Irian Jaya, Mimika regency, Paniai regency, Puncak Jaya regency, dan Sorong. This was supported by SK DPRD Irian Jaya No. 10 year 1999 which would have divided Irian Jaya into 3 provinces. After promulgation on October 1st 1999 by President B.J Habibie, the plan was rejected by the Papua people in Jayapura as evidenced by a huge protest against the proposal on October 14th, 1999. After that, the planned division was postponed, while new divisions and organizations at the regency level continued in accordance with law no 45 year 1999.

In 2002, on request from the West Irian Jaya people represented by a group known as team 315, the plan to divide West Papua was reactivated in accordance with Inpres no. 1 year 2003 issued by Megawati Soekarno-Putri on 27 January 2003. Since then, West Irian Jaya gradually formed itself into a district and functioning province. During the process, West Irian Jaya faced heavy pressure from the main Papua province, with the dispute eventually going up to the constitutional court (MK) for judicial review of the law. The Constitutional Court eventually cancelled the UU No. 45 year 1999 which is become the main legal stand for West Irian Jaya province, however the MK is still considering the existence of the West Irian Jaya.

After that, West Irian Jaya continued to develop its governing institutions despite the fact that, in some ways, the court had nullified the legal foundation for the province's existence and creation. After ascertaining its boundary and population things moved forward. They established a governing apparatus with a budget and its own members of a provincial house of representative or DPRD wherein finally the declaration of the new province's split from the main Papua land was confirmed after it received its first governor and deputy of governor –Abraham O. Atururi and Drs. Rahimin Katjong, M.Ed which were directly elected by the population and inaugurated on 24 July 2006. This event helped to end the 6 years of controversy surrounding the legitimacy of the creation of West irian Jaya and, finally, the

² Official West Papua website, retrieved on 22 Jul 2011. [online]
http://www.papubaratprov.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=49&Itemid=57

new West Irian Jaya begin to develop itself legally. West Irian Jaya changed its name to its current name West Papua province on 18 April 2007 in accordance with government regulation (PP) no. 24 year 2007.

GENERAL ELECTIONS

After being delayed three times³, local elections in West Papua were finally pushed through in July 2011. The delays were partially a result of disputes and maneuvers by elites within the MRP, DPRPB and KPUPB regarding the authorization to execute the elections. The Gubernatorial election was conducted in a total of nine regencies across the province on July 20, 2011. Unfortunately, elections were not held in some areas within those nine regencies. For example, the election for the head of regency (Bupati and Deputy of Bupati) in Kab. Maybrat was eventually postponed thanks to violence that occurred in the area. A bloody attack by supporters of a Bupati candidate—Agustinus Saa— against members of the election commission in Kumurkek district on July 4th 2011 wounded three commissioners. The attack left one commissioner in critical condition with the other two able to continue their commissioner duties while being treated for their injuries. The KPUD office was transferred to a neighboring regency after the assault while an extra police brigade was deployed to the area to maintain order before, during, and after the July 20th polls.

The election was also delayed in 13 of 25 districts in Kab. Manokwari due to a refusal by the PPDs in charge to distribute the election materials to the polling station. Instead of distributing election materials, they simply returned the materials instead. The KPUPB (provincial elections commission) considers this as a sort of act of sabotage and argues that the decision to cast a vote should be at the people's discretion, and should not be done by the PPDs in place of the people. The boycott was allegedly orchestrated by Domingus Mandacan and Oringenes Nauw, who led a boycott movement through pamphlets, text messages, and by word-of-mouth, before and during the polls, to discourage voters from participating in the

³ Previously the elections were scheduled for April 30, May 2nd and June 27. All was canceled due to complication of local political dynamic.

voting. The boycott was supported by district and village officers who belong to the same tribe as Domingus Mandacan.

The polling also did not happen in 4 of 12 districts existing in Kab. Tambrau due to problem with logistics transportation where bad weather hampered air-drops to areas only reachable by helicopter.

The electoral cycle experienced a series of challenges due to the local political dynamic where three pairs of gubernatorial candidates formed a so-called truth voice coalition to challenge the electoral agenda and demand that the elections be postponed. They accused the incumbent government (Abraham O. Atururi – Rahimin Katjong) who also contested in the election to resign from their positions as governor and deputy governor prior to the polls to provide a fair and level playing field for all contestants. They further accused the incumbents of abusing their authority and the KPUPB of being partial in favor of the incumbent candidate. At the same time the KPUPB got full support from Jakarta to continue to carry out the elections by July 20, 2011 so they have been in full gear with logistics and administrative preparations.

In the run up the polls, the political tension increased significantly when negative propaganda and intimidation was targeted at the elections commissioner after the move to postpone the polls became a legal battle and controversy surrounding its legitimacy grew. The members of the KPUPB had to evacuate their families away and ran the elections preparation remotely from a hotel room, as their newly-constructed office was often visited by waves of organized protestors from the three pairs of candidates pushing for postponement. Intimidation was also received by the election commissioners and members of the Panwaslu Papua Barat in the province, as well as their subordinates at the Regency, district, and village levels.

Another challenge was faced in the newly-formed regency—Kab. Tambrau, due to a rejection by the populace of the administrative boundaries set to establish the new regency. Residents of Mokwan district rejected their annexation to the new regency, causing them to decide to boycott the elections.

The July 20th polls were marked by low voter turnout with only 53.34 percent out of the 629,023 registered voters coming to exercise their rights in 2,270 polling stations in 11 Regencies/cities in the province. The DPT Final voter list is in question for its accuracy however because it allegedly contains duplications and has had the number of eligible voters it reports fraudulently inflated. These alleged errors in the voter list make the Election Day results, where many TPS reported a perfect 100 percent turnout, even more surprising and, frankly, unlikely. It remains a question whether the reported turnout was the result of a systematic imposition of the preferences of tribal elite over the voters in their tribe or whether it was done by relying on irresponsible/deceitful polling officers. Regardless, the result was suspicious because of the likelihood of proxy-voting conducted by polling officers to reach 100% voter turnout. Field observation in some rural areas reporting 100% turnout found strong evidence of the involvement of polling officers in proxy voting on behalf of those who were absent during the poll.

The pair of incumbents, Abraham O. Aturury and Rahimin Katjong, enjoyed the most votes, and the KPUPB pronounced them as the new elected governor and vice governor in KPUPB decision No. 32/2011 on July 30 2011. However, the three pairs of boycotting candidates launched a lawsuit to the MK against the KPUPB decision which the MK granted. Part of that lawsuit demanded that the elections be annulled. The MK granted portions of the lawsuit and ruled to annul the election results and ordered the KPUPB to have a new fresh election throughout regencies/cities existing in Papua Barat.

The first round elections cost Rp. 173 Billion. This sum included expenses for logistics and voter education, including money for over 20,000 polling workers that worked everywhere from the provincial to the polling station level.

ANFREL deployed three persons to cover specific areas: a rural area located in Kab. Manokwari, Kab. Maybrat, and Kab. Tambrauw. They were deployed to their AoR four days prior to the polls to assess the poll preparations, to assess the voter lists, and to observe the conduct of the polls.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

The political situation in West Papua comes in the context of the special cultural environment that strongly exists and implement within Papua land where the stakeholders entitle to the customary law. That heritage made necessary the granting of special autonomy for the region rights granted by the central government regarding some amount of self-governance based on the interest of the locals in accordance with their aspirations and rights within a larger framework of a united Indonesian state (NKRI). The relations between the Papuan elite and the central government in Jakarta are always interesting to view because their interests at times intersect, overlap, and/or conflicting regarding issues such as natural resource management, land disputes, provincial boundaries/division of the province, elections, customs and other factors which effect the levers of power. At their worst, competing interests between the two groups at times erupt and serious human rights violations result.

The work of the MRP (the Papuan People's Council) in accordance with law no. 21/2001 is to protect Papuan heritage. It's a body given particular authority to preserve culture and customs with a respect to the customary laws and cultural values, women's empowerment, and to enhance inter-religious relations. MRP membership consists of representatives from the customary tribes, women leaders, and religious figures, with the requirement that all be of Papuan origin. The MRP has the crucial authority to consider and endorse candidates competing in gubernatorial elections proposed by the DPRP/DPRPB.⁴

The existence of the new province of West Papua created a complex problem for the development of governance and political interactions, a problem which eventually forced a split in the MRP. The newly formed MRP-B (Majelis Rakyat Papua Barat—West Papua's People Council) was created to accommodate the new province of West Papua. The elite in West Papua wanted to establish their own Papuan People Council so a called MRPB, separate from the main MRP based in Jayapura, the capital of Papua province, from which West Papua has been split administratively since 2003. This means that West Papua did not want the MRP in Jayapura to be involved in the cultural and heritage preservation decisions of

⁴ In accordance Art. 20, UU. No. 21/2001

West Papua; they wanted effective representation within their own territory. This decision was unofficially supported by the central government, with some analysts mentioning this as part of a plan undertaken by the central government to “weaken” the unity of Papuans.

In an elections context, the split of the MRPB was allegedly directly connected to the endorsement of the incumbent vice governor—H.R. Kahtjong a man who is not of Papuan origin. The role the MRPB plays in endorsing election candidates is very critical. This role also raised the potential for allegations of abuse. The opposition and its candidates were suspicious and accused the MRPB of making a deal to endorse the incumbent vice governor to be eligible to contest even though he is not a native ethnic Papuan. The MRP-B defended itself, saying that it’s endorsement of the vice governor was valid because they saw that Kathjong’s ancestors had come to the island long ago. The customary council of Mbaham-matta at Fakfak issued a letter No. 04/SKPT-DEAMAFA/III/2011 as recognition of the root family of Katjong Kapaur, a Rahimin Katjong’s ancestors.

The conduct of local elections in West Papua suffered badly due to disputes and differing interpretations of the laws and regulations concerning the holding of the elections. The electoral stakeholders—the KPUPB, MRPB, DPRPB, political parties and candidates – have been using judicial procedures to lobby state institutions while also relying on their influence among the tribal elites and grassroots, to justify their stands. These tactics caused the elections to be postponed three times from the original date of April 30th, May 2nd, and June 27th, until it was eventually held on July 20th.

The legal foundation for the local elections are the Law No. 21/2001 on the special autonomy for Papua province, UU No. 32/2004 on the regional governance and UU No. 22/2007 on election administration. Additionally, the elections also adopt the PP (Peraturan Pemerintah—government regulation) No. 6 issued on 2005 regarding the selection, appointment and dismissal head of the province, regency and city and other pertinent regulation issued by KPUPB to detailing administration and technical arrangements for the elections.

The first disputes arose surrounding which method would be used to elect the government. Art. 7(1) of the law No. 21/2001 stipulates the tasks and authority of the DPRPB assembly to elect the Governor and deputy Governor by a vote of the majority of the House. This would presumably ensure that the process favors ethnic Papuan candidates. However this authority of the DPRPB was annulled by UU No. 35 of the year 2008. Papuan elites were of the opinion that the annulment denied the constitutional rights of the Papuan people to conduct their own gubernatorial elections as part of the special autonomous area privileges which allow it to be different from other regions. An initiative by elite Members of Parliament in Papua and West Papua—John Ibo, Joseph J. Aury and Jimmy D. Idji lodged a complaint requesting judicial review to the Constitutional Court.

The MK in its decision No. 81/PUU-18/2011 eventually rejected all of the MPs' complaints. The MK proclaimed that gubernatorial elections decided by the DPRP/DPRPB are not in compliance with the special autonomy granted to the Papua and West Papua regions. The privileges granted to Papua and West Papua specifically allow that candidates must be of Papuan origin and receive consideration and approval from the DPRP/DPRPB as well as MRP. The court stated that whether gubernatorial elections are done by the DPRP/DPRPB or directly through a public election is an important issue that must be inline with the constitution. Therefore, there was no evaluation of the implementation of the special autonomy law of Papua before amendment of the law no. 21/2001. Based on the court's interpretation of the constitution and the special autonomy law, Law No. 35/2008 amended law no. 21/2001 and annulled article 7. 1 (a) is not against the Constitution 1945. The MK clearly stated the elections of the governor by the house of representative of West Papua was rejected, but the MK given authority to DPRPB to involve to verify the candidate.

With the MK decision, the KPUPB was empowered to continue the election process which had been previously postponed. The KPUDPB begin to verify 4 (four) pairs of candidates who had nominated themselves to stand in the elections. The KPUPB proceeded with consideration of the applications of the 4 candidates that had already registered through the DPRPB, including the incumbent governor—Abraham O. Atururi and Rahimin Kahtjong. Atururi's eligibility was denied by DPRPB because he'd failed to earn a college degree because he entered the military academy at a young age and continued his career in the

military until he eventually retired as a General in the Navy corps. They also reviewed the eligibility of Rahimin Katjong, who is not of Papuan origin, but proved to have documents showing that he'd been declared a Fak-Fak tribal elder.

Afterwards, the DPRPB defended their decision to disqualify both incumbents while at the same time the MRP in Jayapura was refusing to give their final endorsement as the system is designed for them to do. This created more uncertainty stemming from the deadlocked situation; so much so that it prompted the Ministry of Interior (MoI) to initiate mediation in Jakarta. The MoI invited West Papua and Papua's stakeholders for a meeting wherein 13 points of agreement were eventually reached, the most important of which were 1) to continue the elections process, 2) that the DPRPB return the authority for candidate registration to the KPUPB and, lastly, 3) to ask the KPUPB to deal with the MRP for further endorsement on the Papuan origin issue.⁵ All stakeholders knew it would not be easy to convince the MRP to involve itself in the process. Soon after, the initiative to split the MRP and maneuvers to form the MRPB started, just prior to gubernatorial elections.

Despite much controversy, finally the new MRPB was formed; its members were inaugurated on 15 June 2011 by the governor of West Papua on behalf of the Minister of interior. The KPUPB made a quick move, hours after the inauguration; they submitted the gubernatorial candidates' documents to the MRPB for further endorsement, which were then approved by the MRPB a day later. The path towards the holding of the election had been cleared, and the KPUPB continued their preparations for the election and issued the new elections agenda in the middle unhappiness of DPRPB.

The Voice of Truth Coalition vs. KPUPB

The dispute was not yet over however, a new chapter of legal struggle had just begun after the three pairs of aforementioned candidates joined together to form the voice of truth coalition (Wahidin Puerada-Herman D. Pelix, Domingus Mandacan-Origenes Nauw and Auparay-

⁵ In accordance with article 20 Law no. 21/2001 which establishes the authority of the MRPB to give consideration and approval to the gubernatorial candidate.

Hasan Ombair) set up to oppose the incumbent and to resist the new electoral agenda decided by the KPUPB. Their first primary demand was that the election be postponed. As part of their opposition, the voice of truth coalition did not attend the drawing of the



Protest against KPUPB – Photo by Ichal

candidacy numbers and their representatives assigned to attend that event walked out after they publicly accused the KPUPB and incumbent politicians of conspiring to keep the incumbents in their positions.

The three pairs of candidates then refused to campaign and they filed a case with the PTUN (State Administration Court) in Jayapura, registered No. 33/PENG-TUN/PTUN.JPR dated 28 June 2011 asking that the court review the KPUPB decision no. 26/2011 dated 17 June regarding the fixing of the candidacy. The PTUN made a, suspicious to some, very quick decision to grant the request to postpone the elections. Within 8 (eight) working hours, the chief of the court issued notification letter No. 33/PEN.G.TUN/2011/PTUN.JPR dated 30 June 2011 which granted the request to have the case proceed and ordered KPUPB to delay the decision no. 26/2011 dated 17 June 2011, that probably can stop the electoral process. The KPUPB responded by questioning the court's decision and launched a counter attack against the court in the form of a letter to report to the Judicial Commission requesting that it investigate the court for potentially improper jurisprudence.

The voice of truth coalition used the court decision to begin their campaign to oppose the election. The KPUPB argued that it was unable to follow the court order because the candidacy process had been finished for weeks and the electoral process had by then entered the logistic phase with distribution of election materials having already begun. The Voice of truth coalition called the elections illegal because of KPUPB's disregard for the PTUN Court's order to delay the election. The coalition used this event to further their boycott of the poll.

A timeline of some key political and election events can be seen as follows:

Date	Occasion
20 July 2010	The KPUPB submitted a draft schedule and budget of elections to the DPRPB
27 Aug 2010	KPUPB invited DPRPB Commission-A, to discuss the procedures for the candidacy registration process.
15 Sept 2010	KPUPB issued decision No. 01/2010 declaring April 30, 2011 as the election date
	KPUPB issued decision No. 2/2010 providing the election agenda.
17 Sept	DPRPB speaker—John Aury invited all MPs to form a special committee (PANSUS) regarding the special local regulation (Perdasus) in order to provide a better consensus before the elections, but his invitation received no response from the MPs
28 Sept 2010	Outreach to the peoples regarding the election plan by the KPUPB to kick-off the electoral agenda.
29 Sept 2010	Launching the election agenda in Hotel Swissbell, Manokwari
	DPRPB disagrees with having direct elections to elects the governor as the DPRPB claimed it has that authority to elect the Govt/Deputy Govt without direct elections in accordance with the UU 21/2001 Art. 7(1)
Nov 5, 2010	Meeting between KPUPB – DPRPB to discuss the possibility for the election agenda to be pushed thru while the judicial review take place
Nov, 9 2010	Panwaslu PB established
Nov, 15	DPRPB and DPRP filled the judicial review to MK regarding the authority of DPRP/DPRPB to elect the governor without public elections.
Jan 25-27, 2011	KPUPB announce the candidate registration in DPRPB, but the DPRPB was not ready as they are still awaiting the judicial review processes.
	Meeting in Aston Hotel all stakeholders including the gov't, KPUPB and DPRPB to discuss solutions
Jan 28-30	More negotiations in Jakarta facilitated by the MoI; the negotiation ended without a decision and there is a directive to draft a Perdasus.
	DPRPB made a decision that it could not begin registration of the candidates because Judicial review by MK and Perdasus drafting were ongoing. The KPUPB agrees to delay the election for 2 weeks.
Jan 31, 2011	The deadline for candidate registration
	The DPRPB failed to make perdasus, and announce to stakeholders if the DPRPB could not begin the candidates' registration, and the elections could not continue since the Perdasus still not existing.
	Directive from KPU National to continue the process relying on UU no 22/2002, PP no. 6/2005, Psl 39 to 53, UU otsus (21/2001), psl , 11 (3) proceeding of gubernatorial elections by perdasus and Papuan origin candidates
Feb 2, 2011	Panwaslu in the Regency/city established.
09 Feb 2011	Meeting in ASTON hotel, Jakarta between DPRPB and KPUD with the MoI to discuss the follow up to the election process. The KPUPB asked the DPRPB how long the delay will continue? The DPRPB insisted that many things were still improper so the delay would continue, while awaiting the MK's appeal.
Mar 2, 2011	MK Decision No. 81/PUU-18/2011 on judicial review of the UU 21/2001, article 7.

	The MK rejected the DPRP/DPRPB proposal
Mar 2, 2011	KPUD issued decision No. 14/2011 on the first amendment on the KPUD Decision no. 2/2010 which laid out the new election agenda/timeline and Candidacy processes.
Marc 10-16 March	Registration process in KPUPB: Only 2 pairs: Yusac-Ismail and Abraham Atururi-Kahtjong, while 3 other pairs refused to register with the KPUPB
March 23	DPRPB opens new registration in the parliament building.
March 12	The KPUD Kab. Maybrat office was burnt down by supporters of Agustinus Saa' following the announcement of his failure of a health test
March 24	Mediation from the central government results in a new agreement to request that the KPUPB re-open the candidate registration to accommodate another 3 candidates which are not yet registered. Based on the order of the KPURI, the KPUPB issues decision no. 18 which is the 2 nd amendment of the previous decision No. 02/2010 regarding the new electoral schedule and verification of the candidates. The decision also creates a new election date on 27 June 2011.
April 1-7	The new registration period opens to re-register the 3 candidates who were not registered from the original round of registration.
April 15 - 21	KPUPB verification of the 3 new candidates.
April 22-26	Administrative verification and clarification: The KPU Conducted verified with the Naval Academy in Surabaya, the ARMY HQ's in Cilangkap and the Higher Education department in order to get clarification on the Atururi's educational certificate, as well as other candidates.
	Plenum meeting to announce the verification result, 4 pairs was announced passed the verification as candidates.
April 29	Distribution of the registration documents for the 4 pairs of candidates from the KPUPB to DPRPB for further verification. This included info on the disqualified candidate with certification notes.
April 30 – May 7	DPRPB conducted fresh verification process; the result of which was to unexpectedly reject the incumbent pairs of Abraham Atururi and Kathjong. This is meant the DPRPB made correction against the verification that conducted by KPUPB earlier.
May 8-14	DPRPB finishes verification and submits the result to MRP in Jayapura-Papua for further endorsement but the MRP refuses to get involved, as they don't have a definitive chairman that time.
May 18	KPUPB sends a reminder letter regarding the deadline of the verification perio but receives no response from the DPRPB
May 24	Meeting in Hotel Millennium-Jakarta, facilitate by MoI, attended by Menko-Polhukam, Bawaslu, KPU-RI, and all West Papua stakeholders. In the meeting, the DPRPB returns the authority for candidate verification to the KPUPB.
After	MRP write a letter to asked KPUPB to postpone the elections, again
Beg June	Demand, and a move to, have the MRPB split from MRP emerged.
June 15	The leadership of MRPB inaugurated by the Governor of West Papua on behalf of the Ministry of Interior.
June 16	The new MRPB recommended granting eligibility to all governor/vice governor candidates. After recognizing Kahtjong as of Papuan origin, the KPUPB determined that July 20 th would be the new date of elections. These decisions were formalized in KPUPB decision no. 24/ 2011
June 17	KPUPB certified the 4 pairs of candidates to contest in the elections by issuance of Decision No. 26/2011

June 20	Drawing of the candidate ballot numbers, attended by only 1 pair of Bram-Kahtjong, the representative of 3 other candidate attended but, as scripted, walked out to send a message.
June 21	Finalization of the campaign schedule attended by representatives of all 4 candidates.
June 22	Finalization of the Voter List attended by representatives of 2 candidates (BAKAT – ARUMBAI).
June 28	The voice of truth coalition sponsored by Domingus Mandacan and Oringenes Nauw filed a case with the administrative court (PTUN Jayapura), asking the court to nullify the KPUPB decision no. 26/2011 re: certification of the candidates
June 30	The court certifies the case lodged by the “the voice of truth coalition” with registration No. PTUN No. 33/PTUN.G.JPR/2011, the letter also orders the KPUPB to pause the election process in order to review the case further.
June 29	Meeting among the KPUPB and candidates, attended by all candidates’ representatives
July 7 th	KPUPB responded to the PTUN’s decision by filing a report with the KY (Judicial Commission) to complain about the court’s decision that was based on a preliminary presumption without a formal court proceeding and, in the KPUPB’s opinion, without any concern for the parties involved.
July 4 th	Kumurkek Incident: The KPUD Kab. Mabrak is assaulted by a mob with the chairman left in critical condition and 2 other commissioners wounded.
July 19 th	Morning: the chairman of the KPUPB “on air” in RRI to encourage voters to attend vote on July 20 th , 2011
July 19 th	Protests by the voice of truth coalition supporters in which they closed and sealed the offices of Panwaslu, DPRPB and KPUPB
July 20	Polling Day across the province, except in 13 districts in Kab. Manokwari due to protests and acts of sabotage and 4 districts in Tambrau due to weather conditions that hampered air-transport
July 23	Delay for elections held in “Sanggen”, following the sabotage
July 24 th	The incumbent’s term in office ends, The MoI inaugurated a care taker governor (CTG).
July 26-27	Result recapitulation at the regency level was done.
July 27	Panwaslu reoccupied its office
July 28	The CTG paid a courtesy visit to West Papuan’s functional and election officials. Included were Panwas, KPUPB, MRPB, etc
July 30	Plenary meeting of KPUPB to certify the election results at the provincial level in Hotel AstonNui, Manokwari. Domingus Mandacan’s supporters’ conduct a protest to stop the process, but the number is insufficient and the crowd disperses on their own.
Aug 2 nd	The voice of truth coalition files a lawsuit against KPUPB to MK, the case registered with No. 325-0/PAN.MK/VII/2011
Aug 23 rd	The MK taking decision to have re-elections in West Papua. The decision certified with No. 84/PHPU.D-IX/2011
Aug 24 th	The minister of Home affair – Gamawan Fauzi commented in media to accept the MK’s decision and has ordered the CTG of West Papua to make immediate budget assessment for fresh elections implementation.

ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

Election preparations faced hostility with the KPUPB receiving both support for, and strong opposition against, holding elections on July 20th, 2011. Despite this,, the KPUPB continued to plan logistics, appoint polling officers and plan the deployments of the logistic and security personnel to reach polling stations in far-flung isolated areas on time as well as to dealt with administrative challenges in two regency elections in Kab. Maybrat and Kab. Tambrau.

The KPUPB had to relocate its KPUD. Kab. Maybrat office to a neighboring regency after the office was burnt down by a mob protesting the KPUD's decision to disqualify a Bupati candidate during the verification process. In a separate incident, election commissioners were also attacked by a mob on the 4th of July 2011.

The KPUPB also had to set up an office of KPUD Kab. Tambrau in Sorong as there was insufficient existing infrastructure for an office in Kab. Tambrau. Transport of logistic materials was also easier to deliver from Sorong because access from Manokwari had been blocked by the residents of Mokwan, which after having their district denied inclusion as part of Kab. Tambrau, threatened to attack the convoy of logistic materials heading to Tambrau. Air transport was utilized to deliver election materials to districts Feef (5 TPSs), Syujak (5 TPSs), Miyah (10 TPS), Kwoor (4 villages: Kwesefo, Batde, Syumbab and PT.MWW). Materials were successfully delivered by the 19th and 20th of July.



Air-transport and packing of the elections paraphernalia (Photo by Retha & Ichal)

CANDIDATES

There were three different sets of candidates who ran for the 2011 elections because of the different offices available: a set of 4 pairs of candidates running in the gubernatorial elections, a set of 4 pairs of candidates running in the Bupati election in Maybrat, and a set of 4 pairs of candidates running in the Bupati election in Tambrau.

Gubernatorial Elections

No	For Governor	For Vice Governor	Proposed By (Parties)
1	Dr. WAHIDIN PUARADA, MSi	Ir. HERMAN D. PELIX ORISIDE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PDIP (Partai Demokrasi Indoneisa Perjuangan). - PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa). - PDS (Partai Damai Sejahtera). - PPRI (Perjuangan Indonesia Baru).
	Pronounce as WAHER = WAhidin & HERman		
2	Drs. DOMINGGUS MANDACAN	ORIGENES NAUW (Member of DPRD Papua Barat)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional). - PDK (Partai Demokrasi Kebangsaan) - PNI Marhaen - Partai Pelopor - PNBK (Partai Nasional Benteng Kerakyatan Indonesia). - Partai Barnas (Barisan Nasional).
	Pronounce as DONOR (DOmingus & ORingenes		
3	ABRAHAM O. ATURURI	Drs. RAHIMIN KATJONG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Partai Golkar. - Partai Demokrat. - Hanura (Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat). - PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera). - PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) - PBB (Partai Bulan Bntang) - PKPB (Partai Karya Peduli Bangsa). - PP (Partai Patriot). - PPI (Partai Pemuda Indonesia) - Partai Gerindra
	Pronounced BAKAT = Bram Atururi & KATjong		
4	G.C AUPARAY, SH., MM., MH	HASAN OMBAIER, SE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PSI (Partai Serikat Indonesia) - PK (Partai Kedaulatan). - PDP (Partai Demokrasi Pembaruan). - PNDI (Partai Penegak Demokrasi Indonesia).
	Pronounce as AREOMBAI = AupaRAY & OMBAIer		

Although there are four pairs of candidates for the gubernatorial elections, the competition is mainly between two: the team of incumbents Abraham O. Atururi - Rahimin Katjong (or BAKAT) and Domingus Mandacan - Oringenen Nauw (or DONOR). Domingus Mandacan is elite of the Arfak tribe, that live mainly in the Arfak Mountain. He was the former Bupati of Manokwari.



The competition also became more narrowed when DONOR successfully got support from the other two pairs of candidates to their side to challenge every political move from BAKAT. DONOR initiated challenges and a series of protests to the KPUPB, arranged demonstrations, as well as a boycott of the election campaign. DONOR accused the KPUPB of being partial in favor of incumbent BAKAT.

Bupati/Vice-Bupati Candidates

Kabupaten Tambrauw:

No	For Head of Regency	For Vice of Regency	Proposed by parties
1	JIMMY DEMIANUS IJIE, SH	REGINAL YEKWAM, S.Pd, M.Si	PDIP and PDS
2	Drs. MANASE PAA, M.Si	PASKALIS BARU, S.Pd	PKDI, PKB and PPPI
3	GABRIEL ASSEM, SE. M.Si	YOHANNIS YEMBRA, S.Sos	Golkar and PKS
4	GERZON JITMAU, SH. MM	ANTON TITIT, S.Pd	PD, PB, Hanura, Gerindra, PAN

Kabupaten Maybrat:

No	For Head of Regency	For Vice of Regency	Proposed by parties
1	ALBERT NAKOM S.Pd. MM	YAKOBUS SEDIK, M.Si	PKB, Partai Kedaulatan, Partai Buruh, Gerindra, PAN, PDIP, PNDI
2	Drs. BERNARD SAGRIM, MM ⁷	KAREL MURAFER, SH	Golkar, PDS, PSI,
3	Drs. AGUSTINUS SAA, M.Si ⁸	ANDARIAS ANTOH, S.Sos	--
4	Ir. MIKAEL KAMBUAYA	YOSEPH BLESS	Demokrat, PDK, PKS, partai Karya Perjuangan

In Kab. Maybrat, the two main rivals were Agustinus Saa and Bernard Sagrim. Both used to hold positions in government and obtain strong support from their own tribes. Agustinus Saa, elite from the Aifat tribe, used to be a governance secretary (Sek-Da) in Kab. Maybrat just

⁶ Retrieved from http://papuabaratprov.go.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=47&Itemid=54

⁷ Former care taker head of regency. He is an Ayamaru tribe

⁸ Recent Care taker Secretary in Kabupaten. an Aifat tribe.

before his candidacy, while Bernard Sagrim was previously a caretaker head of the regency (Bupati). He is also elite of Ayamaru tribe. Both use their relations to officers with positions in governance and to election commissions to benefit their candidacy. At the grassroots, both enjoy full support from their own tribes, who are ready to do anything to support their fellow tribe members, including the use of violence to achieve their goal.

VOTER REGISTRATION

To be an eligible voter, a person must have turned 17 years old by the 27th of June 2011 with their age proven by an ID card or a family card issued by the civil registrar or Kelurahan (village) office. An exception for those younger than 17 to be eligible to vote was made if those persons had already married. Eligible voters had to be registered on the voter list before Election Day. There were in total 629,023 voters registered to cast their vote on July 20, 2011, with 293,069 (46,60 %) of those being female voters

The voter list in West Papua is sourced from the database managed by a government office under the Civil Registrar department, with the data gathered from a population record that was designed to include dynamic record updating e.g. marriages, deaths and births. The government of West Papua handed over a soft copy of the potential population voter database to the KPUPB on 3 November 2010, a handover co-certified by No. 470/1289/GBP/2010 for the government of West Papua, and No. 76/KPU.Prov.032/XI/2010 for the KPUPB. The database was given over so far in advance in order to provide ample time for KPUPB to make updates and process the names of those who are eligible voters.

The KPUPB was then obligated to verify the voters names and make additions or deletions of to the list based on: a person's being an actual resident, youth who just turned 17 and/or have just been married, duplications, death records. The update process was conducted by the PPS who had the job of scrutinizing the data delivered by the KPUPB.

Through interviews and direct analysis of the DPT (final voter list), ANFREL observed that the DPT likely contained inaccuracies. Many of those interviewed view the DPT as dirty, containing many duplicate voter listings, names of voters who do

not reside in the area but are nevertheless still registered, and instances of the names of deceased residents remaining on the list.

Voter List of West Papua Elections 2011					
No	Regency/City	Total voter			Polling Station
		Male	Female	Total	
1	Sorong City	78.843	73.565	152.408	404
2	Sorong	43.652	35.870	79.522	242
3	Sorong Selatan	17.390	15.753	33.143	130
4	Raja Ampat	17.636	13.729	31.365	132
5	Fakfak	24.514	22.755	47.269	178
6	Kaimana	21.521	17.308	38.829	135
7	Teluk Bintuni	25.098	18.186	43.284	158
8	Teluk Wondama	9.155	7.419	16.574	90
9	Manokwari	79.750	71.785	151.535	613
10	Tambrau	8.436	6.827	15.263	86
11	Maybrat	9.959	9.872	19.831	102
Total		335.954	293.069	629.023	2.270
Source SK KPU no. 29/ 2011 dated June 22 2011					

Suspicious voter figures obviously arose from the DPT in Kab. Manokwari as there is a significant increase of 5,000 voters (from 24 districts under the current administrative boundaries) if compared with the head of regency elections that were held but a year ago (with 29 districts). Since that election, Kab. Manokwari lost 4 (four) districts i.e. Kebar, Senopi, Amberbaken and

Mubrabi that became a part of the new Kab. Tambrau. Despite the loss of four districts, eligible voter figures in the regency went up instead. This was explained by an officer who argued that the figures nevertheless increased thanks to the presence of migrant workers and students who recently moved to the area.

A complication in the development of the voter list happened in the 2 (two) new regencies, Kab. Tambrau and Kab. Maybrat. In Tambrau, the four formerly Manokwari districts which are technically separated from Kab. Manokwari were unhappy that they were to be included in Kab. Tambrau..

The conflict in Kab. Maybrat stemmed from a dispute with the DPT figures in that regency and the dispute unfortunately resulted in violence. The KPUPB and supporters of Agustinus Saa (the former Secretary of the regency) disagreed over the

DPTs figure, announced by the KPUPB, that was a result of the updating process done by the PPS across Kab. Maybrat. The KPUPB announced 19,831 while Agustinus Saa's supporters demanded a finalized voter list total of 19,532. The 299 voter discrepancy ended in an assault on the members of KPUD Maybrat in Kumurkek. Three were heavily wounded with the chairman of KPUD Maybrat left in critical condition and evacuated to East Java for treatment.

Agustinus Saa and his supporters primarily from the Aifat tribe took this issue so seriously as cheated by the voter list update process that resulted in a higher than before voter population among two rival tribes, the Aitinyo and Ayamaru, both of whom also have candidates who are running in the head of regency elections. The Aifat supporters blamed the KPUD Maybrat of favoring other tribes. The election for heads of regency which was supposed to be held simultaneously with gubernatorial elections has now been postponed to October 10 until the settlement of the DPT which will be updated once again in August 2011.

Overall, the public had no confidence in the degree of accuracy of the DPT used for the elections, nor, tellingly, did some officials. In an interview with the chief of administration and of the civil registrar office in Manokwari, the interviewed official hesitated to guarantee the accuracy of the list, claiming only to manage the data received from subordinates in the villages, districts and regencies/cities.

The office also refused to give either comments or data for further analysis. Because of that, the observation here refers to data managed by BPS (Statistic Bureau) from a recent population enumeration taken directly door to door in 2009 because the most recent count done in 2010 was unavailable. Analysis and observation of the DPT did not go anywhere in revealing anomalies in the population database however as access to the data managed by the Administration and civil registrar office was inadequate, an unfortunate case of inadequate transparency.

Observers have difficulty in assessing the voter list because the KPUPB did not circulate it. There were many complaints about this because interested parties could not assess the database for anomalies. The DPT could only be accessed during the polls since all TPS have a copy of the voter list. The KPUPB admitted to limitations on their ability to perform as they'd like due to their having to work from a hotel room because they don't feel safe working in their office, which is affected to their ability to access to their main database, which is somehow the argument is unreasonable as they can easily release the DPT by any mean to the stakeholders. Political parties, Panwaslu and even the KPUPB admitted the DPT still has some problems, but they don't really know at what level or to what degree. Duplication and multiple registrations happen for many potential reasons, including intervention from the PPS that marked up the voter figures in their locality in order to advantage particular candidates. The neutrality of the PPS is major challenge due to tribe supremacy/loyalty where many are related and the giving/receiving of favors like this could be considered normal. However, experts highlight the chaotic of the voter list was in heritage from the general elections 2009 due to flaws regulation that ordered to use government database that allegedly inaccurate as well as serious issue in partiality of elections commission in various level.⁹

VOTER EDUCATION AND PUBLIC OUTREACH

Voter education advertisements are visible in many corners of the provincial capital and Kabupaten/Kota. Banners, posters and pamphlets are spread throughout the area in various sizes and designs to tell people to vote, give guidance regarding valid vote marks and providing encouragement to make a smart choice.

⁹ ANFREL highlighted the same problem during the parliamentary and Presidential elections 2009, the report can be view online at:

http://anfrel.org/country/Indonesia/Mission_Reports/2009/Indonesia_Legislative_Election_2009.pdf
and http://anfrel.org/country/Indonesia/Mission_Reports/2009/Indonesia_Report_d6-final.pdf

Voters in urban and rural areas seem to not have a problem with the balloting system itself as they have a long history and experience with elections. However, the observation did not see effective outreach to the people about “choosing a good leader.” This kind of outreach is important because of tribal loyalty that runs strongly through society which goes beyond social or educational dimensions. Voters, whether they are well educated or illiterate, wealthy or poor, will follow what the tribal elite tells them. They will unite to support their tribe because the respect for tribal order supercedes all else. This fact is acknowledged by academics and experts in the province and tribal loyalty remains very strong in the cultural structure of Papuan society. However, this tribal loyalty also creates a potential for abuse where people’s loyalty is taken advantage of to further the interests of the elite in Papua.



Display of voter education in Manokwari—photo Ichal

both highlighted the need to undertake comprehensive civic education that runs continuously and involves all stakeholders including civil society, religious leaders and political parties. They also agreed that civic education should also be included in the school curriculum. The government should see these recommendations as obligations in the future.

The KPUPB admitted there is no structured program to reach out and to educate people in rural far-flung areas because they could not plan a proper program due to uncertainty regarding the elections. The KPUPB did not have a favorable situation and work environment to conduct pre-electoral programs. The KPUPB and experts together

CAMPAIGN

The campaign was scheduled from 3rd to 16th of July, in accordance with KPU-PB decision No. 25/2011, issued on 22 June 2011. However, only the incumbent pair of candidates used the 14-days campaign period to conduct public meetings, as the three other candidate pairs who wanted the election postponed refused to do the same (they did not however remove their posters and banners).

The voice of truth coalition of three pairs of candidates spent most of the campaign period lobbying the authorities in Jakarta to support their goal. They wanted the elections postponed until the term of duty of the incumbent ends and a caretaker takes over the position in order to ensure a better level playing field.



Campaign in Manokwati—photo by Retha



Billboard of Candidates—photo by Ichal

Despite the dispute, all candidates posted leaflets and banners in urban and rural areas, this includes the 3 pairs of candidates who were refused the elections. A 'posko' (campaign post)¹⁰ was erected in every Kampung (village), in varying sizes and built from various materials, with an average cost of 1 to 3 million IDR (Indonesian Rupiah) sourced from the candidate's fund. Expenses for campaign materials, and the maintenance of campaign teams

¹⁰ Small shelter built for supporters or for campaign coordination.

at the grassroots level as well costs associated with rallies and public gatherings conducted by the incumbent that involved the rental of vehicles and distribution of food to the supporters who turned out would have required a considerable amount of a candidate's campaign funds.

The other three candidate pairs would have also spent a huge amount to mobilize men and women from Manokwari and surrounding areas to come and attend the many protests that were held. It is common in West Papua to give food and funds for transport for any political activity. This is partly due to the fact that transport is very expensive: renting a jeep within the city could cost Rp. 600.000/vehicle, while vehicle hire between towns could cost Rp. 2 to 3 million per vehicle.

COOLING PERIOD

The cooling period, when all campaign activities were prohibited, was from July 17 up to polling day. The period was also used by the election authorities and candidates for final preparations for the polls. The observers did not see any active campaigning in their respective areas during this period, except the existence of the campaign posters and billboards that were not taken down.

However, on July 18, upon the return of the three candidates to Manokwari from Jakarta after failing to lobby to postpone the election, a mass gathering and protest was conducted in Manokwari city by the coalition candidates, initiated by DONOR, mobilizing people who stormed the KPUPB office, as well as the provincial Panwaslu office. The protestors sealed the offices of Panwaslu, KPUPB and DPRPB with a white ribbon/white clothes.¹¹ A member of the Panwaslu provincial office said that this mass gathering could be considered a campaign activity, which was in violation of the cooling period, but no action taken by the Panwaslu.

¹¹ The white ribbon sign contains a cultural warning, to open this up requires permission from *adat* leaders/committee, violation of this has consequence for the safety of the commissioners and/or staffs work there.



Evidence of vote buying, clockwise from below:

A sack of rice for each of household, helmet distributed to the motor-rider and cane Sardines

The three candidates initiated a campaign to boycott the election around the same time. A notification letter signed by the three candidates' representatives calling for the boycott was distributed to the public, and was even posted on walls of some public places including the airport in Manokwari.

In the rural areas, the message was relayed by heads of villages that support Mandacan and the coalition candidates. DONOR also reportedly initiated an SMS campaign saying that the July 20 election is illegal. Mandacan also ordered his supporters to continue to campaign to boycott the polls until the day of the election through word-of-mouth.

During this time, Domingus also shared evidence of vote buying committed by the incumbent governor/deputy governor. His team collected helmets that were distributed to motorcycle riders, and foodstuffs like sacks of rice distributed to each household and cans of

sardines, where the cans were originally registered as donations from the Ministry of Social Welfare for earthquake victims in Teluk Wondama. This reveals what is likely a case of manipulation and abuse of relief supplies that allegedly conducted by the incumbent candidate to woo voters. That said, Domingus did not report these cases to Panwaslu or provide them with any of the evidence, this make Panwaslu unaware about this and could not provide investigate further. Domingus was of the opinion that Panwaslu would not take seriously reports of violations, especially those committed by the incumbent.



White ribbon sealed the offices of Panwaslu and KPUPB—photo by Paolo & Ichal

INTIMIDATION AND ELECTION RELATED VIOLENCE

The ANFREL team learned about serious cases of election violence that took place in the run-up to the election prior to the team's arrival in the province. The two biggest cases happened in Kab. Maybrat committed by supporter of Agustinus Saa, a candidate from Aifat tribe.

In April 2011, a mob belonging to the Aifat tribe attacked the office of KPUD Maybrat in Dist. Kambuaya, destroying property, documents and burning down the office. This was after candidate Agustinus Saa, an Aifat tribe elite and the caretaker secretary of the government in Maybrat, was declared to have failed to pass his health test. According to a medical doctor at

Sorong state hospital who conducted the test, Agustinus Saa has an eye problem and could not read.

There is no official statement pointing to the involvement of Agustinus Saa in the incident, but it seems everybody knows who was behind the attack. For the sake of peace in the area, home to three tribes (Aifat, Ayamaru and Aitinyo), the KPUPB decided to annul its decision and proposed a new medical examination. A new medical doctor from Bandung Hospital was assigned. A source in KPUPB told ANFREL that Agustinus Saa went to Bandung to undergo examination without any witness from the KPUPB. Agustinus Saa returned to Manokwari and submitted to the KPUPB the examination result which said that he is able to read a magazine.

On July 4, 2011, a bloody incident happened in Dist. Kumurkek, Kab. Maybrat. A plenum¹² meeting of KPUD Kab. Maybrat and candidates representatives regarding the finalization of the voter list became heated due to objection from Agustinus Saa's side to the number of voters presented by the KPUD, showing that the number of voters in another district where people of the Ayamaru tribe reside is higher than in the areas where the majorities are from the Aifat tribe.¹³ The situation turned violent when a group of people armed with traditional weapons (spears, bows, arrows, and parang)¹⁴ arrived in trucks

The mob broke the doors and windows, and attacked the commissioners, with the chairman falling on the floor with severe wounds on the head, neck and body due to the brutal assault. Several commissioners were injured but were able to escape as the mob attacked with spears and arrows. The security personnel in the area were helpless to stop the violence as they were outnumbered and were targets of the attack as well. Open fire was not an option at the risk of it becoming a human rights issue against them, and they could also not reach their commander from the isolated area due to a connection problem. With the help of back up

¹² Plenum is a meeting involving respective stakeholder who are Election commissioners and candidates to take a particular decision related elections.

¹³ Clarification from the KPUPB said that the voter population in Ayamaru is actually higher than Aifat.

¹⁴ Parang is local short sword/dagger used to work on the farm

organic army and police present in the area, they were able to move the injured victims to a safe place, while the mob celebrated with an Aifat ritual victory dance.



Parang (Sharp weapon) in the polling stations—photo by Ichal

Due to series of intimidation, it was not easy to arrange meetings with the Provincial election commissioners or their staff at the beginning of the observation work. We found the provincial KPU office empty, until we finally learned that they were working from undisclosed locations (one was a hotel room) as a protective measure. The Provincial election

commission was under direct threat: death threats, as well as threats to destroy their property and harm their families, were continuously received by the commissioners through phone and SMS. The KPUPB commissioners and staff were forced to be extra careful, limit their movement and maintain a very low public profile with plain clothes security personnel as bodyguards escort them. Some of them even had to evacuate their family to a safe place.

The KPUD Kab. Maybrat was also reluctant to work in areas with a majority Aifat tribe population after the traumatic July 4 incident in Kumurkek. They set up a new office in a nearby area, Teminabuan—Kab. Sorong Selatan, and managed their operations from there. Intimidation was also received by the PPS (ad-hoc village polling committee) and PPD (Ad hoc District polling committee) in Kab. Manokwari to not support the July 20th elections. The hill areas of Manokwari are dominated by people of the Arfak tribe, its stronghold of Domingus Mandacan, who is Arfak.

In the evening of July 19, in Saosapor, the capital of Kab. Tambrau, the chair of KPUD Tambrau, Petrus Henri Irianto, was stoned by supporters of a candidate for Bupati, Gabriel

Assem. This incident was the result of a complaint launched by Aseem regarding the DPT (final voter list) which was still unclear prior to the polls. Mr. Assem supporters continued their threatening behavior towards the chair of the KPUD Kab. Tambraw until, fortunately, the police were quick to respond and stabilize the situation.

In the evening of July 21, supporters of Gabriel Assem came to the village office where the consolidation of votes was taking place. They protested to the PPD claiming the KPUD Tambraw chair was not neutral, and tried to open sealed ballot boxes. Around 150 people crowded around the area but police officers were able to secure the area.

ELECTION DAY

The election finally pushed through as rescheduled on July 20, with Kab. Manokwari, Kab. Maybrat, and Kab. Tambraw being areas of concern based on events that took place in the run-up to the election. Voting took place in almost all regency/city of West Papua, except in a few places where the election was delayed by a day or two. For instance, in some districts and villages in Kab. Tambraw, the delivery of election paraphernalia was delayed due to their isolated location and bad weather conditions that delayed delivery by air.

In Kab. Manokwari 13 out of 25 districts did not hold elections, due to boycotts by local government officials and election officers. Said districts returned the election paraphernalia to the KPUD-Manokwari unused, as they refused even to deliver the election materials received to the polling locations (TPS).

The boycott campaign was conducted by the supporters of the three candidates, led by Domingus Mandacan (the DONOR team), who roamed around the city in vehicles equipped with loudspeakers, persuading the KPPS to stop the process and asking voters to not vote.

In Kel. Sanggeng in Manokwari city, voting did not take place on the 20th as the chief of the village seized the election paraphernalia by locking them in a storage room, preventing delivery to the TPS and voters were unable to vote. Voting in Sanggeng eventually took place three days later, on July 23.

Additionally, in response to the TPSs where the polling could not be held due to undelivered logistics and efforts to sabotage, the KPUPB issued orders to their subordinates to secure the elections paraphernalia and to immediately hold delayed elections on 23rd July 2011.

Observation in Kab. Maybrat

Kabupaten Maybrat is a newly formed regency from a part of Sorong Selatan (South Sorong). There are three *fam* (tribe) in Maybrat – Aifat, Ayamaru and Aintinyo – who have long coexisted with each other there. However, after the new regency was formed, competition arose between the elites of each tribe, creating intrigue and the end of good relations. Aifat's elite aimed to put one of their own as Bupati in order to control power within the area; Ayamaru's elite, represented by Abdullah Sagrem, have the same aim. The tight competition resulted to heightened tension and conflict, which brought about the vandalism of the KPUD Maybrat office and the violence in Kumurkek.

Security and safety of polling officers became a concern in the regency. Additional special police, the BRIMOB (Mobile Brigade—special force of police), were deployed to the area to maintain peace and order. The delivery of election materials to districts with Aifat, Ayamaru and Aitinyo majorities were guarded to ensure that it would be free of disruptions, while the election commissioners and staff were well guarded by taskforce from the military and Brimob in plain clothes.

On Election Day the figure for voter turnout was not believable, with 100 percent in almost all polling stations visited by the observer. This is highly suspicious, as many polling stations actually started late and were closed with counting finished before the regulated time. In interviews with voters around the areas, they were also of the opinion that this is a very common practice where everybody, including the polling staffs, are in favor of particular candidates, and the polling staff could by proxy vote for those who did not show up. This explained how the 100 percent turnout vigorously happens.

A mobile monitoring during the polling day in district Ayamaru, Aifat and Aitinyo, showed the case of perfect turn out which were happened in TPS posko Kambuaya on 10:30am has done counting that marked with 100 per cent voter-turnout, TPS #08 located in Kampung Jitmao recorded perfect mark with 100 % of voter turn out from 158 registered voters, the counting result showed 158 punched for the incumbent. In TPS #09 located in Kampung Susumuk with DPT 242, they marked 100 per cent with majority vote for the incumbent. This is also happened in TPS #01 Ayawasi-Selatan with 95 voters registered and all voted, last record from TPS #03 in Kokas with 150 registered voter, all voted.

Within four days spent in the area, the observer concludes that it would be a challenge to find an impartial government official or polling officer in the area, where tribal obligations are demanded and people abide by tribal connections more strongly than democratic principles, which could influence how government tasks are carried out.

Observation in Manokwari

An ANFREL observer was deployed to Dist. Ransiki during the polls, and witnessed that many TPS did not open on election-day. In some TPS, the KPPS said they did not open because no witnesses arrived, or that they were still "waiting for instructions." In at least two TPS, the KPPS explicitly said that they did not want to open. When the observer asked why, they replied, "Just ask the 3 candidates in voice of truth coalition." This action disenfranchised hundreds of voters (going by the voters lists), and puts into question the neutrality of poll officials. They may also have broken administrative rules since they did not follow what they were hired to do.

All the TPS that operate opened late, some beyond 10am. The voters also came in trickles. In the TPS that opened, only half (at the most) of the registered voters turned up to vote. These were in areas where many trans-migrants live.

Village chiefs were instrumental in convincing people not to vote, as requested by the three candidates (headed by Domingus Mandacan, who is Arfak; majority of the people in Ransiki are Arfak). The observer noted that despite Mandacan's pronouncements to boycott the polls,

his billboards could be found all over the district until even after election-day. On the eve of election-day, the observer team met at least two village chiefs with a copy of the boycott letter from the three candidates, to be taken to their village. At least one village chief said the people in his area would favor Mandacan because he had done a lot of things in their area, unlike the current governor.

It seems tribal relations had a role in the decision by people to not vote; in the first TPS observed on election day, this was evident when all the voters who came in first were all trans-migrants (non-Papuans). The incumbent won overwhelmingly in said TPS.



Supporters of the three candidates contended that the vote was invalid since: a) Some TPS opened without the presence of any candidates' witness, even the incumbent's; b) only 1 witness came instead of four, as the three candidates refused to send any. The head of the village went around Ransiki village in the morning to advise the TPS in the center of town to open polls even without the presence of any witnesses.

The head of district (non-Papuan) went around Ransiki district by lunchtime to convince the villages which refused to open polls, to open. It seems he was effective at least once, as when he left, the people started to bring the materials kept in a house to the TPS.

People from at least one village wanted the PPD in Ransiki to issue a statement saying that the voting was invalid.

In the single TPS in Wamcey, a far-flung village in Ransiki, it seems all the rules of procedure were broken. When the observer arrived, around five people who had been sitting inside the

TPS stood up to vote, and were given ballots without any voter information checked or invitation collected. One of the voters looked underage. They all then piled into a small room where the single voting booth was located, which was completely out of view from any person within the TPS area, and the observer noted that there was another person inside the small room.

The "KPPS" did not look like ordinary staff, as they did not look like they were from the neighborhood and were not in uniform and IDs. The village chief also seemed anxious when talking to the observer team, and the team felt like he did not want the observer to see what was going on, and that he did not want the observers to stay longer.



Mobile TPSs in the hospital (left) and Prison (Right), photo by Paolo

The observer also questions the accuracy of the voter's lists. Some villages observed only had a handful of houses, but the registered voters as indicated on the list were in the hundreds (there was one with 500). A local said that even if all the chickens and pigs are taken into account, it would still not reach the number as indicated in the voters' lists.

The observer also doubts if voting took place in the remotest TPS the team visited the day before election. One of the villagers did not know anything about the election that would take place, and the school where the TPS was supposed to be put up did not look like it was being used: the area surrounding the school was full of overgrowth that it was impossible to see the entrance. The village chief was also pro-Mandacan, based on his pronouncements.

By late afternoon of election-day, the ballot boxes from 9 out of 13 villages were already in the possession of the PPD. However, 4 of these villages (corresponding to 4 TPS) did not open polls and returned the election materials unused. All the materials were eventually received in the PPD by 10pm of election-day.

By July 22, or two days after the election, the KPU in Manokwari had already received election materials from 18 out of 25 districts. 13 of these 18 districts did not hold any election and returned the election materials unused. These 13 districts were:

1. Hink with 5,425 registered voters
2. Neney with 1,642 registered voters
3. Membey with 1,958 registered voters
4. Didohu with 2,784 registered voters
5. Agggi with 1,625 registered voters
6. Part of Mayambouw
7. Sururey with 2,665 registered voters
8. Catubouw with 2,639 registered voters
9. Anggi Gida with 1,573 registered voters
10. Testega with 3,015 registered voters
11. Taige with 2,578 registered voters
12. Tnh Rubuh with 3,489 registered voters
13. South Manokwari, 9,044 registered voters

In Kel. Sanggeng in Manokwari city, voting did not take place on the 20th as the chief of the village, who is a relative of Domingus Mandacan, seized the election paraphernalia by locking them in a storage room, preventing delivery to the TPS. This action prevented 7,556 voters to vote on July 20. Voting in Sanggeng eventually took place three days later, on July 23rd.

Delayed election in Kel. Sanggeng, Manokwari

During July 20, the poll did not take place in Kelurahan Sanggeng due to an act of sabotage by the head of the village that seized the elections paraphernalia in the locked storage. The head of the village is Isac Mandacan whom is known as a nephew of Domingus Mandacan. The elections commission then declared that the election would be delayed until the 23rd July 2011. The delayed polling on July 20th was held under close supervision of the KPUD Kab. Manokwari and Panwasda-PB, security institutions, the media, government as well as candidate agents who roamed around in the 25 polling locations (24 were regular TPS and one mobile TPS to collect the votes from inmates in MAPOLRES prison and state hospital). The TPS were set up the night prior to the polls, and materials were also received in the TPS on July 22. The KPU-PB encouraged voters to go out and vote through the media.

In general, the polling went smoothly, with isolated incidents during the opening due to complaints from supporters of DONOR, saying that the polls were illegal. In TPS 13, the Panwasda chair and legal division had to negotiate with the crowd, and with assistance from the security officer, eventually the TPS managed to open. People came to vote for various reasons: some to support their candidates, while others came because packs of cigarettes, payments of money up to Rp. 50,000, and Pinang fruit (chewing herb)¹⁵ were being distributed to the people around TPS by the incumbent's supporters.

A vehicle believed to belong to a close ally of the incumbent was also roaming around and distributing lunch boxes and mineral water to the TPS members. Interview with elections commission said this was to give encouragement and attention to the TPS officers who were willing to operate the TPS.

The observation noted a mobilization of voters from residences initiated by polling staff or party agent in order to get maximum turn-out in the polls. The polls closed with delay in almost half of all the TPS, to give more time for voters to cast their

¹⁵ Many local people chew it daily to replace tobacco or for other custom reasons.

Observation in Kab. Tambrauw

An ANFREL team observed in Dist. Kwoor during the poll. The ethnic majority is Abun. Dist. Kwoor is divided into coastal and uphill areas, with three villages in the hills that would take 2-3 days walking distance, and six villages in the coastal areas. Due to the distance between the different TPS, only one polling place was observed in this district. Only one candidate pair for Bupati – Gabriel Assem-Yohanis Yembra – had any witnesses. One of the three witnesses from the same candidate who came is a member of DPRD in Tambrauw. The TPS opened late at 9:45 am, and the TPS chairman was absent. The PPD (ad-hoc district polling committee) assigned somebody else to replace him.

The TPS visited by the observer in Hopmare village was opened late at 11:50am, closed at 1:55pm and counting was until 2:53pm. The observer noted that unregistered voter who does not invitation letter or voter card – were allowed to vote. Underage voters were also allowed to cast votes. The set-up of the voting booth was also incorrect, with the party agent positioned behind the booth, compromising the secrecy of the vote as the party agent could clearly see how people voted.

Tambrauw being predominantly Arfak, the Mandacan team won in said TPS with 82 votes, while the incumbent got only 12 votes. For the Bupati election, the team of Manase Paa-Yohanis Yembra won in said TPS with 63 votes.

<p>The villages within Kab. Tambrauw are mostly located in far flung areas, inaccessible by land transport, difficult to monitor the election in this part of areas, and frauds could be easily done by any means</p>

ELECTORAL RESULTS

Elections results were gradually tabulated hierarchically, up from the PPS, PPD, KPUD Kab/Kota and, finally, province wide in the 10 days after the polls. Results were consolidated and finalized in a plenary meeting held in the Hotel Aston, Manokwari attended mainly by KPUD and Panwaslu from 11 Kabupaten/Kota, in West Papua. Also invited to the meeting were the CTG Governor, Police Commander, political party leaders as well as representatives from all 4 pairs of candidates but, unfortunately, only one attended. The event was also open to journalists and observers.

The plenum finalized without incident the results from 10 Kab/Kota as all relevant stakeholders were in attendance, except for Kab. Tambrau, whose officials were not present due to distance and transport difficulties. A decision was made by consensus of the main stakeholders present that, in the end, the KPUPB conduct recapitulation of election results for Kab. Tambrau by phone. By the 30th of July 2011, the results of the West Papua election were finalized and certified through KPUPB decision No. 31/2011. On the same day, the KPUPB certified the victory of the pair of candidates, Abraham O. Atururi and Rahimin Katjong that received 183,958 votes or 57.70 percent of the valid vote total. This meant that there would be no second round of the West Papua gubernatorial elections because the incumbent had secured the 50 percent plus one of the valid votes necessary to avoid a runoff. The overall results can be viewed as follows:

ELECTORAL RESULT - GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS – WEST PAPUA													
A. VALID VOTE													
N O	CANDIDATES NAME	Manokwari	Sorong	Sorong City	Teluk Bintuni	Teluk Wondama	Kaimana	Fakfak	Raja Ampat	Sorong Selatan	Tambrau	Maybrat	TOTAL
1	WAHIDIN PUARADA & HERMAN D. PELIX ORISOE	3,795	7,717	16,126	7,920	1,139	7,919	12,853	4,211	2,437	878	500	65,495
2	DOMINGGUS MANDACAN & ORIGENES NAUW,	12,158	3,971	6,571	9,195	3,089	3,799	1,713	4,003	9,060	3,711	5,901	63,171
3	ABRAHAM O. ATARURI & RAHIMIN KATJONG	37,465	30,255	32,214	6,616	7,765	4,248	14,809	12,208	17,108	8,286	12,984	183,958
4	GEORGE CELCIUS AUPARAY & HASSAN OMBAIER,	1,275	769	1,197	455	671	339	214	370	457	183	211	6,141
													318,765
B. INVALID VOTE		1,083	11,493	1,647	319	186	359	736	345	374	327	230	17,099
C. VALID AND INVALID		55,776	54,205	57,755	24,505	12,850	16,664	30,325	21,137	29,436	13,385	19,826	335,864
Source : KPUPB Decision no 31/2011													

The day of the meeting, protests by Domingus Mandacan supporters, a crowd of less than a hundred, converged at the entrance to the hotel, demanding the KPUPB stop the meeting inside in the name of justice. They negotiated with the government security officers who were securing the arena to enter the hotel but the police only allowed a small delegation to enter the meeting area. Led by Isac Mandacan (a member of the National Parliament and relative of Domingus Mandacan) the delegation negotiated an agreement to end their protest of the meeting but continue to channeling their demands to the Constitutional Court instead.

Voter Turnout

Election results showed a 53.4 percent voter turnout. The lowest turnout was recorded from Sorong city and Manokwari, where both places saw less than 40 percent of voters turnout. This low turnout was likely due to intimidation directed at voters and poll workers prior to the polls. The highest level of voter turnout was seen in Kab. Maybrat where 99.97 percent of voters reportedly came out to vote. Such turnout, if accurate, would mean only 5 eligible voters did not vote out of a total of 19,831 registered voters. The observation mission must acknowledge its serious doubts surrounding the fairness of elections in Kab. Maybrat as proxy voting was common and marred election results there. Such proxy voting possibly included the involvement of elections official at the TPS, PPS, PPD and even the KPUD levels. Panwas lapangan, or field Panwas at the village level should also be questioned about their involvement in allowing this to happen without serious concerns or investigations into such widespread irregularities.

A similarly suspicious result can also be highlighted coming out of Kab. Tambrau. It recorded 87.70 percent voter turnout despite cancellation of elections and a boycott in Dist. Mokwan.

Voter turnout can be viewed in the following table:

No	Regency/City	DPT	Turn out	Total %	% against DPT
1	Sorong City	152.408	57,755	9,182	37,895
2	Sorong	79.522	54,205	8,617	68,164
3	Sorong Selatan	33.143	29,436	4,680	88,815
4	Raja Ampat	31.365	21,137	3,360	67,390
5	Fakfak	47.269	30,325	4,821	64,154
6	Kaimana	38.829	16,664	2,649	42,916
7	Teluk Bintuni	43.284	24,505	3,896	56,614
8	Teluk Wondama	16.574	12,850	2,043	77,531
9	Manokwari	151.535	55,776	8,867	36,807
10	Tambrau	15.263	13,385	2,128	87,696
11	Maybrat	19.831	19,826	3,152	99,975
	Total	629.023	335,864	53,39	

Post-Election Environment

After the announcement of results, the situation remained calm despite Domingus Mandacan soft threats to mobilize his supporters to occupy government house. Despite these threats, Mandacan committed to a peaceful election solution and would not in the end resort to violence to express his dissatisfaction with the election process. Speaking with international observers on July 27th, he affirmed his commitment to a peaceful resolution when he said, “I will control my fellow tribes and supporters not to act violence, I will launch lawsuit against the KPUPB to give example for everybody in the Papua land to respect the law and order, I hope the MK can give us justice before the people angry and I could not control them.” This statement and the double meaning it contains is effectively both an outward expression of peace but also a veiled threat. Echoing this statement was Mr. Barnabas Mandacan, head of the Papua Customary Council– Region-III, who is also the brother of Domingus Mandacan.

Domingus Mandacan, together with the voice of truth coalition comprised of Drs Dominggus Mandacan-Origenes Nauw, Wahidin Puarada-Herman Orisoe dan and G.C. Auparay-Hassan

Ombaier, launched a lawsuit against the KPUPB. The case was registered with on 2 August 2011 with court registration no. 325-0/PAN.MK/VII/2011.

The lawsuit challenges the legality of the elections and makes several serious demands such as:

- A motion to annul the election results certified by KPUPB decision No. 31/2011 as the election was held with only one candidate participating.
- A demand to review the flawed authority claimed by the KPUPB to proceed with the verification of candidates; the lawsuit claims this authority belonged to the DPRPB.
- To judge the failure of the KPUPB to comply with the PTUN notification letter No. 33/PEN.G.TUN/2011/PTUN.JPR dated 30 June 2011 to pause the electoral process in order to respond to the case that had been filled by the voice of truth coalition against KPUPB decision no 26/2011 regarding the certification of 4 pairs of candidates.
- Finally, to disqualify candidate Abraham Atururi because of doubt in his college degree certification and candidate Rahimin Katjong for not being of Papuan origin

The MK held hearings, and on August 23, 2011, the court ruled on decision No. 84/PHPU-D-IX/2011 to annul the KPUPB decision no. 31/2011 on the recapitulation of election results and ordered the KPUPB to conduct a fresh campaign and re-elections which include the 4 pairs of candidates that were verified earlier. The MK further rejected the rest of the demands made by the voice of truth coalition's lawsuit.

The MK, its decision, explained how the legitimacy of an electoral process will be questioned when only one pair of candidates participates in campaigning and voting. It stated that the credibility of the local elections in West Papua has to be restored by fresh elections that include all 4 pairs of candidates. However, the court stressed that, in order to prevent further boycotts, the court was of the opinion that the electoral process should continue in the future, in the event that there are still candidates that refuse to participate in the election going forward.

Electoral Complaints

The Panwaslu of West Papua is the authority that has the responsibility to gather and follow up on reports/complain of electoral offences. Up until now, they have collected complaints received from their subordinates and political parties, but so far they have only been able to verify four cases, two of which are considered criminal cases while the other 2 are being treated as administrative cases.

The Provincial Panwaslu is still waiting to conclude their investigations, as they are still awaiting reports from their subordinates that have faced difficulties in verifying cases. So far, nobody has been prosecuted or fined. This adds to Indonesia's record of electoral injustices in elections, where very few people are prosecuted or punished.

The Panwaslu of West Papua faces enormous challenges to exercise their authority to promote electoral justice. Part of the failure to overcome the problems that arose in the electoral process here stemmed from the particular character of the incidents in West Papua. Some of the problems would have required solutions that went beyond the common procedures standardized in the Electoral supervisory code, which lays out the standard often considered in the cases dealt with by the Panwaslu.

Loose coordination among the law enforcement team comprised of Police, attorneys, and the court, which should normally be the back bone of electoral justice, meant that the Panwaslu had little support from these groups. A good example of this failure came when the Panwaslu office was sealed off by protesters in the name of the west Papuan people. At that time, Panwaslu and the police seemed powerless to do anything about it, as there needed to be a persuasive approach made to the customary entities to have it re-opened. This case is indicative of broader trends where the supremacy of the tribe is obviously beyond any formal legal approach.

RECOMMENDATIONS

ANFREL is committed to strengthen democracy in Asia through Election Observation Missions (EOM). During this EOM, ANFREL noted a few opportunities for improvement of the precious West Papua elections that could be proposed to the Government of Indonesia and electoral authorities in the country in order to protect the peoples' rights and to enhance the elections there. ANFREL proposes concern in following sectors:

1. Voter Registration

- a. Develop a more accountable voter registration method to ensure a clean voter list. It could begin by reviewing the government database to ensure that it corresponds with the actual population. It is important to modernize the system through computerization nationwide. The Government of Indonesia and electoral authorities would benefit by a decrease in the number of disputes and conflicts that are caused by an inaccurate voter list.
- b. Undertake a Voter Registration audit done by independent parties to increase credibility and public confident to the voter list.
- c. Make an immediate review of the voter list for better accuracy, and take steps to improve it (re-registration, removal of names).
- d. The temporary voter list (DPS) should be transparently displayed in publicly accessible spaces. The KPU's doing this consistently would make authorities accountable for the list they use and lead to a more accurate list.

2. Electoral Legal System and Election timeframe

- a. The West Papua elections suffered from uncertainty due to legal disputes among the elites of the province. It would benefit all stakeholders and reduce conflict if the elections were declared within a period of time after all relevant laws are set in place in order to provide certainty for the elections commission to execute the event. A period for amending the law and related dispute resolution could be laid out with appropriate time limits in order to avoid a chaotic situation later when important articles within the law are modified.
- b. Clarify the procedure for choosing candidates, who is responsible for determining who is qualified, and what exactly are the criteria. Avoid vague

requirements that could easily lead to disputes and then ensure that all procedures are followed in a timely manner.

- c. To reduce cases of electoral impunity, it is important to prolong the period of receiving complaints of 7 days and evidence collection of 14 days. If the report, evidence and witnesses emerge after more than that period, Panwaslu should still be able to handle the case. This will allow for more investigations at the source of incidents level. After sending the case to the Police, Panwaslu should continue monitoring the cases till they are submitted to the court. Lack a road access and communication shall be considered by the electoral authority to review the provision complain management.

3. Review the performance and recruitment system of electoral officers

- a. Conduct a general review of the performance of the poll workers. It is crucial to discharge officers who perform unprofessionally in order to enhance the credibility of elections.
- b. Internal investigations should take place surrounding allegations made against members of the Elections commission at the Kabupaten/Kota level. Serious action must be taken to discharge them immediately if they're proven to have violated the code of conduct. The Central KPU and Provincial KPU could take a lead for this effort. This action could be undertaken by Bawaslu and Panwaslu at the provincial level, despite this being an ad-hoc position.
- c. The future recruitment of poll officers in West Papua should consider those coming from out of their village and deployments should be set accordingly.

4. Voter Education / Civic Education

- a. A serious civic education program should be immediately intensified to penetrate into rural areas of West Papua. This effort is critical to balance tribal loyalty with basic democratic principle for the enhancement of future elections.
- b. An alternative civic education program that respects customary values and relies on internationally accepted democratic practices could be implemented by involving professional Papuan NGOs to reachout to the Papuan population. The people's acceptance and trust of this program is important to properly focus people's consciousness on their political rights and its effect on their livelihood.

- c. Consider adding elections/civic education and electoral observation-related material to the school curriculum and encourage university students to become domestic observers.

5. Training on polling procedures

- a. Comprehensive and adequate training for polls officer to strictly follow polling procedures must be done.
- b. Stricter enforcement of polling procedures to filter out proxy voters, multiple voters, phantom voters, and underage voters must be put into place.
- c. Obtain/Create a voter attendance list. Voters should put their signature or thumbprint on the list before voting on polling day. This is to track the attendance of voters and reduce the possibility of multiple voting.

6. Law Enforcement

- a. Ensure that all violations are investigated thoroughly; penalize the offenders; and make sure that such violations are not repeated in future elections; this includes not rehiring polling officers who broke election rules.
- b. Clear rules and a clear agenda for law enforcement institutions related to the election should be set to avoid delays in responding to electoral offences. The Panwas must receive full support from the Police, attorneys and the court to empower them in their role as the election supervisory body in the province.

7. Involvement for elections observation

- a. Invite more election observers, both local (Indonesian EMOs / Papuan observers) and international. Their presence increases the transparency and legitimacy of an election.

8. Dispute Resolution

Encourage dialogue between opposing parties. The central government shall take a more active role to mediate problems as early as possible.

---End---