

**Weighing
e-Voting:
Global
Experiences**



**e-Banpol: Building Transparency
and Accountability in the
Management of State Financial
Assistance for Political Parties**

**e-Voting Is Not
Indonesia's
Electoral
Priority**

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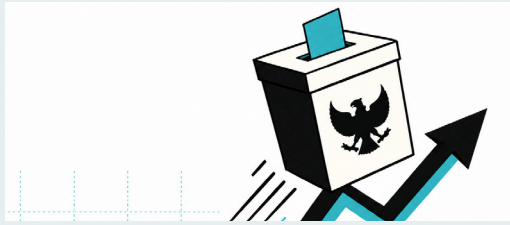


June 2026



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MOMENT
FOR
ELECTORAL
DEMOCRACY**

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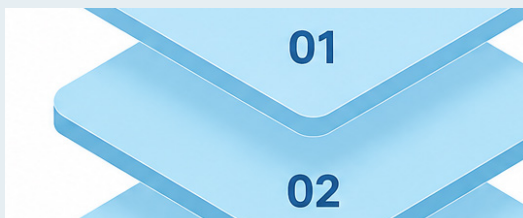
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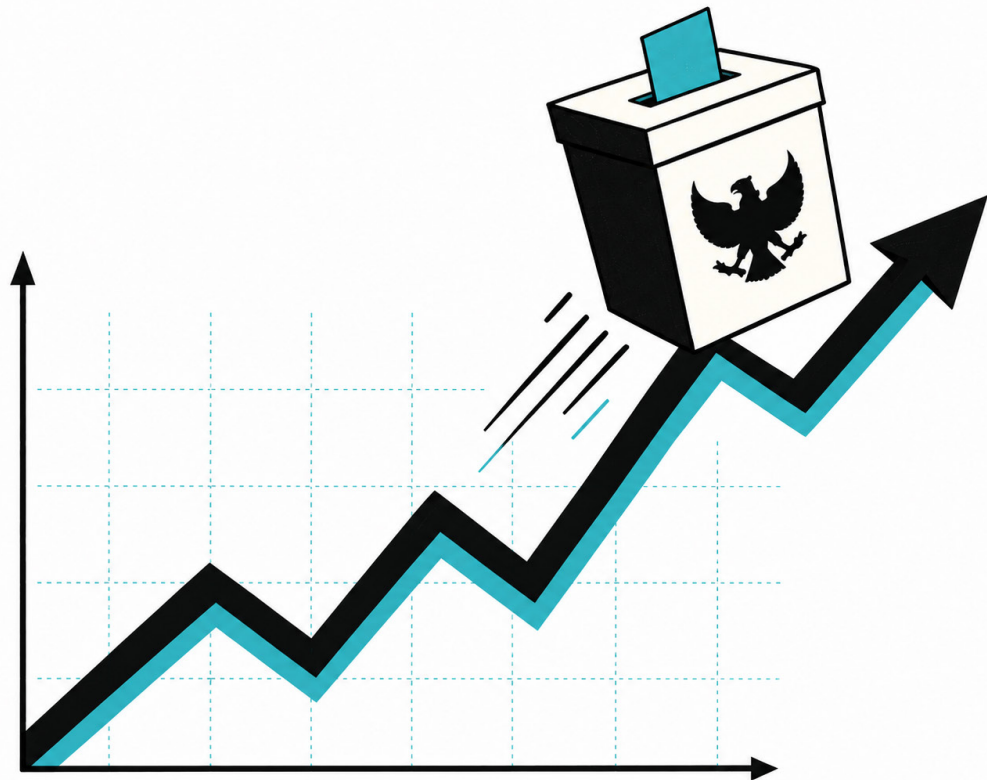
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e-Voting Is Not Indonesia's Electoral Priority



The second half of 2026 marks a pivotal period for Indonesia's democratic reform. The revision of the Election Law has become an urgent legislative priority that can no longer be postponed, as a series of Constitutional Court rulings have significantly reshaped the country's electoral legal framework and require follow-up through legislative reform. At the same time, rapid technological developments, efforts to strengthen political party governance, and the need to enhance the quality of public participation have emerged as increasingly important issues in advancing an electoral democracy grounded in integrity.

In this edition, readers will find updates on Perludem's advocacy initiatives, research, and democracy education programs. The bulletin features discussions on global experiences in implementing electronic voting (e-voting) and their relevance for Indonesia, the latest developments in advocacy for the revision of the Election Law, the constitutional challenge aimed at strengthening women's representation within election management bodies, and proposals to reform the governance of public funding for political parties through

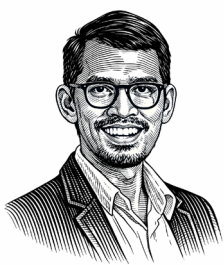
the e-Banpol initiative. We also highlight a range of activities, including the Democracy Academy, the Electoral Democracy Series, and dialogues with political parties, all of which reflect Perludem's commitment to expanding meaningful public participation in electoral reform.

Through this bulletin, we hope that the information, analysis, and documentation presented will contribute to a deeper understanding of Indonesia's ongoing democratic transformation, encourage informed public dialogue, and serve as a valuable resource for all stakeholders navigating the challenges and opportunities of democratic reform.

This publication reflects Perludem's continued commitment to providing timely information, critical analysis, and forward-looking ideas that support the advancement of democracy and electoral governance in Indonesia. We hope that each edition will inspire discussion, reflection, and collaboration in promoting democratic reform rooted in constitutional values, meaningful public participation, and respect for citizens' rights.

We hope you enjoy reading this edition.

Editorial Team



**Heroik M
Pratama**
Executive Director



Weighing e-Voting: Global Experiences and the Future of Electoral Digitalization in Indonesia

Advances in information technology have transformed many aspects of public life, including the administration of elections. Among the most widely discussed innovations is electronic voting (e-voting), which refers to the use of electronic devices in the voting and vote-counting process. E-voting is often promoted as a means of improving the efficiency of election administration, accelerating vote counting, reducing administrative errors, and lowering long-term logistical costs. As governments continue to expand digital public services, e-voting is frequently presented as a key component of electoral modernization.

In practice, however, the adoption of election technology extends far beyond e-voting alone. The digitalization of electoral processes encompasses a much broader range of innovations, including technology for voter registration, election participant management, electronic vote tabulation and recapitulation

(e-counting and e-recapitulation), and the provision of open election data. This broader perspective demonstrates that electoral technology can be introduced incrementally, without necessarily replacing in-person voting with electronic voting systems.

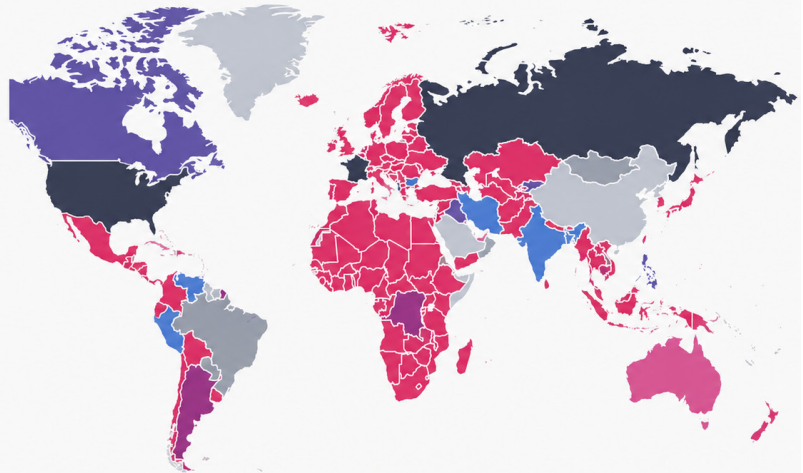
Global experience also shows that countries have taken different approaches to adopting e-voting. While some have introduced e-voting either nationwide or for specific groups of voters, relatively few have made it the primary method of voting. Most countries continue to rely on conventional paper-based voting systems. Where e-voting has been adopted, it is more commonly implemented on a limited basis—such as for overseas voters or in selected jurisdictions—rather than across an entire national election.

According to data from the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) covering 178 countries, the adoption of e-voting has yet to become a common global practice. Most countries continue

If e-voting is currently being used, what type(s) of technology used?

ICTs in Elections Database – E-voting

- Direct recording electronic (DRE) voting machines with and without voter-verified paper audit trail (VVPAT)
- Electronic ballot printers (EBPs)
- Internet voting systems
- Multiple
- Not applicable
- Optical Mark Recognition (OMR) or Optical Character Recognition (OCR)
- Other



Highcharts.com © Natural Earth

CONTINENT	NO DATA	NOT SPECIFIED	NOT APPLICABLE	INTERNET VOTING SYSTEMS	ELECTRONIC BALLOT PRINTERS (EBPS)	OPTICAL MARK RECOGNITION (OMR) / OPTICAL CHARACTER RECOGNITION (OCR)	DIRECT RECORDING ELECTRONIC (DRE) VOTING MACHINES WITH AND WITHOUT VOTER-VERIFIED PAPER AUDIT TRAIL (VVPAT)	OTHER	COUNTRIES RESEARCHED
Africa	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	49 (98.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	50
Americas	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	14 (56.0%)	3 (12.0%)	1 (4.0%)	3 (12.0%)	6 (24.0%)	3 (12.0%)	25
Asia	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	31 (72.1%)	3 (7.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (7.0%)	4 (9.3%)	2 (4.7%)	43
Europe	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	37 (84.1%)	4 (9.1%)	1 (2.3%)	1 (2.3%)	4 (9.1%)	0 (0.0%)	44
Oceania	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	12 (80.0%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	15
Other	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1
Total	0	0	144	12	4	7	15	5	178

to conduct elections without using e-voting technologies. Among those that have adopted e-voting, the most widely used technology is the Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) system, which records voters' choices electronically at the point of voting. Other technologies include internet voting, Optical Mark Recognition (OMR), Electronic Ballot Printers (EBP), and several other systems, although these have been adopted to a much more limited extent.

This global landscape demonstrates that there is no single model of e-voting that has emerged as an international standard. Rather, countries have adopted different approaches based on their respective needs, institutional capacities, legal frameworks, and the level of public trust in their electoral systems.

According to International IDEA data covering 178 countries, the use of e-voting remains far from a common global practice. A total of 144 countries (80.9%)



A number of countries that once adopted e-voting have since discontinued or limited its use due to concerns over security, transparency, costs, public trust, and legal considerations.

continue to conduct elections without using e-voting technologies. In other words, approximately eight out of every ten countries still rely on conventional voting methods.

Among the 34 countries that have adopted e-voting, the most widely used technology is the Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) voting system, which is employed in 15 countries. Meanwhile, 12 countries have implemented internet voting, 7 countries use Optical Mark Recognition (OMR) or Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technologies, 4 countries employ Electronic Ballot Printers (EBP), and 5 countries utilize other forms of e-voting technology.

Regional patterns also reveal considerable variation in the adoption of e-voting. The Americas have the highest adoption rate, with 11 of 25 countries (44%) using e-voting technologies. Asia, meanwhile, has the largest number of countries implementing e-voting, with 12 of 43 countries (27.9%). In Europe, e-voting is used in 7 of 44 countries (15.9%), while Oceania records 3 of 15 countries (20%). Africa, by contrast, has the lowest level of adoption. Of the 50 countries included in the dataset, only one country (2%) has adopted e-voting, while the remaining 49 countries (98%) continue to rely on conventional voting methods.

These figures suggest that, despite rapid advances in digital technology, most countries remain cautious about adopting e-voting. Even among countries that have implemented it, a wide variety of technologies and approaches are used, indicating that no single e-voting model has emerged as an international standard. This also underscores a broader point: the digitalization of elections does not necessarily require the adoption of e-voting. Instead, many countries pursue electoral digitalization incrementally, introducing technology in ways that reflect their institutional needs, technological readiness, and levels of public trust.

Interestingly, developments over the past few decades reveal a different trend. Several countries that previously adopted

e-voting have since discontinued or abandoned its use. Their decisions have been driven by a range of considerations, including concerns over cybersecurity, difficulties in ensuring the verifiability and auditability of election results, the high costs of maintaining electronic voting systems, and declining public confidence in the integrity of electoral outcomes.

The experience of various countries demonstrates that e-voting is not a universally successful solution for election administration. A number of countries that once adopted e-voting have since discontinued or limited its use due to concerns over security, transparency, costs, public trust, and legal considerations. These experiences suggest that the success of electoral digitalization depends not on the adoption of e-voting itself, but on whether technology can strengthen the integrity, accountability, and public credibility of both the electoral process and its outcomes.

What, then, is Indonesia's experience? Unlike several countries that have piloted or implemented e-voting in national elections, Indonesia has never used e-voting in its electoral process. Instead, the use of technology has been directed primarily toward supporting administrative processes and the tabulation of election results, rather than replacing the act of voting with electronic systems.

The use of technology in Indonesia's elections has evolved incrementally. During the 2004 General Election, technology was introduced through a Virtual Private Network (VPN) to facilitate data transmission. In the 2009 General Election, the election administration adopted Intelligent Character Recognition (ICR) technology. During the 2014 and 2019 General Elections, the General Elections Commission (KPU) introduced the scanning of Form C1 and the electronic entry of vote-count data. These innovations were further developed during the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Elections and the 2024 General Election through the use of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) and Optical Mark

Countries That Have Discontinued e-Voting

COUNTRY	YEAR	DESCRIPTION
Ecuador	2025	E-voting was permitted for overseas voters during the 2023 presidential election, but the practice was later discontinued.
Finland	2023	Provisions on e-voting were once included in the Act Amending the Election Act (880/2006), which remained in force until the end of 2008.
Germany	2025	Although the Federal Election Act still contains provisions allowing e-voting, the German Federal Constitutional Court ruled in 2009 that its use was unconstitutional. Since then, e-voting has effectively been abandoned.
Ireland	2020	E-voting machines were piloted in the 2002 general election across three constituencies. Following concerns over security and costs, the government decided to abandon e-voting in 2009.
Japan	2018	E-voting was introduced in 2002 for local elections with the aim of speeding up and improving the accuracy of vote counting. However, the system failed to gain wider adoption, and no local government continues to use it.
Kazakhstan	2021	E-voting was used in the 2004, 2005, and 2007 elections. However, it was no longer used in the 2011 presidential election or the 2012 parliamentary election due to low public trust and the need for system upgrades.
Nepal	2018	E-voting was used in the 2008 Constituent Assembly election as well as by-elections in 2014 and 2015. However, it was no longer used during the 2017–2018 election cycle.
Netherlands	2021	The Netherlands used e-voting for more than two decades before discontinuing it in 2007, influenced in part by the civil society campaign <i>Wij vertrouwen stemcomputers niet</i> (“We Do Not Trust Voting Computers”).
Norway	2021	Internet voting was piloted in 2011 and 2013 as a complement to paper-ballot voting. Although more than 70,000 voters participated, the trials did not increase voter turnout. In 2014, the government terminated the project due to insufficient political support for its continuation.
Pakistan	2024	Internet voting for overseas Pakistanis was piloted in a 2018 by-election. However, the scheme was not used in the 2024 general election. In 2022, Pakistan’s National Assembly also passed a bill abolishing the use of electronic voting machines (EVMs) and electronic voting mechanisms for citizens living abroad.
Romania	2019	In 2003, e-voting was used in a national referendum for Romanian military personnel stationed overseas, including in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Kosovo.

INTERNATIONAL IDEA,
ICTS IN ELECTIONS DATABASE;
ANALYSIS BY PERLUDEM.

Recognition (OMR) technologies as part of the Election Results Recapitulation Information System (Sirekap).

This experience demonstrates that Indonesia’s approach to electoral digitalization has focused on strengthening electronic results recapitulation (e-recapitulation) rather than introducing e-voting. Unlike e-voting, which replaces the voting process with electronic technology, e-recapitulation serves as a tool to support the tabulation of election results while preserving paper ballots and manually completed vote-count forms as the official basis for determining election outcomes. This approach enables technology to improve efficiency and transparency without altering the fundamental voting process.

At the same time, the implementation of Sirekap has provided valuable lessons. During the 2024 General Election, the system succeeded in collecting more than 60 percent of polling station data within three days. However, the public release of the data was temporarily suspended

before all results had been published. During the 2024 Simultaneous Regional Elections, by contrast, approximately 90 percent of polling station data were collected within less than 24 hours, although OCR-related reading errors still required manual verification and correction. These experiences demonstrate that the use of digital technology in elections continues to require improvements in infrastructure, system accuracy, and implementation governance.

For this reason, discussions on electoral digitalization within the revision of the Election Law should not focus solely on the prospect of introducing e-voting. Indonesia’s experience instead suggests that strengthening e-recapitulation—supported by a clear legal framework, rigorous pilot testing, independent security audits, and meaningful public participation in system evaluation—offers a more realistic pathway toward enhancing the transparency, accountability, and integrity of election administration. ●

Perludem and its civil society coalition submit a constitutional review petition to the Constitutional Court in Jakarta, July 20, 2026.



Perludem and Civil Society Coalition File Constitutional Review to Strengthen Women's Representation in Election Management Bodies

The Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem), together with a civil society coalition, filed a constitutional review petition against Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections and Law No. 10 of 2016 on Regional Elections before Indonesia's Constitutional Court on

10 July 2026. Registered as Case No. 265/PUU-XXIV/2026, the petition forms part of a broader advocacy effort to strengthen guarantees for women's representation across election management bodies (EMBs), from the national level to ad hoc bodies at the local level.

In the petition, Perludem and



the coalition argue that several provisions of the Election Law and the Regional Elections Law fail to provide adequate legal protection for women's representation. A number of articles merely state that the composition of EMBs should *"take into account women's representation of at least 30 percent,"* a formulation that lacks binding legal force and is often treated as a non-mandatory guideline. As a result, the 30 percent quota for women has frequently not been achieved during the recruitment of election officials.

Through the constitutional review, the petitioners ask the Constitutional Court to reinterpret the provision by replacing the phrase *"take into account women's representation of at least 30 percent"* with *"shall include women's representation of at least 30 percent."* This change would make the representation of women a mandatory

legal requirement in the establishment and appointment of members of election management bodies.

The petition covers the composition of the General Elections Commission (KPU), Provincial KPU, Regency/Municipal KPU, Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) at all levels, the Election Organization Ethics Council (DKPP), selection committees for KPU and Bawaslu commissioners, DKPP regional examination panels, as well as ad hoc electoral bodies, including District Election Committees (PPK), Village Voting Committees (PPS), and Polling Station Working Committees (KPPS). It also challenges the corresponding provisions governing PPK, PPS, and KPPS under the Regional Elections Law.

The petitioners contend that the use of the phrase *"take into account"* has resulted in constitutional harm because it fails to ensure the effective implementation of affirmative action for women within election management bodies. They argue that a stronger legal formulation is necessary to give full effect to the constitutional principles of equal opportunity and affirmative action in the recruitment of election officials.

In addition to requesting a reinterpretation of the relevant provisions, Perludem and the coalition also submitted a request for the Court to prioritize the case. They argue that a timely ruling is essential to provide legal certainty before the establishment of the selection committees and the recruitment process for KPU and Bawaslu commissioners for the 2027–2032 term begins. A decision issued before these processes commence would provide a stronger legal basis for ensuring women's representation throughout the selection process.

Through this initiative, Perludem and its civil society partners continue to advocate for stronger affirmative action policies within Indonesia's electoral system. The effort reflects their commitment to ensuring equal opportunities for women in election administration while promoting more inclusive, representative, and constitutionally grounded electoral governance. ●



Perludem's Democracy Academy: Empowering High School Students, University Students, and Teachers as Champions of Democracy Education

High School Students' Democracy Academy, Jakarta, June 24–25 (top).

PHOTO: RIKKY MF

As part of its commitment to strengthening democracy education in Indonesia, Perludem organized the Democracy Academy, a Training of Trainers (ToT) program designed for three strategic groups: high school students, university students, and teachers. The program equipped participants with substantive knowledge, facilitation skills, and critical perspectives on democracy and elections, enabling them to become catalysts for democracy education within their respective communities.

The Democracy Academy was designed as a collaborative learning space that encourages participants to think critically,

engage in meaningful discussions, and develop the skills needed to facilitate learning for others. Beyond enhancing participants' understanding of democratic principles and electoral processes, the program sought to empower them to become facilitators capable of expanding democracy education in schools, universities, and local communities.

To effectively reach these diverse target groups, the Democracy Academy was delivered through three training cohorts, each tailored to the characteristics and learning needs of its participants. The first cohort focused on high school students, using a pedagogical approach supported by interactive learning methods. The second cohort was designed for university



High School Students' Democracy Academy, Jakarta, June 24–25 (top).

PHOTO: RIKKY MF

University Students' Democracy Academy, Jakarta, July 1–2 (bottom).

PHOTO: HAURA IHSANI



students, while the third engaged school teachers, recognizing their important role in fostering democratic values and civic engagement within educational institutions.

The first cohort of the Democracy Academy was designed for high school students, recognizing them as a strategic group in building an early understanding of democracy, citizenship, and civic participation. The training adopted a participatory and interactive approach, enabling participants to explore key concepts through group discussions, simulations, educational games, and

introductory facilitation exercises. This approach was intended not only to strengthen participants' understanding of democratic principles but also to foster critical thinking, respect for diverse perspectives, and the confidence to engage actively in civic life.

The training curriculum covered the fundamental principles of democracy, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, elections, leadership, communication, and basic facilitation techniques. Participants were also equipped with the skills to share what they had learned with their peers, enabling them to serve as ambassadors for democracy education within their schools.

The second cohort of the Democracy Academy targeted university students, recognizing their strategic role in advancing democratic discourse both on campus and within the broader community. This phase of the program focused on deepening participants' understanding of contemporary issues in democracy and elections, strengthening their policy analysis skills, and enhancing their capacity to serve as facilitators of learning and leaders of civic and political education initiatives.

Participants were encouraged to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the challenges facing Indonesia's democracy while building the skills needed to design and facilitate discussions, training sessions, and public education activities. Through this experience, the program sought to equip participants to bridge academic knowledge with the practical promotion of democracy education in universities and their wider communities.

The third cohort of the Democracy Academy was designed for teachers, recognizing their central role in formal education. The training provided an opportunity for participants to deepen their understanding of contemporary issues in democracy and elections while exploring teaching approaches that are relevant to today's educational context.

Through this program, teachers were positioned as strategic partners in strengthening democracy education



**Teachers’
Democracy
Academy, Jakarta,
July 8–9.**

PHOTO: HAURA IHSANI

within schools. Given their experience and close engagement with students, teachers play a vital role in creating learning environments that encourage dialogue, respect for diverse perspectives, and responsible civic participation.

Accordingly, the Democracy Academy viewed teachers not only as training participants but also as members of a growing network of democracy education practitioners committed to expanding the program’s impact within their respective schools. By engaging teachers, the program seeks to ensure that democratic values become an integral and sustainable part of the educational process and school culture.

Across all three cohorts, participants demonstrated a high level of enthusiasm and actively engaged in discussions on the challenges facing democracy in Indonesia. Evaluation results indicated that participants gained a strong understanding of the training materials and were well prepared to serve as facilitators of democracy education within their schools, universities, and communities.

As a follow-up to the program, Perludem supports Democracy Academy alumni in putting their knowledge into practice through a community

political education grant that enables them to organize democracy education initiatives in their respective communities. Participants are also encouraged to develop their ideas and reflections into popular opinion articles, which will be published and compiled alongside contributions from participants in other cohorts in an edited volume.

Through the Democracy Academy, Perludem seeks to build a sustainable ecosystem for democracy education by engaging key actors across different levels of education. By bringing together high school students, university students, and teachers, the program aims to strengthen a growing network of democracy educators capable of promoting democratic values within their own communities.

Looking ahead, the Democracy Academy has the potential to serve as a sustainable model for democracy education by connecting learning, community-based practice, and alumni networking. In this way, democracy education extends beyond a one-time training program to become a collective movement that strengthens civic participation and contributes to the continued development of Indonesia’s democracy. ●



Perludem Provides Technical Assistance to PSI Jakarta in Developing a Policy on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence

Technical Assistance for Drafting the Sexual Violence Prevention and Response (PPKS) Policy with PSI Jakarta, Jakarta (July 3).

The Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem) continued its technical assistance to the Jakarta Regional Executive Board of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI Jakarta) in developing internal policies on the prevention and response to sexual violence. The second assistance session focused on reviewing the draft Handbook on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence and developing an Organizational Guideline as an internal policy framework for the PSI Jakarta Regional Executive Board.

This activity followed Perludem's earlier Workshop on the Handbook for the Pre-

vention and Response to Sexual Violence in Political Parties, which brought together representatives from several national political parties. Through the workshop, Perludem mapped the internal mechanisms used by political parties to prevent and respond to sexual violence. The assessment found that PSI Jakarta was among the few political party organizations that had already developed a handbook on the issue. However, the handbook was published in 2021, prior to the enactment of Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes, and therefore did not reflect subsequent legal developments, including provisions on Technology-Facilitated Sexual Violence (TFSV).



Technical Assistance for Drafting the Sexual Violence Prevention and Response (PPKS) Policy with PSI Jakarta, Jakarta (July 3).

Through this technical assistance, PSI Jakarta is updating its handbook to align with the provisions of the 2022 Law on Sexual Violence Crimes while also developing a more operational Organizational Guideline to serve as the basis for preventing and responding to sexual violence within the party. The draft Handbook and Organizational Guideline were prepared by Geraldi Ryan Wibinata, Regional Secretary of PSI Jakarta, together with his team.

The discussion focused on developing a reporting mechanism that is simple, easy to understand, and accessible to both survivors and witnesses. Participants also discussed the composition and working procedures of the Task Force on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence and the Fact-Finding Team, with the aim of ensuring that cases are handled in an objective, accountable, and survivor-centered manner.

Representing PSI Jakarta were Elva Farhi Qolbina, Chair of the PSI Jakarta Regional Executive Board; Allya Natasya Aurora, Head of Organization, Cadre

Development, and Membership; Millen Putira, Deputy Regional Secretary; as well as Nazila Nur Fatiha Sungkar and Ria Syahirah from the party's internship team. Representing Perludem were researchers Annisa Alfath and Usep Hasan Sadikin, along with Mike Verawati, a women's rights activist and co-author of the *Handbook on the Prevention and Response to Sexual Violence in Political Parties*, who provided recommendations to strengthen the substance of both the handbook and the Organizational Guideline.

This technical assistance forms part of Perludem's broader commitment to supporting political parties in developing internal policies that are responsive to the prevention and response to sexual violence. Through assistance in drafting standard operating procedures (SOPs), organizational guidelines, and practical handbooks, Perludem seeks to promote political spaces that are safer, more inclusive, more equitable, and free from all forms of sexual violence, including technology-facilitated sexual violence (TFSV). ●



Perludem and Civil Society Coalition Present Election Law Reform Recommendations to PKB

The civil society coalition presents its Election Law reform recommendations to PKB during a meeting in Jakarta, 7 July 2026.

PHOTO: RIKKY MF.

The Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem), together with the Civil Society Coalition for the Codification of the Election Law, concluded a series of policy dialogues with all political parties represented in Indonesia's House of Representatives (DPR RI). The meeting with the National Awakening Party (PKB) marked the final engagement in the series. Through these consultations, Perludem and the coalition presented a range of substantive recommendations aimed at accelerating discussions on the Election Law Bill and strengthening its overall framework.

During the meeting with PKB, the coalition presented recommendations

on several key issues related to Election Law reform. These included the electoral system, the selection process for election management body officials, the strengthening of election information systems, the protection of the political rights of persons with disabilities, the financing of regional elections, the representation of women and young people, and the digitalization of election administration.

The dialogue formed part of the coalition's broader effort to ensure that the revision of the Election Law not only incorporates relevant Constitutional Court decisions but also addresses persistent challenges identified in recent elections through comprehensive institutional and regulatory reform.

Perludem Executive Director Heroik M. Pratama explained that the series of meetings with all parliamentary parties was intended to promote an open and inclusive legislative process. According to him, meaningful engagement with civil society can enrich the substance of the Election Law reform and help address long-standing challenges in Indonesia's electoral system.

"We want to ensure that the revision of the Election Law is not merely a political agenda in Parliament, but also an opportunity to strengthen the quality of Indonesia's democracy. That is why we have engaged with every political party represented in Parliament, so that civil society's recommendations can meaningfully contribute to the legislative process," Heroik said during the meeting at PKB headquarters in Jakarta on 7 July 2026.

Hadar Nafis Gumay, Executive Director of the Network for Democracy and Electoral Integrity (Netgrit), presented several technical issues that should be considered in the revision of the Election Law. He discussed the selection mechanism for election management body officials, alternative electoral system models and their implications—including the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system, which, he argued, requires careful assessment before any potential adoption in Indonesia. Hadar also emphasized the importance of strengthening election information systems by improving Sirekap as an initial step toward a more transparent, accurate, and accountable digital election administration.

Meanwhile, Titi Anggraini, a constitutional law scholar from the Faculty of Law at the University of Indonesia, urged Parliament and the government to begin deliberations on the Election Law Bill without further delay. She noted that the recruitment process for the next members of the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) will begin soon, making regulatory certainty essential to provide a clear legal framework and sufficient preparation time for the 2029 General Election.

Representatives from other coalition organizations also presented recommendations based on their respective areas of expertise. PPUA Disabilitas emphasized the need to improve voter data collection for persons with disabilities to better safeguard their political rights. KPPOD proposed a central government funding mechanism to support the administration of regional elections, while Kawula 17 highlighted the importance of strengthening youth political participation and ensuring that youth-related issues are reflected in the revised Election Law.

Responding to these recommendations, Hasanuddin Wahid, Secretary-General of PKB, expressed his appreciation for the coalition's contributions. He emphasized that dialogue between political parties and civil society plays an important role in enriching the substance of the Election Law reform.

Members of Commission II of the House of Representatives from the PKB faction also shared updates on the ongoing legislative discussions. Muhammad Khozin outlined recent developments in debates on the electoral system and the parliamentary threshold. Zainul Munasichin invited further input on alternative electoral system models suitable for Indonesia, while Anna Mu'awanah and M. Hanif Dhakiri highlighted the financing of regional elections and stressed the importance of comprehensive studies on both the electoral system and the digitalization of election administration. PKB welcomed the coalition's recommendations and stated that they would be considered as part of the parliamentary deliberations on the Election Law Bill.

With the completion of the dialogue with PKB, Perludem and the coalition have now engaged with every political party represented in the House of Representatives. They hope that the recommendations presented throughout the consultation process will contribute to a more democratic, inclusive, and forward-looking Election Law capable of addressing the challenges of future elections in Indonesia. ●

"We want to ensure that the revision of the Election Law is not merely a political agenda in Parliament, but also an opportunity to strengthen the quality of Indonesia's democracy."

Perludem and Civil Society Coalition Complete Consultations with All Eight Parliamentary Parties

1. Representatives of the civil society coalition meet with the Democratic Party, 26 January 2026.

2. The civil society coalition meets with the NasDem Party, 27 January 2026.

3. The civil society coalition meets with the Golkar Party, 28 January 2026.

4. The civil society coalition meets with the National Mandate Party (PAN), 30 January 2026.

5. The civil society coalition meets with the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), 3 February 2026.

6. The civil society coalition meets with the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), 6 February 2026.

7. The civil society coalition meets with the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), 20 April 2026.

8. The civil society coalition meets with the National Awakening Party (PKB), 7 July 2026.

The Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem), together with the Civil Society Coalition for the Codification of the Election Law, has concluded a series of consultations with the eight political parties represented in Indonesia's House of Representatives (DPR RI). The consultations formed part of the coalition's efforts to foster dialogue with political parties on the direction

of Election Law reform, with the aim of ensuring that the revised law is better equipped to address the challenges of future elections.

During each meeting, the coalition presented a set of policy recommendations developed from its evaluation of the 2024 General Election, recent Constitutional Court rulings, and the need to simplify and strengthen Indonesia's electoral legal framework. ●



PHOTOS: RIKKY MF,
HAURA IHSANI



Postponing Election Law Reform Risks Undermining the Constitution

Recent Constitutional Court rulings have significantly reshaped key provisions of Indonesia's electoral framework. However, these decisions have yet to be reflected in revisions to the Election Law. This delay has raised concerns over stagnating electoral reform and growing legal uncertainty

ahead of the 2029 General Election.

Speaking at the discussion *"Delayed Election Law Reform and the Risk of Constitutional Non-Compliance"* in Jakarta on 28 June 2026, Titi Anggraini, an election law scholar from the University of Indonesia, stressed that revising the Election Law has become an urgent constitutional responsibility for both



Participants attend the Electoral Democracy Series #1 discussion, Delayed Election Law Reform and the Risk of Constitutional Non-Compliance, in Jakarta, 28 June 2026.

Parliament and the Government. She noted that the Constitutional Court has issued 22 rulings that substantially alter the architecture of the Election Law, making a comprehensive revision essential to ensure that these decisions are implemented in a coherent, holistic, and legally consistent manner.

“Lawmakers do not need to start from scratch because the Constitutional Court has already established the constitutional framework of our electoral law. The task of Parliament and the Government now is to translate these rulings into operational provisions that can be implemented effectively and with integrity,” Titi said.

Perludem organized the Electoral Democracy Series, a regular public discussion forum that brings together academics, election experts, and democracy practitioners to examine strategic issues in elections and democratic governance. Through this forum, Perludem seeks to enrich public discourse while promoting electoral policies that are democratic, inclusive, and consistent with constitutional principles.

Titi highlighted two major Constitutional Court rulings that require immediate legislative follow-up. The first concerns the abolition of the presidential nomination threshold. Under Constitutional Court Decision No. 62/PUU-XXII/2024, the previous requirement that political parties or coalitions secure at least 20 percent of parliamentary seats or 25 percent of the national valid vote to nominate presidential candidates was declared unconstitutional.

Following this ruling, all political parties participating in elections are now entitled to nominate presidential candidates. According to Titi, Parliament must establish an appropriate regulatory framework to prevent the concentration of political support among a limited number of parties while ensuring voters continue to enjoy meaningful electoral choices.

The second issue concerns the parliamentary threshold. In line with Constitutional Court Decision No. 116/PUU-XXIII/2023, the current 4 percent parliamentary threshold must be revised before the next general election. Titi argued that any new formula should minimize wasted votes, reduce disproportionality in election outcomes, and remain consistent with the broader objective of maintaining a manageable party system.

She also emphasized that the legislative process should not be dominated by

“One cannot help but wonder whether these delays are part of an effort to manipulate the electoral process itself. The closer we get to 2029, the more difficult it will be for everyone to prepare for a new set of electoral rules.”

political elites behind closed doors. The Constitutional Court, she noted, explicitly instructed lawmakers to ensure meaningful public participation in drafting the new legislation. Parliament should therefore engage not only parliamentary parties but also non-parliamentary political parties and civil society organizations throughout the revision process.

Titi further warned that Parliament must begin deliberations without delay, noting that an academic paper for the Election Law revision has yet to be prepared. She expressed concern that the legislative stagnation experienced before the 2024 General Election could be repeated, recalling that on 9 March 2021, Parliament, the Government, and the Regional Representative Council (DPD) agreed to remove the Election Law revision from the National Legislative Program (Prolegnas).

“We have already learned from the lead-up to the 2024 elections how political pragmatism between the legislature and the president resulted in legal stagnation and the preservation of the status quo. We are beginning to see the same pattern emerge once again,” she said.

Meanwhile, Hadar Nafis Gumay, Executive Director of the Network for Democracy and Electoral Integrity (Netgrit), urged Parliament and the Government to promptly revise Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections. He argued that failing to do so could jeopardize the legal foundation of future elections, particularly given the Constitutional Court’s decisions that have significantly altered Indonesia’s electoral legal framework.

Hadar warned that holding the 2029 General Election without incorporating these Constitutional Court rulings would raise serious constitutional questions regarding the legitimacy of the electoral process. Such circumstances, he argued, could lead to legal disputes, the repetition of certain electoral stages if constitutional violations were identified, prolonged legal uncertainty, and broader political instability.

“Even a relatively minor legal flaw can require an electoral process to be repeated. If that occurs on a much larger scale, involving major constitutional issues, it could create significant political instability. That would be extremely dangerous for our democracy,” he said.

According to Hadar, prolonged disputes over the legality of the electoral process would affect not only election management bodies and political contestants but could also undermine overall political stability.

Constitutional law scholar Feri Amsari likewise criticized the slow progress of the Election Law Bill, arguing that the prolonged delay has generated growing public suspicion. He warned that postponing deliberations until shortly before the 2029 General Election would leave election administrators and political parties with insufficient time to adapt to the new legal framework. Electoral legislation, he argued, should be finalized well in advance to allow adequate preparation by all stakeholders.

“One cannot help but wonder whether these delays are part of an effort to manipulate the electoral process itself. The closer we get to 2029, the more difficult it will be for everyone to prepare for a new set of electoral rules,” Feri said.

He argued that the delays are not merely a matter of legislative procedure but may indicate underlying political interests that undermine legal certainty and the quality of electoral governance.

Feri further cautioned that postponing the revision of the Election Law could create opportunities to manipulate future election outcomes. He therefore called on lawmakers to accelerate deliberations so that all regulatory changes can be finalized well before the 2029 General Election begins. According to him, legal certainty is an essential prerequisite for ensuring elections that are democratic, fair, and conducted with integrity.

“Delaying the revision of the Election Law is, in itself, a form of electoral manipulation because it creates opportunities to engineer election outcomes in the future,” he concluded. ●

e-Banpol and Reforming Political Party Finance Governance



SOURCE: AI-GENERATED ILLUSTRATION.

The debate over increasing state financial assistance for political parties has gained renewed momentum in Indonesia. This time, however, attention has shifted beyond the size of the allocation to how these public funds should be governed. During the discussion, “e-Banpol: Transforming Political Party Finance Governance,” held on 3 July 2026, speakers from Perludem, Indonesia’s Ministry of National Development Planning (Bappenas), and Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) agreed that improvements in party financing must go hand in hand with institutional reform and stronger governance.

Heroik Pratama, Executive Director of Perludem, explained that the organization’s research shows that current state funding covers less than five percent of political parties’ operational needs. As a result, political parties often struggle to perform their core democratic functions, including political education, cadre development, and representing citizens’ interests.

“Our research consistently shows that state financial assistance contributes less than five percent of political parties’ operational needs. It is simply insufficient

to sustain their core activities,” Heroik said.

Heroik argued that limited public funding encourages some political parties and their members to seek alternative sources of finance, creating incentives for rent-seeking and corruption when legitimate funding proves inadequate.

“As a consequence, political parties and their members often look for alternative sources of funding that may ultimately lead to illegal practices, including corruption. Rent-seeking becomes a way to finance party operations,” he explained.

He also noted that the two other principal sources of party finance are increasingly inadequate. Membership contributions have steadily declined since Indonesia’s democratic transition, while donations from individuals and corporations carry risks of conflicts of interest. As a solution, Perludem proposed e-Banpol, a digital platform integrating the entire cycle of state financial assistance—from application and disbursement to expenditure reporting and auditing. According to Perludem, digitalizing these processes would strengthen transparency while making public oversight more effective.

“The primary objective of e-Banpol is to establish a more transparent and

The second edition of the Electoral Democracy Series focused on reforming the governance of political party finance amid renewed discussions on increasing state financial assistance for political parties (Banpol). Rather than focusing solely on the amount of public funding allocated to political parties, the discussion emphasized the importance of ensuring that public resources are managed transparently, accountably, and under effective public oversight.

“I believe discussions on state financial assistance should be framed as part of comprehensive political party reform, so that both the problems and the proposed solutions remain within that broader reform agenda.”

accountable system for managing state financial assistance to political parties while strengthening public trust in political institutions,” Heroik said.

Meanwhile, Nuzula Anggreini, Director for Ideology, National Resilience, Politics, and Democracy at Bappenas, explained that strengthening political party governance has been incorporated into both the 2025–2045 National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) and the 2025–2029 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN). According to her, improving party governance is essential to strengthening Indonesia’s democratic foundations and achieving the country’s long-term development objectives.

“If Indonesia aspires to achieve the level of prosperity enjoyed by developed countries, it must first strengthen its democratic foundations. Without a strong democracy, those ambitions will be difficult to realize,” Nuzula said.

She emphasized that e-Banpol should not be viewed merely as a financial reporting application but rather as an instrument for democratic governance reform. The initiative seeks to establish a system that enables political party funding to be managed more transparently, accountably, measurably, and under effective public oversight.

“The discussion on e-Banpol is not simply about developing another digital application. It should be understood as part of a broader effort to build a transparent, accountable, measurable, and publicly monitored system of political party finance,” she explained.

Nuzula added that discussions on the e-Banpol initiative have already involved the Ministry of Home Affairs and political parties through a series of focus group discussions, with the proposal receiving generally positive responses.

While supporting efforts to strengthen political party finance governance through e-Banpol, Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) emphasized that institutional reform within political parties should remain the government’s foremost priority before increasing public funding. Almas Sjafrina, Coordinator of ICW, argued that

Indonesia’s political parties are facing not only financial constraints but also deeper governance and representation challenges. Limited funding, she noted, has made many parties increasingly dependent on major donors and other funding sources that may create conflicts of interest.

“The problem is no longer merely a financial crisis; it has become a governance crisis,” Almas said.

According to Almas, discussions on increasing state financial assistance should therefore be situated within a broader political party reform agenda. Additional public funding should serve not only as financial support but also as an incentive to strengthen internal democracy, improve organizational governance, and enhance public accountability.

“I believe discussions on state financial assistance should be framed as part of comprehensive political party reform, so that both the problems and the proposed solutions remain within that broader reform agenda,” she said.

ICW also proposed that any increase in state funding should be implemented gradually and accompanied by regular evaluations of parties’ internal democracy, organizational governance, and financial transparency. As public institutions, political parties have an obligation to disclose information regarding state subsidies, membership contributions, and third-party donations, as required under Indonesia’s Public Information Disclosure Law and Political Parties Law.

“If political parties expect greater public funding, they must also be prepared to open their financial records to the public,” Almas concluded.

The discussion demonstrated that the debate on political party financing has evolved beyond the question of how much public funding should be provided. Increasing state financial assistance, implementing e-Banpol, and advancing broader political party reform should be pursued simultaneously to strengthen political parties’ democratic functions while improving transparency, accountability, and public trust. ●

Electoral
Democracy Series
#3 discussion,
e-Voting: Solution
or Problem?, in
Jakarta, 14 July
2026.

PHOTO: HAURA IHSANI.



Why e-Voting Is Not the Answer to Indonesia's Electoral Challenges

Through the third edition of the Electoral Democracy Series, Perludem revisited the debate over the adoption of electronic voting (e-voting) in Indonesia's elections. The discussion examined both the opportunities and the challenges of electoral technology, including its regulatory framework, cybersecurity, transparency, and implications for the integrity of the electoral process.

Advances in information technology continue to shape innovations in election administration, including renewed interest in electronic voting. While e-voting is often seen as a means of accelerating voting and vote counting, the use of technology in elections extends beyond efficiency. Any technological innovation must also ensure system security, procedural transparency, and public confidence in electoral outcomes.

Heroik Mutaqin Pratama, Executive Director of Perludem, noted that debates over e-voting regularly resurface before and after elections. Although technological innovation can improve election administration, he emphasized that digital transformation in elections cannot be approached in the same way as digitalization in other sectors.

"Our primary objective is to ensure elections that are democratic, conducted

with integrity, and consistent with the fundamental principles of Indonesia's electoral system," Heroik said during the discussion, "*e-Voting: Solution or Problem?*", held in Jakarta on 14 July 2026.

Heroik explained that a variety of e-voting technologies have been adopted around the world, including Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) voting machines, Electronic Ballot Printers (EBP), electronic pens, and internet voting. He also distinguished these systems from technologies such as Optical Character Recognition (OCR) and Optical Mark Recognition (OMR), which are used to scan and tabulate paper ballots as part of Indonesia's Sirekap electronic vote recapitulation system.

He further noted that a growing number of countries have moved away from e-voting. Approximately 11 countries, including Germany, the Netherlands, and France, have discontinued its use due to concerns over cybersecurity, system

Before deciding whether to adopt e-voting, he argued, policymakers should first identify the specific problems the technology is intended to solve, noting that the voting process itself has generally not presented significant challenges.

vulnerabilities, transparency, and public confidence in the voting process.

Turning to Indonesia, Heroik pointed out that e-voting has never been used in national or local elections, except for limited pilot projects in village head elections. Before deciding whether to adopt e-voting, he argued, policymakers should first identify the specific problems the technology is intended to solve, noting that the voting process itself has generally not presented significant challenges.

He also cautioned that if efficiency is the primary objective, the government must determine whether the anticipated benefits justify the substantial costs of procuring equipment, developing infrastructure, and maintaining an e-voting system. Comparable gains in efficiency, he argued, could instead be achieved through less costly reforms, such as simplifying ballot design.

In addition, Heroik warned that e-voting could reduce opportunities for citizens to directly observe the vote-counting process at polling stations. Public participation in monitoring elections, he stressed, remains one of the key safeguards for maintaining transparency and trust in election results.

"With e-voting, once voters cast their ballots, the process is essentially over from their perspective. Citizens no longer have the opportunity to observe the vote count directly at polling stations as they do under the current system. Public oversight is therefore an important consideration when evaluating e-voting," he said.

Meanwhile, Hadar Nafis Gumay, Executive Director of the Network for Democracy and Electoral Integrity (Netgrit), argued that a clear legal framework must precede any adoption of electoral technology. According to him, technology can only be introduced if supported by comprehensive legislation that provides legal certainty, accountability, and effective oversight mechanisms.

"How can we adopt a new electoral method without a clear and comprehensive legal foundation? Doing so would inevitably create serious problems,"

Hadar said.

He explained that such legislation should address issues ranging from dispute resolution procedures to the legal status of digital records as evidence. Rather than introducing e-voting nationwide, Hadar suggested that Indonesia should focus on strengthening the existing Sirekap system while considering internet voting for Indonesian citizens living overseas.

"There is no immediate need to introduce e-voting domestically. If any form of e-voting is considered, it should be limited to overseas voters through internet voting. What Indonesia needs most is a stronger Sirekap system, not voting machines at every polling station," he said.

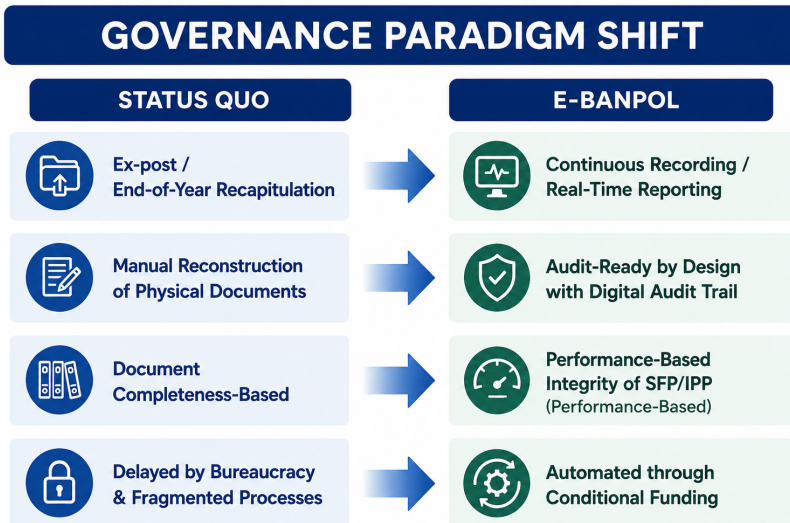
Echoing this view, Reza Lesmana, initiator of the Jaga Suara 2024 initiative, argued that the challenges associated with e-voting extend well beyond cybersecurity. They also include the physical security of voting equipment, logistical distribution, and, above all, public trust. Every voting device, he said, must be secured throughout its entire lifecycle—from procurement and storage to transportation and deployment at polling stations.

Reza further observed that the rapid spread of disinformation and advances in artificial intelligence have made it increasingly difficult to build public confidence in electronic voting systems. In contrast, he argued, manual voting retains an important advantage because the counting process can be directly observed by citizens.

Instead, he advocated further strengthening Indonesia's electronic vote recapitulation (e-recap) system, which has shown significant improvements. According to Reza, the accuracy of the OCR and OMR technologies used during the 2024 regional elections was considerably higher than during the 2024 General Election, although the General Elections Commission (KPU) did not publicly release the recapitulation results generated by the system.

"At this stage, e-recap technology is far more mature than adopting e-voting," Reza concluded. ●

e-Banpol: Building Transparency and Accountability in the Management of State Financial Assistance for Political Parties



PERLUDEM. DIGITAL-BASED POLITICAL PARTY FINANCIAL GOVERNANCE (E-BANPOL) FOR ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY. 2026.

Accountable financial management is one of the essential prerequisites for a healthy democracy. As recipients of public funds, political parties have a responsibility to ensure that every expenditure financed through state financial assistance (Banpol) is transparent, properly accounted for, and open to public scrutiny. However, the current reporting system for state financial assistance remains largely dependent on layered administrative procedures, manual documentation, and audits conducted only after all activities have been completed. As a result, oversight is less effective, while public transparency remains limited.

These challenges have become the starting point for the development of Electronic Political Party Assistance (e-Banpol). Rather than simply digitizing paper-based forms, e-Banpol is designed as a governance reform instrument that integrates the entire lifecycle of state financial assistance for political

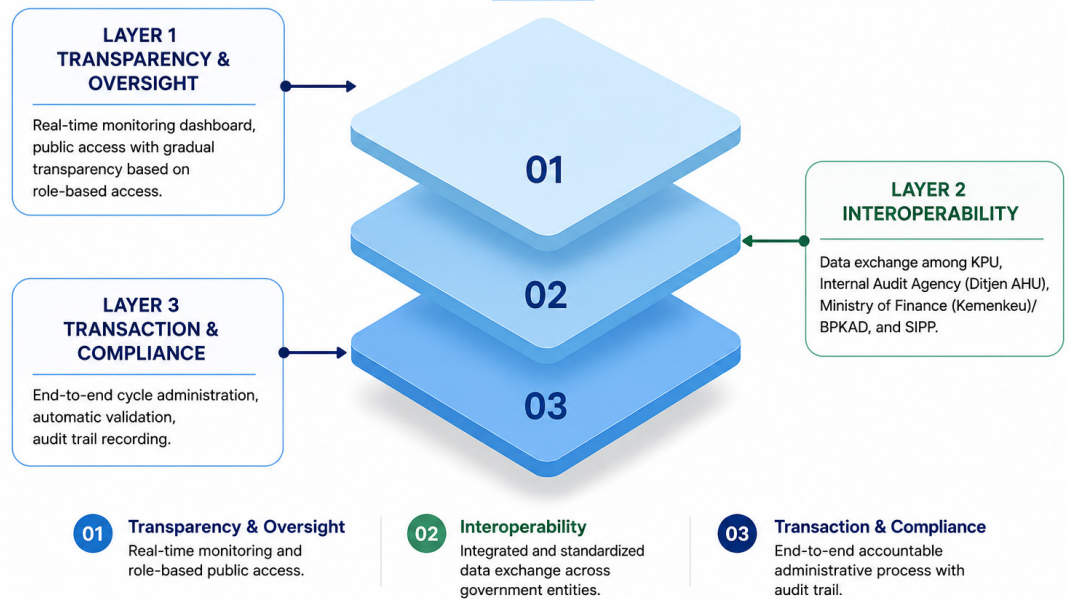
parties—from application, verification, and disbursement to expenditure, reporting, and auditing—within a single interconnected digital system.

The existing reporting mechanism continues to face a number of obstacles. Political parties possess varying levels of administrative capacity, reporting processes remain fragmented, standardized account classifications are lacking, and financial reports are generally prepared only after expenditures have been completed. Consequently, auditors are often required to reconstruct supporting documentation at the end of the fiscal year. This not only prolongs the audit process but also makes it more difficult to identify administrative errors and detect potential misuse of public funds at an early stage.

e-Banpol introduces a different approach by enabling real-time financial recording. Every transaction financed through state assistance is recorded as activities take place, accompanied by digital supporting documents and categorized using standardized account classifications. Rather than producing a purely administrative report at the end of the year, the system creates a comprehensive digital audit trail that allows every stage of public fund utilization to be traced throughout the entire financial management process.

The system also shifts oversight from a reactive to a preventive model. Through a monitoring dashboard, the Ministry of Home Affairs can oversee the use of state financial assistance throughout the fiscal year, while political parties are given the opportunity to correct administrative errors before their financial reports

SYSTEM ARCHITECTURE: THREE LAYERS OF E-BANPOL



To learn more about the concept, system design, and policy recommendations for developing e-Banpol as a tool for promoting more transparent and accountable political party finance governance, readers are invited to consult Perludem's publication:

Digital-Based Political Party Finance Governance (e-Banpol) for Accountability and Transparency.
<https://perludem.or.id/en/digital-based-financial-management-of-political-parties-e-banpol-for-accountability-and-transparency/>



are audited by the Audit Board of the Republic of Indonesia (BPK). This approach makes the audit process more efficient by providing auditors with data that have already undergone administrative validation, allowing them to focus on substantive assessments of compliance and the appropriate use of public funds.

Another key feature of e-Banpol is its emphasis on public transparency. The system is designed with a public dashboard that enables citizens to access aggregated information on the management of state financial assistance for political parties, with access levels tailored to different categories of users. This approach strikes a balance between the principles of public information disclosure and the protection of sensitive data. As a result, transparency becomes more than an administrative obligation—it becomes an integral part of a governance system that supports continuous public oversight.

From a governance perspective, e-Banpol adopts an end-to-end approach that integrates every stage of the state financial assistance management cycle—from application, verification, and

disbursement to expenditure, reporting, and auditing. This integration enables data to flow seamlessly across each stage, minimizes document duplication, and creates a comprehensive digital record that can be traced throughout the entire process. As a result, the system not only simplifies reporting for political parties but also enhances the effectiveness of oversight and improves the quality of audits conducted by the relevant authorities.

Through e-Banpol, digitalization is positioned as an instrument for strengthening governance rather than merely streamlining administrative procedures. Institutional integration, clearly defined roles and responsibilities, and a real-time reporting system are essential prerequisites for achieving more transparent and accountable management of state financial assistance for political parties. In this way, e-Banpol offers a new direction for reforming political party finance governance—one that not only simplifies reporting processes but also strengthens public confidence in the management of public funds. ●

e-Voting Is Not Indonesia's Electoral Priority



Annisa Alfath
Researcher,
Perludem

The debate over adopting electronic voting (e-voting) has resurfaced in Indonesia, attracting growing attention from policymakers and political leaders. Calls to explore the use of e-voting—including for Indonesian citizens living abroad—are often presented as part of the country's electoral modernization agenda. Yet technological progress should not be measured by how quickly Indonesia replaces paper ballots with electronic machines, but by how effectively technology addresses the country's most pressing electoral challenges. Judging by Indonesia's current needs, e-voting is not the country's electoral priority.

Any discussion of electoral technology should begin by distinguishing e-voting from electronic vote recapitulation (e-recap). E-voting changes the way citizens cast their ballots by replacing paper ballots with electronic voting devices. E-recap, by contrast, retains manual voting and vote counting at polling stations while using digital technology to scan, transmit, tabulate, and publish election results. This distinction is critical because the two tech-

nologies involve different legal requirements, risk profiles, and opportunities for public oversight.

In Indonesia's domestic elections, voting and vote counting at polling stations remain among the strongest features of the electoral system. Ballots are publicly counted in the presence of candidate representatives, election supervisors, observers, and citizens before the results are recorded in official tally forms. Hadar Nafis Gumay has warned that replacing this process with e-voting could undermine one of Indonesia's most important democratic safeguards. Once votes are recorded electronically, citizens must rely on technical processes that are difficult to observe and independently verify. Questions also arise over who controls the recorded voting data, potentially raising concerns about the constitutional principle of ballot secrecy.

International experience demonstrates that e-voting is not a universal indicator of democratic progress. Several countries have restricted or abandoned the technology because of concerns over cybersecurity, ballot secrecy, auditability, and public confidence in electronic voting systems. The Netherlands, for example, used e-voting for more than two decades before returning to paper ballots following a civil society campaign under the slogan "*We Do Not Trust Voting Computers*" (International IDEA, 2020). This experience illustrates that hasty digitalization can shift elections away from publicly observable processes toward systems whose transparency remains difficult to verify.

Indonesia is not starting from scratch in its use of electoral technology. The election management body has gradually introduced digital tools to improve result management, including the use of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) and Optical Mark Recognition (OMR) within the

Limited internet voting may nevertheless warrant consideration for Indonesian citizens living overseas, who face distinct challenges such as long travel distances to polling stations, high mobility, dispersed populations, and the shortcomings of postal voting.

Sirekap system during the 2020 regional elections and the 2024 general elections. During a Perludem discussion, technology expert and JagaSuara2024 co-initiator Reza Lesmana argued that *“from a technological perspective, e-recap is currently the most feasible option.”* He explained that weaknesses identified during one electoral cycle are typically addressed in subsequent elections. Rather than bypassing these lessons in pursuit of e-voting, Indonesia should continue strengthening the system it has already developed.

Progress became evident when comparing the implementation of Sirekap in the 2024 General Election and the 2024 Regional Elections. Speaking at Perludem’s discussion on 14 July 2026, Reza noted that OCR reading errors during the regional elections were significantly lower than during the general election, while approximately 90 percent of polling station data were collected within less than 24 hours. Despite these technical improvements, however, transparency did not improve. The public was able to view photographs of official tally forms (*Form C.Hasil*), but the tabulated vote totals—which would have enabled rapid and systematic verification—were not published throughout the recapitulation process. This suggests that the limitation resulted not from technological constraints but from institutional policy choices. Such decisions should be addressed in future electoral reforms.

This highlights Indonesia’s principal challenge in electoral technology. The issue is no longer whether digital systems can accurately recognize numerical data, but whether election authorities are willing to publish processed results in ways that enable meaningful public scrutiny. Open tabulation allows political contestants, journalists, civil society organizations, and citizens to compare digital results with original tally forms, identify anomalies, and monitor data corrections. Without such openness, Sirekap functions merely as an internal data collection system rather than as an instrument of transparency and public accountability.

For this reason, preparations for the 2029 General Election should prioritize

strengthening e-recap rather than introducing e-voting. Electoral legislation should clearly define Sirekap’s legal status within the official vote recapitulation process, require the publication of both tally-form images and tabulated results, establish procedures for corrections and audit trails, mandate public testing and independent security audits, and ensure that election data are released in formats that are accessible and machine-readable. Civil society organizations should likewise be involved in conducting sample-based verification and assessing the system’s accuracy. Ultimately, technology earns public trust not because of claims about its sophistication, but because its results are transparent, verifiable, and accountable.

Limited internet voting may nevertheless warrant consideration for Indonesian citizens living overseas, who face distinct challenges such as long travel distances to polling stations, high mobility, dispersed populations, and the shortcomings of postal voting. Several countries have introduced internet voting for overseas voters or specific categories of electors, providing valuable lessons for Indonesia on system design, voter authentication, and audit mechanisms. Even so, any implementation should begin with carefully controlled pilot projects, be supported by a clear legal framework, undergo independent security audits, and preserve alternative voting methods.

Electoral modernization should not be viewed as a race to deploy new technologies. Policy priorities must instead be guided by the problems that require solutions and by the institutional experience already accumulated. Indonesia has invested in e-recap, improved its technical performance, and demonstrated that election data can be collected rapidly. The remaining challenge is to ensure that tabulated results are fully accessible to the public so that technology expands—rather than restricts—public oversight. The priority, therefore, is not introducing e-voting, but ensuring that Sirek operates transparently, can be independently audited, and genuinely strengthens the integrity of Indonesia’s electoral process. ●