



Challenges for general elections and simultaneous regional head elections in Indonesia in 2024 for organizers

Tri Rahayu Utami¹, Ratna Herawati²

¹ Master of Law Student of Diponegoro University, Tembalang, Kota Semarang, Jawa Tengah, Indonesia

² Lecturer, Diponegoro University, Tembalang, Kota Semarang, Jawa Tengah, Indonesia

Abstract

Democracy places humans as owners of sovereignty, which is known as the principle of popular sovereignty. The implementation of elections in Indonesia underwent reforms to the point where a judicial review was proposed regarding the implementation of direct elections. Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 14/PUU-XVI/2013 regarding the Review of Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President against the 1945 Constitution, the Constitutional Court emphasized that the election for members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD and the election for president and vice president was held simultaneously. It is an interesting polemic, the holding of the General Election and Pilkada will be carried out simultaneously in 2024 under two different legal umbrellas because in 2021 the DPR and the Government have agreed to withdraw the revision of the Election Law from the list of the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). Several challenges must be faced in the implementation of the 2024 Election and Pilkada, including the use of two different legal regimes (the Election Law and the Pilkada Law), it is necessary to harmonize the two systems because the overlapping stages create confusion in their implementation.

Keywords: democracy, general elections, simultaneously

Introduction

General Election (Election) is an integral part in a democratic country. One of the main pillars in every democratic system is the existence of a mechanism for channeling people's opinions periodically through elections which are held regularly (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2007) ^[6]. The rationale contained in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (1945 Constitution), the Republic of Indonesia is a unitary state based on people's sovereignty as stated in Article 1 paragraph 1 and paragraph 2 of the 1945 Constitution. To implement the principle of people's sovereignty led by wisdom in deliberation and representation, it is necessary to establish deliberative institutions and people's representative institutions whose members are elected through elections that are held democratically and transparently or openly.

Democracy places humans as owners of sovereignty, which is known as the principle of popular sovereignty (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2008) ^[7]. The democratic process is also manifested through election procedures to elect representatives of the people and other public officials. The state government that was formed through the election is that which comes from the people, is run according to the will of the people and is enshrined for the welfare of the people. A government formed through elections will have strong legitimacy from the people. The rationale for this is an affirmation of the implementation of the spirit and soul of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

The national strategic political agenda in order to create a proportional democratic climate for every citizen in the life of the nation and state. Indonesian national politics is interpreted in the form of holding General Elections hereinafter referred to as Elections. Elections to determine leaders both at the central and regional levels (Arifulloh,

2015) ^[2]. Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 14/PUU-XVI/2013 regarding the Review of Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President against the 1945 Constitution, the Constitutional Court emphasized that the election for members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD and the election for president and vice president was held simultaneously.

The year 2004 was the first election that allowed the people to directly elect their representatives to sit in the DPR, DPD and DPRD as well as directly elect the President and Vice President. In the following period the 2009 election was the third election during the reformation period which was held simultaneously on April 9 2009, then it was held in 2014 until the 2019 election. Then in local political practice in the regions, the concept of direct regional elections was also adopted. This is the mandate of Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In its development, an idea emerged to carry out the centralization (unification) of the implementation of regional elections simultaneously nationally. This concept is outlined in Law Number 10 of 2016 the second amendment to Law Number 1 of 2014, specifically Article 201 which regulates the schedule for concurrent local elections in a limited manner. Simultaneous local elections which will be carried out in stages starting in 2015, then the second phase will be held on February 15 2017 for Regional Heads whose term of office ends in the second half of 2016 and which ends in 2017. Then the third wave will be held in June 2018, the following year 2020, until the simultaneous national Pilkada in 2024 covering all regions of Indonesia (Deliarnoor, 2017) ^[5].

In contrast to the simultaneous elections and local elections in previous years, the 2024 simultaneous elections will be held in the same year for all regions of Indonesia. This

leaves concerns regarding the process of implementing the General Elections and Regional Head Elections which will be held in 2024. The short preparation time from the Election to the Pilkada where the stages may overlap between the General Election and the Pilkada and reflecting on the experience of the 2019 simultaneous Elections there are many obstacles that occurred from the side of organizers and voters, which led to casualties. For this reason, the implementation of the 2024 General Election and Pilkada is considered from all sides. Based on the background of the problems described above, the author is interested in studying the "Challenges of General Elections and Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Indonesia in 2024 for Organizers".

Research Method

This legal research is a normative legal research, which includes norms and legal rules as well as legal rules systematically. Normative legal research is a literature-based research. The materials needed in the research are Secondary, Primary and Tertiary Materials. The research approach used in this study is a statutory approach (statute approach). Data collection was carried out through a study of primary legal documents and secondary legal documents. The main legal documents considered include reliable international media and current legal regulations. The review of secondary legal documents includes books, journals, articles, research results, conference reports which are mainly related to research topics and problems.

Research Result

1. The Urgency of Harmonizing the Legal Basis for Implementation of Simultaneous Elections and Pilkada in Indonesia in 2024

The General Election for the President and Vice President is held directly as mandated by the 1945 Constitution Article 1 paragraph (2) which states that, "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and carried out according to the Constitution". The implementation of good and quality elections will increase the degree of fair, participatory competition and stronger and more accountable representation. In practice, the holding of elections, whether it is the election for the members of the People's Representative Council (DPR), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), and the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) as well as the Presidential and Vice President is done differently and in stages. According to Jimly Asshiddiqie, there are several reasons for holding elections regularly, namely:

1. Changes in people's attitudes and opinions as aspirations in electing leaders and their representatives in parliament;
2. Conditions and aspects of people's lives also change according to conditions and situations, depending on the environment that influences them. That is, there are several factors that can change their aspirations, namely due to dynamics in the local or domestic environment, or the international world, both due to internal and external factors in the community itself;
3. Increasing population growth can also affect people's aspirations; and
4. Regular elections are needed for a better governance rhythm (Jimly Asshiddiqie, 2006) ^[11].

The momentum of the democratic transition in the reform era was marked by the holding of the 1999 general election

which was the first general election during the reformation period. Voting was held on 7 June 1999 simultaneously in all parts of Indonesia. The historical trajectory of the development of the next election, namely the 2004 election, was the first election that allowed the people to directly elect their representatives to sit in the DPR, DPD and DPRD as well as directly elect the President and Vice President. The 2004 election was held simultaneously on 5 April 2004 for the DPR, DPD and Provincial/District/City DPRD as well as 5 July 2004 round I and 20 September 2004 round II President and Vice President (KPU, 2010: 5). In the following period, the 2009 election was the third election during the reform period which was held simultaneously on April 9 2009 for the DPR, DPD and Provincial/District/City DPRD. Meanwhile, electing the President and Vice President was held on 8 July 2009 (one round) (KPU, 2009: 10). In 2014, the momentum of the people's democratic party was carried out according to the mandate of article 3 paragraph 5 of Law No. 42 of 2008 that legislative and presidential and vice-presidential elections are held separately. At that time, the Legislative Election was held first on April 9 2014 while the Presidential Election was held 3 months later or on July 9 2014.

In the midst of the enactment of the Law as referred to in 2013 there was a desire from the public to submit a judicial review of a number of Articles in the provisions of the Law on the General Election of President and Vice President because it was considered that there was a constitutional disadvantage that was incurred as a result of arrangements regarding the mechanism of the general election system. The judicial review lawsuit against Law no. 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of president and vice president as referred to was proposed by Effendi Gazali. The articles being tested are article 3 paragraph (5), article 9, article 12 paragraph (1), paragraph (2), article 14 paragraph (2), and article 112. This judicial review was submitted as a representation of the Civil Society Coalition for the holding of general elections. to be implemented simultaneously (Arrsa, 2014: 68) ^[9].

Before there was an update to the election system, the election for members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD was carried out prior to the election for the president and vice president. However, since the Decision of the Constitutional Court Number 14/PUU-XVI/2013 regarding the Review of Law Number 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President against the 1945 Constitution, the Constitutional Court (MK) confirmed that the holding of the Election of Members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD and Elections for President and Vice President are held simultaneously as stated in the Constitutional Court's considerations as follows:

"..., to determine the constitutionality of holding the Presidential Election whether after or simultaneously with the holding of the Election for Members of the Representative Body, at least three main considerations must be taken into account, namely the link between the electoral system and the choice of a presidential system of government, the original intent of the 1945 Constitution makers, the effectiveness and efficiency of holding elections public, as well as the right of citizens to vote intelligently". Regarding the simultaneous implementation of elections, there are 3 (three) reasons for consideration in the Constitutional Court Decision which include the election system and the choice of a presidential system of

government, the original intent of the 1945 Constitution, the effectiveness and efficiency of holding general elections, and the right of citizens to vote intelligently. Regarding the presidential system of government, the Constitutional Court was of the opinion that in practice the 2004 and 2009 elections made the President and Vice President very dependent on the support of the DPR, which consisted of political parties, in order to be nominated. Political negotiations also often occur for tactical and momentary interests, without considering the wheels of government and long-term benefits.

Law Number 7 of 2017 was enacted after the Constitutional Court Decision Number 14/PUU-XVI/2013 to accommodate simultaneous elections. Article 167 paragraph (1) states that elections are held every 5 (five) years and paragraph (3) explains that voting is held simultaneously on holidays or nationally closed days. Meanwhile, direct regional elections have been carried out simultaneously since the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2015 jo. Law Number 10 of 2016. Article 3 paragraph (1) of Law Number 8 of 2015 states: "Elections are held once every five (5) years simultaneously throughout the territory of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia." Article 201 paragraph (1) to paragraph (7) of Law Number 8 of 2015 which was later amended by Article 201 paragraph (1) to paragraph (8) of Law Number 10 of 2016 regulates simultaneous direct local elections in 2015, 2017, 2018, 2020, and the 2024 national simultaneous local elections.

Seeing the evaluation of the 2019 simultaneous elections which claimed many lives from the organizers, it is important to make improvements in terms of laws and regulations as a legal umbrella for holding elections and regional elections to be held in the same year in 2024. It becomes an interesting polemic, because in 2021 the DPR and the Government agreed to withdraw the revision of the Election Law from the list of the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). Thus the implementation of the General Election and Pilkada will be carried out simultaneously in 2024 with two different legal protection.

The problem with the separation of regulations regarding General Elections and Pilkada does not only result in overlaps and contradictions, but also arrangements that are inconsistent with one another. Differences in the holding of elections and local elections are closely related to the differences between the two regimes. It is necessary to re-harmonize the two systems.

The implementation of general elections using a separation approach, both legal and time of implementation, has resulted in a complexity of conceptual and practical problems. A new concept of thinking is needed to unite the arrangements, because they are one unit, so that each stage of the election starting from planning, implementation and post-implementation is carried out by the same election organizer. So that this condition can minimize the occurrence of failures in the administration of elections (Sri Karyati, 2016) ^[12].

The urgency of harmonization of the two is that it will alleviate the many technical complexities faced by election organizers. Election organizers are institutions that organize elections consisting of the KPU, Bawaslu and DKPP as a single unit of the Election Administration function to elect members of the DPR, DPRD, DPD, President and Vice President directly by the people (Perbawaslu, 2022).

The ideal step that needs to be taken is to redesign the law to regulate the design of simultaneous National Elections and Regional Elections, then resynchronize the schedule and time for holding simultaneous National Elections and Local Elections so that the stages of implementation do not overlap at the same time.

2. Challenges for the Implementation of Simultaneous Elections and Pilkada in Indonesia in 2024 for Election Organizers

2024 will be the second year that there will be simultaneous elections in Indonesia for the National Election and Local Election. Basically, simultaneous elections are an indicator of the formation of an effective government. When viewed from the simultaneous elections in 2019, it shows that there is a correlation between increasing political participation from the people and the simultaneous elections and the people face dilemmas in choosing and also making choices because they are very complex (Jurdi, 2020). With the simultaneous holding of the General Election, there has been an increase in public participation of 81.97% in the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election, an 81.69% increase in the Legislative Election and the voter turnout rate in the DPD Member Election of 82.15 percent. This figure was obtained by comparing the number of voting rights users (DPT, DPK, and DPTB) in each of these types of elections, to the number of voters in the DPT (KPU, 2019). Where in the implementation of the previous election only reached 70% and 75%.

However, this is not enough to be a benchmark for the positive impact of holding simultaneous elections, reflecting on the experience of the 2019 simultaneous elections which claimed many victims from election organizers. The 2019 simultaneous elections are considered to be the most complicated elections with 5 (five) ballot boxes for the election of the President and Vice President, DPR RI, DPD, and DPRD.

Material review of the rules regarding the simultaneous holding of elections as stipulated in Article 167 paragraph (3) and Article 347 paragraph (1) of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections was once filed on the basis of the applicant's desire to separate the time for holding the elections, but the Constitutional Court Decision Number 35/PUU-XX/2022 was rejected in full.

The issue of selecting regional heads is a crucial issue in the revision of the Election Law. In this case, many have suggested that the Pilkada be held in stages before the simultaneous Pilkada implementation throughout Indonesia. In Article 731 paragraph (2) if the 2022 Pilkada is held then 101 regional election organizers in 2017 (7 Governors, 76 Regents and 18 Mayors) will certainly hold another Pilkada. Furthermore, Article 731 paragraph (3) states that if the 2023 Regional Head Elections are held, it will be followed by the regions that have implemented Regional Head Elections in 2018 (17 Governors, 115 Regents and 39 Mayors) (Lindawaty, 2021). The cancellation of the revised law has consequences if 101 Regional Heads retire in 2022 and 171 Regional Heads retire in 2023, there will be a leadership vacuum (Rinaldo in Lindawaty, 2021). The leadership vacancy will be filled with a scheme for appointing Acting officials (Governors, Regents, Mayors). Another impact of postponing the 2022 and 2023 Pilkada is that the General Election Commission (KPU) needs to

accelerate planning and preparing for the implementation of the 2024 Election and Pilkada (Lindawaty, 2021).

Some of the losses that are very real are felt, namely related to the increased workload of the KPU, the impact of Regional Heads due to the end of their term of office and having to be replaced with Plt, electability that occurs for new leaders who serve one term or Regional Heads who are re-nominating at a different level and This can be overcome if there is an accommodating policy. Another impact, if elections are held simultaneously, various political parties are forced to build coalitions earlier (Arrsa, 2014) ^[9].

The 2024 parallel elections that combine simultaneous election stages in a number of Provinces or City Regencies can cause workload on organizers and procedural fatigue in elections which will impact on code of conduct reports by organizers of the upcoming 2024 Election (Nurhasim, 2021).

Simultaneous Elections in 2024, which will be jointly held National Elections to elect the DPR, DPD, DPRD as well as the Election of President and Vice President, Local Elections to elect the Governor and Deputy Governor in 34 Provinces as well as the Election of the Regent/Deputy Regent and Mayor/Deputy Mayors in 514 Regencies/Cities. The challenges that must be faced in the implementation of the 2024 Election and Pilkada include the use of two different legal regimes (the Election Law and the Pilkada Law), Juridical Problems in regulating the Election and Pilkada law enforcement systems, There are intersections of stages (requires high focus from the organizers), as well as the workload of election administrators.

General election organizers (pemilu) are responsible for holding elections. General election organizers are an important part of the successful holding of general elections. Institutionally, election administrators in Indonesia have undergone significant transformations in the twenty year period after the Reformation. In the implementation of these five elections, election organizers also faced drastic and increasingly complex institutional changes. In the 1999 election, the first election in the Reformation era, the election organizer was a model that was referred to in various theories as a mix, namely a combination of the government, independent groups (academicians and NGOs) and election participants (political parties). Meanwhile, Panwaslu (Election Supervisory Committee) is a combination of three elements namely judges, universities and the community (Surbakti and Fitrianto 2015) ^[1] which are also formed down to the district/city level.

In the implementation of the 2004 elections, based on the mandate of Law No. 4 of 2000 concerning General Elections, Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning Legislative Elections and Law No. 23 of 2003 concerning Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections, an independent election organizer was formed and different from the previous institutions, namely the KPU and Panwaslu. KPU membership elements come from academics and NGOs totaling 11 people and appointed by the Government, while Panwaslu membership elements come from the police, prosecutors, university academics, press/media, and NGOs totaling 9 people. The formation of the Panwaslu is carried out by the KPU RI and is responsible to the KPU RI. Meanwhile, in the implementation of the 2009 Election, the most fundamental and significant change occurred in the election supervisors where the Election Supervisory Committee was changed to become the RI Bawaslu which is

permanent and permanent based on the mandate of Law No. 7 of 2017. The total membership of the RI KPU is 7 people and the RI Bawaslu is 5 people.

Apart from the number of election organizers at the central level, before the voting stages are carried out, both the KPU and Bawaslu as election management bodies will form ad hoc bodies at the sub-district, village/kelurahan and polling station levels. The Ad Hoc Board was formed to assist the implementation of election-related work at the sub-district, village/kelurahan and polling station levels.

Technical problems and human resources for Ad Hoc organizers will be faced in the implementation of the 2024 simultaneous elections and local elections. Technical problems that may be encountered include difficulties in accessing information technology networks in various regions, especially eastern Indonesia, geographical constraints in isolated areas, for example in the Riau Archipelago which mostly in the form of water, limited time for recapitulation of vote counting and re-voting (PSU). The thing of greatest concern is the challenge of the Human Resources organizers of the Ad Hoc, especially in relation to the capacity of the Ad Hoc HR in carrying out the preparation and implementation of the voting and counting of votes.

As part of the election organizers, the branch level has an important role in ensuring that the holding of elections in various regions is in accordance with applicable regulations. However, organizers at the sub-district, village/kelurahan and polling station levels actually became the largest number of victims who died in the 2019 election. The first factor is because the election of 5 ballot boxes affects energy, time, and minds.

The 2019 presidential election is part of the first simultaneous elections in Indonesia in history. Apart from electing the President and Vice President, the 2019 Election also elects members of the DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD. This is regulated in the Constitutional Court Decision Number 14/PUU-XI/2013 and accommodated in the 2017 Election Law. The 2019 simultaneous election aims to be more efficient, both in terms of time and budget. However, in addition to these successes, there are also many shortcomings related to the holding of the 2019 General Elections that need further scrutiny. Among them, based on data released by the Election Supervisory Body, there were 16,134 administrative violations, 373 code of ethics violations, 582 criminal violations, and 1,475 other legal violations that occurred in the 2019 General Elections simultaneously in 2019 (Bawaslu, 2019). In addition, the General Election Commission records that as of October 9, 2019, 894 personnel from the ad-hoc body for the 2019 Elections were reported dead by the Provincial KPU and Regency/City KPU. Of this number, after verification and validation based on KPU Decree Number 926/KU.03-2KPT/KPU/IV/2019, the number of verified and validated dead victims was 708 people (General Election Commission, Op. Cit, p. 13). While the personnel of the 2019 Election ad-hoc bodies who were reported sick by the Provincial KPU and Regency/City KPU reached 5,175 people, even though the number of sick victims was verified and validated (meeting the requirements) based on KPU Decree Number 926/KU.03-2KPT/KPU/IV /2019 is as many as 749 people. This figure is higher than the data released by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, which states that as of May 15

2019 at 14.00 WIB the number of 2019 Election officials who died was recorded at 527 people, while those who were sick reached 11,239 people, the number of which is spread across 28 provinces throughout Indonesia (Ministry of Health, 2020).

From a technical point of view, especially the KPPS (Voting Organizing Group) has multiple types of work. KPPS has the duty and authority to regulate voting and vote counting activities that accommodate voters and election participants in using their political rights properly, are guaranteed by law, and produce elections that are acceptable to all parties. If the previous elections were not carried out simultaneously, in contrast to the 2019 elections which carried out elections simultaneously, then the tasks carried out by the KPPS would be more. Within 30 days, officers are required to complete the vote counting process at each polling station. Where in those 30 days there is no limit on working hours in a day for KPPS members.

Seeing the evaluation of the 2019 simultaneous elections, the KPU is adamant not to repeat the incident, namely a number of election officials died due to the heavy workload both in counting votes, during implementation, and while preparing for the simultaneous elections and the evaluation that must be carried out is the need for arrangements or distribution more humane work. Even though it has been regulated regarding the number of election organizers both in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections and its derivatives in either the KPU Regulations or the Bawaslu Regulations which regulate the number of Ad Hoc organizers, consideration must also be given to the increased volume of work if the General Election and Pilkada are held simultaneously in same year. As a preventative measure for the recurrence of fatalities in the 2024 Simultaneous Elections, it is hoped that there will be regulations that accommodate the addition of the number of election management personnel at the ad hoc level.

Conclusion

1. There is a desire from the public to file a judicial review of a number of Articles in the provisions of the Law on the General Election of the President and Vice President because it is considered that there is a constitutional disadvantage that has arisen as a result of arrangements regarding the mechanism of the general election system. In this regard, Law Number 7 of 2017 was ratified after the Constitutional Court Decision Number 14/PUU-XVI/2013 to accommodate simultaneous elections. Article 167 paragraph (1) states that elections are held every 5 (five) years and paragraph (3) explains that voting is held simultaneously on holidays or nationally closed days. Meanwhile, direct regional elections have been carried out simultaneously since the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2015 jo. Law Number 10 of 2016. Seeing the evaluation of the 2019 simultaneous elections which claimed many lives from the organizers, it is important to make improvements in terms of statutory regulations as a legal umbrella for the holding of elections and regional elections held in the same year the same in 2024. The urgency of harmonization of the two is that it will alleviate the many technical complexities faced by election organizers.
2. In 2024, National Elections will be held jointly to elect the DPR, DPD, DPRD as well as the Election of the

President and Vice President, Local Elections to elect the Governor and Deputy Governor in 34 Provinces as well as the Election of the Regent/Deputy Regent and Mayor/Deputy Mayor in 514 Regencies/Cities. The challenges that must be faced in the implementation of the 2024 Election and Pilkada include the use of two different legal regimes (the Election Law and the Pilkada Law), Juridical Problems in regulating the Election and Pilkada law enforcement systems, There are intersections of stages (requires high focus from the organizers), as well as the workload of election administrators. General election organizers are responsible for holding elections. General election organizers are an important part of the successful holding of general elections. As a preventative measure for the recurrence of fatalities in the 2019 Election, ahead of the implementation of the 2024 Simultaneous Elections, it is hoped that the government will immediately establish regulations that accommodate the addition of the number of election management personnel at the ad hoc level.

Reference

1. Ramlan Surbakti dan Hari Fitrianto. Transformasi Bawaslu dan Partisipasi Masyarakat Dalam Pengawasan Pemilu, Kemitraan Pembaharuan Tata Pemerintahan, Jakarta, 2015.
2. Arifulloh A. Pelaksanaan Pilkada Serentak Yang Demokratis, Damai dan Bermartabat. LPPM - Universitas Kristen Islam Sulan Agung, 2015.
3. Badan Pengawas Pemilu. "Data Pelanggaran Pemilu Tahun, 2019.
4. Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum. Laporan Kinerja Instansi Pemerintah Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum tahun 2020. Jakarta: Bawaslu, 2021.
5. Deliarnoor, Nandang Alamsah. Hukum Pemerintahan. Bandung: UNPAD Press, 2017.
6. Jimly Asshiddiqie. Pokok-Pokok Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia, Pasca Reformasi, PT Bhuana Ilmu Popular, Jakarta, 2007.
7. Jimly Asshiddiqie. Menuju Negara Hukum Yang Demokratis, Sekretariat Jenderal dan Kepaniteraan Mahkamah Konstitusi, Jakarta, 2008.
8. Komisi Pemilihan Umum. Penyelenggaraan Pemilu Serentak Komisi Pemilihan Umum, Jakarta, 2019.
9. Arrsa RC. Pemilu Serentak dan Masa Depan Konsolidasi Demokrasi. Jurnal Konstitusi Mahkamah Agung, Jakarta, 2014:11(3).
10. Saldi Isra. Pemilu dan Pemulihan Daulat Rakyat, Themis Publishing, Jakarta, 2017.
11. Jimly Asshiddiqie. "Parpol dan Pemilu sebagai Instrumen Demokrasi", Jurnal Konstitusi, 2006(4):3.
12. Sri Karyati. "Gagasan Kodifikasi Undang-Undang Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Dalam Rezim Pemilihan Umum The Idea Of Codifying Electoral Law Of The Local Elections In The Electoral Laws Regime", Jurnal Etika & Pemilu, 2016:2(2).
13. Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia, 1945.

14. Undang-Undang. tentang Pemilihan Umum, 2017.
15. Undang-Undang. tentang Pemilihan Kepala Daerah, 2016.
16. Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum tentang PPK, PPS, dan KPPS dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemilihan Umum, 2018.
17. Peraturan Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum tentang Penanganan Temuan dan Laporan Pelanggaran Pemilu, 2022.
18. Kementerian Kesehatan Republik Indonesia, <https://www.depkes.go.id/pdf.php?id=19051600003>, (diakses tanggal 6 Desember 2022).