

ENFORCEMENT OF FAIR ELECTION LAW IN INDONESIA

APLICAÇÃO DA LEI DE ELEIÇÕES JUSTAS NA INDONÉSIA

Article received on: 12/23/2025

Article accepted on: 3/25/2026

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The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest

Abstract

Direct elections by the people are a means of realizing people's sovereignty in order to produce a democratic state government based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The 1945 Constitution in Article 1 paragraph (2) and paragraph (3) states that "sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is carried out according to the Constitution", paragraph (3) states that the State of Indonesia is a state of law. The consequence of these provisions is the implementation of the concept of people's sovereignty and the concept of the State of Law, while the concept of people's sovereignty means that the state puts the highest power in the hands of the people which is carried out according to the Constitution and the concept of the state of law, namely the administration of the state based on the law. General elections in Indonesia as one of the efforts to realize a democratic country must be carried out properly in order to create elections that are professional and have credibility that can be accounted for. Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945 Article 1 paragraph (2). The implementation of direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair general elections can be realized if carried out by general election organizers who have integrity, professionalism and accountability. This research is a normative juridical research. Normative juridical research is a method of legal research that is carried out by examining literature materials or mere secondary

Resumo

As eleições diretas pelo povo são um meio de concretizar a soberania popular, a fim de estabelecer um governo estatal democrático baseado na Pancasila e na Constituição de 1945. A Constituição de 1945, no Artigo 1º, parágrafos (2) e (3), estabelece que "a soberania pertence ao povo e é exercida de acordo com a Constituição"; o parágrafo (3) estabelece que o Estado da Indonésia é um Estado de Direito. A consequência dessas disposições é a implementação do conceito de soberania popular e do conceito de Estado de Direito, sendo que o conceito de soberania popular significa que o Estado coloca o poder supremo nas mãos do povo, o qual é exercido de acordo com a Constituição, e o conceito de Estado de Direito, ou seja, a administração do Estado com base na lei. As eleições gerais na Indonésia, como um dos esforços para concretizar um país democrático, devem ser realizadas de forma adequada, a fim de criar eleições profissionais e com credibilidade que possam ser justificadas. Constituição da República da Indonésia de 1945, Artigo 1, parágrafo (2). A realização de eleições gerais diretas, públicas, livres, secretas, honestas e justas pode ser concretizada se conduzida por organizadores de eleições gerais que possuam integridade, profissionalismo e responsabilidade. Esta pesquisa é uma pesquisa jurídica normativa. A pesquisa jurídica normativa é um método de pesquisa jurídica



materials.¹ This research is a normative or doctrinal legal research complemented by empirical data, which will examine and analyze fair law enforcement in general elections. The approach used in the research is adjusted to the problem being studied. The source of legal materials in this study comes from library research, where literature research uses primary legal materials, secondary legal materials and tertiary legal materials. Primary legal materials are materials whose content is binding because they are issued by the government or institutions that have authority. And secondary legal sources are materials in the form of books and other printed materials, as well as software, namely by accessing a number of data through the internet (downloading) various books, scientific journals and research results, and tertiary legal materials are legal materials that support primary legal materials and secondary legal materials. The results obtained in this study are; Philosophically, the essence of election law enforcement is not just to punish violators, but to purify the democratic process so that the elected leaders truly represent the pure will of the people.

Keywords: People's Sovereignty. General Elections. Rule of Law. Election Law Enforcement. Democratic Governance.

realizado por meio da análise de materiais bibliográficos ou de materiais meramente secundários.[1] Esta pesquisa é uma pesquisa jurídica normativa ou doutrinária complementada por dados empíricos, que examinará e analisará a aplicação justa da lei nas eleições gerais. A abordagem utilizada na pesquisa é adaptada ao problema em estudo. A fonte dos materiais jurídicos neste estudo provém da pesquisa bibliográfica, na qual a pesquisa bibliográfica utiliza materiais jurídicos primários, secundários e terciários. Materiais jurídicos primários são aqueles cujo conteúdo é vinculativo por terem sido emitidos pelo governo ou por instituições com autoridade. Já as fontes jurídicas secundárias são materiais na forma de livros e outros materiais impressos, bem como software, ou seja, por meio do acesso a diversos dados pela internet (download) de vários livros, revistas científicas e resultados de pesquisas; e os materiais jurídicos terciários são materiais jurídicos que apoiam os materiais jurídicos primários e secundários. Os resultados obtidos neste estudo são: filosoficamente, a essência da aplicação da lei eleitoral não é apenas punir os infratores, mas purificar o processo democrático para que os líderes eleitos representem verdadeiramente a vontade pura do povo.

Palavras-chave: Soberania Popular. Eleições Gerais. Estado de Direito. Aplicação da Lei Eleitoral. Governança Democrática.

1 DÜSSELDORF

In the development of democracy in Indonesia after the collapse of the new order until now, it has developed the thinking of the people to implement the principle of people's sovereignty in various ways, so that in every joint of state life, the values of people's sovereignty have always been the heart that pumps blood throughout the state body of the Republic of Indonesia.

The concept of people's sovereignty puts the highest power in the hands of the people. Based on Pancasila, the goal of the Republic of Indonesia is to form a just and

¹ Soejono Soekanto and Sri Mamudji, *ibid*, p. 13.

prosperous society. The state of Indonesia is a state of law with the characteristics of a modern country based on people's sovereignty. General elections are a form of people's political participation in a democratic country, so the honesty and fairness of the implementation of general elections will reflect the quality of democracy.

Direct elections by the people are a means of realizing people's sovereignty in order to produce a democratic state government based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The 1945 Constitution in Article 1 paragraph (2) and paragraph (3) states that "sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is carried out according to the Constitution", paragraph (3) states that the State of Indonesia is a state of law. The consequence of these provisions is the implementation of the concept of people's sovereignty and the concept of the State of Law, while the concept of people's sovereignty means that the state puts the highest power in the hands of the people which is carried out according to the Constitution and the concept of the state of law, namely the administration of the state based on the law.

General elections in Indonesia as one of the efforts to realize a democratic country must be carried out properly in order to create elections that are professional and have credibility that can be accounted for. Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945 Article 1 paragraph (2). The implementation of direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair general elections can be realized if carried out by general election organizers who have integrity, professionalism and accountability.

General elections are regulated in Article 22 E of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945 which states that:

1. General elections are held directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly, and fairly every five years.
2. General elections are held to elect members of the House of Representatives, the Regional House of Representatives, the President and vice president and the Regional House of Representatives.
3. Participants in the general election to elect members of the House of Representatives and members of the Regional House of Representatives are political parties.
4. Participants in the general election to elect members of the Regional Representative Council are individuals.

5. General elections are organized by a national, permanent, and independent general election commission.
6. Further provisions on general elections are regulated by the Act.

In the conception of the legal state, the power to run or administer government must be based on the rule of law or the rule of law with the main purpose of realizing the existence of legal order in the administration of government.² For the existence of legal order in the government, in the state of law, the principle of legality is known, this principle of legality in the field of criminal law is reflected in the provisions of the Criminal Code Article 1 Paragraph (1) which determines that an act cannot be punished, except based on the strength of existing criminal laws. In order to realize the achievement of national ideals and goals as enshrined in the Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, it is necessary to hold general elections to elect members of the House of Representatives, members of the Regional House of Representatives, President and Vice President, and to elect members of the Regional House of Representatives, as a means of realizing people's sovereignty to produce people's representatives and democratic state government based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

The realization of people's sovereignty is carried out through General Elections to be hereinafter referred to as Elections are a means for the people to elect members of the House of Representatives to be hereinafter called the DPR, the Regional Representative Council to be hereinafter referred to as the DPD, and the Regional House of Representatives to be hereinafter referred to as the DPRD directly which will carry out the function of legislation, namely for the House of Representatives which is authorized to form laws, discussed and approved with the President, approving the state expenditure budget, and carrying out the Supervision function.

Based on the provisions mentioned above, the election of members of the House of Representatives, members of the DPD, and members of the DPRD is held by guaranteeing the principle of representation, which means that every Indonesian citizen is guaranteed to have a representative sitting in a representative institution who will voice the aspirations of the people at every level of government, from the central to the regions.

² Aminuddin Ilmar, *Governance Law: Identity*: Makassar, 2013. p. 55

Elections that are held directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly, and fairly are absolute requirements to realize people representatives who are qualified, trustworthy, and able to carry out the functions of legislative institutions optimally.

Regulations on General Elections are regulated in several laws, including Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, and Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights in Article 43 Paragraph (1), while the right to be elected and to vote is regulated in the provisions of Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, which means that the right to vote and vote is one of the human rights. Human Rights are basic rights that are inherently inherent in human beings, are universal and lasting, therefore must be protected, respected, maintained, and must not be ignored, reduced, or deprived by anyone, in addition to human rights, human beings also have basic obligations between human beings to each other and to society as a whole in social life, nation, and state.

The regulation of general elections is a manifestation of a democratic constitutional system with integrity in order to ensure consistency and legal certainty as well as effective and efficient general elections, in addition to general elections must ensure the distribution of people's votes directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly, and fairly. Therefore, Law No. 42 of 2008 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice President, Law No. 15 of 2011 concerning General Election Organizers, and Law No. 8 of 2012 concerning the General Election of Members of the House of Representatives, the Regional Representative Council, and the Regional People's Representative Council, which were then consolidated and simplified into one law as a legal basis for simultaneous general elections. namely Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections.

The implementation of the election is the implementation of the election stages carried out by the election organizers. The Election Organizer is an institution that organizes elections consisting of the General Election Commission, the Election Supervisory Agency, and the Election Organizer Honorary Council as a unit of the Election Implementation function to elect members of the House of Representatives, members of the Regional Representative Council, President and Vice President, and to elect members of the Regional House of Representatives directly by the people.

The organizers of the general election include the General Election Commission, hereinafter abbreviated as KPU, is an institution that is national, permanent, and

independent in carrying out elections. The Election Supervisory Agency, hereinafter referred to as Bawaslu, is an Election Organizing institution that supervises the Implementation of Elections in all areas of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The Honorary Council of Election Organizers, hereinafter abbreviated as DKPP, is an institution tasked with handling violations of the Election Organizer's code of ethics.

Election participants are political parties for the election of members of the House of Representatives, members of the provincial DPRD, members of the district/city DPRD, individuals for the election of DPD members, and candidate pairs proposed by political parties or combinations of political parties for the Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections. Election Participant Political Party is a political party that has met the requirements as an Election Participant for members of the House of Representatives, members of the provincial DPRD, and members of the district/city DPRD. Voters are Indonesian citizens who are 17 (seventeen) years old or older, married, or married.

The Integrated Law Enforcement Center, hereinafter referred to as Gakkumdu, is a center for election criminal law enforcement activities consisting of elements of Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, and/or Regency/City Bawaslu, National Police of the Republic of Indonesia, Regional Police, and/or Resort Police, and the Attorney General's Office of the Republic of Indonesia, the High Prosecutor's Office, and/or the District Attorney's Office.

The 2024 election is a parameter in measuring the democratization of a country, even democracy is simply likened to a political system in which the highest collective decision-makers in the system are elected through direct, public, free, secret, honest and fair elections.

In the implementation of the election, it is not ruled out that there are violations, both administrative violations and violations in the form of criminal acts. This is because election crimes are becoming an increasingly serious concern because the measure of the success of a democratic country is seen from its success in holding elections. In order to create a degree of competition that is healthy, participatory, and has a higher degree of representation, as well as having a clear accountability mechanism, the implementation of general elections must be carried out in a more quality from time to time.

Thus, it is clear that election violations have been regulated in such a way as to create an atmosphere of democracy that is direct, public, free, secret, honest, and fair.

However, in the arrangement, there are still provisions that still have loopholes that can be penetrated by those who are participating in this Democratic Party to gain benefits so that they can be elected.

Law enforcement is the process of making efforts to uphold or function legal norms in real terms as a guideline for behavior in traffic or legal relations in the life of society and the state. If we look at the last standard (compliance and enforcement of election laws), it is important to ensure the implementation of elections that are direct, public, free, honest and fair.

The enforcement of the law on simultaneous general elections on February 14, 2024 is the most decisive thing in carrying out clean and authoritative elections and is an absolute non-negotiable thing to be applied in order to achieve the goals of holding general elections. A number of violations were found in every general election held.

The most findings revolve around the neutrality of state officials or apparatus, ranging from the ministerial level, regional heads, State Civil Apparatus (ASN), to village heads. The forms and modes of alleged fraud vary, such as:³

1. Village head:
 - a. Politicization by directing village heads to support certain candidates by the village head declaring/showing support for presidential candidates/candidates, for example with videos, poses, active/passive involvement in campaign activities.
 - b. The village head distributes basic necessities to the head of RT/RW accompanied by a narrative of support for a certain presidential candidate.
 - c. The village head directed residents to vote for certain candidates with the threat of stopping the distribution of social assistance.
2. Ministers/ regional heads/ ASN
 - a. Gave an explanation about the presidential campaign he supported and admitted that he was not on leave as a regional head.
 - b. Ministers are not participants in the election and are not registered in the campaign team, campaigning on weekdays.
 - c. State officials campaign at government events.

³ ICW, Themis Indonesia, AJI Indonesia. Coalition Rejects Fraudulent Elections 2024. https://antikorupsi.org/sites/default/files/dokumen/Rilis_Pemantauan%20Kecurangan%20Pemilu_publish_ed.pdf accessed on September 5, 2024.

The second most common finding is money politics, be it the provision of goods, the promise of providing facilities, and the provision of cash. Here are the modes of money politics that we found:

1. Distribute fantastic door prizes, such as motorcycles, electric bicycles, Umrah packages, cars, houses, refrigerators, and so on.
2. Distribution of cooking oil, basic food packages
3. Cheap redemption of basic food packages (discounts).
4. Cash is given of IDR 50,000-IDR 500,000.
5. The lure of giving scholarships in campaign advertisements.

Interestingly and very unfortunately, there are also findings related to the neutrality of election organizers, especially election supervisors and KPPS members. The neutrality of election organizers is basically the key to election integrity, starting from the aspect of providing a fair and equal battle field for election participants to the supervision and handling of various election fraud practices. However, this election is still inseparable from issues related to the neutrality and professionalism of the organizers. The organizer-related issues mapped in these preliminary monitoring findings are:

1. Extortion as a reciprocal follow-up to election violations.
2. There is a regional Bawaslu directing panwascam to take sides.
3. KPPS members show poses that lead to the support of certain presidential candidates
4. Not providing campaign information (when the monitor requests information).

Meanwhile, the abuse of state facilities that can be read from the monitoring is the politicization of the distribution of rice cooker assistance from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (EMR), government activities such as hijacked work meetings in support of certain candidates, to the use of official cars for campaigns.

In addition, there are three other things that we highlight, namely:

1. Alleged Covert Campaign

There is a covert campaign mode in various government activities. One of the most visible is the activities of the Medan City Government which at the moment of elections often uses attributes with colors that lead to the pair of presidential and vice presidential candidates Prabowo and Gibran Rakabuming who are known to be the presidential pair carried by the Mayor of Medan Bobby Nasution.

Although it is not accompanied by a narrative of an invitation to support election participants or certain parties, the activity is very close to the violation of article 282 of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning Elections which reads: "State officials, structural officials, and functional officials in state offices, as well as village heads are prohibited from making decisions and/or taking actions that benefit or harm one of the Election Participants during the Campaign period."

2. Disclosure of Campaign Information and State Officials' Leave It is not a new problem that this election is marked by a number of cases of information cover-up, ranging from information on the track record of election participants to the appointment of acting regional heads. In the midst of the campaign, election monitors and the public in general are also faced with the problem of the unavailability of information that can help the public identify election violations. This information is related to the campaign schedules of political parties and presidential candidates as well as information on state officials' leave.
3. Bawaslu's Activeness in Supervising Elections and Handling Alleged Violations Bawaslu and its subordinates are state institutions that are specifically mandated to supervise elections and follow up on reports of election violations. A number of cases that the monitors found have been handled by the agency on public complaints. However, in general, Bawaslu and Regional Bawaslu are quite passive and unresponsive or progressive in handling public reports, including:
 - a. The complaints of Themis, ICW, Perludem, PBHI, and Lokataru regarding the alleged misuse of the Ministry of Defense's social media accounts were decided by Bawaslu RI not to be registered because they did not meet the material requirements. Bawaslu did not even explain the reason for the conclusion or decision.
 - b. The complaint of DEEP Indonesia, which is also a member of the clean election coalition and the coalition to reject fraudulent elections related to allegations of money politics at the Village Consultative Body (BPD) meeting by the Prabowo-Gibran campaign team, was decided not to meet the elements of the article of alleged election criminal violations. This research will examine and analyze the nature of fair law enforcement in general elections.

2 RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a systematic, directional and purposeful scientific activity. Therefore, the data or information collected must be relevant to the problem at hand. This means that the data is relevant, relevant and precise.⁴ A Method is a way of working or working procedure to be able to understand the object that is the target of the science in question. Method is a guideline for how a scientist learns and understands the steps at hand⁵.

This type of research is *normative juridical* research. Normative juridical research is a method of legal research that is carried out by examining literature materials or mere secondary materials.⁶ This research is a normative or doctrinal legal research complemented by empirical data, which will examine and analyze fair law enforcement in general elections. The approach used in the research is adjusted to the problem being studied.

The first problem is using normative legal research with a physiological approach to study and analyze the effectiveness of law enforcement in general elections.

The second problem uses normative legal research using conceptual approaches and case approaches to study and analyze the implementation of election law enforcement mechanisms. The third problem uses normative legal research with a conceptual approach to study, analyze and find ideal concepts in the enforcement of general election law

The source of legal materials in this study comes from library *research*, where literature research uses primary legal materials, secondary legal materials and tertiary legal materials. Primary legal materials are materials whose content is binding because they are issued by the government or institutions that have authority. And secondary legal sources are materials in the form of books and other printed materials, as well as *software*, namely by accessing a number of data through the internet (downloading) various books,

⁴ Kartini Kartono in Marzuki, *Research Methodology*, 1st edition, UII Press, Yogyakarta, p.55

⁵ Soerjono Soekanto and Sri Mamudji, 2007, *Normative Legal Research A Brief Review*, Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, p.6

⁶ Soerjono Soekanto and Sri Mamudji, *ibid*, p. 13.

scientific journals and research results, and tertiary legal materials are legal materials that support primary legal materials and secondary legal materials⁷.

In this study, the data collection techniques used are primary legal materials and secondary legal materials. The research materials in the form of primary legal materials and secondary legal materials referred to in this study are:

1. Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945
2. Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections
3. General Election Supervisory Agency Regulation No. 2 of 2022 concerning the Handling of Findings and Reports of General Election Violations

Meanwhile, secondary legal materials include materials that support primary legal materials such as textbooks, articles in various scientific magazines or journals of research results in the field of law, papers submitted in various forms of meetings such as discussions, seminars, workshops, and others.

The analysis of the materials used in the research was carried out in a qualitative and comprehensive analysis⁸. Qualitative analysis is the elaboration of legal materials in a quality manner with the form of sentences that are orderly, concise, logical, and do not overlap and are effective so as to facilitate the interpretation of legal materials and the understanding of the results of the analysis, while comprehensive means that the analysis is carried out in depth and from various aspects in accordance with the scope of the research.

The analysis of legal materials in this study is carried out with a prescriptive technique, describing the materials by constructing the law and arguments, which is then assessed based on legal reasoning reasons related to the problem.

⁷ Devi K. G Sondakh, 2009, *Individual Criminal Responsibility for Perpetrators of Human Rights Violations in the Context of National Law Reform*, Desertion, Hasanuddin University Postgraduate Program, Makassar. p. 240.

⁸ *Ibid*

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 The essence of fair law enforcement in general elections

The general election system is a method that regulates and allows citizens to vote/vote for people's representatives among the citizens of their own community. The method is closely related to the rules and procedures for converting votes to seats in the legislature.¹ Voting in elections is the most strategic form of political participation. Considering that elections are a means of people's sovereignty to elect their representatives in state institutions that will make public policies. Elections are also functionally a space for the public to ensure control over political authority and accountability.⁹

In fact, the election must run both procedurally and substantially. Elections are good procedurally if the prerequisites have been met and elections are substantially successful if the goals are achieved. The prerequisites for elections outline the existence of freedom of choice, the realization of community participation, and a fair arena for political competition. The goal to be achieved by holding elections is the election of leaders who are the will of the people. Trust leaders who are able to create prosperity and justice.¹⁰

Elections with integrity from the perspective of the constitution are as stated in Article 22E paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution, namely: general elections are held directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honestly, and fairly every five years. The definition of each of the principles of general elections is: Direct means that the general election must be carried out by voting directly and must not be represented. General means that general elections can be participated by all citizens who already have the right to vote. Free means that voters are free to cast their votes without any coercion by any party and anyone. Secret means that the votes cast by voters are secret only known by the voters themselves. Honesty means that the general election must be carried out according to the laws and

⁹ Neng Suryanti *et al.* (2019). Integrity of the KPU and General Elections, *Journal of the Raja Haji Tanjungpinang Police Station*, Vol, 1 No. 1. P.S.; 1-69

¹⁰ Iwan Tanjung Sutarna *et al.* (2023). political education for novice voters; Initiative for Election Integrity, *Journal of Transformational Community Service*, Vol 3 No. 1, p.; 38-46

regulations that every citizen who has the right can vote according to his will and every vote has the same value in determining his choice of vote. Fair means equal treatment of all participants in general elections without any privilege or discrimination against certain voters.

The essence of fair law enforcement in General Elections (Elections) is a systematic effort to ensure that all stages of the democratic party run according to the legal corridor in order to protect the sovereignty of the people and the integrity of election results. The following are the main points that form the essence of fair election law enforcement:

1. The Embodiment of the Luber and Jurdil Principles

Law enforcement serves to ensure the principles of Direct, General, Free, Secret, Honest, and Fair (Luber Jurdil). Without firm law enforcement, these principles will only become a slogan of formality with no real meaning.

2. Protection of Constitutional Rights

The essence of justice in elections lies in the protection of the rights of every citizen, both as voters and participants. These include; The Right to Vote ensures that every vote is counted accurately and is not manipulated. Right to Be Chosen To provide equal treatment to all participants without discrimination.

3. Dispute and Infringement Resolution Instruments

Fair law enforcement is realized through a clear mechanism in handling. Administrative Violations: Related to the technical procedures of the operation. Election Crimes: Such as money politics or vote manipulation. Process and Outcome Disputes: Resolved through authorized institutions such as Bawaslu, KPU, and the Constitutional Court.

4. Pillars of Organizer Integrity

Electoral justice requires professional and independent organizers. Institutions such as the Honorary Council of Election Organizers (DKPP) play a role in enforcing the code of ethics to maintain public honor and trust in democratic institutions.

5. Legal Certainty and Benefits

Based on Law Number 7 of 2017, law enforcement must provide legal certainty so that the election results have strong legitimacy and can be accepted by all parties, thereby preventing post-election social conflicts.

4 CLOSING

Philosophically, the essence of election law enforcement is not just to punish violators, but to purify the democratic process so that the elected leaders truly represent the pure will of the people.

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