

IMPLEMENTATION OF REPLACEMENT OF ELECTED LEGISLATIVE MEMBERS REVIEWED IN LAW NUMBER 7 OF 2017 CONCERNING GENERAL ELECTIONS

Jum Anggriani

jumanggriani@univpancasila.ac.id

Nawari

mohnawari87@gmail.com

Abstrak

This research analyzes the implementation of elected legislative member replacement under Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections and its implications for people's sovereignty and democracy in Indonesia. Using normative juridical research with statute and concept approaches, this study examines legal document analysis and literature review. The findings reveal systematic distortions in the implementation of legislative member replacement, as evidenced by the cases of Mulan Jameela and Harun Masiku in the 2019 election, which violated Article 426 paragraph (3) requiring replacement based on the highest vote order from the same party. Supreme Court Decision Number 57/P/HUM/2019 created abuse of authority by granting political parties the power to transfer votes of incapacitated candidates. The regulatory weakness lies in the unclear provisions of Article 426 paragraphs (3) and (4) regarding resignation without clear reasons, creating opportunities for transactional politics that damage electoral integrity and democratic quality in Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: *Legislative Replacement; People's Sovereignty; Electoral Democracy.*

Abstract

Penelitian ini menganalisis implementasi pergantian anggota legislatif terpilih berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum serta implikasinya terhadap kedaulatan rakyat dan demokrasi di Indonesia. Menggunakan penelitian yuridis normatif dengan pendekatan perundang-undangan dan konsep, penelitian ini menerapkan analisis dokumen hukum dan studi pustaka. Temuan menunjukkan adanya distorsi sistematis dalam implementasi pergantian anggota legislatif, terbukti dari kasus Mulan Jameela dan Harun Masiku pada Pemilu 2019 yang melanggar Pasal 426 ayat (3) yang mewajibkan penggantian berdasarkan urutan suara terbanyak dari partai yang sama. Putusan Mahkamah Agung Nomor 57/P/HUM/2019 menciptakan penyalahgunaan wewenang dengan memberikan kewenangan partai politik mengalihkan suara calon berhalangan tetap. Kelemahan regulasi terletak pada ketidakjelasan Pasal 426 ayat (3) dan (4) mengenai pengunduran diri tanpa alasan jelas, menciptakan ruang politik transaksional yang merusak integritas pemilu dan kualitas demokrasi Indonesia.

Keywords: Pergantian legislatif, Kedaulatan Rakyat, Demokrasi pemilu

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia as a country based on law as stated in Article 1 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution requires the implementation of the state to be based on law to realize the goals of the state. The concept of *Rechtsstaat* that was adopted requires the guarantee of human rights and limitations on power through the constitution as the highest source of law¹. The characteristics of a state based on law provide a framework for the division of power so that governance can be carried out in accordance with the legal function, namely certainty, benefit, and justice.

In addition to being a country of law, Indonesia asserts itself as a democratic country based on Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution which states "Sovereignty lies in the hands of the people and is implemented according to the Constitution". This principle places the people as the holders of the highest power with the right to determine their leaders through democratic mechanisms. The concept of democracy adopted by Indonesia is in

¹Otong Syuhada, "Characteristics of the Pancasila Legal State That Makes Its People Happy," *Journal Presumption of Law* 3, no. 1 (2021): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.31949/jpl.v3i1.979>.

line with the thinking of Pericles who emphasizes direct participation of the people, equality before the law, pluralism, and respect for individuality².

General elections are the main instrument for implementing people's sovereignty in filling state positions directly, generally, freely, secretly, honestly and fairly.³ Through elections, people's sovereignty is converted into political power in parliament and the executive. The quality of professional and democratic election administration is an absolute requirement for the legitimacy of government in a democratic country, while also reflecting the quality of democracy itself.

Filling legislative positions through democratic elections aims to create a DPR that is capable of bringing people's aspirations for better change.⁴ The principle of cadre formation and rotation of national leadership is expected to guarantee the renewal and diversity of leadership according to the will of the people. However, in its implementation, there are various problems that indicate a denial of the law and the principles of democracy.

The problematic implementation of the replacement of elected legislative members is clearly visible in several controversial cases⁵. The appointment of Mulan Jameela from the Gerindra Party as a member of the DPR in the 2019 Election for the West Java Electoral District XI, even though she only ranked third in terms of votes under Ervin Luthfi and Fahrul Rozi from the same party. A similar case occurred in the appointment of Harun Masiku from the PDI Perjuangan who replaced Nazaruddin Kiemas, even though Harun Masiku was in fifth place in terms of votes in the South Sumatra Electoral District, under Riezky Aprilia, Darmadi Djufri, Doddy Julianto Siahaan, and Diah Okta Sari.

The Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia Decision Number 57/P/HUM/2019, the result of a judicial review of KPU Regulation Number 3 and 4 of 2019, shows the abuse of authority which provides a legal basis for the full

²Arief Firdaus et al., "Indonesian Democracy: The Idea of the Nation's Founders Democracy Based on Pancasila" 4 (2024): 6936–47.

³Achmad Edi Subiyanto, "General Elections with Integrity as an Update of Indonesian Democracy," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 17, no. 2 (2020): 355–71, <https://doi.org/10.31078/jk1726>.

⁴Ni Ketut Arniti, "Community Political Participation in Legislative Elections in Denpasar City," *Scientific Journal of Social Dynamics* 4, no. 2 (2020): 329, <https://doi.org/10.38043/jids.v4i2.2496>.

⁵Alya Putri Zhafirah et al., "The Authority of Political Parties on the Electability of Candidates for DPR RI Members Through the Open Proportional System" 12, no. 6 (2024): 1128–43.

transfer of votes to political parties.⁶ This is contrary to Article 426 paragraph (3) of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, which emphasizes that the replacement of DPR members who are prevented from attending must be based on the order of obtaining the most votes from the same party.

A similar problem occurred in the 2024 Election with the resignation of several elected DPR candidates without clear reasons, such as Ratu Ngadu Bonu from the NasDem Party, NTT II Electoral District, Sri Rahayu and Arteria Dahlan from the PDIP, East Java VI Electoral District. This condition exposes the weaknesses of Article 426 paragraphs (3) and (4) of Law Number 7 of 2017 which do not regulate in a limitative manner regarding the resignation of elected DPR members, thus opening up space for transactional political practices that are detrimental to the sovereignty of the people.

This phenomenon indicates a decline in the quality of democracy and a disregard for the sovereignty of the people as outlined in the constitution. This denial of the people's voice not only violates the principles of a democratic state, but also creates a practice of political exchange that damages the integrity of the election system.

Based on the complexity of the problem, this study aims to analyze the implementation of the replacement of elected legislative members within the framework of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections and its implications for the system of people's sovereignty and democracy. This study is expected to contribute to improving the mechanism for replacing legislative members in accordance with the principle of people's sovereignty and applicable laws and regulations.

I. RESEARCH APPROACH

This study uses a juridical-normative approach with a descriptive nature to analyze the implementation of the replacement of elected legislative members based on Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. Normative research was chosen because the focus of the study is on the analysis of legal norms and their application in the context of replacing legislative members, especially the normative conflict that occurred between the decisions of the

⁶Fajrian Noor Anugrah, "Abuse of Power by Incumbent Candidates in the Implementation of Regional Head Elections Based on Law Number 10 of 2016 Concerning Regional Head Elections," *Wasaka Hukum* 7, no. 1 (2019): 265.

Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court regarding the transfer of votes for elected legislative candidates. This type of research is a doctrinal legal research that prioritizes the quality of qualitative data through an in-depth analysis of laws and regulations and democratic principles in the Indonesian general election system.

This research uses two main approaches:

Statute Approach applied to analyze horizontal and vertical conflicts between legal norms, especially the conflict between Supreme Court Decision Number 57/P/HUM/2019 which tests laws and regulations under laws and regulations with the Constitutional Court Decision which tests laws against the 1945 Constitution. This approach takes into account the hierarchical structure of laws and regulations and the position of norms in the context of specific versus general regulations, as well as the principles of laws and regulations relating to general elections.

Concept Approach used to analyze the legal principles and legal doctrines underlying the legislative member turnover system. This approach applies an inductive analysis that starts from the premise of positive legal norms to find the legal principles and doctrines relevant to the legislative member turnover in the context of democracy and people's sovereignty.

Research data is classified into three categories of legal materials:

Primary Legal Materials is a binding legal material, consisting of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections and Supreme Court Decision Number 57/P/HUM/2019 as the main object of research.

Secondary Legal Materials in the form of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which provides an explanation and constitutional context for primary legal materials.

Tertiary Legal Materials includes legal literature, books, and mass media information that provides explanations and strengthens scientific arguments related to the concepts of general elections, democracy, and popular sovereignty.

Data collection was conducted through document studies and literature studies by collecting, examining, and tracing legal documents and literature relevant to the research problem. The focus of data collection was on documentation of laws and regulations, court decisions, and legal literature related to the change of legislative members.

Data analysis using normative analysis techniques with two main stages:

Procedural Analysis carried out with a legislative approach to examine the mechanism for transferring votes for elected legislative candidates in accordance with the values of people's sovereignty and democracy as regulated in laws and regulations.

Conceptual Analysis based on legal concepts, legal principles, and legal theories to evaluate the policy of changing legislative members in the context of a state of law. This analysis produces descriptive conclusions to explain problems in the legal and prescriptive aspects in the form of research recommendations.

These two analytical techniques are applied simultaneously to produce a comprehensive understanding of the implementation of the rotation of elected legislative members and its impact on the Indonesian democratic system.

II. DISCUSSION

A. Implementation of Replacement of Elected Legislative Members Based on Law Number 7 of 2017

The transformation of the concept of the state with a modern democratic system has placed the people as the highest entity in running the wheels of government.⁷ Representative democracy adopted by Indonesia realizes the sovereignty of the people through General Elections to elect representatives in legislative institutions. However, legal and political developments in the reform era have given rise to the phenomenon of recall or replacement of elected DPR members which is interesting to observe in the study of constitutional law.

⁷F Tawaang et al., "Rereading the Concept of Political Modernization, Political Development, and Democracy," *Jurnal Communitarian* 4, no. 2 (2023): 721–50, <http://www.ejurnal.ubk.ac.id/index.php/communitarian/article/view/322%0Ahttps://www.ejurnal.ubk.ac.id/index.php/communitarian/article/viewFile/322/213>.

The use of recall can be interpreted as the recall of people's representatives by the people who elected them as a function of checks and balances by placing the people as the highest sovereign⁸. In Indonesian constitutional practice, recall is better known as the term Inter-Time Replacement (PAW) which is contained in Article 16 paragraph (1) of the Political Party Law, where political parties have the right to recall their members due to violations of the Articles of Association or Bylaws.

Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections in Article 426 paragraph (1) stipulates four conditions that allow for the replacement of elected legislative members, namely death, resignation, no longer meeting the requirements to become a legislative member, or proven to have committed an election crime based on a court decision that has permanent legal force. Article 426 paragraph (3) emphasizes that replacement candidates must come from the same political party based on the next highest number of votes for the candidate⁹.

However, in practice, various cases have been found that deviate from the mandate of the election law. The case of the appointment of Mulan Jamila from the Gerindra Party and Harun Masiku from the PDI Perjuangan as members of the DPR in the 2019 election shows a systematic deviation from the provisions of the law. Mulan Jamila, who was in third place with the most votes, was appointed to replace the position that should have been filled by Ervin Luthfi or Fahrul Rozi who received more votes. Likewise, Harun Masiku, who was in fifth place, was appointed to replace Nazaruddin Kiemas, even though Riezky Aprilia, as the winner of the second most votes, was more entitled to occupy the position.

The appointment of the two politicians can be interpreted as a violation of the election law and the open proportional system. This condition creates a bad precedent for the implementation of democracy in Indonesia because it does not reflect the mechanism for the process of replacing legislative members as outlined in Article 426 paragraph (3). The legal justification used refers to the Decision of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number

⁸Mohammad Ircham Maulana Moch. Marsa Taufiqurrohman, Bima Rico Pambudi, "Recall Election: Post-Election Democratization Mechanism," National Law Magazine 53, no. 19-48 (2023), <https://mhn.bphn.go.id/index.php/MHN/article/view/208>.

⁹Nurhalim Nurhalim and Icha Cahyaning Fitri, "Mechanism for Interim Replacement (PAW) of DPR Members According to Law Number 7 of 2017 Concerning General Elections," Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice 1, no. 3 (2023): 1-11, <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijlj.v1i3.2045>.

57/P/HUM/2019 which gives political parties the authority to divert the votes of members who are permanently incapacitated to cadres desired by the party.

B. Implications of Changing Elected Legislative Candidates for the System of People's Sovereignty and Democracy

As a democratic country, the will of the people is the determining factor in choosing state policies as reflected in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution which states that sovereignty lies in the hands of the people. The principle of people's sovereignty is absolute in formulating democratic state regulations, where the general will is the highest right to determine one's own destiny in the state's ability to act for the common good¹⁰.

General elections are an instrument for implementing democracy for the Indonesian people to participate in determining the leaders of the government.¹¹ Elections serve as a legitimate means of political legitimacy for the ruling government to enable the aspirations of the people to be associated. The 1998 reform and amendments to the 1945 Constitution have had a significant impact on changes in the general election system, where the people are given the right to determine the election of legislative and executive members directly.

However, the practice of replacing elected legislative members in the 2019 and 2024 elections shows a problem that hinders people's sovereignty. The appointment of Mulan Jamila and Harun Masiku in the perspective of Law No. 7 of 2017 is a form of disobedience by state administrators to the law, considering that the construction of Article 426 paragraph (3) emphasizes that the replacement must be based on the next winner of the most votes from the same party.

Similar violations occurred in the 2024 legislative elections with the resignation of several elected DPR candidates without clear legal reasons, such as Sri Rahayu and Arteria Dahlan from the PDI Perjuangan and Ratu Ngadu Bonu

10 Akbar Rosyid Al Hakim et al., "Comparative Study of the Mechanism of Replacement of Members of Legislative Institutions in Indonesia and Canada," *Japhtn-Han* 2, no. 2 (2023): 233–56, <https://doi.org/10.55292/japhtnhan.v2i2.138>.

11 Pebriana Asina Panjaitan et al., "Analysis of Democratic Principles in the Implementation of the 2024 Election on Identity Political Behavior to Get Vote Support from the Community on Jalan Sering, Sidorejo Village, Medan Tembung," *IJEDR: Indonesian Journal of Education and Development Research* 2, no. 1 (2024): 130–36, <https://doi.org/10.57235/ijedr.v2i1.1587>.

from the NasDem Party. This condition is an implication of Article 426 paragraphs (3) and (4) which do not clearly and limitatively regulate elected DPR members who resign without clear reasons, thus causing candidates to be able to resign at will without a strong legal basis.

The replacement of elected DPR members and the revocation of membership rights by party leaders raises indications of authoritarianism and abuse of power because it does not reflect the principles of democracy and human rights.¹² The Supreme Court's decision that gives political parties the authority to divert votes for those who are permanently incapacitated to desired cadres shows an abuse of authority that has a negative impact on democracy and the sovereignty of the people.

Recall or PAW determined by political parties as regulated in the Political Party Law and reinforced by the MD3 Law and the Supreme Court's decision illustrates the dominant power of political parties to monopolize their members in legislative institutions. This practice is not in line with the concept of representative democracy applied in Indonesia, where the people as the holders of the highest sovereignty have the right to delegate and revoke membership status in legislative institutions, not political parties.

The replacement of legislative members by political parties sets a bad precedent because it does not take into account the aspect of public participation¹³. Members of the DPR as individuals have the right to be guaranteed and protected before the law as regulated in Article 28D of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The context of legal protection requires that members of the legislature be protected for all actions in carrying out the people's mandate, but the practice of replacement prioritizes the private law of political parties over the public law of the constitution.

The replacement of legislative members is completely inconsistent with the principles of people's sovereignty and democracy because it is implemented based on the wishes of political parties without reflecting the Election Law. This has the potential to set aside the interests of the people due to the lack of

¹² Tsabbat Aqdamana, "The Idea of Term Periodization of Members of the People's Representative Council and Regional Representative Council in the Perspective of Constitutional Democracy," *Lex Renaissance Journal* 7, no. 3 (2022): 601–16, <https://doi.org/10.20885/jlr.vol7.iss3.art11>.

¹³Efriza Efriza, "Reflection on the Performance of DPR Politicians in the Reform Era," *Jurnal Communitarian* 1, no. 1 (2018): 35–49, <https://doi.org/10.56985/jc.v1i1.72>.

transparency in political parties towards the public, so that the reasons for the replacement can be subjective reasons according to the interests of the party. According to Mohammad Hatta's view, the replacement of DPR members based on Pancasila Democracy is a full right of the people, but in reality it depends on the control of party leaders which is similar to the practices in fascist and communist countries.

Comparison with other countries shows fundamental differences in the implementation of recalls.¹⁴ The United States uses popular voter turnout to recall elected officials through recall elections, while Canada requires a 40% turnout before a recall election can proceed. This practice prioritizes the interests of constituents in recalling their incapacitated representatives.

The replacement of legislative members can be interpreted as a form of defiance against the mandate of the people who have given them the right to vote through elections.¹⁵ Elections as a benchmark and symbol of democracy that are held openly and freely must be dashed due to changes that do not reflect the will of democracy. The public's hope to realize people's representatives who understand aspirations in formulating public policies is hampered by candidates who do not match their wishes.

The study from the perspective of a democratic legal state shows that the practice of replacing legislative members in Indonesia involving political parties tends to be subjective and difficult to control by the people as the holders of sovereignty. The Supreme Court's decision that makes the votes of those who are prevented from voting remain the property of political parties shows the dominance of parties to replace candidates who are not in line, contrary to the concept of representative democracy where the people hold full sovereignty over members of the legislative institution.

Such regulation has a negative impact in the form of pragmatic interests of political parties that are not in line with the needs and aspirations of the people who hold sovereignty. This condition is an implication of the provisions of Article 426 which does not regulate clearly and limitatively regarding the

14 Dimitri Landa and Ryan Pevnick, "Representative Democracy as Defensible Epistocracy," *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 1 (2020): 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000509>.

15 Hulin Hulin et al., "Legislative Member Term Periodization in the Perspective of Constitutional Democracy," *Journal on Education* 5, no. 4 (2023): 15121–42, <https://doi.org/10.31004/joe.v5i4.2602>.

resignation of elected members, thus having implications for the decline in the quality of democracy and can tarnish the sovereignty of the people that has been outlined in the constitution and create a trade-off or transactional politics between legislative candidates.

III. KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

The implementation of the replacement of elected legislative members based on Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections has experienced systematic distortions that are contrary to the principles of people's sovereignty and representative democracy. The case of the appointment of Mulan Jameela and Harun Masiku in the 2019 Election, as well as the phenomenon of the resignation of elected DPR members without clear reasons in the 2024 Election, shows a deviation from the provisions of Article 426 paragraph (3) which requires replacement based on the order of obtaining the most votes from the same party. Supreme Court Decision Number 57/P/HUM/2019 which gives political parties the authority to transfer votes for candidates who are permanently incapacitated has created an abuse of authority that ignores the will of the people. This practice indicates the dominance of political parties in determining the composition of the legislature which tends to be subjective and cannot be controlled by the people as the holders of the highest sovereignty.

The weakness of the regulation lies in the ambiguity of Article 426 paragraphs (3) and (4) which do not regulate in a limited manner regarding the resignation of elected members of the DPR, thus opening up space for transactional political practices that are detrimental to the integrity of the election system. This condition has implications for the decline in the quality of Indonesian democracy because it does not reflect the principle of representative democracy that places the people as the main determinant of the composition of legislative institutions. A comprehensive revision of Law Number 7 of 2017 is needed, especially stricter and more limited regulations regarding the mechanism for replacing legislative members, so that its implementation is in line with the principle of people's sovereignty and does not provide space for political party dominance in determining people's representation in legislative institutions.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA:

JOURNAL:

Anugrah, Fajrian Noor. "Abuse of Power by Incumbent Candidates in the Implementation of Regional Head Elections Based on Law Number 10 of 2016 Concerning Regional Head Elections." *Wasaka Hukum* 7, no. 1 (2019): 265.

Aqdamana, Tsabbit. "The Idea of Term Periodization of Members of the People's Representative Council and Regional Representative Council in the Perspective of Constitutional Democracy." *Lex Renaissance Journal* 7, no. 3 (2022): 601–16. <https://doi.org/10.20885/jlr.vol7.iss3.art11>.

Arniti, Ni Ketut. "Community Political Participation in the Legislative Election in Denpasar City." *Scientific Journal of Social Dynamics* 4, no. 2 (2020): 329. <https://doi.org/10.38043/jids.v4i2.2496>.

Efriza, Efriza. "Reflection on the Performance of DPR Politicians in the Reformation Era." *Jurnal Communitarian* 1, no. 1 (2018): 35–49. <https://doi.org/10.56985/jc.v1i1.72>.

Anugrah, Fajrian Noor. "Abuse of Power by Incumbent Candidates in the Implementation of Regional Head Elections Based on Law Number 10 of 2016 Concerning Regional Head Elections." *Wasaka Hukum* 7, no. 1 (2019): 265.

Aqdamana, Tsabbit. "The Idea of Term Periodization of Members of the People's Representative Council and Regional Representative Council in the Perspective of Constitutional Democracy." *Lex Renaissance Journal* 7, no. 3 (2022): 601–16. <https://doi.org/10.20885/jlr.vol7.iss3.art11>.

Arniti, Ni Ketut. "Community Political Participation in the Legislative Election in Denpasar City." *Scientific Journal of Social Dynamics* 4, no. 2 (2020): 329. <https://doi.org/10.38043/jids.v4i2.2496>.

Efriza, Efriza. "Reflection on the Performance of DPR Politicians in the Reformation Era." *Jurnal Communitarian* 1, no. 1 (2018): 35–49.

<https://doi.org/10.56985/jc.v1i1.72>.

- Firdaus, Arief, Achdiyat Sulaeman, Mochamad Zakaria, English Literature, Prima Institute, Cirebon Nation, International Relations, and Alghifari University Bandung. "Indonesian Democracy, the Idea of the Founders of the Nation, Democracy Based on Pancasila" 4 (2024): 6936–47.
- Judge, Akbar Rosyid Al, Berliana Dewi Fortuna, Meza Rahmada Garini, Nadhila Qisthy Nur Shabrina, Wahyu Laksana Mahdi, and Ria Casmi Arrsa. "A Comparative Study of the Mechanism of Replacement of Members of Legislative Institutions in Indonesia and Canada." *Japhtn-Han* 2, no. 2 (2023): 233–56. <https://doi.org/10.55292/japhtnhan.v2i2.138>.
- Hulain, Hulain, Markoni Markoni, Achmad Edi Subiyanto, and Joko Widarto. "Periodization of Legislative Members' Terms of Office in the Perspective of a Constitutional Democratic State." *Journal on Education* 5, no. 4 (2023): 15121–42. <https://doi.org/10.31004/joe.v5i4.2602>.
- Landa, Dimitri, and Ryan Pevnick. "Representative Democracy as Defensible Epistocracy." *American Political Science Review* 114, no. 1 (2020): 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000509>.
- Moch. Marsa Taufiqurrohman, Bima Rico Pambudi, Mohammad Ircham Maulana. "Recall Election: Post-Election Democratization Mechanism." *National Law Magazine* 53, no. 19–48 (2023). <https://mhn.bphn.go.id/index.php/MHN/article/view/208>.
- Nurhalim, Nurhalim, and Icha Cahyaning Fitri. "Mechanism for Interim Replacement (PAW) of DPR Members According to Law Number 7 of 2017 Concerning General Elections." *Indonesian Journal of Law and Justice* 1, no. 3 (2023): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.47134/ijlj.v1i3.2045>.
- Panjaitan, Pebriana Asina, Parlaungan Gabriel Siahaan, Novridah Reanti Purba, Ruth Geraldine Manurung, and Ameliya Harahap. "Analysis of Democratic Principles in the Implementation of the 2024 Election on Identity Political Behavior to Get Votes from the Community on Sering Street, Sidorejo Village, Medan Tembung." *IJEDR: Indonesian Journal of Education and Development Research* 2, no. 1 (2024): 130–36.

<https://doi.org/10.57235/ijedr.v2i1.1587>.

Subiyanto, Achmad Edi. "General Elections with Integrity as an Update of Indonesian Democracy." *Constitutional Journal* 17, no. 2 (2020): 355–71. <https://doi.org/10.31078/jk1726>.

Syuhada, Ootong. "Characteristics of the Pancasila Legal State That Makes Its People Happy." *Journal Presumption of Law* 3, no. 1 (2021): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.31949/jpl.v3i1.979>.

Tawaang, F, AC Nugroho, B Mudjiyanto, and ... "Rereading the Concept of Political Modernization, Political Development, and Democracy." *Jurnal Communitarian* 4, no. 2 (2023): 721–50. <http://www.ejurnal.ubk.ac.id/index.php/communitarian/article/view/322%0Ahttps://www.ejurnal.ubk.ac.id/index.php/communitarian/article/viewFile/322/213>.

Zhafirah, Alya Putri, Faculty of Law, Universitas Pembangunan, Ali Imran Nasution, Faculty of Law, and Universitas Pembangunan. "The Authority of Political Parties Over the Electability of Candidates for DPR RI Members Through the Open Proportional System" 12, no. 6 (2024): 1128–43.