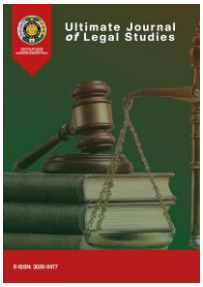
ULTIMATE JOURNAL OF LEGAL STUDIES (ULJLS)
Journal homepage: https://talenta.usu.ac.id/uljls



Institutionalization of Electoral Disputes as an Indicator of Legal Consciousness and Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia

Agus Ofel Yeremia Sihite*[1] https://orcid.org/0009-0002-6844-1366

[1] *Independent Researcher, Medan, Indonesia.*

*Corresponding Author: yeremiasihite@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:
Received : Sept 27, 2026
Revised : Oct 08, 26
Accepted : Nov 09, 2026
Available online Nov 30, 2026

E-ISSN: 3026-0477
P-ISSN:

How to cite:
Sihite, A. O. Y. Institutionalization of Electoral Disputes as an Indicator of Legal Consciousness and Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia. Ultimate Journal of Legal Studies, 4(2), 34–43. https://doi.org/10.32734/uljls.v4i2.26956

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International.

DOI: 10.32734/uljls.v4i2.26956

ABSTRACT

Elections with integrity are a fundamental pillar of a healthy and sustainable democratic society. In Indonesia, one of the main challenges is ensuring that law enforcement and ethical oversight remain aligned with democratic values. Understanding electoral dynamics from a broader perspective is therefore essential to assessing the political maturity of society more objectively. This paper examines the role of law and ethics in safeguarding electoral integrity through the electoral integrity approach, international standards developed by the ACE Project, and domestic legal perspectives on elections. This study employs a normative juridical (doctrinal) approach with a descriptive-analytical method, drawing on constitutional principles, legal doctrines, and institutional reports as secondary legal materials. The findings indicate that the growing number of electoral disputes handled by the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) and the Constitutional Court does not necessarily reflect democratic fragility. Instead, this development may indicate greater public legal awareness and a growing preference for formal dispute resolution through state institutions rather than street violence. The institutionalization of electoral disputes provides a constitutional mechanism for managing political tensions within established legal procedures. Furthermore, strengthening the rule of ethics alongside the rule of law is essential to ensuring accountability, maintaining public trust, and preventing the misuse of legal procedures. The interaction between legal enforcement and ethical responsibility ultimately supports democratic consolidation by transforming political friction into constructive legal processes. Therefore, a balanced integration of law and ethics is necessary to strengthen electoral integrity and sustain a stable and dignified democracy in Indonesia.

Keyword: Democracy, Dispute, Election, Ethics, Integrity.

ABSTRAK

Pemilu yang berintegritas merupakan pilar utama dalam membangun kehidupan demokrasi yang sehat dan berkelanjutan. Di Indonesia, salah satu tantangan utamanya adalah memastikan penegakan hukum dan pengawasan etika berjalan selaras dengan nilai-nilai demokrasi. Oleh karena itu, diperlukan perspektif yang lebih luas dalam memahami dinamika pemilu agar kematangan politik masyarakat dapat dinilai secara objektif. Artikel ini membahas peran hukum dan etika dalam menjaga integritas pemilu melalui pendekatan integritas elektoral, standar

internasional yang dikembangkan oleh *ACE Project*, serta pemikiran hukum kepemiluan di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode yuridis normatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif-analitis, yang bertumpu pada prinsip konstitusional, doktrin hukum, dan laporan kelembagaan sebagai bahan hukum sekunder. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa meningkatnya jumlah sengketa pemilu yang ditangani oleh Badan Pengawas Pemilu (Bawaslu) dan Mahkamah Konstitusi tidak serta-merta mencerminkan rapuhnya demokrasi. Kondisi tersebut dapat menunjukkan meningkatnya kesadaran hukum masyarakat serta kecenderungan untuk memilih jalur penyelesaian sengketa melalui lembaga peradilan negara daripada melakukan tindakan kekerasan di jalanan. Pelembagaan penyelesaian sengketa pemilu menyediakan mekanisme konstitusional untuk mengelola ketegangan politik melalui prosedur hukum yang terstruktur. Selain itu, penguatan etika penyelenggara pemilu perlu berjalan beriringan dengan penegakan hukum untuk menjamin akuntabilitas, menjaga kepercayaan publik, dan mencegah penyalahgunaan prosedur hukum. Sinergi antara hukum dan etika menjadi landasan penting bagi konsolidasi demokrasi yang bermartabat dan berkelanjutan di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Demokrasi, Etika, Integritas, Pemilu, Sengketa.

1. Introduction

Elections are a fundamental pillar in modern democratic systems. They are not merely a procedural mechanism for electing leaders, but an instrument to realize popular sovereignty as mandated in Article 1 Paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which emphasizes that "sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is exercised according to the Constitution." In contemporary democratization discourse, the maturity of a political system is no longer narrowly measured by the absence of friction, but by the state's institutional capacity to manage such friction through an electoral integrity framework (Aristotle, 1990; Norris, 2004). Democratic consolidation itself is understood as a long process that reduces the likelihood of democratization reversal, prevents democratic erosion, and avoids democratic collapse through the continuous deepening and organization of democracy (Asy'ari, 2019).

To dissect the quality of these elections in depth, the study of constitutional law must rely on global standardization regarding the design of electoral law (Elklit & Reynolds, 2002). Referring to international documentation released by The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network (2010), the existence of a robust legal framework is vital for political parties, candidates, and all citizens to establish fair "rules of the game" (Network, 2010). As emphasized by Patrick Merloe (2008) in the official guide of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), democratic elections function to settle the competition for government power among contestants fairly and peacefully (Merloe, 2008). Through a structured legal framework, citizens can express their free will to provide a mandate of legitimacy to the representatives of the people who will hold the reins of government.

Furthermore, the legal framework has two complementary dimensions of meaning. In a broad sense, it is understood as a complete unity of constitutional, legislative rules, technical regulations, judicial jurisprudence, down to managerial rules that collectively shape the voting rights of citizens. Meanwhile, in a technical sense, it acts as a set of procedural techniques that guarantee legal certainty at every stage. In Indonesia, a set of rules serving as the basic legal framework alone is apparently not strong enough to be the sole weapon; adequate knowledge and skills from organizers are required to overcome electoral dynamics institutionalized in the form of legal disputes (Asy'ari et al., 2022).

However, a significant legal gap persists between this idealized international standardization and the empirical reality of Indonesia's electoral law design. Nomative rules established in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections frequently present a rigid procedural framework that struggles to adapt to the highly dynamic socio-political frictions in the field (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum, 2017). The primary legal gap lies in the structural fragmentation of electoral justice enforcement, where the overlapping jurisdictions between Bawaslu, the Constitutional Court, and the State Administrative Court (PTUN) often create procedural ambiguities and case backlogs rather than absolute legal certainty. Furthermore, while the written law provides extensive formal regulations, it exhibits a normative loophole by separating rigid legal compliance from substantive political morality, rendering the formal system vulnerable to tactical manipulation by pragmatic political interests. This institutional gap is further widened by regional disparities, where local enforcement bodies face immense operational pressure and localized conflicts that formal centralized statutes fail to adequately address. Consequently, this paper addresses this critical gap by examining how the institutionalization of legal disputes and the integration of the rule of ethics can bridge the divide between abstract regulatory texts and substantive democratic consolidation in Indonesia.

The main attraction underlying the significance of the study in this paper lies in a methodological paradox when reading post-1998 Reformation electoral data. On one hand, there is a tendency to view the escalation of violation reports pessimistically as a representation of electoral moral decline. On the other hand, if analyzed through the lens of normative sociology of law, the high intensity of political actors utilizing electoral law enforcement institutions actually serves as authentic evidence of the strengthening of public legal consciousness, shifting from destructive informal paths toward civilized institutional paths.

The history of Indonesia's democratic journey since the 1998 reformation era shows a highly optimistic development trend. Theoretically, democratic consolidation will produce an operational establishment of a democratic system that gains credibility and legitimacy before the public (Asy'ari, 2019). Elections in Indonesia must no longer be read through a lens of pessimism that solely focuses on the quantity of violations as a representation of moral decline. On the contrary, high public participation in utilizing electoral law enforcement institutions is clear evidence of the strengthening of public legal consciousness. As metaphorically stated by Asshiddiqie, law is a ship sailing on an ocean of ethics; law without ethics will lose its soul, while ethics without law will lose its operational power (Wiarsa Raka Sandi, 2026). By adopting the lens of electoral integrity and the theory of ethical institutionalization, this study positively examines how the increase in legal consciousness and dispute management in Indonesia precisely acts as a primary catalyst for a peaceful, civilized, and substantive democratic consolidation.

2. Method

This study employs normative legal research (doctrinal legal research) with a descriptive-analytical approach to examine the relationship between legal principles, legal consistency, and ethical norms governing the exercise of power in Indonesia's general elections. It seeks to describe electoral integrity issues systematically and analyze them through legal theory and moral philosophy to formulate normative solutions for democratic transformation. Four approaches are used: the statute approach, which examines the hierarchy and consistency of electoral regulations, particularly Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, its implementing regulations, and DKPP Regulation Number 2 of 2017 concerning the Code of Ethics and Rules of Conduct for General Election Organizers; the conceptual approach, which draws on legal doctrines, theories of justice, moral philosophy, and constitutional ethics; the analytical

approach, which examines the meaning and consistency of legal norms and ethical decisions; and the comparative approach, which compares Indonesia's electoral ethics framework with international standards, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). As a documentary and library-based study, this research relies on primary legal materials, including the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, legislation, DKPP regulations, and ratified international conventions; secondary legal materials, such as academic publications, legal journals, institutional reports, and official evaluations, including Bawaslu RI's legal findings and recommendations (Badan Peng, 2020); tertiary legal materials, including legal dictionaries and encyclopedias; and non-legal materials, such as the Indonesian Democracy Index, survey reports from LSI and Indikator Politik Indonesia, the Corruption Perceptions Index, and civil liberties assessments (International, 2023). These statistics and institutional reports are treated as documentary sources for contextual analysis rather than as empirical findings obtained through fieldwork.

Legal and non-legal materials are collected through literature reviews, online database searches, and systematic document inventories. The materials are recorded, classified according to their relevance to political ethics, electoral organizer integrity, and democratic transformation, and verified for authenticity and reliability. The collected materials are then analyzed using qualitative-descriptive analysis and deductive reasoning, moving from general legal norms, constitutional principles, and ethical concepts to specific issues concerning the enforcement of electoral ethics. Legal hermeneutics is applied to interpret the substantive meaning of statutory provisions and institutional documents, while content analysis is used to examine trends in electoral law enforcement (Neuman, 2014). Through this process, the study develops legal and philosophical interpretations that connect normative principles with the practical challenges of electoral integrity in Indonesia. The findings are expected to produce a legal synthesis that extends beyond theoretical analysis and offers interpretations that are responsive and relevant to electoral developments. This analytical process also draws on legal and philosophical perspectives to connect the interpretation of legal norms with broader democratic objectives (Asshiddiqie, 2005). The study does not use empirical field methods, such as participant observation or direct interviews, because its primary focus is the examination and reconstruction of legal norms and ethical frameworks through documentary analysis.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Electoral Integrity Dynamics and the Surge of Public Trust (2014–2024)

The theory of electoral integrity asserts that the level of public trust and satisfaction toward election organizing institutions is a primary doctrinal indicator of the health and stability of a democratic civilization (Norris, 2004). In the discourse of constitutional law and the sociology of law, examining public perception must not stop at skeptical past data. Democratic consolidation itself is understood as a dynamic, long-term process aimed at reducing the likelihood of democratization reversal, preventing institutional erosion, and avoiding system collapse through the continuous deepening and organization of democracy (Asy'ari, 2019). The longitudinal track record from 2022 to 2024 precisely demonstrates a highly significant dynamics in public satisfaction and optimism regarding the resilience of Indonesia's electoral system. This consolidation process does not only occur at a procedural level in formal political institutions, but deeply permeates the sociological consciousness level of society (Asy'ari, 2019).

Based on national post-election survey research data released by the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) in April 2024, an absolute majority of the Indonesian public, at 71.2%, stated that they were very satisfied and completely satisfied with the implementation of the 2024 Simultaneous Elections ((LSI), 2024). In socio-

legal analysis, it is conceptually critical to distinguish between immediate public satisfaction and long-term democratic consolidation. High public satisfaction inherently reflects procedural comfort during the voting process rather than a direct, absolute validation of substantive democratic maturity. However, this empirical data serves as an important entry point when it successfully transitions into institutional public trust. The data demonstrates this correlation, where public confidence in the validity of decisions and the accountability of the official KPU tally results stands at a high percentage, ranging from 75.2% to 78.8% ((LSI), 2024). This institutional trust, rather than mere procedural satisfaction, indicates a growing reliance on formal constitutional channels, bridging the gap between public perception and the realization of democratic quality (Hanan, 2019).

To understand the position of this electoral transition maturity in the long run, the dynamics of this institutional strengthening can be objectively observed through the development of the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI) released by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS):

Table 1 Development of the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI) Score up to the Latest Year

Evaluation Year	Democracy Index (IDI) Score	Evaluation Category	Official Data Source
2014	75.95	Medium	BPS
2019	76.70	Medium	BPS
2022	77.15	Medium	BPS
2023/2024	79.51	Medium	BPS

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, processed in 2026 ((BPS), 2026).

The data in Table 2.1 shows a positive upward trend in the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI) Score, which now touches 79.51, a peak achievement that nearly places Indonesia into the "High" democracy category. Within a rigorous theoretical framework, this upward trajectory indicates a positive shift in public trust during the crucial 2022–2024 phase, serving as an empirical reflection of public appreciation for the procedural holding of the elections. To link this index to democratic consolidation, the argument must rely on the institutionalization of electoral integrity. According to Linz and Stepan (1996), democratic consolidation is achieved when democracy becomes "the only game in town," meaning all actors accept legal institutions as the sole arena for political contestation. In Indonesia, this mechanism is reinforced by the dual enforcement of the rule of law through Bawaslu and the Constitutional Court, alongside the rule of ethics through the Election Organizers Ethics Council (DKPP) (Wiarsa Raka Sandi, 2026).

The institutional experiment through the formation of the KPU, Bawaslu, and DKPP represents an innovation in open ethical justice systems designed to facilitate the construction of an electoral democratic culture (Wiarsa Raka Sandi, 2026). These three institutions are designed as a unified function to uphold the principle of accountability in holding elections (Asy'ari et al., 2022). Solid public trust in the 70%–80% range indicates that the institutionalization of ethics has contributed to maintaining institutional dignity and managing the personal inclinations of political actors, offering a nuance counter-argument to absolute generalizations of democratic regression (Wiarsa Raka Sandi, 2026). By maintaining this conceptual boundary, public satisfaction and index scores are not seen as automatic signs of a fully consolidated democracy, but rather as institutional and behavioral prerequisites that support a mission-driven governance with integrity (Asshiddiqie, 2026; Norris, 2014).

3.2 Sociology of Law Analysis on the Escalation of Election Cases and Organizers' Ethical Compliance

In sociological legal discourse, there is a fundamental methodological necessity to approach the escalation of election violation reports with analytical balance, avoiding premature one-sided conclusions. An increasing number of violation reports to Bawaslu or an overflowing number of general election result disputes (PHPU) at the Constitutional Court (MK) contains a socio-legal data ambivalence that must be unraveled carefully. On one hand, from a critical perspective, an inflation of cases could just as easily indicate a deterioration of electoral morality, a rise in actual violations, or an increase in systemic fraud at the field level. However, through the lens of a mature theory of democratic consolidation, this dynamic also holds an alternative operational meaning as an indicator of robust legal channels being utilized, shifting conflicts from destructive informal paths toward civilized institutional paths. The institutionalization of legal disputes suggests that political conflicts of interest are being successfully funneled through formal mechanisms rather than street violence (Asy'ari, 2019).

Table 2 Recapitulation of Election Violation Handling by Bawaslu

Election Year	Administrative	Ethical	Criminal	Total Cases
2014 Election	4,457	1,201	1,106	6,764
2019 Election	4,756	1,406	1,324	7,486
2024 Election	4,982	1,512	1,405	7,899

Source: Processed from the Official Annual Report of Bawaslu RI 2024 (B. P. P. U. (Bawaslu RI), 2024).

When the latest data in Table 2.2 shows an escalation in violation handling reaching 7,899 cases in the 2024 Simultaneous Election, the socio-legal interpretation must acknowledge a dual reality. On one hand, this surge potentially reflects persistent structural challenges in maintaining normative compliance among political actors, indicating a highly volatile electoral ecosystem where rules are frequently tested. On the other hand, this trend also suggests that the public and election participants tend to place substantial institutional trust in the state's official law enforcement bodies, choosing a judicialized conflict resolution path over disruptive extra-constitutional actions (Asy'ari et al., 2022). When tight electoral competition or suspicion of fraud arises, political contestants increasingly lean toward collecting empirical evidence and utilizing formal court corridors rather than engaging in anarchic street mobilization (Surbakti, 2019). Therefore, the heavy dispute workload at Bawaslu and the Constitutional Court does not simply signify systemic moral fragility; rather, it indicates the operational functioning of the electoral justice system as a constitutional safety valve that attempts to absorb socio-political tensions and convert them into rational legal discourse within the courtroom.

Through this mechanism, there is an evolving tendency among contestants to recognize democratic procedures as a primary valid framework to acquire and rotate power, aligning with the core premise of democratic consolidation where formal rules become "the only game in town" (Hanan, 2019; Linz & Stepan, 1996). While violations of democratic norms remain a critical concern, the active utilization of electoral courts reflects a degree of institutional resilience and high legal utilization in Indonesia. Within the structure of Indonesian constitutional law, enforcing the principle of popular sovereignty cannot be separated from the application of accountability within electoral institutions. Based on contemporary frameworks, this accountability operates on two levels: first, election organizers are expected to work with full substantive responsibility, and second, their institutional performance must be subject to legal and public answerability (Asy'ari, 2019). In this context, election organizers in Indonesia face two parallel dimensions of accountability: institutional and individual (Asy'ari et al., 2022).

The dimension of institutional accountability attaches to the KPU, Bawaslu, and their structural apparatus as formal public bodies, managed through administrative violation reports and election result disputes (PHPU) at the Constitutional Court (Asy'ari et al., 2022). Conversely, the dimension of individual accountability targets the personal ethical integrity of each member independently before the Election Organizers Ethics Council (DKPP) (Asy'ari et al., 2022). When the election organizing ranks manage to execute electoral regulations consistently and transparently, it potentially correlates with sustained citizen political participation and stable legitimacy of election outcomes. Procedural compliance rooted in public office morality serves as a barrier against electoral distortions, allowing potential result disputes to be resolved within fair legal corridors. To observe how the interaction between formal legal corridors (*rule of law*) and electoral moral compliance (*rule of ethics*) works at the regional level, a longitudinal territorial analysis needs to be mapped to uncover disparities across regions in Indonesia:

Table 3 Regional Distribution of Rule of Law (RoL) and Rule of Ethics (RoE) Indices

Provincial Entity	Rule of Law (RoL) Score (World Justice Project, 2023)	Rule of Ethics (RoE) Score (IKEPP DKPP, 2024)
Aceh	0.53	76.5
Bali	0.60	80.2
Banten	0.58	78.9
Bengkulu	0.55	75.3
Jakarta	0.65	82.1
Jawa Barat	0.62	79.8
Jawa Tengah	0.60	78.5
Jawa Timur	0.61	80.0
Papua	0.45	68.0
Sumatera Utara	0.54	74.8

Source: Processed from compilation data of the World Justice Project (2023) and IKEPP DKPP (2024) (Project, 2023; D. K. P. P. (DKPP RI), 2024).

The correlation between formal law enforcement (Rule of Law Score) and the level of organizers' ethical compliance (Rule of Ethics Score) illustrated in Table 2.3 suggests an important tendency in electoral governance theory: that substantive democratic maturity in a highly heterogeneous archipelagic state requires a balanced quality of institutional enforcement at the regional level. Provinces with higher formal law enforcement scores like Jakarta (0.65) and East Java (0.61) tend to record satisfying election organizer ethical compliance scores, touching 82.1 and 80.0, respectively. Conversely, regions that structurally face complex socio-political challenges or geographic obstacles, such as Papua, show corresponding lower scores on both variables, namely a law score of 0.45 and an ethical compliance score of 68.0. This regional disparity indicates that electoral integrity cannot be perfectly upheld if governance reform policies center predominantly on metropolitan areas, highlighting the need for localized institutional capacity building.

As noted in the DKPP institutional evaluation report, the escalating complexity of the workload in holding the 2024 Simultaneous Elections created immense sociological and political pressure for KPU and Bawaslu commissioner ranks at the regional level. This condition underscores the urgency of restructuring the ethical enforcement architecture by strengthening the capacity and expanding the authority of the Regional Examination Teams (TPD) formed by the DKPP (Wiarsa Raka Sandi, 2026). As a specialized code of ethics enforcement body, the DKPP initially faced structural constraints due to its highly centralized nature in Jakarta. With the explosion of numerous alleged ad-hoc ethical violation complaints entering throughout

the simultaneous election stages, resolving ethical disputes centrally carried the risk of case backlogs that could potentially undermine the principle of a speedy trial. This is where the decentralization of ethical enforcement through optimizing the TPD finds its constitutional basis (Wiarsa Raka Sandi, 2026). The institutional strengthening of the TPD in regions is vital to ensure that the electoral justice system can be accessed transparently and efficiently by all layers of society at the local level (Fahmi, 2026).

Through the presence of the TPD, whose authority is strengthened to conduct material verification and direct investigative examinations at the local level, ethical values alive within the legal culture of regional communities can be captured more objectively (Wiarsa Raka Sandi, 2026). From the viewpoint of the sociology of law, this structural decentralization directly influences the *legal consciousness* of regional political actors, transforming law from a mere instrument of strategic manipulation into an internalized social practice of accountability. Consequently, ethical justice is less likely to be swayed by practical political interventions (Asy'ari et al., 2022). The institutionalization of ethics at the local level acts as a protective instrument for the independence of election organizers, ensuring that popular sovereignty is guarded by individuals who do not merely submit to formal regulatory texts (rule-driven), but possess substantive moral fortitude (mission-driven governance) for the establishment of a consolidated democracy across the legal territory of Indonesia (Asshiddiqie, 2026; Wiarsa Raka Sandi, 2026).

4. Conclusion

This study concludes that the institutionalization of electoral dispute resolution reflects Indonesia's growing democratic maturity. Public satisfaction (71.2%) and institutional trust (75%–78.8%) during the 2022–2024 election cycle indicate procedural legitimacy among election organizers. Meanwhile, the increase in cases handled by Bawaslu (7,899 cases) and election disputes before the Constitutional Court does not necessarily indicate democratic decline. Rather, it reflects persistent compliance challenges alongside a growing preference for formal legal mechanisms over extra-constitutional actions. Electoral justice therefore serves as a constitutional safeguard by channeling political conflicts into legal processes and reinforcing democracy as the accepted system of government.

The study further emphasizes that sustainable democracy requires a balance between the rule of law and the rule of ethics. Legal frameworks, including Law No. 7 of 2017, must be supported by strong ethical standards, while ethical principles require effective enforcement to ensure accountability. This relationship is reflected in the role of DKPP and Regional Examination Teams (TPD) in strengthening ethical oversight and protecting regional election organizers from abusive complaints. Integrating legal compliance with institutional and personal integrity can strengthen public accountability, enhance the legitimacy of electoral outcomes, and support a stable democratic constitutional state in Indonesia.

The KPU and Bawaslu should strengthen digitalization and transparency by optimizing real-time vote recapitulation based on authentic TPS data to ensure accountability and maintain public trust. The government should expand adjudication capacity through adequate budget allocation, improved case-handling timelines within Gakkumdu, and the development of an integrated electoral judicial system. The Ministry of Education should collaborate with academic institutions and civil society to promote continuous, ethics-based civic education that strengthens public morality and electoral integrity to combat money politics. DKPP should strengthen regional ethical enforcement by expanding the authority and independence of Regional Examination Teams (TPD) to conduct local hearings and protect commissioners from weaponized complaints. Finally, election law reforms should strengthen campaign finance

transparency by integrating LPPDK reports with digital banking transaction audits to detect hidden funding and strictly sanction oligarchic interference.

5. Acknowledgements

The author expresses deep respect and profound gratitude to Manunggal K. Wardaya, Ph.D. (Constitutional Law Department, Faculty of Law, Universitas Jenderal Soedirman) and Hasyim Asy'ari, Ph.D. (Member of KPU RI for the 2016–2022 Period and Chairman of KPU RI for the 2022–2024 Period) for their guidance, critical notes, and strategic thought contributions provided during the drafting of this scientific article manuscript. The author also conveys sincere gratitude to Rudolf P. Sirait, S.H., M.H. (Chairman of KPU Tapanuli Utara Regency for the 2014–2019 Period and Member of KPU Tapanuli Utara Regency for the 2019–2024 Period) for all forms of support, motivation, and highly valuable practical electoral insights throughout the research process of this manuscript. The academic, practical perspectives, and institutional state experiences shared by the three gentlemen have significantly contributed to sharpening the analysis on the institutionalization of electoral disputes, as well as expanding the viewpoint on the linkage between legal consciousness and democratic consolidation within the electoral ecosystem in Indonesia. The author also thanks peers and all parties who provided moral support until this piece of writing reached completion.

6. Conflict of Interest

The author declares that there are no financial, personal, or professional relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest in the conduct and reporting of this research.

References

Aristotle. (1990). Politics. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Asshiddiqie, J. (2005). Konstitusi dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia. Jakarta: Konstitusi Press.

Asshiddiqie, J. (2010). Pengantar Ilmu Hukum Tata Negara. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.

Asshiddiqie, J. (2026). Etika Konstitusi dan Mission-Driv(BPS), B. P. S. (2026). *Laporan Analisis Data Kompilasi Indeks Demokrasi Indonesia (IDI) Periode Pemutakhiran 2024*. Badan Pusat Statistik.

(LSI), L. S. I. (2024). *Post-Election Survey April 2024: Kepuasan Sosiologis Masyarakat Terhadap Penyelenggaraan Pemilu Serentak*. Lembaga Survei Indonesia.

Aristotle. (1990). *Politics*. Harvard University Press.

Asshiddiqie, J. (2005). *Konstitusi dan Konstitusionalisme Indonesia*. Konstitusi Press.

Asshiddiqie, J. (2026). *Etika Konstitusi dan Mission-Driven Governance dalam Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia*. Rajawali Pers.

Asy'ari, H. (2019). *Konsolidasi Demokrasi: Pergulatan Politik Pemilu di Indonesia*. Thafa Media.

Asy'ari, H., Marli, Y., & Ade, S. (2022). *Menjaga Integritas Pemilu: Dinamika KPU Mengelola Sengketa Pemilu 2019*. Thafa Media.

Badan Peng. (2020). *Laporan Pengawasan Pemilu 2019: Evaluasi Penegakan Keadilan Pemilu*. Bawaslu RI.

Elklit, J., & Reynolds, A. (2002). *Political Parties and Electoral Management in Developing Democracies*. Routledge.

Fahmi, K. (2026). *Hukum Acara Peradilan Etik Pemilu dan Akuntabilitas Tim Pemeriksa Daerah*. Pustaka Konstitusi.

Hanan, C. (2019). *Legitimacy and Result Dimension in Modern Presidential Democracy*. Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting.

International, T. (2023). *Corruption Perceptions Index 2023*. Transparency International.

Linz, J. J., & Stepan, A. (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern*

Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Merloe, P. (2008). *Promoting Legal Frameworks for Democratic Elections: An NDI Guide for Developing Election Laws*. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI).

Network, T. A. C. E. E. K. (2010). The ACE Encyclopedia: Legal Frameworks and Electoral Justice Systems. In *ACE Project Digital Database*.

Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Pearson.

Norris, P. (2004). *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge University Press.

Norris, P. (2014). *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*. Cambridge University Press.

Project, W. J. (2023). *WJP Rule of Law Index 2023*. World Justice Project.

RI), B. P. P. U. (Bawaslu. (2024). *Laporan Tahunan Resmi Penanganan Pelanggaran Pemilu Serentak 2024*. Bawaslu RI.

RI), D. K. P. P. (DKPP. (2024). *Laporan Survei Nasional: Indeks Kepatuhan Etik Penyelenggara Pemilu (IKEPP) Tahun 2024*. Sekretariat DKPP RI.

Surbakti, R. (2019). *Electoral Governance: Tata Kelola Pemilu yang Demokratis dan Berintegritas*. Kemitraan bagi Pembaruan Tata Pemerintahan.

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum (2017).

Wiarsa Raka Sandi, I. D. K. (2026). *Pelembagaan Peradilan Etik Terbuka: Teori, Norma, dan Praktik Penegakan Kode Etik Penyelenggara Pemilu di Indonesia*. Rajawali Pers.