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## Citizen Guarantees in Determining National Leaders Through Elections and Democratic Integrity

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### Abstract

Indonesia held presidential, regional head, and legislative elections (elections) in 2019. Many Indonesians are apathetic towards elections. The problems in this research are: How can citizens guarantee their right to determine regional leaders through elections and what obstacles do citizens face in choosing democratic leaders who have integrity? This is normative legal research conducted by tracing the regulations related to the problem under study. Citizen guarantees in determining regional leaders through elections are regulated in Law no. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, Article 23 paragraph (1); Article 43 paragraph (1); Article 1, paragraph 3); Articles 28D, E, and J of the 1945 Constitution; and Law no. 7 of 2017 concerning Elections.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Guaranteed Elections, Regional Leaders, Citizens.

### Abstrak

Indonesia menyelenggarakan pemilihan presiden, kepala daerah, dan pemilihan legislatif (pemilu) pada tahun 2019. Banyak masyarakat Indonesia yang bersikap apatis terhadap pemilu. Permasalahan dalam penelitian ini adalah: Bagaimana warga negara dapat menjamin haknya dalam menentukan pemimpin daerah melalui pemilu dan kendala apa saja yang dihadapi warga negara dalam memilih pemimpin yang demokratis dan berintegritas? Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian hukum normatif yang dilakukan dengan cara menelusuri peraturan-peraturan yang terkait dengan masalah yang diteliti. Jaminan warga negara dalam menentukan pemimpin daerah melalui Pilkada diatur dalam UU No. 39 Tahun 1999 tentang Hak Asasi Manusia, Pasal 23 ayat (1); Pasal 43 ayat (1); Pasal 1, ayat 3); Pasal 28D, E, dan J UUD 1945; dan UU No. 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilu.

**Kata kunci:** Demokrasi, Jaminan Pemilu, Pemimpin Daerah, Warga Negara.

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## Introduction

General Election is a means for the rights of every Indonesian citizen who has reached the age of 17 as stated in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution before the addition was implemented through the Amendment to the 1945 Constitution it read: Everyone has the right to freedom of association, assembly and expression. Similar rights are also contained in Article 24 paragraph (1) of the Human Rights Law which reads: Everyone has the right to assemble, meet and associate for peaceful purposes. After the second amendment to the 1945 Constitution, the

provisions of Article 28 were expanded in detail as well as matters related to guarantees for citizens to elect leaders democratically.

Regulations of the 1945 Constitution, these arrangements are in Article 28D, Article 28 E, Article 28 J discussing democratic freedom to choose leaders through general elections (elections) as follows; Article 28D (3) reads that every citizen has the right to have equal opportunities in government. Paragraph (4) Everyone has

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the right to citizenship status. Article 28E paragraph (3) Everyone has the right to freedom of association, assembly and expression.

Article 28 J paragraph (2) in exercising their rights and freedoms, each person is obliged to comply with the restrictions determined by law with the sole purpose of guaranteeing recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and to fulfill fair demands in accordance with the consideration morals, religious values, security, and public order in a democratic society. Elections are the first democratic means to channel votes according to the conscience of citizens

The implementation of democracy in Indonesia is reflected in Pancasila, namely the 4th precept which reads "Populist Guided by Wisdom in Deliberation and Representatives". Likewise, the rights of citizens to choose leaders through the implementation of general elections (elections) for the President, legislative elections (*DPR*, *DPRD*, *DPD*), and regional head elections (governors, regents, mayors) are strengthened by law no. 7 of 2017.

Article 1 states that General Elections, hereinafter referred to as Elections, are a means of popular sovereignty to elect members of the People's Legislative Council, members of the Regional Representatives Council, President and Vice President, and to elect members of the Regional People's Legislative Assembly, which are carried out directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honest, and fair within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The presidential election, regional head election and legislative election are carried out in a fair and just manner (direct, general, free, secret, honest and fair).

In the general election on April 17 2019, the general election organizers, in this case the Indonesian *KPU*, received a lot of negative attacks from various parties. Most of these attacks from various parties received information from the mass media on negative issues related to the general election. The author cites sources from the results of big data analysis conducted by the Big Data Analytics *PolGov UGM* Laboratory during the period 12-22 April 2019, that information attacks from the mass media on the holding of general elections will affect the results of the general election votes. The author's search for data from big data analysis carried out by the Big Data Analytics *PolGov UGM* Laboratory, the attacks are in the form of; there is a call to the *KPU* with hashtags (#) #*KPU*notneutral, #*KPU*tershostage, #*KPU*partisanship. The accusations against the *KPU* are not neutral, as much as 50% of the total 13,030 conversations. The attack used social media Twitter before, during, and after the general election. General elections where there are many

incidents of mutual attack between the pros and cons, the election of leaders will not create democratic general elections.

The implementation of democratic elections in Indonesia by holding elections in 2019, which held elections simultaneously in one year, a short time lag of only a few months after the implementation of the Presidential election which was followed by Regional Head Elections and Legislative Elections, made Indonesian citizens (people Indonesia) became apathetic towards elections, many of them chose the white group (abstentions) or if they chose to just follow along. The results of a survey from the Indonesian Research Institute (*LIPI*) that 14% facilitated the election, 89% confused the public. In addition, the impractical process of holding elections makes citizens disinterested in electing leaders in a democratic manner and with integrity.

Mahfud MD stated that the need for democracy in the country is for reasons; First, the main fundamental of the state is the embodiment of a democratic state. Second, the substance of the state has an urgent function to carry out constitutional principles in social and state organizations (Mahmuzar, 2013). However, according to the author, democracy is not only needed in the country, there is the most important thing for implementing democracy, namely achieving the integrity of the nation's leaders. Integrity is synonymous with one's moral and ethical behavior, between actions and words that originate from one's conscience will radiate in that person's behavior. Embodiment of ethics in the form of; morals, commitment, honesty and sincerity hold the principles values (Soegiharto, 2014). The implementation of democratic elections really requires the integrity of various parties, both citizens participating in the elections, as well as election administrators.

For this reason, the author is interested and will examine in depth through a critical study of Citizen Guarantees in Determining National Leaders Through Democratic and Integrity General Elections. The purpose of writing this research is; first for the government; election organizers namely the General Election Commission (*KPU*), Election Supervisory Body (*Bawaslu*) and the Honorary Council at the time of the Election Organizer Code of Ethics (*DKPP*) can maintain good behavior so as to create the integrity of election organizers to be authoritative and run elections democratically. Second for society; to disseminate to the public how important elections are for the progress and welfare of the nation through elections to elect representatives of the people who become leaders of the nation.

## **Research Problems**

First, what is the guarantee of citizens in determining national leaders through general elections? and second, what are the obstacles for citizens to choose leaders who are democratic and have integrity?

## **Research Methods**

The legal research methodology is research that uses legal experts / doctrines, used as a solution to legal problems by finding new rules that are studied normatively based on legal knowledge (Marzuki, 2008). Normative legal research through library materials, as primary legal sources, secondary legal sources and tertiary legal sources by tracing laws and regulations that are in accordance with the study of the problem to be studied (Soemantri, 2010). In this research, the writer

will discuss Citizen Guarantees in Determining National Leaders through Democratic and Integrity General Elections.

Where the author uses normative research methods in the form of a study of laws and regulations related to guarantees of citizens to carry out elections. The type of research the author does is in the form of library research using qualitative data in the form of narrating legal events regarding citizen guarantees in participating in elections. The author uses three data sources consisting of; primary data sources, tracing through documents and laws and regulations. Secondary data sources, searches through the literature of books, journals, research. Tertiary data sources, searches to complement primary data sources and secondary data sources through legal dictionaries.

## Discussion

### 1. Guarantee of Citizens in Determining National Leaders Through General Elections

General elections are held periodically every five (5) years as the implementation of democracy in the life of dynamic citizens. The life of democracy through the implementation of elections is to provide opportunities for citizen guarantees to elect leaders through general elections. Thus, it is hoped that a change in leadership can prevent authoritarian leadership, citizens can see leadership figures through the profiles and track records of their leaders. Citizens have the right to determine who is eligible to become a government official or leader in a government by participating in presidential elections, legislative elections and executive elections or regional head elections so that democracy can properly be said "democracy as the only game in town". Citizens who are critical of choosing leaders are leaders who will pay attention to the interests of their people, prospective leaders will appear as much as possible to attract citizens to vote for them. But unfortunately, there are still some individuals who take advantage of the situation by spreading negative issues about the implementation of general elections so that citizens do not choose certain leaders.

The rule of law will guarantee its citizens to participate in the success of general elections on the basis of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, which means that general elections must be carried out responsibly by election organizers. The government is also obliged to exercise the freedom of its citizens to choose and carry out their aspirations as long as they are within the law. It is unfortunate that the implementation of the 2019 election is still colored by negative issues that attack each other.

Following are the results of the author's tracing of negative issue cases between candidate pair (*paslon*) 01 and candidate pair 02 during the 2019 presidential and vice-presidential election, the author quotes from the Big Data Analytics report in the form of attacks from *Paslon* 01 only received negative issue attacks in 4,993 conversations (32.3%) and *Paslon* 02 with 1,995 conversations (12.9%). Negative conversations attacking the *KPU* reached 8,498 conversations, or around 54.9%. Not only attacking the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs, they also attacked the *KPU* before the general election, during the general election, and after the general election. The *KPU* was highlighted by many general election frauds on ballots, the *KPU* server was hacked by individuals, the quick count results between survey agencies were inaccurate, the C1 vote input was full of fraud, the final vote

results were leaked by the KPU. Therefore, as a good citizen, one must be observant in using his right to citizens' guarantees to elect a leader with integrity.

John Locke said that people have natural rights (natural rights) as inalienable rights. JG Steenbeek explained that the constitution is the highest rule guaranteeing the human rights of citizens, has a constitutional structure, distribution of state power (Hernadi, 2019). International human rights arrangements to participate in elections mean that citizens have the right to vote and vote (right to vote and to be elected), the right to get services by the government (right to equal access to public service), the right to carry out government (right to take part in government) (Soemantri, 2010). The implementation of human rights is preceded by choosing leaders through elections, so that all citizens can carry out and fulfill human rights in government (Jatmiko, 2018). The government has a responsibility towards citizens who implement human rights, and citizens have the right to exercise human rights.

Therefore, general elections that every citizen takes part in must be carried out with direct, general, free, secret, honest and fair guarantees, without any discrimination, intervention or intimidation. Thus, the author will explain the human rights of citizens related to general elections.

First. Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights is regulated in Article 23 paragraph (1) and Article 43 paragraph (1) explaining the rights of citizens to elect representatives of the people as leaders of the state. So that it becomes a legal basis for every Indonesian citizen to have the freedom to participate in determining the leaders' representatives, whether to sit in the legislature or serve as the head of the executive branch which is carried out through general elections. Voting rights (directly or indirectly, active voting rights or passive voting rights) regulated in various laws in Indonesia are human rights that can be implemented as citizens' rights in democratic general elections.

Second. Several regulatory articles in the 1945 Constitution which regulate citizen guarantees are found in; Article 1 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution states that Indonesia is a constitutional state, which means that citizens have a role in administering government, namely obeying the rules for holding elections. Article 28D, Article 28 E, Article 28 J discusses the democratic freedom to elect leaders through general elections. Article 28D (3) reads that every citizen has the right to have equal opportunities in government. Paragraph (4) Everyone has the right to citizenship status. Article 28E paragraph (3) Everyone has the right to freedom of association, assembly and expression.

Article 28 J paragraph (2) In exercising his rights and freedoms, every person is obliged to comply with the restrictions determined by law with the sole purpose of guaranteeing recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and to fulfill fair demands in accordance with the consideration's morals, religious values, security, and public order in a democratic society. Elections are the first democratic means to channel votes according to the conscience of citizens

Third, General elections as a means of citizens' rights to elect leaders democratically are strengthened by Article 1 with Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning general elections. Article 1 states that General Elections, hereinafter referred to as Elections, are a means of popular sovereignty to elect members of the People's Legislative Council, members of the Regional Representatives Council, President and Vice President, and to elect members of the Regional People's Legislative

Assembly, which are carried out directly, publicly, freely, secretly, honest, and fair within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The presidential election, regional head election and legislative election shall be carried out in a fair and just manner (direct, general, free, secret, honest and fair).

From regulations that guarantee citizens in determining national leaders through general elections, the author will study in depth based on history, philosophy, juridical and sociology.

Historically, general elections have existed since 1945, namely since Indonesian independence with the formation of the *BPUPKI* (Investigating Agency for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence, to make the basic draft of the 1945 Constitution (*UUD 1945*) consisting of a committee of nine or small committees namely; Ir. Soekarno, Drs. Moh Hatta, Muh Yamin, Ahmad Subarjo, AA Marimis, AbdulKahar Muzzakir, Wahid Hasyim, M. Agus Salim, Abikusmo Cokrosuyoso (Wirharyanto, 2011). Then Soekarno read the text of the Proclamation, then Soekarno was directly chosen by the people became the President of the Republic of Indonesia for the first time even though it did not go through general elections.

Soeharto became the second President after the September 30, 1965 tragedy when Soeharto was immediately appointed as the second President of the Republic of Indonesia, in 1970-2001 direct elections were held by citizens even though elections were held again in the *MPR* to elect the President and Vice President. It was only in 2004 that direct general elections were held without any re-election in the *MPR*.

Philosophically, according to the author, the implementation of general elections has been included in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution, where it is stated in the sentence the struggle for the Indonesian independence movement has come to a happy moment safely bringing the Indonesian people to the front gate of the independence of the Indonesian State, which is free, united, sovereign, just and prosperous.

The author can interpret this meaning as citizens who have the right to obtain justice and obtain prosperity by means of which citizens have the right to participate in general elections. With general elections, the people will automatically be united, sovereign, have independent freedom of choice.

Juridically, the guarantee for citizens to choose their leaders is contained in the regulations; First, Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights is regulated in Article 23 paragraph (1) and Article 43 paragraph (1). Second, the 1945 Constitution which regulates guarantees for citizens, namely; Article 1 paragraph 3 and Article 28D, Article 28 E, Article 28 J of the 1945 Constitution discuss democratic freedom to choose leaders through general elections.

Third, Article 1 with law No. 7 of 2017 the sovereignty of the people to elect members of the People's Legislative Assembly, members of the Regional Representatives Council, President and Vice President, and to elect members of the Regional People's Representative Council, which is carried out directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and fair in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia

Sociologically, according to the author, general elections are carried out to elect leaders to occupy a position in the executive government and legislative government. The role of citizens who have guaranteed the right to vote through

general elections is needed, citizens participate in supervising the implementation of general elections in order to create elections that are fair and with integrity.

Based on the laws and regulations on citizen guarantees in choosing national leaders through general elections, the authors can describe and analyze based on philosophical, juridical, sociological studies. Whereas the provisions for the entry into force of Article 28 of the 1945 constitution, Article 28 in the fourth amendment, are in accordance with the principles in international law, Article 29 of the Declaration of Human Rights. In Indonesia, the rules for expressing opinions in public are contained in Law no. 9 of 1998 there are 5 principles of freedom of expression in public and expressing opinions in public in a responsible manner.

According to Roy Marthen Moonti that the idea of expressing opinions in general and openly includes two concepts, namely expressing opinions in public and expressing opinions in public in a responsible manner (Nuna & Roy Marthen, 2019). The ideas of citizens' opinions must be accountable in public.

Conveyor of the theory of Roy Marthen Moonti. The author will first explain the right to citizen guarantees to choose leaders in general elections as part of expressing opinions in public as follows;

1. The principle of deliberation and consensus

The general election has indirectly carried out the Pancasila mandate in the fourth precept, namely democracy led by wisdom in deliberation and representation. The author can describe that general elections are held throughout the territory of Indonesia which involve all Indonesian citizens who are aged 17 years and over, to elect national leaders by deliberation through representatives of political parties who elect candidate leaders.

2. The principle of proportionality

Proportionality here means that leaders who are elected by political parties, to advance in general election contestation, have good quality. Proportionality in working professionally and having the ability to lead Indonesian citizens.

3. The principle of balance between rights and obligations

The balance of rights and obligations of citizens to participate in the success of general elections, citizens have the right to express opinions honestly using conscience to choose leaders. Citizens have the right to obtain welfare from the government, the obligation of citizens is to obey the rules made by the government. Likewise, leaders who are elected as government officials must exercise their rights to citizens who already believe in voting for them. The right of a leader is to maintain trust and trust, from citizens who already trust to become government officials through general elections. Meanwhile, the government's obligation to carry out the vision and mission promises during the campaign is to realize the welfare of citizens.

4. The principle of certainty of rights and justice

Rights and justice as citizens in the form of guaranteed security and comfort in all fields, namely economic rights and justice, health rights and justice, education rights and justice, legal rights and justice, social rights and justice and welfare.

Next, the author will describe the delivery of opinions freely and responsibly in a way:

1. Conveying Opinions Based on the 4th Precepts of Pancasila

Submission of citizens' opinions through general elections, to elect leaders based on the noble values of Pancasila in a peaceful and democratic way. Conveying opinions by respecting the opinions of citizens who have different choices for the choice of leaders through general elections.

Citizens must be willing to accept the fact that if an opinion is conveyed through general elections, the candidate leader who is championed loses in the general election contestation.

Citizens are willing to accept suggestions and criticism, for expressing opinions that are different from other citizens. Thus, there will be harmonization, for citizens who have different opinions.

2. Logic of Thinking in Conveying Opinions

Citizens conveying opinions through general elections to elect candidate leadership candidates, based on logical thinking with correct arguments for conveying the vision and mission of prospective leader candidates. So, citizens are not trapped and choose the wrong leader, citizens participate in the choices that have been determined by themselves.

3. Choose a Leader

Citizens will elect leaders who are responsible, by not considering personal interests and the interests of political parties. Citizens will choose leaders who will have benefits, for the interests of citizens

Rose and Mossawir stated that general elections for citizens have the following functions: (1) citizens can directly elect prospective leaders in government; (2) the synergy of citizens' voices to elect the government; (3) the strength of citizen support for prospective general election participants; (4) the process of recruiting political parties; (5) the sharpness of the government to solve citizen problems (Rose, 1967). Good governance will be reflected in the early determination of the election of leaders by its citizens.

Citizens choose the wrong leader, then it is certain that the government will not run well. Furthermore, the author will describe the opinion of Rose and Mossawir as follows:

1. Citizens Can Choose Candidate Leaders In Government Directly.

The author means that citizens can play an active role in the implementation of general elections, the rights of citizens are guaranteed by Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights is regulated in Article 23 paragraph (1) and Article 43 paragraph (1). The 1945 Constitution which regulates citizen guarantees is found in; Article 1 paragraph 3 and Article 28D, Article 28 E, Article 28 J of the 1945 Constitution discuss democratic freedom to choose leaders through general elections. Article 1 with law No. 7 of 2017 citizens to elect members of the People's Legislative Assembly, members of the Regional Representatives Council, President and Vice President, and to elect members of the Regional People's Representative Council

2. Synergy of Citizen Voices to Choose Government

Citizens have the freedom to determine the voter's vote for candidates for general election participation, thus citizens automatically implement democracy in a rule of law. Citizen voice synergy is needed by contestants participating in general elections and political parties in general elections, to be able to occupy leadership positions in a government.



3. Strength of Citizen Support for Candidates for General Election Participants

The support of citizen sympathizers can gain voting power for prospective candidates participating in general elections, the more votes are obtained from the support of citizens. Then the chances of passing the general election participant candidates will be even greater, political parties and general election participant candidates will need a lot of strong support from the citizens who voted for them.

4. Political Party Recruitment Process

The *KPU* will complete administratively the requirements for general elections from political parties, the completeness of these requirements is needed before prospective general election participants participate in the contestants to fight in the general election. prospective candidates participating in general elections, need vehicles in the form of political parties to get votes and support in campaigning activities.

5. The sharpness of the government to solve the problems of citizens

Prospective general election participants and majority parties who are elected to occupy a position in the government, should have carried out the promises made during the first campaign. The promise is in the form of the vision and mission of contestants participating in general elections and political parties, which will later become the work program of the selected participants.

For this reason, the elected contestants should pay attention to the interests of citizens, not be more concerned with personal interests and the political parties that support them. Thus, the problems of citizens can be resolved properly, if all contestants in the general election can carry out their vision and mission promise when campaigning

The formulation of the problem and discussion related to the guarantee of citizens in determining national leaders through general elections, the author has explained in detail. The existence of guarantees for citizens to choose national leaders through general elections, of course there will be obstacles faced by citizens in choosing leaders. Citizens need to choose leaders carefully, so that they are not wrong in making their choices and choosing the right leaders will produce leaders who are democratic and have integrity.

**2. Obstacles to Citizens Choosing Democratic Leaders with Integrity**

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (*KBBI*) Democracy is the vision of the Greek view that democracy means people's power, *demos* and *kratos* mean people and power (*KBBI*, 2021). Affan Ghaffar explained that democracy is Normative Democracy, namely the ideal value of the state, empirical democracy in the form of practical politics. Democracy that comes from the people for the people means; Government of the people (government of the people), government by the people (government by the people), government for the people (government for the people) (Nuryanto, 2012). Democracy is a general election that chooses representatives of the people to become leaders.

Elections which are held every 5 years are carried out as a venue for a democratic party to elect leaders according to the conscience of the people, but it is regrettable that there are still some Indonesian citizens who are apathetic towards elections. Based on the general election research studies that the author has

conducted on the implementation of general elections, there are several obstacles including:

First, in the 2014 legislative general election. beginner voters are very influential in getting votes, for this reason the obstacle for beginner voters is that they still do not understand the meaning and benefits of the vision and mission of the candidates participating in the election who, if elected, will become leaders. So that the *KPU* is trying to socialize young voters who are 17 years old through schools, madrasas, Islamic boarding schools, organizations at high school, vocational, and aliyah schools. The teacher conveys an understanding that it is important to participate in elections and provides an understanding not to be influenced by money politics (Iriani, 2014). The research that the authors conducted survey results, by conducting interviews with novice voters, namely high school students and early semester students aged 17-20 years.

Second, in the implementation of 2015 the general election rules for Governors, Regents and Mayors with provisions referring to Law No. 10 of 2016 that general elections are held simultaneously as an efficiency during general elections (Iziyana, 2019). In the 2015 regional head elections, the author conducted interviews with the *Madiun KPUD*. The obstacle to simultaneous regional head elections in all regions of Indonesia is that there are still several regions that are not ready for the simultaneous regional head elections. This is because political parties have not yet prepared candidate leaders and introduced candidate leaders or prospective general election participants to citizens at large.

Third, the implementation of the legislative and regional head elections in 2019, many people don't know or don't know. they only choose those who often appear on television, namely community leaders and public figures. During the 2019 presidential election, residents chose to follow their parents or close relatives, choosing based on the beliefs of the religious organizations followed by residents. Residents do not choose the vision and mission of the presidential candidates, but because of environmental factors that support a lot, the residents will support one of the presidential candidates (Iriani et al., 2021). The author's research survey by conducting interviews with citizens, especially the people of Ponorogo Regency, Fourth, citizens do not believe in the implementation of elections because citizens are disappointed with the candidate, they choose to commit corruption. There was still a lot of money politics when the election took place, so the people only wanted their money, which was done by the campaign team that carried out the dawn attack. Citizens receive their money without choosing candidates for election participation or political parties, thus many citizens become *golput* (white group) (Budiono et al., 2019). The author conducted this research because the writer's anxiety about the phenomenon of money politics has spread widely throughout Indonesia, one of the obstacles in choosing leaders with integrity is the need for awareness from citizens, to supervise performance and know the character of prospective leaders who are not based on money politics.

Of the four problems above that make citizens apathetic towards the implementation of elections because citizens are getting bored and feel that there is no change if voters are due to a lack of figures of state leaders with integrity. Elections with integrity according to M. Guntur Hamzah, if the following conditions are met; (1) the elected leader has legitimacy; (2) there is public trust in political institutions; (3) public participation in elections increases; (4) strengthening the quality of political representation; (5) overcoming conflict and security; and

strengthening the democratic system (M. Guntur Hamzah, 2020). Leaders who have integrity will make Indonesia a just and prosperous nation.

The author will analyze the notion of elections with integrity as stated by M. Guntur Hamzah that to realize the integrity of elections through:

1. Leaders Who Have Legitimacy

Leaders will have the principle to respect the principles of electoral democracy, by maintaining attitudes and behavior and being professional.

2. The Existence of Public Trust in Political Institutions

Citizens' trust in political parties that are clean without political money before and during the general election will produce results by providing accurate general election results.

3. Public Participation in General Elections Increased

Citizen participation to participate in choosing candidate leaders through general elections, and involves citizen participatory oversight. There will be a mechanism of checks and balances between citizens and to produce democratic elections.

4. Strengthening the Quality of Political Representation

The quality of general elections is improved in quality, by strengthening the political representation of political parties. Political parties carry out election recruitment, qualified candidate candidates for general election participation.

5. Resolving Conflicts and Strengthening the Democratic System

Overcoming conflicts over general election issues with law enforcement, providing transparency and accountability to strengthen the democratic system of general elections.

In order to produce national leaders with integrity, according to the author, it is necessary to involve citizen oversight in the ongoing general election process.

This is based on the author's experience in doing so research since 2014 related to general elections that require supervision from citizens or the public.

This is in accordance with what was stated by Sondang P. Siagian that the implementation of general elections which are carried out simultaneously, both legislative and executive elections, requires supervision. Supervision is needed starting from the process of organizational activities of political parties to the election of candidates for leaders. Observation of the planning and performance of the implementation of general elections, will require citizens as community participation (Nurkinan, 2018). The involvement of public oversight will be indispensable in democratic elections.

The author's analysis of the arguments of Sondang P. Siagian is the involvement of overseeing general elections, both legislative elections and executive elections, namely the election of the President and Vice President, the election of Regional Heads. General elections will require citizens to supervise general elections to prevent the risk of fraudulent elections, if citizens are not involved in supervising general elections, then there will certainly be a risk of conflict between supporters of candidates for national leadership candidates. The risk of antipathy and apathy in general elections for citizens to become white groups (abstentions), the risk of ending democracy in general elections. The risk of violence and archaic implementation of general elections.

Furthermore, Kadek Cahya Susila Wibawa explained that oversight of general elections, there is a need for community involvement in the general election process. citizen participatory supervision as a controlling function is an important pillar in determining the quality of general elections (Wibawa, 2019). Participatory monitoring of general elections will involve a lot of citizens to produce quality general elections.

Opinion on the submission from Kadek Cahya Susila Wibawa, according to the author, participatory supervision of the general election has been carried out by the organizers of the general election. Oversight of general elections through the Election Supervisory Body (*Bawaslu*), *Bawaslu* recruits citizens or the public to participate in supervising the general election.

*Bawaslu* involves citizens to become Regional Supervisory Committees (*panwaswil*) which are spread across Regencies, Districts, Urban, Villages. There is also a Overseas Oversight Committee spread across several foreign countries, which involves Indonesian Citizens (*WNI*) as general election supervisors to carry out participatory supervisory duties. The task of participatory supervision is to carry out general election supervision in a fair, honest and responsible manner, not taking sides with any party.

Obstacles in choosing a leader are the limited availability of ballot papers, which are too long, the large number of candidates for general election contestants, and inadequate market facilities for general elections. It is the government's responsibility to provide general election venues to guarantee the willingness of administration to run the government.

Citizens are guaranteed this in the provisions of Law No. 30 of 2014 concerning Government Administration, which regulates guarantees for the provision of government administration in the form of fast, convenient and inexpensive services. Filled with the norms of administering public administration from government agencies to serve citizens (Setiadi, 2004). Administrative constraints on general elections must be overcome by using the right strategy.

Obstacles are overcome by using the right strategy according to Philipus Hadjon, in carrying out government administration guided by the interests of people's sovereignty, where citizens as citizens can participate in general elections (Hadjon, 2008). There are checks and balances between the government and general election organizers, synergies with each other in implementing performance in a rational, objective, efficient and transparent manner (Sudardi, 2004). The government does not only implement a strategy, but in carrying out its duties the government requires the application of the general principles of good governance.

Institutional organizers of general elections, namely the General Election Commission (*KPU*), the Election Supervisory Body (*Bawaslu*), the General Election Organizer Honorary Council (*DKPP*) play an important role in the implementation of general elections. There are checks and balances between the government and election management institutions, synergies in implementing performance in a rational, objective, efficient and transparent manner. Thus, the government can carry out the function of legislation, to establish responsive policy strategies for citizens to the needs of general election infrastructure facilities. So that general election organizers must be able to carry out the principles of good governance.

Jazim Hamidi's definition of the general principles of good governance are ethical values within the scope of state administration, state administration officials carry out their duties and authorities as they should (Sinamo, 2010). The general

principles of good governance according to Crinice le Roy, namely; the principle of justice, the principle of legal certainty, the principle of not acting arbitrarily, the principle of being precise and careful in acting, the principle of balance, the principle of a decent life, the principle of taking the right decisions (Sudardi, 2004). The general principles of good governance according to Crinice le Roy have the principles of justice, the principle of legal certainty, the principle of not acting arbitrarily, the principle of being precise and careful in acting, the principle of balance, the principle of a decent life, the principle of making the right decisions (Hadjon, 2008).

In relation to the obstacles to electing leaders, according to the author, it is necessary to arrange the general election administration which includes general election infrastructure consisting of; the completeness of ballot papers, the availability of ballot boxes, the right general election voting places will produce reliable and professional general election organizers. This will create the General Principles of Good Governance in holding general elections, it is hoped that it will avoid violations of regulations, acts of abuse of authority, and arbitrary actions.

The author's analysis of the general principles of good governance is closely related to Law Number 30 of 2014 concerning Government Administration and Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections.

First on the rules: Law Number 30 of 2014 Concerning Administration Administration of the *KPU* as general election organizers, the *KPU* has the authority to issue decisions to plan the conduct of general elections.

Second, the *KPU* can carry out general elections for the President and Vice President, general elections for regional heads, honest, direct, fair legislative elections as stipulated in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. The relevance of the two laws is the application of the general principles of good governance by taking into account the interests of citizens in electing leaders who are democratic and have integrity.

The implementation of the general principles of good governance is a manifestation of good governance, which reflects the occurrence of a decisionmaking process that involves stakeholders. The principle of good governance in the implementation of general elections is implemented properly in a participatory manner involving all elements of the government, general election organizers (*KPU, Bawaslu, DKPP*).

Transparency in the disclosure of open access information from the *KPU*, to provide information on candidates for leaders or general election participants for citizens. Results-oriented agreement on the process before, during, after the general election. *KPU* can carry out general elections effectively and efficiently, by only minimizing the number of political parties that will participate in general elections. Because there are more and more political parties, citizens will be increasingly confused about determining a candidate for a leader.

The *KPU* carries out the vision and mission of the general election based on the mandate of the 1945 Constitution and Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, namely to realize direct, free, honest and fair general elections (*Luberjurdil*). These characteristics indicate that citizen political participation is an important element in realizing good governance.

Ramlan Surbakti defines political participation as the participation of citizens in governmental activities (Triono, 2017). Political participation also has the aim of

supervising government activities with the factors of political awareness and trust in the government.

The author explains the political participation in question, namely the participation of the public or citizens participating in general elections. For that the author divides into four types, namely:

- a. If someone has high political awareness and trust in the government, then political participation tends to be active.
- b. Conversely, if political awareness and trust in the government is low, political participation tends to be passive and depressed (apathy).
- c. The radical militant type, that is if political awareness is high but trust in the government is very low, and fourth, if political awareness is very low but trust in the government is very high then this participation is called passive.
- d. With the participation of the community or citizens in the form of political participation and public participation, control over the course of general elections will run well.

The *KPU* is required to always be transparent, accountable, and oriented towards making public policies. Through the process of political participation and the active role of citizens, the *KPU* and the government will receive input in policy making. By involving citizens to convey obstacles to the general election implementation process, the *KPU* pays attention to input from citizens or the public.

*KPU* stakeholders to be more sensitive to the problems faced by citizens, in determining the choice of candidates for general election participation. In addition, political participation is also the fulfillment of rights and political ethics which places citizens as the people as the highest source of power and sovereignty protected by law.

## Conclusion

- a. Stipulated in Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights is regulated in Article 23 paragraph (1) and Article 43 paragraph (1), Article 1 paragraph 3, Article 28D, Article 28E, Article 28J of the 1945 Constitution, Law No. 7 2017 regarding general elections.
- b. There are the first three problems, first-time voters are influential in increasing the vote results, many first-time voters are still confused about which party and election participant candidates will be elected. Second, citizens who vote only participate, do not vote based on the vision and mission of the candidates participating in the election. but only environmental factors and the religious organization they choose. Third, there is still a lot of money politics going on, people only receive their money without choosing, so many citizens vote for the white group (abstentions).

## Suggestion

Political parties should choose candidates who have integrity and have good quality from a religious, intellectual, and character standpoint. The *KPU* socializes the importance of elections from an early age, by teaching them through animated cartoon media so they can be interested in participating in elections and not be apathetic about elections and socialize election participant candidates through the cartoon animation of the first example, a leader who commits money politics and then goes to jail is an example of a leader who has no integrity. Second, leaders who

do not carry out money politics, explain their vision and vision and carry out their vision and mission after being elected. This second example is a leader with integrity, honesty, fairness, and trustworthiness that is liked by many citizens.

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