

## **DKPP GOVERNANCE INDONESIA REALIZING FAIR ELECTIONS 2024**

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### **Abstract**

Elections are a national event that determines the future of national development through public participation and the integrity of the organizers. The purpose of elections is to determine the best representatives to represent the public interest in carrying out their duties and responsibilities. International election discourse in recent years has not only focused on the principle of Free and Fair Election. The campaign on the manifestation of election organizers with integrity began to be developed in terms of concepts, including Indonesia as a democratic country that upholds the sovereignty of the people. Campaigns on the manifestation of election organizers with integrity have begun to be developed conceptually, including in Indonesia as a high adherent of popular sovereignty. Law Number 17 Year 2017 on General Elections states that the Election Organizer consists of the KPU, Bawaslu and the DKPP. DKPP has a big responsibility in creating fair elections because its job is to ensure the integrity of organizers in all regions including in terms of (1) honesty, (2) transparency, (3) accountability and others. Dissatisfaction with DKPP's performance comes from several parties by assessing that DKPP is unable to act decisively, weak and the impact is not felt by the public. The purpose of this research is to analyze DKPP's electoral governance in realized the 2024 fair elections. The research method uses a qualitative type because it does not use numerical measures. The selection of group analysis units allows researchers to examine interactions, roles, and collective work dynamics within the DKPP organization, which are relevant to the study of election organizing processes and mechanism. The results showed that some of the efforts made by DKPP in the 2024 elections showed a positive trend, but there were obstacles to the role of governance in terms of quantity and authority. The conclusion of the research is that DKPP has not fulfilled the ideal aspects as outlined in Torres and Diaz's theory of election governance, as there is still much potential that can be developed and realized to achieve fair elections.

**Keywords:** Election, Arrange, Manage, Integrity, Justice

## **Introduction**

General election is a national event that determines the future of the nation's development through public participation and organizing instruments. Elections are synonymous with a democratic process that guarantees the right to vote for all citizens. The purpose of holding elections is to determine representatives who will later become representatives of the community in carrying out their duties and responsibilities in the executive and legislative fields (Santoso & Budhiati, 2021).

The implementation of elections in the reform-democracy era is increasingly dynamic and has begun to escape the tendency of a single hegemony. The configuration of the democratic system guarantees freedom of choice for the community, as well as freedom of competition for political competitors. Elections in the reform era were again born with a strong substance, namely bridging community needs such as: (1) fulfillment of aspirations, (2) public services and (3) improvement of socio-economic welfare. The transformation of elections in the reform era gave birth to many positive aspects, one of which stands out is the increased involvement of all elements of society. The rise of Non-Governmental Organizations, Student Organizations and the Media have all been involved in the monitoring process (Santoso & Budhiati, 2021).

Indonesia's Election Organizer Honor Council (DKPP) Indonesia has a big responsibility to create fair elections. DKPP is tasked with ensuring the integrity of election organizers such as General Elections Commission (KPU Indonesia) and Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu Indonesia) at various levels (national to village). The integrity of election organizers includes: (1) honesty, (2) transparency, (3) accountability, (4) accuracy and accuracy. All of these aspects become the benchmark of the quality of the implementation of elections, even long before the elections are held (DKPP RI, 2012).

Articles 155-166 of the Election Law emphasize that DKPP's duties are not only to receive complaints and reports of violations of the organizer's code of ethics. (DKPP RI, 2012). More than that, DKPP is given the authority to conduct investigations, verifications, examinations, and sanctions. The pattern of handling alleged violations of the code of ethics is carried out in stages from the central to the lowest level. DKPP's decision is final and binding, applicable to the subject of the complainant and the complained.

The position of DKPP is administratively located in the State Capital, meaning that the DKPP structure is single. This condition is not balanced with the large scale of the task (national level). The number of members is only 7 people, assisted by secretariat staff of no more than 50 people. The comparison of DKPP's internal composition is very ineffective with its external duties. The total of 33 provinces in Indonesia is impossible for DKPP to reach massively, let alone to be able to handle complaints quickly (Anam, 2024).

The foundation as stipulated in the Election Law actually provides a strong mandate for DKPP to carry out its duties and authorities, but a series of systemic challenges still arise. Cases of allegations and violations of the code of ethics of election organizers are always found in every election in 2014, 2019 and 2024. The existence of DKPP can be measured from its work in handling various cases and problems since 2014. The existence of DKPP is actually a strengthening of the constitutional system because it prioritizes institutional ethical functions.

**Table 1.1** Allegations and Violations of the DKPP Code of Ethics in 3 Periods

No	Type	Year	Follow-up
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Helping to win an election</li> <li>- Carrying ballot boxes and,</li> <li>- Monet politics</li> </ul>	(2014)	141 people were dismissed. Some were given mild to severe reprimands. For those who were not proven to have violated, rehabilitation was carried out
2	Violating neutrality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Violated professionalism</li> <li>- Violating principles and,</li> <li>- Violating the oath of promise</li> </ul>	(2019)	1,027 complaints were received. A total of 1,170 organizers received rehabilitation. 1,019 were given warning sanctions. 12 were dismissed from office and 43 were permanently dismissed.
3	The Chairman of KPU RI violated the code of ethics for accepting Gibran Rakabuming Raka's registration	(2024)	Given a final stern warning
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- KPU recruitment is not in accordance with procedures,</li> <li>- Factual and administrative verification are not in accordance with the provisions</li> <li>- State Civil Apparatus is not neutral</li> </ul>	(2024)	Bawaslu report
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Providing support to certain candidate pairs</li> <li>- Becoming members and/or administrators of political parties</li> <li>- Participating in the campaign</li> <li>- Making posts supporting, liking/commenting/sharing certain candidate pairs</li> </ul>	(2024)	Moderate category punishment sanctions are in the form of a 25% 9-month deduction from the Performance Allowance (Tukin). Severe category is cut Tukin 12 months, exemption from position for 12 months and Dismissal with Disrespect in accordance with PP No. 94 of 2021 concerning Civil Servant Discipline.

Source: Secondary Data Compilation (2024)

International election discourse in recent years has not only focused on the principle of Free and Fair Election. The campaign on the manifestation of election organizers with integrity began to be developed in terms of concepts, including Indonesia as a democratic country that upholds the sovereignty of the people. The manifestation of election organizers with integrity began to be realized in Indonesia through the establishment of DKPP (Nasef, 2014).

Nurdin (2019) states that DKPP is not involved in technical matters of elections, its function has not been optimal. When the public criticizes the dissatisfaction with DKPP's decision, there should be no sentiment. The implementation of fair elections is an important principle that concerns the public interest so that DKPP's decisions must be strong constructive to the system.

Dissatisfaction with DKPP's performance came from the Civil Society Coalition Kawal Pemilu Bersih on the basis of alleged ethical violations of intimidation (changing data) and manipulation of factual verification of political parties ahead of the 2024 elections. The DKPP decision only imposed sanctions in the form of warnings and rehabilitation (restoration of good name) to the complained parties to the chairman and members of the KPU of Sangihe Islands Regency. The Coalition considers the complainants to be unprofessional in carrying out their duties and responsibilities. The coalition considers DKPP to be unable to maintain public trust because it is reluctant to dig deeper into the investigation, even causing suspicion of DKPP (Nababan, 2023).

Several previous studies describe DKPP governance specifically, especially evaluating the weak governance in the organization of elections starting from the 2014 elections. First, research from Izzudin et al (2019) in their research confirms that DKPP does not have a significant impact on realizing fair elections. DKPP's decisions and sanctions are limited to having an internal impact on election organizers but have no impact on external subjects such as the continued impact on election participants. Whereas in institutional rules, DKPP's position is equal to KPU and Bawaslu as independent bodies (self-regulatory body). DKPP seems only tasked with receiving complaints about various alleged violations of the organizers' code of ethics.

Several DKPP decisions then caused controversy because they were not followed up or not implemented by the institutions concerned. Sanctions that are decided to be implemented seem to be recommendations only because their implementation cannot be enforced by DKPP. This creates legal uncertainty and shows that DKPP RI's authority in deciding violations of the code of ethics is still very weak (Maki, 2020).

The element of novelty in this research when compared to previous studies is in terms of the use of Electoral Governance theory. Researchers use the concept of Torres & Diaz's (2015) theory, namely: (1) Election Integrity, (2) Public Participation, (3) Monitoring and Control, and (4) System Reform. According to the researcher, the concept of Electoral Governance from Torres & Diaz is relevant to explore various aspects of Indonesian elections, especially aspects of public administration. The six aspects of Electoral Governance from Torres & Diaz emphasize public management functions for all public sector institutions or organizations, including DKPP Indonesia.

Based on the background above, it explains the existence of DKPP Indonesia since its inception. Organizing fair elections is a basic principle for all organizing institutions including DKPP, KPU and Bawaslu. The existence of DKPP is actually strong enough to prosecute ethical violations of election organizers because it is equipped with statutory legality. However, DKPP's potential to act decisively has not been satisfactory, and the public even doubts DKPP's governance (Kompas, 2023).

The quality of DKPP and other election organizers is increasingly unprofessional through an assessment from the Executive Director of the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem), that there is an attitude of competition between the 3 election organizing institutions. Whereas generally competition comes from contestants and political parties, so

that such conditions are an anomaly. Public trust will fade further due to several revisions to the authority of each institution based on dissatisfaction with each other (Perludem, 2021).

This research is important to do because it can explore and ensure the integrity of fair election organizers in Indonesia. The task of monitoring the DKPP code of ethics will be measured to what extent it is effective in carrying out the function of organizing fair elections. DKPP is an organizing institution that is rarely discussed when compared to KPU and Bawaslu. On the other hand, the existence of DKPP in Indonesia is only single (not proportional to the workload and the vast territory of Indonesia), thus strengthening the reason to conduct research.

## **Review of Literature**

### **Electoral Governance**

Torres & Diaz (2015) has a study of Electoral Governance by focusing on the institutions and bodies that organize elections and the stages of elections. The existence and role of the election organizer is as an election administrator. Meanwhile, the approach to the stages of elections is all activities that are usually contained in laws and regulations.

Torres and Díaz emphasize the importance of integrity, transparency and participation in the electoral process to maintain democratic legitimacy. They argue that every stage of an election, from voter registration to vote counting, should be transparent and auditable to prevent fraud and increase public trust. Public participation is considered a key element, with citizens encouraged to actively participate in the electoral process.

Torres and Díaz also highlighted the importance of independent oversight to ensure compliance with rules and prevent irregularities. In addition, they recognized the role of technology in improving the efficiency of elections but cautioned against the security risks that come with it.

Voter education is also emphasized as a way to ensure that citizens understand their rights and the electoral process, thereby increasing participation and preventing manipulation. Their theory proposes continuous reforms to adapt the electoral system to changes in society and technology, in order to strengthen democracy and ensure the relevance and effectiveness of electoral governance. A more detailed explanation is as follows:

- 1) **Electoral Integrity:** Emphasize the importance of integrity in every stage of the electoral process. They argue that a transparent and trustworthy electoral system is key to ensuring the legitimacy of an elected government.
- 2) **Public Participation:** They also highlighted the importance of public participation in the electoral process. Broad participation of citizens is a key indicator of a healthy democracy.
- 3) **Oversight and Control:** There is a need for strong and independent oversight of the Election process to prevent fraud and irregularities. They recommend the establishment of an independent oversight body to ensure compliance with the rules.
- 4) **Electoral System Reform:** encourages continuous reforms in the electoral system to adjust to changes in society and technology. They argue that reform is a way to strengthen democracy and ensure the relevance of the electoral system. System reform is more about establishing regulations based on experience and continuous proposals as needed.

Yuniningsih (2017) menjelaskan bahwa ilai etika dan moral merupakan fondasi penting dalam administrasi publik. Moral dipahami sebagai sistem nilai yang menjadi dasar dalam mendorong dan mengarahkan tindakan individu. Ia bukan hanya menjadi simbol atau formalitas, melainkan berperan nyata dalam membentuk perilaku yang berorientasi pada kebaikan umum. Nilai moral memiliki kapasitas untuk mengatur nilai-nilai lain secara hierarkis dan berlaku universal tanpa memihak pada kepentingan pribadi.

Dalam konteks administrasi publik, etika berperan sebagai disiplin ilmu normatif yang mengkaji dan memberikan pembenaran atas sistem nilai moral tersebut. Etika bukan hanya menilai baik atau buruknya suatu tindakan, tetapi juga memberikan dasar rasional dan objektif dalam pengambilan keputusan oleh aparatur negara.

Lebih lanjut, nilai-nilai etika publik yang menjadi landasan dalam tata kelola administrasi mencakup nilai kebenaran, keadilan, kejujuran, dan tanggung jawab. Nilai kebenaran menuntut adanya integritas dan transparansi dalam setiap tindakan pelayanan publik. Keadilan menekankan perlakuan yang setara bagi seluruh warga negara, sementara kejujuran menjadi perisai utama dalam mencegah penyalahgunaan wewenang dan praktik korupsi. Adapun tanggung jawab mencerminkan akuntabilitas pejabat publik terhadap hukum dan masyarakat.

Much of the theory of electoral governance in the 20th century came from western thinkers including Mozzafar & Schedler (2015). They argue that electoral governance is not only about administrative issues. Electoral governance includes at least three aspects, namely: (1) regulation, (2) application and (3) problem solving. (Mozaffar & Schedler, 2015).

The concept of electoral governance according to Mozaffar & Schedler's thoughts is defined as:

*“Electoral governance is the wider set of activities that creates and maintains the board institutional framework in which voting and electoral competition take place. It operates on three levels: rule making, rule application, and rule adjudication. Rule making involves designing the basic rules of the electoral game; rule application involves implementing these rules to organize the electoral game; rule adjudication involves resolving disputes arising within the game. Above the first level, the “meta-game” of constitutional rule making defines who possesses the authority for defining the rules of electoral governance”*

The conclusion of Mozaffar & Schedler's theory is that electoral governance is a series of activities that extend and create the conditions and maintenance of the institutional framework. The most basic election governance starts from the design of the rules of the game made by the rule maker. Then, related to the application of rules that regulate the dynamics of elections specifically, especially when the competition takes place. Finally, related to the judiciary or dispute resolution that is very likely to appear in the game (election contestation), election governance becomes important and requires institutional authority to operationalize.

Election governance is a combination of two main concepts, namely governance and elections. Surbakti (2016) defines electoral governance as part of electoral studies, in addition to several studies such as voter behavior and political marketing. Perdana et al (2019) in a book entitled “Electoral Governance in Indonesia”, explain the concept of electoral governance more specifically based on the development of theories in the world.

The main literature reviewed by Perdana et al (2019) specifically refers to the concepts of Mozaffar and Schedler (2015), as well as Torres and Diaz (2015). Starting from understanding the definition of electoral governance from Mozaffar and Schedler, by explaining some details of the levels of electoral governance more systematically such as:

a. The first level

Election governance should focus on defining basic rules such as formula, size of electoral districts, boundaries of electoral districts, size of representative bodies, timing and guarantees of public rights including registration of election participants, funding, regulation of ethical campaigns, monitoring, ballot design, voting, counting, tabulation of votes, organizing institutions and regulations when there is a dispute over results.

b. Second tier

Implementation of rules where election governance needs to focus primarily on organizing. The organization includes: registration of participants, registration of observers, voter education, voting, counting and reporting. This stage cannot be considered as just an administrative issue.

c. The third level

Adjudication of rules where election governance as much as possible needs to be optimized, especially regarding the determination of results, disputes over results (submission of cases, processing of cases to the determination of final results).

Based on the experiences and theoretical developments regarding election governance above, there are several things that can be concluded according to researchers. First, the definition of election governance has a clear relationship with the election cycle and stages as discussed by experts. Electoral governance also includes a series of activities that are integrated into the electoral cycle in a country. Second, understanding election governance as a series of interrelated stages must be seen as a whole, because each stage cannot be separated from one another. Third, the choice of dimensions and focus in electoral governance is crucial to be further explored, tailored to the country context. Each country may have variations in the form and function of its election institutions.

Researchers prefer to use Torres and Diaz's electoral governance theory because it has several specific advantages over other similar theories. The advantage of Torres and Diaz's theory is that it focuses on the dynamic aspects of election management and includes a balance from technical to political aspects. Torres and Diaz's theory provides an understanding that elections are a continuous cycle of events, so it is important to emphasize aspects of planning, implementation and post-election monitoring.

Torres and Diaz's theory also focuses on public involvement in the form of active participation. The importance of public involvement in election governance indicates that quality cannot only be created by the organizing agency. When associated with DKPP as one of the organizing institutions with a minimal membership structure, Torres and Diaz's theory is very relevant to be used as a dimension of analysis. Torres and Diaz's approach is universal because they reject one and the same measure to be adopted or applied to the country. Election governance models should be designed according to the needs and internal characteristics of each country.



## Methodology

### 3.1 Type of Research

This type of research is qualitative because it aims to explore, in contrast to quantitative research which is usually used to measure or test relationships between variables, measure differences, or see trends in a population in the form of numbers. Qualitative research methods are usually used by academics in the field of social sciences and humanities (Gunawan, 2013).

The researcher got a dynamic and substantive explanation through qualitative research. Researcher managed to explore a lot of literacy and research results and then compiled them into a systematic explanation. The systematic explanation that researchers compile is based on the availability of raw data and exploration of research data, resulting in a new combination to fulfill the quality of research (Pradono et al., 2018).

### 3.2 Research Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this research focuses on the group approach as this approach does not require a large population as does an individual approach, and is more suitable for examining phenomena in depth in an institutional context. The main focus of the research is to explore the governance of the Election Organizers Honorary Council (DKPP) as one of the election organizing institutions. The selection of group analysis units allows researchers to examine interactions, roles, and collective work dynamics within the DKPP organization, which are relevant to the study of election organizing processes and mechanisms.

This approach also facilitates the data collection and analysis process because researchers can focus on key actors or working groups within the DKPP who are directly involved in monitoring and enforcing the electoral code of ethics. This allows the research to be conducted in a more practical and efficient manner, without having to conduct surveys of large populations. In addition, group analysis units facilitate the use of qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, documentation studies, and participatory observation, which are well suited to understanding complex and contextual phenomena.

This research aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the existence and contribution of the DKPP in ensuring fair elections in Indonesia in 2024. The integrity of the DKPP as an election organizing institution has a significant influence on the election process, particularly in the context of electoral justice. Through its supervisory and code of ethics enforcement functions, the DKPP has the potential to impact the course of the election process and ultimately influence the election results themselves. By choosing a group analysis unit, this research can systematically explore the institutional role of the DKPP, while identifying the supporting and inhibiting factors in the implementation of its functions.

### 3.3 Data Collection Technique

This research uses Purposive Sampling technique, according to Firmansyah (2022) this technique is considered on the basis of subjective and selective elements. This technique relies on the researcher's accuracy to understand and connect a case with related organizations, people or events. This technique is often used in qualitative research where informants are determined based on capabilities (in-depth special insights). The characteristics of the informants are carefully considered in meeting the criteria of being relevant, informative and capable of answering the research questions

**Table 3.1** Field Informant List

No	Position Description
1	Chairman of DKPP RI
2	Member DKPP RI

Observation is another method used by researchers to make observations of facts, allegations and indications. Researchers make observations that are more dominant by searching and studying secondary data, especially about the development and potential for ethical violations in Indonesia's elections in the past. In this study, observation methods were used to gain a deeper understanding of the governance of the Election Organizers Honorary Council (DKPP) in realizing fair elections in 2024. The observation was conducted by tracing and analyzing secondary data, such as DKPP reports, ethical decisions of election organizers, policy documents, and mass media reports related to ethical violations in elections. The data was then analyzed to identify patterns, trends, and potential ethical violations relevant to the role and governance of the DKPP.

Data on the development and potential of ethical violations in the present are also objects of observation, because they always exist in every Indonesian election. In addition, based on information from DKPP, the nature of ethical violations has even tripled when compared to the 2019 Indonesian elections.

Researchers also use secondary data such as scientific articles, news, media reports and online publications that describe DKPP Indonesia's activities in the 2024 Election and performance history since its inception. Examples of data used by researchers are the history of ethical violations, laws and regulations, case dynamics and DKPP governance in preparing for the 2024 Election to future elections.

### **3.4 Data Analysis Techniques**

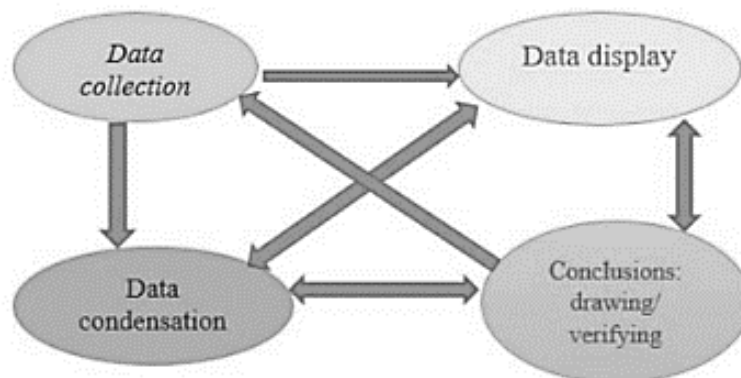
Qualitative data analysis techniques using the interactive model of Miles, Hubberman and Saldana in Hashimov (2015). A general description of the interactive model is that it is a series of ongoing, continuous activities that are developed over the course of the research. The interactive model is divided into three specific stages, namely:

- a) Data Condensation  
This process refers to several ways, namely: selecting, focusing, simplifying and transforming data.
- b) The Interpretation  
This stage according to Milles, Hubberman and Saldana requires researchers to actively determine the meaning of research, information and consequences. Research data, especially based on interview results, must be examined for information and analyzed.
- c) The Focusing  
This stage according to Milles, Hubberman and Saldana (2015) refers to focus or pre-analysis because the data must be adjusted to the design to the formulation of research problems. This means that researchers must be able to place substantial parts as the essence of the problem formulation, so that other data can be ignored.
- d) The Simplifying and Transforming  
This stage refers to efforts to simplify to transform data through various methods. At this stage, researchers must maintain the credibility and quality of the data without losing its true meaning.
- e) Data Display  
Data presentation uses various visual methods such as graphs, matrices and diagrams to facilitate understanding. Data presentation plays the role of researchers in organizing research patterns to make them easier to understand narratively and visually. At the data

presentation stage, researchers can outline a brief description of each topic as systematically organized.

f) Conclusion Drawing & Verification

This stage is a critical stage in qualitative data analysis. Drawing conclusions involves the process of interpreting data by researchers from the early stages of data collection, where researchers can form patterns, themes and significant relationships.



**Figure 3.1** Data Analysis Interactive Model Miles, Hubberman & Saldana

Source: Processed from Hashimov (2015)

## Results and Discuss

### 4.1 DKPP Integrity in Indonesia's 2024 Elections

A discussion on the integrity of DKPP as an election organizer was held on Tuesday, September 18, 2022 by collaborating with Perludem. The theme of the discussion on "Evaluation and Recommendations for Handling and Follow-Up of Decisions on Code of Ethics Violation Cases by DKPP" was deliberately emphasized in an official forum to capture DKPP's performance in public. As a result, DKPP from 2012 to 2021 has decided 1,937 cases involving 7,853 complainants. A total of 4,159 complainants were rehabilitated because they were not proven to have violated the code of ethics (DKPP, 2022). I Dewa kade Wiarsa Raka Sandi as a member of DKPP stated:

"DKPP holds the principle of integrity in the implementation of elections, although not all complaints are processed to the trial stage" (Interview, September 18, 2022)

In general, DKPP has claimed that its institution is independent in strengthening integrity as to support the implementation of elections, but more concrete data is needed on the meaning of election integrity.

An observer from the DPR RI said that DKPP has not been maximized in supervising the KPU and Bawaslu because the structure is still new.

"In principle, DKPP is a kind of honor council, so there are not many of them everywhere. For example, the Supreme Court, which used to be only single, but now has a strong organizational structure. DKPP can be said to be a new institution and usually its use is more for certain moments in the elections" (Interview, September 03, 2024)

"It is important to start understanding by learning how DKPP was formed, so that the public is able to know and measure DKPP institutions as organizers with integrity. In principle, the selection of DKPP members taken from the elements of society must truly represent all stakeholders, because DKPP's task is not easy to oversee the KPU and Bawaslu" (Interview, September 03, 2024)

It is important to start understanding by learning how DKPP was formed, so that the public is able to know and measure DKPP institutions as organizers with integrity. In principle, the selection of DKPP members taken from the elements of society must truly represent all stakeholders, because DKPP's task is not easy to oversee the KPU and Bawaslu. As stated in the mandate of Law Number 7 Year 2017 concerning General Elections. The mechanism for selecting the core members of DKPP, totaling 7 people, is carried out in 3 ways, namely:

- a. Three members are elected and proposed by the House of Representatives (DPR Indonesia)
- b. Two members are elected by the President
- c. The remaining two members are taken from other election organizers (KPU and Bawaslu)

The recruitment process of the KPU and Bawaslu is a problem that is often complained about by the public, according to the observations and experience of informant, stating:

“Outside the election stage process, the most common complaint to DKPP is the recruitment process, especially the recruitment process of ad hoc organizers. For example, complaints at the sub-district level with the recruitment of the District Election Committee (PPK) and Bawaslu at the sub-district level with the recruitment of Panwascam (District Supervisory Committee). Also recruitment at the Regency / City level as a whole” (Interview, September 03, 2024)

“There are always many public complaints to DKPP about the unprofessional recruitment process, then DKPP will process and study first before taking further action. There is a trial if there is a strong element of ethical violation” (Interview, September 3, 2024)

Ahead of the 2024 Election, DKPP is promoting the socialization and education of the Election Organizer Code of Ethics (DKPP, 2023b). The code of ethics for election organizers is important as a basis for strengthening morale and integrity. Despite the fact that DKPP is not widely known by the general public (layman), DKPP's performance also determines the quality of elections. DKPP tries to create fair election contestants as the ideals of society. When election organizers are not professional, the potential for fraud in elections arises.

Although the recruitment process for members of the Honorary Board of Election Organizers (DKPP) is regulated to ensure transparency and integrity, there are several potential gaps or shortcomings that can affect the quality of recruitment, especially from an integrity point of view:

- a. Political Influence: Although the selection committee is independent, there is the potential for political intervention from parties with interests, especially since DKPP candidates are proposed by the President and state institutions. This can create a conflict of interest, especially if the selection of members is influenced more by political considerations than integrity and professionalism (Banfield, 2017).
- b. Lack of Transparency in Fit and Proper Tests: The fit and proper test process conducted in the DPR is often conducted behind closed doors, preventing the public from directly monitoring the ratings given to candidates. This secrecy can lead to perceptions of bias or favoritism in the selection process.
- c. The Composition of the Selection Committee is Not Fully Independent: Although the selection committee is said to be independent, the potential for influence from the institution proposing the candidates can occur. If the selection committee has

affiliations or close relationships with the proposing parties, the objectivity of the selection may be affected.

- d. Absence of a Strong Supervisory Mechanism: The DKPP selection process, although formally supervised, does not yet have an oversight mechanism that involves significant public participation. This makes it difficult for the public to ensure that the selection process is truly conducted independently and there is no intervention of interests.
- e. Tendentious Candidate Qualifications: The criteria of integrity and professionalism are not consistently emphasized. Some candidates may be nominated based on political connections or support, rather than actual competence.
- f. Limited Public Participation: The process does not fully engage civil society or independent stakeholders in the oversight of the recruitment process. The lack of meaningful public participation can reduce the level of accountability.

The whole analysis above can be juxtaposed with the concept of public administration ethics (DKPP, 2025) theory which emphasizes the importance of ethical and moral standardization for people or workers in public sector organizations (Yuniningsih, 2017). Public ethics theory brings a great understanding that the values of honesty, responsibility and integrity must be tied to public sector institutions.

#### **4.2 Public Participation**

In general, supervision of the performance of organizers can not only be done by DKPP, but the public has a very large share in overseeing the performance of election organizers in the regions. In 2024 DKPP explained the ethical problems that have great potential to occur in the 2024 Election. Although DKPP plays a central role in the 2024 Election and has high integrity standards, as a Chairman of DKPP RI official has doubts by stating:

Chairman of DKPP said:

“So the explanation and overview, related to independence and enforcement of the code of ethics. starting from January to August the number of complaints submitted to DKPP is hundreds. When compared to the previous elections, the data says that the 2024 elections are three times as many indications of ethical violations. The sanctions imposed by DKPP on election organizers are quite a lot in quantity, the nature of the violations is also more severe” (Interview, September 03, 2024)

“In the 2024 General Election, DKPP imposed many severe sanctions, such as the (permanent) dismissal of KPU and Bawaslu members at the Regency / City and Provincial levels. The quality of ethical violations is heavier than in the previous elections” (Interview, September 03, 2024)

“Organizing elections with integrity has serious challenges when referring to problems that have arisen before. For example, based on data from the 2015-2020 period, there were violations of election ethics by ASN with the mode of maintaining positions” (Interview, September 03, 2024)

“Intervention from leaders and superiors towards ASN is not uncommon, in addition to the existence of close family relationships (kinship). The problem of ethical violations is already big, not to mention the problem of money politics” (Interview, September 03, 2024)

Public awareness and understanding of DKPP ideally need to be increased in order to help realize election governance. Awareness and understanding are needed by election organizers such as DKPP, KPU and Bawaslu. When the public has awareness and understanding of the

functions and roles of DKPP, it can be referred to as one of the supports or ethical infrastructure that oversees the behaviour of election organizers.

The 2024 Election is a crucial election for DKPP because its implementation is different both in practice and concept. In general, the 2024 Election is carried out with a “borong” system, so it automatically has greater consequences in terms of performance demands. The assumption that election organizers have the potential to experience overwhelming problems can be justified, which will have an impact on the quality of the 2024 elections. Therefore, public awareness and understanding are very important to discuss, especially regarding the extent to which the DKPP level of existence for the public, considering that its existence is only at the centre.

Observer added information that in theory DKPP is difficult to behave like other election organizers for several reasons:

“In theory, DKPP is not in direct contact with the community. Unlike the KPU and Bawaslu, which are in direct contact with the community. So when expecting DKPP to be active like KPU and Bawaslu, it is indeed difficult, especially with a weak institutional structure. For example, in police institutions such as Kompolnas, for example, at the local government level there is an inspectorate as an internal supervisor and there is BPK as a national supervisor. Public participation can be involved when violations occur and are needed in elections, then DKPP can be directly in contact with the community” (Interview, September 03, 2024)

One of the main challenges presented by Chairman of DKPP is that DKPP is not widely known by the public because its position does not directly relate to the public. Unlike the KPU and Bawaslu, which are often directly involved with the election process and voters, DKPP focuses more on internal supervision of election organizers.

DKPP does not interact much with the public, there is an important role that can be played by the public in terms of reporting ethical violations. DKPP should open more space for public involvement in reporting violations and increase public awareness of the role of this institution in maintaining the integrity of elections.

Observed emphasized that structurally, DKPP is different from KPU and Bawaslu because it does not have direct contact with the public in the election process. DKPP functions more as an internal supervisor in charge of maintaining the ethics of election organizers, while KPU and Bawaslu play a role in operational and field supervision. This is a challenge in increasing public awareness about the importance of DKPP's role.

Civic Engagement Theory is a concept that emphasizes the importance of active participation of citizens in social and political activities to strengthen democracy, improve governance and build social capital (Lerner et al., 2014). This theory is rooted in the idea that actively engaged citizens in society play an important role in creating a responsive, transparent and accountable government.

Civic Engagement Theory is very relevant to the fair election governance carried out by DKPP because it involves the community in various aspects of supervision and enforcement of the code of ethics. The involvement of citizens in actively overseeing the election process helps DKPP in detecting and handling violations of the code of ethics, thereby increasing the transparency and accountability of the institution. In addition, education and increasing voter

awareness through active participation encourages the public to participate in maintaining election integrity and reporting violations.

#### **4.3 Public Complaint Access**

First, the online complaint flow can be accessed in several ways such as: contacting the DKPP RI call center at 1500101 and contacting through the official e-mail account @DKPP.go.id, after previously being required to fill out a complaint form on the website (DKPP, 2025) / Second, the offline complaint process is carried out by sending electronic mail (e-mail) or sending written letters via the post office, and the last option is to visit the DKPP central office directly.

Although at first glance it looks easy and has a positive function because the public can monitor their own reports, but access to public complaints like this is still too complicated and takes a lot of time. For administrative matters, the current era demands the emergence of a service process that is synonymous with the word effective and practical. Reinforced by the statement of DKPP Chairman:

“DKPP's complaint services have continued to develop since its inception, the aim is to make it easier for the public and cut processing time because reaching the national territory must be dexterous” (Interview, September 19, 2023).

The optimization of the Election Code of Conduct Information System (SIETIK) ahead of the 2024 Election was improved by cooperating with a number of parties such as representatives of political parties, election activists, mass media and campus parties (DKPP, 2023). The practice of operating SIETIK is carried out so that socialization is more massive and easy to understand by prospective users. DKPP claims that the birth of SIETIK was a form of collaboration with the Ministry of Communication and Information.

Some SIETIK features allow the public to monitor regularly without being limited by distance and time. Public access to help DKPP realize fair elections in 2024 is increasingly flexible because it is supported by technological advances. The issue of access for the public does not stop at the stage of system and mechanism readiness, but the competence of human resources is very influential.

Differences in public knowledge and awareness of advanced features such as SIETIK will be useless without effective and sustainable socialization. Complaints on violations of the code of ethics of election organizers are actually not ideal when they only rely on the sole role of DKPP and neglect the community.

Approaching the 2024 Election, there are several parties who support and provide input to DKPP. On the basis of DKPP's performance in preparing and managing the 2024 Election, all ethical values put forward by external parties must be accepted with a professional attitude. DKPP at the age of approximately 1 decade carries out the mandate of democracy, so it requires building commitment to ensure high standard election governance.

First, that the Indonesian Center for Legal and Policy Studies (PSHK) as a foreign partnership institution in Indonesia assessed that DKPP was not firm in making decisions. DKPP seems to only give warnings and appeals, thus potentially strengthening public prejudice (DKPP, 2023).

Second, Network for Democracy and Electoral Integrity (NETRGRIT) institution emphasized that DKPP should impose strict sanctions on the KPU on the issue of women's representation based on the Supreme Court's decision (Rumah Pemilu, 2023). The purpose of the Supreme

Court's decision is to instruct the KPU to immediately change the General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) No. 10 of 2023 with the intention and substance so that women's representation meets the 30% requirement.

Chairman of DKPP said:

“Regarding public involvement in evaluating DKPP's performance, it is actually more about actively giving public lectures on campuses. Campuses are chosen because they have a strong reason, namely that they appear as institutions with a politically literate environment, especially student groups. Usually changes are made by middle to upper social groups” (Interview, September 03, 2024)

In fact, DKPP has a lot of cooperation and binding understandings with several leading campus institutions in Indonesia in the context of pre-implementation of the 2024 Elections and post-implementation, the explanations are

**Table 4.2** Campus Institution Collaboration

No	Campus	Implementation	MoU Content
1	UNTIRTA	August 06, 2024	Political literacy and strengthening election integrity are the vision of cooperation between DKPP and campus. The campus environment, which is full of professionalism and academics, is expected to be able to build a climate for fair elections in 2024 and in the long term.
2	UNDIP	August 22, 2024	
3	UNILA	July 12, 224	
4	UNIMA	November 02, 2020	
5	UNS	October 14, 2022	
6	UIN Lampung	May 30, 2023	
7	UPH Tangerang	March 09, 2022	
8	UIN Yogyakarta	November 04, 2022	

Sumber: Secondary Data Compilation

#### 4.4 System Reform

System reform is part of positive steps that take place in the long term. Steps in reforming the DKPP institutional system can be observed from several plans that are set and in the future can come from many parties, if the orientation is to improve institutional performance. Chairman of DKPP said:

“In the future DKPP plans to expand because so far DKPP is only located in Jakarta. DKPP is proposing to the government to create representative offices of at least three to 4 representative offices. For example in Papua, Sulawesi, East Java, Central Java or Sumatra” (Interview, September 03, 2024).

“Now DKPP is preparing IKEP (Ethical Compliance Index for Election Organizers). This IKEP aims to measure the level of ethical compliance of election organizers because so far it is still limited to assumptions from the public with numbers that are sometimes deceptive. In terms of quality and quantity, the level of compliance of organizers will be measured, the theory uses world parameters” (Interview, September 03, 2024).



“For example, DKPP can measure which regions are most prone to ethical violations, whether Surakarta or Semarang, Makassar, Papua, or Medan. The assumption is that the largest complaints are in North Sumatra and followed by Papua. In 2024, the most violations of organizers' ethics were reported in the Papua region. Second North Sumatra and Aceh. These three regions have many complaints of ethical violations” (Interview, September 03, 2024).

A few initiatives and challenges are faced by the Honorary Council of Election Organizers (DKPP) in its efforts to increase the effectiveness and reach of election supervision. DKPP plans to expand by opening representative offices in various regions in Indonesia, such as Papua, Sulawesi, East Java, Central Java and Sumatra.

This step is expected to strengthen DKPP's institutional and public services, but still requires approval from various ministries, including the Minister of Finance for funding, the Minister of Administrative Reform for staffing structure, and the Minister of Law and Human Rights for regulatory synchronization. This effort also involves coordination with the Minister of Home Affairs to strengthen institutional performance.

DKPP is developing an Ethical Compliance Index for Election Organizers (IKEP), which aims to objectively measure the level of ethical compliance of election organizers. So far, compliance assessments are often based on public assumptions and data that are not always accurate. IKEP will use international parameters to assess the quality and quantity of compliance, so as to provide an overview of ethical violations in various regions. Preliminary data shows that ethical violations are highest in Papua, North Sumatra and Aceh, with the most reported complaints coming from these regions.

An explanation of the initiatives and challenges faced by the Honorary Council of Election Organizers (DKPP) can be elaborated using Scott (2010) institutional theory. This theory is relevant because it helps us understand the steps taken by DKPP in strengthening its institutions, overcoming structural constraints and increasing its supervisory reach. Institutional theory views that organizations can be influenced by many factors, especially the environment, norms and public expectations. Based on institutional theory, DKPP faces three main forms of pressure in its efforts to improve organizational performance, namely:

- a. Pressure from relevant ministries to obtain approval and support in expanding representative offices.
- b. Pressure on improving ethical compliance standards through the development of the Ethical Compliance Index for Election Organizers (IKEP).
- c. Pressure to become more proactive in oversight, emulating more effective practices by adopting the systems and governance of other institutions.

## **Conclusion**

Regarding Election Integrity, DKPP has made several efforts, especially to reach the compliance of election organizers with the code of ethics. This fact is evidenced by several socialization, education and coordination activities carried out at the national to regional levels, as well as cooperation with the media to further strengthen governance. However, in terms of independence, DKPP becomes an important issue when there are members of the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu).

Regarding Public Participation, DKPP does not conduct massive due to limited resources. On the other hand, public participation related to code of ethics issues for election organizers is

rarely interested, except by the upper middle class elite. DKPP's efforts to increase public participation cannot be aligned with other organizers such as the KPU and Bawaslu.

Regarding System Reform, DKPP is seeking institutional strengthening through submissions to the relevant government. DKPP's position, which is not as famous and strong as the KPU and Bawaslu, makes DKPP weak in reaching electoral justice, because basically the DKPP system is more passive and waits for complaints / reports, while the characteristics of the national community that are ideally needed in supervision are still difficult to achieve. System reform so far seen from DKPP is more about preparing the composition of the organization with more quantity, this is evidenced by the submission of the establishment of new regional offices to the central government. So it can be concluded that system reform has been initiated by DKPP after the implementation of the 2024 Election, which is still found many violations of the code of ethics by most election organizers.

Based on these findings, further research is recommended to review in greater depth the effectiveness of the preventive function in ethical governance by the DKPP, which to date has tended to be passive and responsive to reports. Future studies could also focus on evaluating models of public participation in the ethical oversight of election organizers, integrating participatory or community-based qualitative approaches to capture the dynamics of ethical awareness at the grassroots level. Additionally, comparative research across regions or election periods is needed to identify the consistency of the DKPP's performance and institutional patterns in promoting electoral justice. An interdisciplinary approach that combines perspectives from law, public administration ethics, and institutional behavior will enrich understanding and provide theoretical and practical contributions to strengthening the electoral ethics system in Indonesia.

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