# **Elections Integrity: Realizing Ultimate Concern and Electoral Justice**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Democracy as a government by the people in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or their elected representatives under a system of free elections. In general, democracy is often interpreted as a government by the people, for the people and of the people. The supreme power in a democratic system is in the hands of the people. Elections as a manifestation of a democratic state of law that provides space for competitive and periodic (sequential) elite circulation. Elections with integrity are determined by 3 prerequisites, namely (1) the integrity of the election organizers, (2) the integrity of the contestation (stages), and (3) the integrity of the election results. The implementation of elections with integrity is a will based on a noble concern (ultimate concern) for the achievement of quality and integrity elections as a manifestation of a democratic legal state. In addition to realizing a fair election (electoral justice) which encourages the holding of elections based on the principles of direct, free general, secret, honest and fair / luber jurdil (free and fair election), legal certainty (predictable procedure), election results according to voter choice (electoral integrity).

Keywords: Election, Ultimate Concern Integrity and Electoral Justice

### INTRODUCTION

Based on the historical perspective, the formal structure of the organizers of elections in Indonesia can be seen in Law No. 7 of 1953 concerning the Election of Members of the Constituent Assembly and Members of the House of Representatives (Law No. 7 of 1953), Law No. 15 of 1969 concerning the General Election of Members of the Consultative Body/People's Representatives (Law No. 15 of 1969), Law No. 3 of 1999 concerning General Elections (Law No. 3 of 1999), Law No. 4 of 2000 concerning Amendments to Law No. 3 of 1999 concerning

General Elections (Law No. 4 of 2000), Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning General Elections of Members of the House of Representatives, Regional Representatives, and the House of Representatives. 3 Year 1999), Law No. 4 Year 2000 on the Amendment to Law No. 3 Year 1999 on General Elections (Law No. 4 Year 2000), Law No. 12 Year 2003 on the General Election of Members of the House of Representatives, the House of Regional Representatives, and the Regional House of Representatives (Law No. 12 Year 2003), Law No. 22 Year 2007 on the Organizer of General Elections (Law No. 22 Year 2007), and Law No. 15 Year 2011 on the Organizer of General Elections (Law No. 15 Year 2011). Finally, Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections, these regulations are the formal structures that have supported the implementation of elections since Indonesia's independence. 15 Year 2011 on the Organizer of General Elections (Law No. 15 Year 2011). Finally, Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections, these regulations are the formal structures that have supported the implementation of elections since Indonesia's independence. 15 Year 2011 on the Organizer of General Elections (Law No. 15 Year 2011). Finally, Law No. 7/2017 on General Elections, these regulations are the formal structures that have supported the implementation of elections since Indonesia's independence. (Collin Brown, 2003)

According to Mahfud MD, the relationship between law and democracy can be likened to two sides of a coin, in the sense that the quality of a country's law reflects the quality of its democracy. (Iswari, 2020)This implies that democratic countries will also produce laws that are democratic in character, while countries that are authoritarian or non-democratic will also produce laws that are non-democratic in nature. (MD, 1999)In this context, electoral law products are a reflection of whether or not the Indonesian government regime is democratic in each period. Democracy and elections without the support of a formal legal structure that supports them will create difficulties in achieving the maximum achievement of their social goals. Periodic succession of political elites and state leadership according to Robert A. Dahl, (Robert A. Dahl, 1999)should be supported by qualified election organizers. What's more, with the strengthening of the presidential system after the amendment to the 1945 Constitution, the positions of president and vice president were directly elected by the people. The MPR is no longer the highest state institution. Thus, the KPU's decision regarding the results of the general election for president and vice president is the spearhead of the running of the Indonesian government for the next five years.

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The success or failure of holding democratic elections is generally determined by three elements which include: First, the election system; Second, governance; and Third, election management institutions. (Bernad Dermawan Sutrisno, 2002)Election organizers have a strategic role to ensure the implementation of elections that are democratic and with integrity. Therefore, election organizers must be designed independently and professionally. (Huda, 2017)

Theoretically, there are three models of election organizers, namely the independent model, the government model, and the mixed model. (al, 2014)Each model has advantages and disadvantages. First, independent election organizers have the advantage of not being contaminated by political interests, the election results are credible and reliable. The weakness is that the staff do not have skills in the field of bureaucracy, do not have access to politics so that it affects budget planning and management, and the recruitment costs are very high. Second, the implementation of elections carried out by the government has the advantage of having staff who have skills in the bureaucratic field, and the budget will be available for each branch of government. Meanwhile, the weakness is that certain interests are easily infiltrated, the organizer staff does not have expertise in the election field, and election result data is spread across government branches. Third, Mixed model (mix), combines independent and government. The weaknesses of each model are complemented so that they become strengths, namely that there are independent personnel who have the capacity, supported by experienced government staff in the administrative technical field to assist budget planning and management, lower recruitment costs, and election results data under one manager.

Elections are one of the important moments in the democratic life of a country, including maintaining the existence of a rule of law and democracy as well as the recognition of human rights (HAM). (Nugroho, Hukum Hak Asasi Manusia, 2021)However, the success of general elections is not only determined by the existence of public participation, but also by the quality of the election itself. Therefore, building an effective oversight system in the administration of elections is very important. In recent years, many countries have experienced problems in holding elections, such as fraud or manipulation of election results (election malpractice), violations of voter rights, and so on.

So that the institutionalization of the performance of election organizers can be a solution in building an effective oversight system in the administration of elections. With the institutionalization of performance, election administrators can ensure that they carry out their duties in a professional manner and according to predetermined standards. In addition, the institutionalization of performance can also help strengthen the role of election supervisors in monitoring the course of the electoral process. With the existence of guaranteed information disclosure and a transparent reporting system, election supervisors can ensure that the election process runs directly, the public is free, confidential, honest and fair (luber jurdil). Based on the description above, the problem can be formulated, namely:

### RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used in this paper is a normative legal research method that places law as a building system of norms. (Nugroho, 2020)The research originates from primary legal materials, secondary legal materials and non-legal materials, by taking a conceptual approach and a philosophical/philosophical approach. As well as carried out a descriptive qualitative analysis.

#### **DISCUSSION**

#### A. Democratic Law State

The idea of a legal state conception existed at the time of Plato and Aristotle who stated that a legal state is a state ruled by a just state. In their philosophy, both allude to human ideals which correspond to an absolute world which are called: (1) The ideal to pursue truth (idea der warhead); (2) The aspiration to pursue decency (idea der zodelijheid); (3) The human aspiration to pursue beauty (idea der schonheid); (4) The aspiration to pursue justice (idea der gorechtigheid). (Sigit Sapto Nugroho, 2021)

According to Plato which was then continued by Aristotle, the law that is expected is a law that is fair and can provide welfare for society, a law that is not coercion from the authorities but in accordance with the will of citizens, and to regulate the law requires a constitution which contains rules in life. patriotic. (Sarbini dan Sigit Sapto Nugroho, 2023)Furthermore, the debate on the concept of rule of law in the 19th century was initiated by the opinion of a German philosopher Immanuel Kant who defined a state based on law as a formal rule of law (the state is in a static state or only a formality which is commonly referred to as a night guard state/nachtwakestaat).

According to FJ Stahl, Continental European legal experts provide the characteristics of a rule of law (rechtstaat), namely: (1) Recognition of human rights; (2) Separation of state

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power; (3) Government based on law; and (4) The existence of administrative justice. (Fatkhurohman, 2004)

The formulation of the characteristics of a rule of law state carried out by FJ Stahl was later reviewed by The International Commission of Jurists at a conference held in Bangkok in 1965, namely: (1) Constitutional protection, meaning that in addition to guaranteeing individual rights the constitution must also determine procedural means to obtain protection for guaranteed rights; (2) An independent and impartial judiciary; (3) Free general elections; (4) Freedom of expression; (5) Freedom of association/organization and opposition; and (6) Citizenship education.

(1) The rule of law; (2) Equality in law; (3) Legality principle; (4) There is a limitation of power based on the constitution; (5) The functioning of state organs which are independent and control each other; (6) The principle of an independent and impartial judiciary; (7) Availability of state administrative justice efforts; (8) Availability of state administrative justice efforts; (9) There is a guarantee for the protection of human rights; (10) is democratic; (11) Serves as a means of realizing the goals of the state; (12) There is a free press and; (13) The principle of managing state power in a transparent and accountable manner with an effective open social control mechanism; and believe in the One Supreme God.

In line with the above concepts, Henk Addink formulated three main requirements for the establishment of a democratic rule of law, namely rule of law, democracy and good governance. (Addink, 2010)Taking into account the characteristics of a rule of law state according to The International Commission of Jurists and the opinions of the figures above, democracy and a rule of law are two concepts that are interrelated to one another and cannot be separated, because on the one hand democracy provides a foundation and mechanism of power based on the principle of equality and equality. human equality, on the other hand a rule of law provides a standard that governs in a country not humans, but the law. (Rahardjo, 2009)

The elaboration of a rule of law and democracy must guarantee that the law itself is built and enforced according to democratic principles. Therefore, the principle of supremacy of law and the rule of law itself basically comes from the sovereignty of the people. Therefore, the principle of rule of law should be built and developed according to the principles of democracy and people's sovereignty (demokratische rechtsstaat). Laws may not

be made, established, interpreted and enforced with an iron fist based on mere power (machtsstaat). The principle of a rule of law cannot be upheld by ignoring the principles of democracy regulated in the 1945 Constitution. (Ni'matul Huda, 2008)

#### **B.** Democratic State and Elections

The simple concept of democracy according to Abraham Lincoln is actually of the people, by the people and for the people. This is stated because sovereignty is in the hands of the people, and democracy is used as a tool to transfer people's sovereignty. The meaning and purpose of democracy is to fight against absolute power. According to Affan Gaffar, there are two kinds of understanding of democracy, namely: first, normative understanding, namely democracy is something that a country actually wants to do or organize, for example we know the expression "government of the people, by the people, and for the people". ". These normative expressions are usually translated in the constitution of each country. Second, empirical understanding or also called procedural democracy, (Gaffar, 2000)

Based on the terminological understanding that democracy means government of the people, by the people, and for the people or the English term "the government of the people, by the people and for the people." (Hans Kalsen, 2000)According to Franz Magnis Suseno, there are 5 (five) clusters of essential characteristics of a democratic state, namely: (SJ, 1995)(1) State law, state power is bound by law, (2) Government under real control of the community, (3) Free General Elections, (4) Majority Principle, meaning that the People's Legislative Body makes decisions by agreement or if there is an agreement not achieved, with the most votes and, (5) There is a guarantee of the people's democratic rights.

Speaking in the context of Indonesia, its position as a country that applies democratic principles is found in the fourth paragraph of the 1945 Constitution which reads "The people are led by wisdom in representative deliberations", as well as in the body of the 1945 Constitution Article 1 paragraph (2) the results of the amendment read: "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and implemented according to the Constitution." The meaning of sovereignty in the hands of the people and carried out according to the Constitution is to signify, besides Indonesia as a country that adheres to democracy as well as a country that prioritizes the rule of law.

Indonesia at this time remains consistent and continues to develop values that are constructed from people's power. So that democracy becomes the characteristic and way of the Indonesian government in carrying out state administration activities, this means that the

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implementation of Indonesian state activities is entirely at the will of the people. In essence, people's sovereignty is a necessity in the state system in various countries.

The real form of democracy is general elections, but democracy is not the same as general elections. Although only a few aspects of democracy, democratic elections are an important aspect of general elections in the administration of a democratic state. Elections in liberal democratic theory are a link between the principle of popular sovereignty and the practice of government by a small number of officials.

The principle of people's sovereignty is the basic principle in developing democratic principles, the main purpose of placing people's sovereignty as the basic principle of the constitution is respect and assessment of the people's right to choose and determine the direction of life as a nation that can guarantee common prosperity. The institutionalization of the implementation of people's sovereignty is divided into three areas of state power functions, namely (1) legislative and regulatory functions (2) executive and administrative functions and (3) judicial or judicial functions which adhere to the principle of "separation of power" and the principle of "checks". and balances". In this perspective, election management instruments must be carefully prepared starting from their institutions (Organizing Agencies, Supervisory Agencies, Dispute Resolution Agencies), sets of rules, implementation mechanisms, funding and community culture. But if it's the other way around, there will be democratic chaos, public confusion and anarchism.

The state that implements the general election system has several functions which cannot be separated from one another, as a means of political legitimacy. Political legitimacy has a function that embodies the prevailing general election format. Through general elections, the legitimacy of the ruling government can be upheld. Programs proclaimed by the authorities can be fully supported by citizens.

According to Ginsberg, the function of political legitimacy is a logical consequence of the electoral system, to change mass political involvement from being sporadic and potentially dangerous to becoming a major source of national political authority and power. There are at least 3 reasons why elections can be a means of political legitimacy for the government in power. First, through general elections can actually convince or at least renew political agreements with the people. Second, through elections, the government can also influence the behavior of its people or citizens. Third, in the modern world, rulers are

required to rely on agreement from the people rather than coercion to maintain their legitimacy. (Robert Dahl, 2014)

# C. Elections with Integrity: Realizing Ultimate Concern and Electoral Justice

In essence, elections in any country have the same essence. Elections are a place where people carry out activities to elect a person or group of people who become leaders of the people or leaders of the state. The elected leader will carry out the will of the people who chose him. Elections are one of the main means of upholding a democratic political order. Its function is as a healthy tool and enhance democracy. Its essence is as a means of democracy to form a system of state power which is basically born from below according to the will of the people so that state power is formed which truly radiates down as an authority in accordance with the wishes of the people, by the people, according to a representative deliberative system. (Rusli Karim M, 1991)

The filling of representative institutions in constitutional practice is usually carried out through elections. After the changes to the amendments to the 1945 Constitution, all members of representative bodies and even the President and Regional Heads were elected by the General Election mechanism. General elections are an agenda that is held regularly in Indonesia.

Elections are an acknowledgment and realization of people's political rights and at the same time a delegation of people's political rights to their representatives to run the government. To realize this, political vehicles are needed, political parties then appear and offer their cadres to represent the political rights of the people in the country. But to fight for the political rights of the people, political parties must first gain existence which can be seen from the vote acquisition in elections. Elections can also be interpreted as a means or way to determine the people who will represent the people in running the wheels of government, the interests of the people need to be represented. Because at this time it is impossible to involve the people directly in these activities considering the very large population.

Based on Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. In CHAPTER I General Provisions referred to as General Election, hereinafter referred to as Election, is a means of people's sovereignty to elect members of the People's Legislative Assembly, members of the Regional Representative Council, President and Deputy President, and elect members of the Regional People's Representative Council. General Election is a means of implementing people's sovereignty which is carried out directly, publicly, freely,

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confidentially, honestly and fairly within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Tracing the three fundamental characteristics of democratic and effective elections according to Baxter, the idea consists of: (Baxter, 1997)

- Independence: namely the freedom of election organizers to be free to act and take actions
  based on the interests of the voters (voters) and not based on the interests of a particular
  party or candidate. This characteristic aims to build trust so that all elements can respect
  the election process and results.
- 2. Impartiality: similar to independence, impartial characteristics also aim to foster trust in election organizers. In general, election organizers should consist of individuals who uphold the principle of impartiality so that they can act fairly and provide balance/equality. To gain the trust of political parties and the public, election organizers must apply laws and regulations in a consistent and controlled manner. In order for each stage of the election to run according to the principle of impartiality, the procedure for each stage must be conveyed in a transparent manner to political parties and the public/society.
- 3. Competence: an independent and impartial organizing body will not be meaningful if there are still unregistered voters, candidates/candidates who are not qualified pass, technical election training is not carried out, or voting is shifted from schedule. The public and political parties must be able to witness that election organizers have the capability to carry out their duties and responsibilities. The implementation of election stages that are not according to schedule, confusion and confusion in the implementation of operational tasks by employees at the KPU, low communication and dialogue between election organizers and political parties and the media, or other matters that are poorly organized and not communicated properly by election organizers, can lead to ineffectiveness of the performance of election organizers.

Elections are one of the conditions for the continuation of democracy. However, not all elections take place democratically. Robert A Dahl provides the criteria that must be met in order for an election to meet democratic principles: First, inclusiveness, meaning that every adult person must be included in the election; second, equal vote, meaning that each vote has the same rights and values; third, effective participation, meaning that everyone has the freedom to express their choices; fourth, enlightened understanding, meaning that in

order to accurately express their political choices, everyone has a strong understanding and ability to make their own choices; and fifth, final control of the agenda, meaning that an election is considered democratic if there is space to control or supervise the election. (Robert A Dahl, 1979)Meanwhile, according to RH Taylor democracy only means if the people have the opportunity to accept or reject the person or group of people who will lead it. The opportunity to accept or reject this can only be done through elections. Because of that,

Elections are actually an absolute requirement (conditio sine qua non) for the implementation of a government based on the principle of representation. Because of that, democratic elections also require a number of requirements, namely: (RH Taylor, 1996)(1) There is recognition of universal suffrage; (2) There is flexibility to form shelters for the plurality of aspirations of the electorate; (3) There is an open political recruitment mechanism for candidates for people's representatives; (4) There is freedom for voters to discuss and determine their choices; (5) There is freedom for election participants to compete fairly; (6) There is an honest counting of votes; (7) There is bureaucratic neutrality; and, (8) The existence of an independent electoral management body.

Elections are a five-year political contestation event that provides space for direct involvement of the people in determining who the leaders are. However, the leader will determine the fate of the people through public policies based on legal provisions. They are the administrators of the state, the bearers of the people's mandate to ensure people's welfare and the fulfillment of people's rights. (Aji, 2020)

Based on this, the holding of elections cannot be separated from the role of the public, voters and citizens. After all, the people are the real owners of sovereignty. As the owner of sovereignty, based on a mutual agreement, the people give their sovereignty to state administrators. Based on this background, the role of the public, voters and citizens cannot be ignored. The level of voter participation in the general election is one of the factors to assess the extent to which the quality of the election is held. Participation is not just a matter of how high the level of voters use their right to vote in the voting booth, but also to what extent the use of the right to vote is done out of awareness as a voter. (Bintari, 2021,)

Forms of public participation in elections can be realized, in the form of: (1) Carrying out election socialization; (2) Carrying out voter education; (3) Choose candidates or pairs of candidates for political parties and discuss plans for the party's vision, mission and programs in the election; (4) Voting as voters; (5) Writing or broadcasting news about

elections; (6) Support certain election participants/candidates; (7) Organizing other citizens to support or reject alternative public policies put forward by certain election contestants; (8) Present the results of election monitoring and submit complaints about alleged election violations; (9) Conducting surveys and disseminating survey results regarding opinions or perceptions of voters regarding election participants/candidates; (10) Carry out and disseminate the results of the quick count of elections (quick count).

According to Surbakti in realizing democratic elections, there are several parameters, including: (Ramlan Surbakti, 1992)

First, there is equality between citizens, both in voting and counting as well as in the allocation of DPR and DPRD seats, the formation of electoral districts and campaign funds. Elections are held because what is implemented is not direct democracy, but representative democracy. In order to function, representative democracy requires the people as sovereign voters, a number of representatives/seats for each electoral district, and political parties or candidates as election participants who compete for the people's trust to become representatives of that electoral district.

**Second**, the existence of the principle of legal certainty that has been legitimized in the constitution. One of the dimensions of holding elections is competition or conflict in the struggle for power so that any means can be justified in gaining the sympathy of voters. In order to take place in an orderly manner, the holding of elections must be based on law with a high degree of certainty. In order for elections to be held democratically, the laws governing elections must be an elaboration of the principles of democratic elections, direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair, transparent and accountable.

Third, free and fair competition between election contestants. In order for the elected state administrators to come from the best parties or candidates, there must be free and fair competition between parties/candidates to convince the people to vote for them. Contestants must depart and compete from the same starting point so that the best will be selected based on the quality and capacity conveyed in the vision and mission, not how much money is given to the people.

**Fourth**, the presence of the participation of all stakeholders in the entire series of stages of the election. This is done to ensure that the people are sovereign, the role of citizens in elections is not only to vote, but also to perform various different roles at all stages of the election. Individually, in groups, organized or institutionally, the people need to play a role

in voter education, be active as party members in discussing candidates and party policy plans, conduct campaigns for or against certain election contestants, monitor election implementation, supervise election administration, report or broadcast election activities. through the mass media, conducting surveys and disseminating survey results on voter perceptions of election contestants, as well as conducting and disseminating quick counts of election results.

*Fifth*, a professional, independent and impartial election management body. An election management body can be categorized as acting independently if it organizes elections solely based on statutory regulations and the election organizers' code of ethics.

**Sixth**, Integrity of voting, counting, tabulation and reporting of election votes. The culmination of the series of elections is the voting and counting of votes. Therefore, all the principles of democratic elections (direct, general, free, confidential, honest and fair, transparent and accountable) are applied to the series of voting, counting, recapitulation of vote counting results and reporting of election results. Voting, counting, recapitulation of vote counting results, and reporting of election results in accordance with the principles of democratic elections can be categorized as having integrity.

**Seventh**, fair and timely resolution of election disputes. In the implementation of elections it is very likely that various disputes will occur between participants and organizers or violations of various provisions regarding elections by participants/candidates, organizers, or voters. These various election disputes must be resolved and various violations of election provisions must be terminated.

The holding of elections with integrity is a will based on ultimate concern for the achievement of quality and integrity elections. In addition to encouraging the implementation of elections that are based on the principles of direct, general, free, confidential, honest and fair (free and fair election), legal certainty (predictable procedure), election results in accordance with the choices of voters (electoral integrity) and realizing fair elections (electoral justice) is also part of the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia. Hence the role of the community in a participatory manner in the holding of elections is a basic need (basic objective needs) of elections which must exist and always become an integral part.

Election administration with integrity is determined by the integrity of the Election organizers, the integrity of the election stages and the integrity of the election results. Based

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on several studies that the holding of elections tends to occur election violations. The last election was marked by various kinds of election malpractice. In a democracy, election malpractice is like a disease that undermines the democratization and integrity of the election. Because election malpractice can reduce the legitimacy of elections and public trust and in the end will be the cause of decreased voter turnout. However, according to Pippa Norris, who stated that the level of election malpractice depends on the quality of a country's democracy. Which will have an impact on the election results in the future. (Norris, 2012)

According to Sarah Birch, malpractice has the meaning of a manipulation process that occurs in every entire process of holding elections aimed at the interests of individuals, groups or political parties by pawning the public interest. (Birch, Electoral Malpractice. )Sarah Birch also classifies all kinds of election violations with three main forms of activity which are differentiated according to their object: First, manipulation of the laws and regulations governing elections (manipulation of election legal framework), this deviation usually occurs before the election is held (pre-election manipulation). . Second, voter choice manipulation (manipulation of vote choice), aims to direct or change voter choices in various ways that are manipulative. This deviation occurred from the early stages of the election until just before voting (mid election period). Third, manipulation of the voting and counting process, recapitulation of vote counting results, This deviation occurred from voting to the announcement of election results (manipulation of electoral administration). This process occurs from voting to the announcement of election results. Meanwhile, Rafael Lopez Pintor defines election malpractice as an act of violation against the integrity of elections, whether intentional or unintentional, whether legal or illegal. Pintor also said that election fraud was the most serious form of election malpractice, because it was carried out by violating procedures and changing election results, both by election organizers, government officials and political parties as well as candidates/success teams. Meanwhile, Rafael Lopez Pintor defines election malpractice as an act of violation against the integrity of elections, whether intentional or unintentional, whether legal or illegal. Pintor also said that election fraud was the most serious form of election malpractice, because it was carried out by violating procedures and changing election results, both by election organizers, government officials and political parties as well as candidates/success teams. Meanwhile, Rafael Lopez Pintor defines election malpractice as an act of violation against the integrity of elections, whether intentional or unintentional, whether legal or illegal. Pintor also said that election fraud was the most serious form of election malpractice, because it was carried out by violating procedures and changing election results, both by election organizers, government officials and political parties as well as candidates/success teams. (Birch, Electoral Malpractice.)

From the explanations of several experts mentioned above, it can be concluded that election malpractice is an act committed by election organizers (permanent or temporary organizers), election participants (including campaign teams and candidates), government officials (including civil servants), as well as voters, whether intentionally or not., engineered/manipulated or due to negligence/carelessness towards the election process and results (Election integrity).

Departing from the existence of various election violations or election malpractices indicating participatory public oversight of election malpractices is very urgent and important, this is a positive development, because with community involvement, the election results will be more trusted by the community and have high integrity. So that they will be tolerant in accepting election results, both in terms of political parties, candidates and also voters. As a manifestation of the realization of a Pancasila democratic state through elections with integrity as a means of realizing noble compliance (ultimate concern) and fair elections (electoral justice) so as to produce state leaders who are of high quality and have high credibility who are also recognized as legitimate.

## **CONCLUSION**

The embodiment of democracy provides space for competitive and periodic (sequential) elite circulation. Elections are a manifestation of the formal succession of power. Elections as the embodiment of a democratic rule of law which is part of the implementation of human rights, are also a manifestation of democratic government as a government by the people where the supreme power is in the hands of the people and is exercised directly by them or their elected representatives under an electoral system that free. In general, democracy is often interpreted as government by the people, for the people and from the people.

Elections with integrity are determined by 3 (three) conditions, namely: (organizer integrity, (2) contestation integrity (stages) and (3) result integrity, this is a consequence of the occurrence of election malpractice because in a democracy election malpractice is like a disease that undermines democratization and integrity election. Because malpractice elections can reduce the legitimacy of elections and public trust and in the end will be the cause of decreased

voter participation. Elections with integrity is a will that is based on noble concerns (ultimate concern) for the achievement of elections with quality and integrity as the embodiment of a democratic law state. In addition to realizing fair elections (electoral justice) which encourages the implementation of elections based on the principles of direct, free, secret public, honest and fair/judgmental (free and fair election), legal certainty (predictable procedure), election results according to the voter's choice (electoral integrity).

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