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**Р.С. СУРАЙЯ**

магистр политических наук, аспирант  
Института политологии и регионоведения Уральского  
федерального университета,  
Россия, г. Екатеринбург  
E-mail: suraia@urfu.ru  
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4532-8865>  
Идентификатор исследователя: GNO-9259-2022

**Д.И. ПОБЕДАШ**

кандидат исторических наук, доцент  
Уральского федерального университета,  
Россия, г. Екатеринбург  
E-mail: Дмитрий.Pobedash@urfu.ru  
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1340-2637>  
Идентификатор научного сотрудника: С-5368-2013  
Идентификатор Scopus: 57191176616

## **ПЕРЕСЕЧЕНИЕ ИЗБИРАТЕЛЬНЫХ СИСТЕМ И ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ КОНСОЛИДАЦИЯ: НА ПРИМЕРЕ ВСЕОБЩИХ ВЫБОРОВ В ИНДОНЕЗИИ**

*Статья посвящена анализу проведения параллельных выборов и их влияния на демократический переход и консолидацию Индонезии. В нем рассматриваются ключевые законодательные и социально-политические вехи, включая принятие пропорционального представительства с открытыми списками кандидатов и переход к одновременным выборам с 2019 по 2024 год. Используя правительственные документы и эмпирические данные, в исследовании оценивается положительное влияние параллельных выборов на политическую стабильность, управление и демократические процессы, а также выявляются проблемы, такие как административные сложности. В исследовании подчеркивается более широкое значение избирательных систем для демократического развития.*

**Ключевые слова:** параллельные выборы, демократическая консолидация, политическая стабильность, пропорциональное представительство, избирательные реформы, государственное управление, демократия, президентские выборы, Индонезия.

## R.S. SURAYA

MA (Politics), Post-graduate student,  
Political Science and Area Studies Institute for Humanities,  
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia  
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4532-8865>

## D.I. POBEDASH

Candidate of Historical Sciences, associated professor,  
Ural Federal University, Yekaterinburg, Russia  
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4532-8865>

# THE INTERSECTION OF ELECTORAL FRAMEWORKS AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION: A CASE STUDY OF INDONESIA'S GENERAL ELECTIONS<sup>1</sup>

*This study examines the potential effects of concurrent elections on democratic consolidation in Indonesia, highlighting the benefits and challenges of this electoral framework. It begins by analyzing the historical context of Indonesian democracy during the Reform Era, from 1998 to the present, and examines the current political landscape to assess the implications of concurrent elections for Indonesia's democratic future. The study also considers the Constitutional Court's decision mandating concurrent elections, implemented in 2019 alongside the General Election.*

*Employing qualitative research methods, this study draws on primary and secondary sources, including books, journals, and mass media articles, to evaluate the effectiveness of the 2019 concurrent elections and their impact on advancing Indonesia's democratic consolidation.*

*The findings indicate that the 2019 concurrent general elections enhanced public political participation and increased the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI), supported by perspectives from political experts like Effendi Gazali and Yusril Ihza Mahendra, as well as case studies by Indonesian scholars such as Efriza, Apolonaris Gai, and Achmad Edi Subiyanto. However, further research is required to assess the institutionalization of political parties and its influence on democratization and democratic consolidation comprehensively.*

**Key words:** concurrent election, Indonesia, electoral, democracy, legislative, government, presidential election.

**Introduction.** Concurrent elections, which combine legislative and executive elections, are primarily observed in countries with a presidential system of government. Concurrent elections in Indonesia's democratic transition are of considerable importance in the process of strengthening democracy. Previous electoral processes have included several methodologies, including proportional representation with the inclusion of open candidate lists. Following the legislative body elections, the presidential

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and vice presidential general elections were held in 2009. The Indonesian constitution puts considerable importance on the organization of elections that are distinguished by direct citizen involvement, public accessibility, freedom of choice, secrecy of ballots, honesty, and fair treatment. The government approved and adopted the proposal for the introduction of concurrent elections in 2014. Nevertheless, the practical execution of this concept did not materialize until the year 2019. The adoption of concurrent elections in Indonesia marks a watershed point in the country's democratic evolution, promising to improve electoral efficiency, strengthen accountability mechanisms, and accelerate the process of democratic consolidation. Nevertheless, it is crucial to recognize that there might be several challenges and unforeseen consequences that may arise throughout this specific endeavor. The occurrence of concurrent elections in Indonesia signifies a critical moment in the country's democratic development.

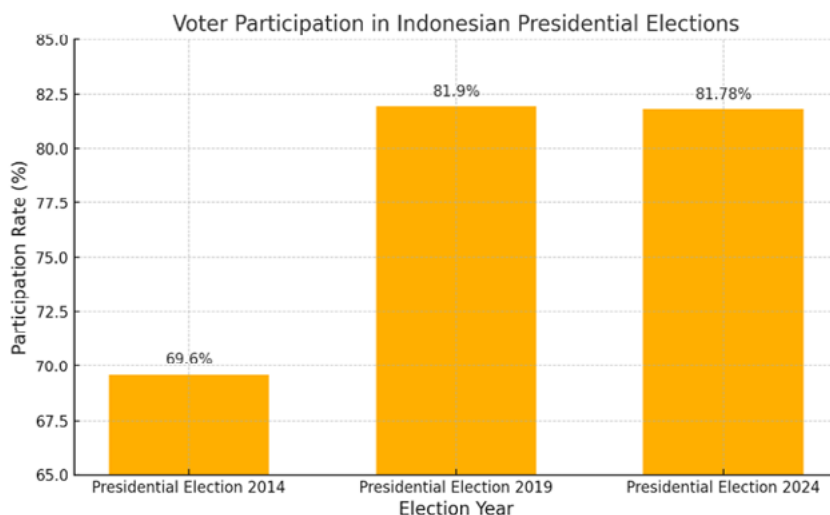
The idea of implementing simultaneous elections is interpreted by collective belief as a momentum to organize democracy so that the ongoing democratic transition period can be stimulated to shift towards efforts towards democratic consolidation so that the country's political and security stability can be controlled properly. Holding the second simultaneous election in 2024 went quite smoothly. The election that took place on February 14, 2024, and the national vote recapitulation was held from February 15 to March 20, 2024, according to the General Election Commission this national recapitulation used votes from 38 provinces and 128 foreign election organizers.

**Democratization.** Democracy may be described as a type of governance based on the ultimate authority and sovereignty of the people, often known as government of, by, and for the people [10]. In 1867, Abraham Lincoln famously characterized democracy as «government of the people, by the people, and for the people.» According to one of Indonesian scholar are noted for law, Jimly Asshidiqie's point of view, democracy serves as a basic structure and method for managing societies, based on equality and the preservation of individual freedoms. The notion of popular sovereignty in democratic thought claims that the population is the ultimate source of power and authority [8. Pp. 381-397]. A democratic political system is founded on the following pillar principles: (1) ensuring citizens' rights and freedoms; (2) involvement in democracy; (3) the system of picking and substituting state administrators; (4) the enforcement of the law; (5) checking and balancing a separation of power; (6) successful leadership and opposition; (7) decentralized local government system; and (8) The coefficient of Concurrent Elections alongside Easy Multivariate Analysis [4. Pp. 314-316]. The social contract concept says that achieving individual rights needs a collaborative effort rather than depending just on the acts of a single actor. These objectives need a social contract that establishes shared goals, specifies individual rights, and assigns accountability to those who seek them within the constraints. The aforementioned agreement is enshrined in a country's constitution, which is supplemented by state laws and policies. Democrats use a variety of techniques to choose politicians and public officials, the most common of which is general elections.

**Voter Participation.** The 2019 concurrent elections witnessed a historic voter turnout of 81.93%. This remarkable participation underscores the effectiveness of the

simultaneous electoral model in mobilizing voters. However, regional disparities in turnout revealed systemic challenges in ensuring equitable access to polling stations, particularly in remote and underdeveloped areas.

The implementation of simultaneous elections in 2019 has a positive impact on increasing citizen participation. Based on data released by the General Election Commission, voter participation in the 2019 simultaneous elections reached 81.97% in the election of the President and Vice President.



Source: <https://doi.org/10.2991/aicosh-19.2019.59>.

At the same time, voter participation reached 81.67% in the Legislative Election. In previous elections, voter participation in the 2014 election only reached 70% for the Presidential Election and 75% in the Legislative Election [5]. From these data, it can be seen that the holding of simultaneous elections has a positive influence in increasing public participation in exercising their right to vote [11]. The increase in voter participation is also inseparable from the problems it raises.

According to Honorary Council of Election Organisers (Indonesian: Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu, DKPP) member Didik Suprianto, the 2019 and 2024, 5 box simultaneous elections were the most difficult and imposed a significant hardship on organisers and voters. The following ballot papers will be used: grey for the Presidential and Vice Presidential ballot papers, red for the ballot papers of members of the Regional Representative Council (Indonesian: Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, DPD), yellow for the yellow ballot papers of The House of Representatives (Indonesian: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR) members, blue for the ballot papers of members of the Local People's Representative Council (Indonesian: Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD), and green for the ballot papers of members of the district/city Local People's Representative Council.

The greater proportion of voter participation in the presidential election as opposed to the legislative election is due to the fact that the presidential election receives the most media attention. As a result, information about presidential and vice presidential candidates, their goals and missions, and the political parties that support them receives more attention in the media than legislative elections. As a result, many individuals opt not to vote in the parliamentary elections. Voters find it difficult to vote rationally because there are too many options or ballots. As a result, it is reasonable to expect a future revision of the election model [2].

Indonesia’s 2019 and 2024 presidential elections demonstrated changing voter participation rates and political dynamics. The 2019 election featured a rematch between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto, with Widodo running with Ma’ruf Amin. Joko Widodo and Ma’ruf Amin received 55.5% of the votes, totalling 85,607,362. Their campaign emphasised inclusion and progress, which resonated with a majority in 21 of the 34 provinces. Their triumph was attributed to smart political alignment and efficient voter mobilisation, since they were supported by a coalition of nine of thirteen major groups. Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, backed by four political parties, received 68,650,239 votes (44.5%).

In 2024, Prabowo Subianto reappeared with a stronger campaign, this time accompanied by Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Drawing on prior setbacks, Prabowo’s campaign used a more populist approach and included parts of Joko Widodo’s government ideas. This change led in a huge rise in voter support, as indicated by Prabowo’s 58.58% vote share, which amounted to 96,214,691. His triumph was a watershed event in Indonesian politics, defeating opponents like Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (24.94%) and Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD (16.46%), as shown below (see table 1) [11].

**Table 1.** Results of the Presidential Elections

	2019			2024	
	Joko Widodo- Ma’ruf Amin	Prabowo Subianto- Sandiaga Uno	Anies Baswedan- Muhaimin Iskandar	Prabowo Subianto- Gibran Rakabuming Raka	Ganjar Pranowo- Mahfud MD
Number of Votes	85,607,362	68,650,239	40,971,906	96,214,691	27,040,878
Percentages	55.50%	44.50%	24,94%	58,58%	16,46%
Total Number of Votes	154,257,601			164,227,475	

Based on: [11].

Source: <https://doi.org/10.2991/aicosh-19.2019.59>.

Despite lower percentages for Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD (27,040,878 votes) and Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (40,971,906 votes), the 2024 election had a higher voter turnout than the 2019 election, with 164,227,475 ballots cast. This indicates increased public participation in election processes and a stronger feeling of political duty among voters.

**Logistical and Administrative Challenges.** The combination of presidential and legislative elections put a huge burden on logistical resources. There were delays in ballot distribution, inadequate election officials, and a significant number of illegitimate ballots. Tragically, over 800 election workers perished as a result of overwork, emphasizing the need of greater planning and resource allocation [2].

**1. Weak Quality of Human Resources for Election Organizers.** So far, violations committed by election organizers have come from regional level organizers, almost all of which revolve around the issue of neutrality of organizers starting from the nomination stage, counting and recapitulation of election results. Likewise, violations committed by Election Supervisory Committees in the regions revolve around the issue of Election Supervisory Committee' bias towards one of the regional head candidate pairs. Regarding the professionalism and independence of election organizers, we should look at the latest data (2014) from the Election Organizer Honorary Council (Indonesian: Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu, DKPP) which has tried 113 election cases. Of that number, 97 cases have been decided with various legal consequences, including the dismissal of 84 General Election Commission commissioners in the regions. Violations committed by the Regional General Elections Commission include in the verification of prospective candidates where candidates who should not have been able to pass as prospective candidates were passed because they had received «tributes» or certain promises, or passing prospective candidates who actually did not administratively meet the requirements with the aim of splitting the vote acquisition of certain candidate pairs. In the context of enforcing discipline and professionalism of election organizers, the role of Honorary Council of Election Organizer at the central level and Election Supervisory Committee at the regional level becomes very strategic. Jimly Asshiddiqie in his book, *Enforcing the Ethics of Election Organizers* (2013) said that the consolidation of the election system will also influence a healthier and more credible democratic system in the future, which is not only based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law, but also has integrity because it is based on the principles of effective rule of ethics.

Meanwhile, to anticipate potential violations in the first wave of simultaneous regional elections on December 9, 2015, Election Supervisory Agency has created an early monitoring system called the Election Vulnerability Index (Indonesian: Indeks Kerawanan Pemilu, IKP), which includes 5 variables, namely (1) professionalism of organizers with indicators of availability of funds, neutrality of organizers, quality of Permanent Voters List (Indonesian: Daftar Pemilih Tetap, DPT) and ease of access to information; (2) money politics with indicators of poverty rates, allocation of social assistance, reports of money politics; (3) access to supervision with indicators of geographical conditions, electricity facilities, communication facilities and access to

transportation; (4) community participation with one of the indicators being regional observers; and (5) security with indicators of intimidation of organizers and violence from data during the 2014 legislative and presidential elections.

The problems in the activities of these organizers include updating voter data, procurement and distribution of election logistics such as ballot papers, and the workload of election organizers which is too high, resulting in less than optimal synergy between Election Supervisory Agency and General Election Commission, regarding General Election Commission Regulations and Election Supervisory Agency Regulations (Bawaslu RI Website, 2023).

a) There are many problems with this voter data, for example, in one family different TPSs which trigger the anger of other family members, insufficient ballot papers.

b) Lack of attention to money politics, lack of transparency in campaign fund reporting, neutralization of state civil apparatus and disorderly use of campaign paraphernalia.

**2. Political Party Cadre Development is Not Running Optimally.** In the context of political recruitment (cadre formation), there are a number of symptoms that are not conducive to the process of building democracy as follows: First, the proportional general election system has perpetuated the oligarchy's dominance in the recruitment process. Party elites in the regions have full power over the recruitment process, determining who will occupy the «hat number» and who will suffer in the «shoe number». However, the oligarchy elite pattern is not democratic, but tends to maintain very closed corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN) practices. Second, the recruitment process does not take place openly and participatively. The candidate has absolutely no sense of the constituents who are his base because he only «represents» the administrative area (not the actual constituents), so that learning to build accountability and responsiveness is very weak. On the other hand, the public also does not know who the candidate is who will represent them, who will later carry and be responsible for the mandate. The public often says that the public can only «buy a pig in a poke», that means to purchase something without first examining it, and as a result, the quality or authenticity is unknown. The public also cannot convey aspirations to influence the candidates who sit on the candidate list, because this is the full authority of the political party. There is almost no open dialogue process between parties and the community, so there is no social contract where the community can give a mandate to the party. The community only gives a «blank check» to the party, which the party can then fill in as it pleases with the «blank check». Third, in the recruitment process, a good relationship (linkage) is not built between the party and civil society. Civil society is only viewed numerically as a number, not as a constituent that must be respected and fought for. Community organizations are often relegated to the role of a political machine that mobilizes the masses, rather than serving as a foundation for the party's political struggle. Conversely, activists in community organization perceive political parties not as integral components of a social movement aimed at influencing policy and state control, but merely as a «political vehicle» for acquiring power.

As a result, leaders are only oriented towards power and wealth, not on a political struggle mission that is useful for the community. Fourth, in the recruitment process, political parties often apply a «pick-and-choose» approach to candidates who are viewed as «political machines». This approach tends to ignore aspects of legitimacy, commitment, capacity, and mission of struggle. Former officials are taken not because they have a vision and mission, but because they have remnants of a power network. Businessmen are recruited because they have a lot of money that can be used effectively for mobilization funds to money politics. Celebrities are recruited because they have many fans.

The clerics (who have always been the guardians of morality) are also recruited because they have traditional followers. Political parties easily (with certain enticements) recruit figures from mass organizations, intellectuals, or academics on campus who are hungry for power and want to make the party a path for vertical mobility. Meanwhile, activists, intellectuals, or academics who are consistent in their mission of struggle do not want to join or are difficult to invite to join political parties, because in political parties there is no dialectic to fight for idealism. Now the «just pick» approach taken by parties is increasingly obvious when the law requires a 30% quota of seats for women. Fifth, the campaign process (as part of the recruitment mechanism) is not filled with the development of democratic public space, open dialogue and as an arena for social contracts to build a shared vision, but only as an arena for a show of force, throwing exhaust pipes, and selling promises. For party supporters, the campaign becomes a party and an arena for channeling uncivilized expressions of identity. They can get benefits in the form of jackets, hats, t-shirts, other party attributes for free, receive basic necessities or just gas money. When the campaign is held, those present are only party functionaries and their supporters, not broad stakeholders to convey the mandate from the community.

**Analysis and Potential Consequences.** There are various effects of concurrent elections, including a few for incumbents and voters: For incumbents and their families, concurrent elections limit their chances to run for numerous offices. Politicians must choose between legislative and executive positions. It reduces political dynasties and the habit of holding many offices quickly. Forming coalitions: Since legislative and executive elections are consolidated, political parties create alliances early on because their executive candidate's performance might affect parliamentary candidates. This favors broad coalitions and political blocs following elections. Winning a coalition controls executive offices and legislative seats while losing a coalition becomes opposition. Concurrent elections are viewed as a way to reinforce democracy, shaping the Indonesian presidential system.

For voters, Concurrent elections, which entail the election of many officials at the same time, provide voting-process issues. Too much information for voters might overload, making them emphasize national politicians and topics. To overcome these challenges, election organizers need to communicate and inform citizens in order to develop political awareness.

Concurrent elections allow election organizers and stakeholders to improve resource allocation due to their cost-effectiveness. Concurrent elections in Indonesia aim to synchronize and deepen democratic processes to maintain political stability and state security. Consolidation needs all political participants – the public and the governing class – to believe in the democratic system. The Constitutional Court Decision to have concurrent general elections is considered as a positive step for Indonesia's democracy.

**Democracy in Transition: Evaluating Concurrent Elections and their Impact on Indonesia's Political Landscape.** The declaration of the start of the 2019 electoral season, which will include Regional Representatives Council, House of Representatives, Provincial/City Legislatives Council elections, as well as presidential and vice-presidential elections. The consideration is taken in view of the fact that the President and Vice President were to be chosen after the Regional Representatives Council, House of Representatives, Provincial/City Legislatives Council members, in a manner identical to the 2009 elections, according to Article 3, paragraph 5 of Law Number 42 of 2008 it is believed that the existing general election system is constitutionally disadvantageous. Based on a legal organization requests a judicial review of various Presidential Election Law articles during its scheduled implementation.

Effendi Gazali filed the aforementioned case in order to get a judicial review of Law No. 42 of 2008, which governs the General Election of the President and Vice President. This court review petition was submitted on behalf of the Civil Society Coalition in order to have concurrent elections. The following articles were examined: Article 3, section 5; Article 9; Article 12 section 1; Paragraph 2; Article 14 section 2; and Article 112. In December 2013, Jusuf Kalla made an identical application for testing against the terms of Article 3 section 4, Article 9, Article 14 Section 2, and Article 112. The person seeking relief in the aforementioned case is classified as a person Indonesian citizen whose constitutional rights and/or authorities have been harmed by the regulations of Law Number 42 of 2008, Article 3, section five, Article nine, Article twelve paragraphs one and Two, Article fourteen paragraph two, and Article eleven two [7. Pp. 256-287].

The Constitutional Court considers the request made by the applicant for judicial review since it has the competence to evaluate legislation that violates the legal framework (Constitutional Court Decision Number 14/PUU-XI/2013). The assessment finds important problems limiting Indonesia's progress:

First, transactional politics encompasses several levels of involvement, including political parties and candidates for public office. This includes the process of picking parliamentary candidates along with the President and Vice President, leading in many instances of transactional politics throughout political campaigns [7].

Second, Political campaigns and marketing may result in large, opaque political costs. The problem is compounded by wasteful spending, including advertising and campaign costs, and ineffective monitoring methods [7].

Third, Money politics is pervasive due to the transactional nature of politics and excessive campaign spending. This leads to a strategy of «buying public votes» and encourages the public's involvement in money politics during elections [7].

Fourth, Political corruption is linked to party political fundraising, especially commissions and project budgets. Corruption involves favoring contributors, distributing projects to support campaigns, and other unscrupulous acts [7].

Fifth, the presidential system is not well implemented. Despite the Constitution's ideals of direct voting of the President and Vice President by voters, giving the executive branch responsibility to the public rather than parliament, and equal strength of the executive and legislative, the efficiency of the presidential administration system is constrained [7].

A case study conducted by Apollonaris Gai and Frans Bapa Tokan explores the impact of the concurrent elections held in 2019 on the character of democracy in Indonesia [5]. The study shows that concurrent elections established a new complexity standard, burdening organizers and worrying voters. In 2019, voters concentrated more on the presidential election ballot, which had two pairs of candidates, than the legislative election votes, which had hundreds of candidates [5]. Although concurrent election administration saves time, it costs more and may not save money. Effect on organizers: Organizers have numerous options to enhance the elections. These include adding staff to guarantee a balanced workload, separating Legislative and Presidential/Vice Presidential Elections, and using technology for E-Voting, E-Counting, and E-Recap.

In the Constitutional Court of Indonesia journal, Achmad Edi Subiyanto argues that concurrent Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections and Regional Representatives Council, House of Representatives, Provincial/City Legislatives Council elections are more efficient and save the state money on campaign processes [11]. This fosters public welfare and prosperity, as stated in the 1945 Indonesian Constitution Preamble. Concurrent elections save time and let residents vote wisely, adding to a presidential government's checks and balances. To overcome implementation issues, election administrators like the General Election Commission must guarantee efficient administration and maintain Constitutional norms while scheduling these elections. Concurrent elections with integrity are part of Indonesia's democratic development [11]. Additionally, Efriza claims that concurrent elections match candidates' and parties' goals, objectives, and plans [14. Pp. 627-640]. This synergy benefits voters. Frequent parliamentary, presidential, and regional elections weary voters. Concurrent elections alleviate this. The frequency and timing of elections should not be seen as a disruptive goal [2].

**Conclusion.** First and foremost, it represents a change from democratic transition to democratic consolidation, lowering corruption and clan politics. Second, via policy-based coalitions and the coattail effect, concurrent elections connect the legislative and executive branches, allowing for a stable and effective government. Third, it fosters political party democracy as well as openness in presidential and vice presidential nominations. Fourth, it has the potential to reduce conflicts and institutionalize political parties while saving time and money. Finally, concurrent elections allow for the

election of independent candidates and the modification of the presidential threshold. Concurrent national elections in Indonesia may enhance the country's democracy.

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