



The Closed Proportional System in the Election of Legislative Members in Indonesia

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Abstract: As a country with a representative democracy system, Indonesia regularly holds legislative elections. Since its independence, Indonesia has used two electoral systems: the closed proportional system and the open proportional system. In 2023, there was a debate about shifting from the open proportional system back to the closed proportional system. This issue is the focus of this study. Using normative research methods and qualitative analysis of literature, the author identified the reasons behind this shift. The main concern is the conflict with the constitution. Other weaknesses of the open proportional system include high costs, long execution times, money politics, and corruption risks. The closed proportional system is considered more efficient in terms of costs, time, competition quality, and candidate quality. However, its main issue is public distrust of political parties. Despite its benefits, the closed proportional system is not yet suitable for Indonesia's current situation.

Keywords: Closed Proportional System; Open Proportional System; Legislative Election; Political Parties.

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1. Introduction

Essentially, humans are social beings who cannot live normally without the presence of other individuals in their environment.¹ This condition demonstrates that humans are interdependent. The need for the presence of others in a social environment is the primary reason for the formation of various social structures, including the state. The state is an institution born out of the necessity to create order, enabling humans to coexist harmoniously and in an organized manner.

The social contract theory is one of the main theories explaining the origins of state formation.² This theory posits that the state is formed through an agreement among individuals to bind themselves in a social contract to ensure collective survival. In this context, the state functions as an organization regulating relations among its citizens, aiming to maintain social stability and protect fundamental human rights. As an entity, the state must meet constitutive elements such as population, territory, and sovereign governance. Additionally, declarative elements, such as international recognition, are also considered crucial to strengthen the legitimacy and continuity of the state on a global scale.

Each state has a form of government that develops according to its historical and socio-political dynamics, one dominant form of government in the modern era is democracy.³ The term "democracy" originates from the Greek words "demos," meaning people, and "kratein," meaning power. The principal tenet of democracy is the sovereignty of the people, where the populace holds the ultimate authority in political decision-making. Although democracy was initially practiced directly in ancient Greece, the complexity of modern societies necessitated adaptation toward a representative democracy system.

Indonesia is one of the countries that practices representative democracy.⁴ This system involves public participation through elections, political parties, and parliament as the main mechanisms. Since the reform era in 1998, Indonesia's democratic system has undergone significant transformations, including the implementation of more open and competitive elections. In modern democracy, core values such as public participation, checks and balances among branches of government, and transparency and accountability are fundamental principles. However, the implementation of

¹ Yakobus Banusu. Antonius Denny Firmanto. "Kebahagiaan Dalam Ruang Keseharian Manusia". *Forum Filsafat dan Teologi*, 49 (2), (2020): 51-61, <http://ejournal.stftws.ac.id/index.php/forum/article/view/301>

² Zulkarnaini. "State Epistemology". *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Anak (JIPA)*, 3 (5), (Mei 2019): 54-85, <http://66.23.228.141/index.php/jipa/article/view/104>

³ Hafizh Syah Reza Pahlevi. Nasihun Amin. "Pendidikan Dinamika Demokrasi dalam Peristiwa Sukses di Saqifah Bani Saidah dan Peralihan Kepemimpinan Khulafa' Ar-Rasyidin". *Jurnal Tarbawi*, 6 (2), (2021): 93-110, <https://www.academia.edu/download/103560012/482733574.pdf>

⁴ A. Heru Nuswanto, and Wafda Vivid Izziyana. "Penyelesaian Sengketa Hasil Pemilu Di Indonesia Dalam Perspektif Penegakan Hukum." *JPeHI (Jurnal Penelitian Hukum Indonesia)*, 4 (1), (2023): 92-102, [WhatsApp Image 2024-10-04 at 14.35.36.jpeg](https://www.whatsapp.com/photo/2024-10-04-at-14.35.36.jpeg)

democracy in Indonesia is not without challenges, such as issues of corruption, collusion, and nepotism that once characterized the New Order government.

During the New Order era, under President Suharto's leadership, the governance system tended to be authoritarian.⁵ Elections were conducted in a limited manner, with only three political parties allowed to participate: the United Development Party (PPP), the Golkar Party, and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). This system not only restricted public political participation but also hindered the development of healthy democracy. Post-reform, Indonesians began enjoying greater political freedom, including the right to vote directly in elections. The 1999 elections marked a significant milestone in Indonesia's democratic journey.

In the context of democracy, elections are one of the main instruments for realizing people's sovereignty.⁶ Indonesia's electoral system has undergone various changes and adjustments over time. One of the hotly debated issues is the plan to implement a closed proportional system in the 2024 legislative elections. This system refers to a mechanism where voters select only a political party, while the list of elected legislative candidates is determined by the party itself. This differs from the open proportional system, which allows voters to directly choose their desired legislative candidates.

The implementation of a closed proportional system has sparked various debates.⁷ Proponents argue that it can enhance party discipline and encourage more solid representation. On the other hand, critics contend that this mechanism could reduce the accountability of individual legislators to their constituents. Furthermore, there are concerns that this system might strengthen political oligarchies within parties, thereby diminishing the role of the public in directly determining their representatives.

The urgency of this study lies in the need for an in-depth examination of the implications of implementing a closed proportional system in Indonesia. In academic literature, discussions about electoral systems often focus on technical aspects or normative theories without offering practical solutions relevant to Indonesia's context. This study aims to bridge that gap by providing a comprehensive analysis of the impacts of implementing a closed proportional system on democracy in Indonesia. This includes evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of the system from both theoretical and empirical perspectives.

Practically, this study also seeks to provide policy recommendations that could assist decision-makers in formulating a more effective electoral system that meets the needs

⁵ Osbin Samosir. FX Gian Tue Mali. "Pancasila dan Tantangan Demokrasi Indonesia". *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Humaniora dan Politik (JIHHP)*, 2 (3), (2022): 320-331, <https://dinastirev.org/JIHP/article/view/1051>

⁶ Saiful Deni. et. al. "Demokrasi dan Komunikasi". (Jawa Tengah: Eureka Media Aksara, 2023).

⁷ Abd Hannan, and Zainuddin Syarif. "Antara Terbuka, Tertutup, dan Campuran: Mencari Format Sistem Proporsional dalam Pemilihan Umum Legislatif di Indonesia." *Politica: Jurnal Hukum Tata Negara Dan Politik Islam*, 10 (2), (2023): 120-137, <https://journal.iainlangsa.ac.id/index.php/politica/article/view/6354>

of Indonesian society. Thus, this research not only has theoretical contributions to the academic literature on electoral systems but also high practical relevance in the context of managing democracy in Indonesia.

The approach used in this study includes qualitative analysis using secondary data from relevant literature and empirical data from electoral practices in Indonesia. The analysis focuses on two main questions: (1) What is the urgency of implementing a closed proportional system in Indonesia? and (2) What are the impacts of this system on the development of democracy in Indonesia? Through this approach, the study is expected to provide a clear picture of the implications of implementing a closed proportional system, both in the short and long term.

Democracy, as the best system of government among the worst, requires strong commitment from all elements of society.⁸ Challenges such as low political participation, societal polarization, and the dominance of political elites must be addressed for democracy to function optimally. In this context, the electoral system plays a strategic role in determining the quality of democracy. Therefore, the issue of a closed proportional system is not only relevant in the technical framework of elections but also in the broader context of efforts to strengthen the foundations of democracy in Indonesia.

Considering the various aspects outlined above, this study is expected to contribute significantly to understanding the dynamics of Indonesia's electoral system and provide constructive input for developing a more inclusive and accountable democratic system. This research is important not only for academics and political practitioners but also for the general public, who play a crucial role as the sovereign holders in a democratic system.

2. Method

In the process of reviewing this writing, the author employs normative research methods. Normative legal research is a type of research that analyzes written law from various perspectives. This research encompasses theoretical aspects, history, philosophy, comparison, structure and composition, scope and material, consistency, general explanation, and the existing articles. It also considers the formality and binding force of a law, as well as the legal language used.⁹ This method is deemed appropriate for the analysis in this writing, as it will deepen our understanding of the closed proportional system from both written and unwritten norms. The type of data used is qualitative, with data collection methods through literature studies, using secondary data sources from books and journals.

⁸ Budi Supriyatno. "Kemitraan Pemerintah Daerah Dengan Partai Politik". (Indonesia: CV. Media Brilian, 2020)

⁹ Ani Purwati. "Metode Penelitian Hukum Teori & Praktek". (Surabaya: CV. Jakad Media Publishing, 2020)

3. Analysis and Discussion

Until now, the General Election (Pemilu) remains the most valid method to measure the effectiveness of a democratic political system in a country.¹⁰ Therefore, Indonesia can only be considered a democratic country if every citizen, based on certain criteria, has the right to vote and can exercise this right according to the principles of direct, equal, free, secret, honest, and fair elections—commonly known as LUBER and JURDIL.¹¹

Since the implementation of the general election in 1955, Indonesia has used a proportional electoral system. In this system, the allocation of seats in representative institutions is based on the percentage of votes obtained by each candidate during the election.¹² As a country that adopted an indirect democracy system, also known as representative democracy, the implementation of general elections for legislative members in Indonesia has been carried out several times. Over the course of these elections, Indonesia has had two types of proportional systems in effect: the closed proportional system, which was used during the New Order era, and the open proportional system, which replaced the closed system and is still in use today

Although the open proportional system has been used in several elections, new challenges have emerged in line with the development of politics and the dynamics of Indonesian society.¹³ One of the key issues currently under scrutiny is the decreasing loyalty of voters toward political parties, with a shift toward selecting legislative candidates on an individual basis. This shift affects the quality of elections, as votes are increasingly influenced by factors such as the candidate's popularity and personal relationships rather than the party's vision and programs. Additionally, the high costs associated with political campaigns present a significant issue, as candidates with more financial resources tend to have an easier time gaining votes, which in turn opens the door to corrupt practices within the electoral process. Therefore, while the open proportional system offers advantages in enhancing direct representation of voters, it also requires further reforms in the regulation of campaign expenses, transparency, and the accountability of political parties to ensure that the democratic goals of fairness and equality are achieved.

¹⁰ Risan Pakaya1. Yusril Katili. Firman Latuda. "Sistem Pemilu Proporsional Tertutup dalam Analisis Pemilu 2024". *Jurnal Analisis Sosial Politik*, 1 (2), (2022): 172-182, <https://ejournal.iaingorontalo.ac.id/index.php/jaspol/article/view/582>

¹¹ Wilma Silalahi. "Model Pemilihan Serentak dan Peranan Komisi Pemilihan Umum pada Pemilihan Serentak Tahun 2024". *Jurnal APHTN-HAN*, 1 (1), (2022): 67-79, <https://japhtnhan.id/index.php/japhtnhan/article/view/11>

¹² Gusti M Ardi Abdussamad. Ergina Faralita. Sulastri. "Korupsi Politik Terlahir dari Sistem Pemilihan Umum Menggunakan Sistem Proporsional Terbuka di Indonesia". *p-ISSN No. 2337-4667, e-ISSN NO. 1359957835*, 11 (1), (2023): 62-77, <https://ojs.stihsa-bjm.ac.id/index.php/wasaka/article/download/86/83>

¹³ Muhammad Mutawalli. "Pemilihan Umum Legislatif Di Indonesia: Penafsiran Konstitusional Sistem Proporsional Tertutup:(Legislative General Elections In Indonesia: Constitutional Interpretation Of The Closed Proportional System)" *Applied History Journal of Merong Mahawangsa*, (2) (2024): 155-179, <https://e-journal.uum.edu.my/index.php/ahjmm/article/view/23956>

3.1. The Urgency of Implementing a Closed Proportional System

When transitioning from the New Order era to the Reformasi period, the demand for changes to the constitution in Indonesia at that time could no longer be ignored. One of the key elements contained in the constitution is the regulation regarding the implementation of General Elections. Following the constitutional amendments, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945) now includes several principles that shape the conduct of the general elections.¹⁴

One of the principles in Article 22E, Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution is the principle of direct elections.¹⁵ The year 2004 marked the first time Indonesia held a general election for legislative members using an open proportional system. This system was an implementation of the “direct” principle enshrined in the post-amendment 1945 Constitution. This system was not implemented arbitrarily; it was hoped that the system would help the public become more aware of the backgrounds and socio-political profiles of their potential representatives, allowing for a more informed individual choice in voting.

Currently, the open proportional system is regulated under the legal framework for elections, specifically Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections, in Article 168, Paragraph (2), which states: "The election for members of the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/City DPRD shall be carried out using an open proportional system." This electoral system has several positive values that justify its continued use, including:¹⁶

1. The open proportional system educates the electorate through campaign programs.
2. Legislative candidates, even those ranked lower on the party list, still have the opportunity to win votes.
3. The open proportional system better legitimizes the sovereignty of the people, as adopted in Indonesia, compared to the closed proportional system.
4. The open proportional system encourages greater public participation.
5. The open proportional system provides equal opportunities for female candidates.

However, there is now a growing issue regarding a potential shift from the open proportional system back to the closed proportional system. It should be noted that

¹⁴ Jamaluddin. "Penerapan Sistem Proporsional Terbuka pada Pemilu Legislatif Pasca Amandemen Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945". *Tesis*, (Pekan Baru: Universitas Islam Riau, 2021), <http://repository.uir.ac.id/id/eprint/14247>

¹⁵ Baharuddin Riqiey. "PEMILIHAN KEPALA DAERAH OLEH DEWAN PERWAKILAN RAKYAT DAERAH PASCA PUTUSAN MK NO. 85/PUU-XX/2022: Regional Head Elections by People's Legislative Council after the Prevailing of Constitutional Court Decision No 85/PUU-XX/2022". *Constitution Journal*, 2 (1), (2023): 17-30, <https://constitution.uinkhas.ac.id/index.php/cj/article/view/42>

¹⁶ M. Rizqi Azmi. Riko Riyanda. "Tinjauan Sistem Proporsional Terbuka Dalam Pemilu Legislatif 2019 Terhadap Dinamika Demokrasi Di Indonesia (Studi Kasus Di Kota Pekanbaru)". *UIR Law Review*, 4 (2), (2020): 9-22, <https://journal.uir.ac.id/index.php/uirlawreview/article/view/5858>

decisions regarding changes to the electoral system are typically influenced by two factors. First, political actors may lack sufficient knowledge or information to fully understand the various options and consequences of the existing system. Second, political actors may use their understanding of the electoral system to achieve their own objectives, favoring the interests of their political parties.¹⁷

One of the key problems with the open proportional system is its connection to corruption. This is because, under an open proportional system with open party lists, the candidate with the most votes becomes a crucial factor, which is known to involve high political costs. Research from the Indonesian University Economic and Social Research Institute (LPEIM-FEIUI) revealed that campaign costs for a candidate running for the DPR could range from IDR 1.18 billion to IDR 4.6 billion. These campaign costs are categorized as follows: under IDR 787 million (low), IDR 787 million - IDR 1.18 billion (optimal), IDR 1.18 billion - IDR 4.6 billion (reasonable), IDR 4.6 billion - IDR 9.3 billion (unreasonable), and more than IDR 9.3 billion (irrational). Additionally, for candidates running for Provincial DPRD, campaign costs ranged from less than IDR 320 million (low) to more than IDR 3 billion (irrational). These costs include expenses for printing materials, textiles, transportation and communication, media communication services, and mass mobilization.¹⁸

Furthermore, LPEIM-FEIUI reported that the income of a DPR member during a five-year term ranges between IDR 5.3 billion and IDR 5.4 billion, while the income of a Provincial DPRD member ranges between IDR 1.6 billion and IDR 1.8 billion. The income categories include both official and unofficial income. As a result, candidates spend significant amounts on their campaigns with the hope of recovering these costs if they succeed in becoming parliamentarians.¹⁹

Besides being an opportunity for corruption, the open proportional system also has other drawbacks:²⁰

1. The "post-the-post" system in parliamentary elections creates highly competitive races. This leads to intense competition not only between candidates from different political parties but also among candidates within the same party.
2. Counting votes is a complex process. From a party system perspective, the open proportional system can cause internal divisions within political parties, reducing cooperation and integration, and worsening existing conflicts. When internal conflict occurs within a party, members may form new parties. According to political analysis, these new parties have the opportunity to collect leftover votes and win seats in the general elections.

¹⁷ Gusti M Ardi Abdussamad. Ergina Faralita. Sulastrri. *Op. Cit.*, Hlm. 68

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Hlm. 75

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Titony Tanjung. "Mengenal Sistem Proporsional Terbuka Di Indonesia Menuju Pemilihan Umum Tahun 2024". *BULLET: Jurnal Multi disiplin Ilmu*, 2 (1), (2023): 125-133, <https://www.jurnal.mediapublikasi.id/index.php/bullet/article/view/2178>

3. Implementing assignments based on gender and ethnicity presents a complicated challenge.
4. There is a potential shift from the system of political sovereignty to the domination of party sovereignty.
5. The growing influence of money in politics is increasingly uncontrollable.

Another impact of the open proportional system is the loss of distance between voters and legislative candidates, making political parties' positions less significant.²¹ As a result, political parties no longer focus on their primary function as a medium for political education and participation. Instead, parties now primarily search for candidates who can attract the most votes. This shift has led to structural deterioration within political parties, as they no longer invest in training young cadres who align with the party's ideology for the long term. Instead, they focus on finding shortcuts by recruiting popular candidates who can financially support the party's needs.

Due to several issues that have arisen since the implementation of the open proportional system, there has been growing debate regarding its effectiveness in legislative elections. Proposals to return to the closed proportional system have been discussed through revisions of Law No. 10 of 2008 on Legislative Elections, which became Law No. 8 of 2012. The open proportional system is currently undergoing a constitutional review at the Constitutional Court with the aim of replacing it with a closed proportional system in parliamentary elections. However, this shift has sparked debate, as the closed proportional system is seen as a step backward since the New Order era.²²

The closed proportional system holds great potential for addressing several weaknesses present in the open proportional system.²³ One of its main advantages is providing greater control to political parties in selecting legislative candidates. With this control, parties can focus more on choosing candidates who possess the best qualifications and are committed to the party's vision and mission. This, in turn, can enhance the consistency of the party's ideology and policies. It allows parties to emphasize the quality of candidates rather than just individual popularity, which can strengthen the party's position in long-term political decision-making processes.

However, the closed proportional system is not without its flaws.²⁴ One prominent disadvantage is the limitation on individual representation, where potential legislative candidates who are less popular may not have a chance to be elected. This could reduce diversity in political representation and hinder the emergence of new

²¹ Utami Argawati. "Pro-Kontra Sistem Pemilu Proporsional Terbuka". *Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia*, (2023). <https://www.mkri.id/index.php?page=web.Berita&id=19011>

²² Arlen Intani. "Analisis Rencana Pelaksanaan Proporsional Tertutup Dalam Pemilu 2024". *Indonesian Journal of Advanced Research (IJAR)*, 2 (3), (2023): 162-172, <https://journal.formosapublisher.org/index.php/ijar/article/view/3454>

²³ Abd Hannan, and Zainuddin Syarif. *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ Maulida Khairunnisa, and Siti Fatimah. "Sistem Proporsional Terbuka dan Tertutup pada Pemilu di Indonesia serta Kelebihan dan Kekurangan." *Jurnal Tana Mana*, 4 (1), (2023): 92-100, <http://ojs.staialfurqan.ac.id/jtm/article/view/311>

potential leaders. Additionally, the dominance of parties in selecting candidates may reduce diversity in political representation and, in some cases, concentrate political choices in the hands of large parties, limiting fair competition for smaller parties.

To address these weaknesses, it is crucial to strengthen the role of parties in maintaining the quality of programs and advocating for the broader public interest.²⁵ With greater control, parties can focus more on developing policies that align with their ideology, free from the influence of shifting political trends driven solely by individual popularity. However, this also requires more transparent and accountable policies within the party's internal processes.

Furthermore, to ensure that the closed proportional system does not lead to a significant dependence on political funds and campaigns, it is essential to introduce stringent regulations that limit campaign financing. Clear regulations regarding the sources of funds and limits on campaign spending would reduce the influence of money in politics, which often leads to injustices in the electoral process. With these measures, the electoral system could become fairer and more equitable, where the people's votes truly determine the election outcomes, free from external distortions such as large campaign funds. Ultimately, this more balanced system would foster a healthier democracy, prioritizing candidate quality and policies that serve the people.

3.2. The Impact of Implementing the Closed Proportional System in Indonesia

In 2024, Indonesia will hold its general elections again. However, the implementation of the election still awaits legal certainty regarding which proportional system will be used. This matter is under the consideration of the Constitutional Court, which will make a decision on the issue. Currently, the General Election Law No. 7 of 2017, particularly Article 168, is being tested in the Constitutional Court because it is believed to be inconsistent with the 1945 Constitution, which states that the participants of the general election are political parties. This means that the closed proportional system should be the electoral system used in the 2024 election.²⁶

The closed proportional system works by having the people, as voters, only receive ballots with the logos of political parties. This means that voters can only cast their vote for a political party, and the party's vote for the first-round seat will be allocated to the candidates listed in order as predetermined by the party.²⁷

This will certainly have a positive impact during the vote counting process, as it will take less time due to the simpler ballot design, thus reducing the risk of fatalities caused by physical or psychological stress experienced by election officials.²⁸ This is

²⁵ Zawata Afnan. "Efektivitas Partai Aceh Sebagai Sarana Pengatur Konflik Di Aceh" *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial & Ilmu Politik*, 9 (1), (2024): 1-19, <https://jim.usk.ac.id/FISIP/article/view/29585>

²⁶ Risan Pakaya. Yusril Katili. Firman Latuda. *Op. Cit.*, Hlm. 178

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Hlm. 173

²⁸ Sahran Raden. "Penyederhanaan Surat Suara Pemilu Dalam Perspektif Sistem Pemilu dan Pemerintahan Presidensial". *Qaumiyah: Jurnal Hukum Tata Negara*, 2 (1). (2021): 22-45, <http://www.qaumiyah.org/index.php/qaumiyah/article/view/19>

supported by the fact that in 2019, at least 157 election officials died while carrying out their duties.²⁹ Additionally, this electoral system will have an impact on the economy, as the smaller ballot size compared to the open proportional system will save on printing costs.

In terms of time efficiency and cost savings, the closed proportional system also has the potential to create a more conducive election atmosphere, as there will be no free competition between political parties. Furthermore, with this system in place, political parties are expected to focus on internal party education, so that the competition becomes more intellectual, based on the capacity and capability of party members to advance their party and compete for seats in the parliament.³⁰

However, as with any system created by humans, the closed proportional system is not without its shortcomings.³¹ A major drawback of this system is the lack of public trust in political parties, especially as information spreads about the political parties that support and propose this closed proportional election system. Currently, public trust in political parties has shifted from seeing them as entities with shared ideals to focusing more on individual party cadres. People are beginning to see the benefits of individualism over the values promoted by the party.

The system regulating political parties and the parties themselves needs to be evaluated, as parties are currently under pressure to recruit popular figures as candidates, rather than forming quality cadres. As a result, party members lose their ideological orientation and focus more on winning through increasing popularity via political money and bureaucracy, which contradicts the ideals of democracy.³² Public distrust in political parties is evident when people feel that their participation in the election and their vote won't have a significant impact on their well-being. This leads to apathy and disillusionment with political parties, resulting in people choosing to abstain or not participate in the election.

It should also be noted that Indonesia previously used the closed proportional system before transitioning to the open proportional system. This change was not made without reason, and there were strong reasons behind the transition, including:³³

1. Parties with strong sovereignty reduce the sovereignty of the people.

²⁹ Mokhammad Samsul Arif. "Reformulasi Model Penyuaaraan Paska Pemilu Serentak 2019: Studi Evaluasi Sistem Proporsional Daftar Terbuka". *Jurnal Wacana Politik*, 4 (2), (2019): 163-169, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/291836015.pdf>

³⁰ Khulaifi Hamdani. Khusnul Mar Iyah M. Azkiya Nur Afiah Ramadhani. "Menakar Konstruksi Pproporsional Tertutup dan Kebijakan Afirmatif Perempuan di Parlemen". *Jurnal Nomokrasi*, 1 (1), (2023): 22-40, <http://journal.unhas.ac.id/index.php/jnomokrasi/article/view/25038>

³¹ Fatni Erlina. "Dinamika Sistem Pemilu dan Demokratisasi Partai Politik di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi." *Kosmik Hukum*, 23 (2), (2023): 200-220, <https://jurnalnasional.ump.ac.id/index.php/KOSMIK/article/view/16640>

³² Alvianus Kristian Sumual. Mario Gerson Lontaan. Yandi Supit. *Op. Cit.*, Hlm. 109

³³ Arlen Intani. *Op. Cit.*, Hlm. 168

2. There is a significant gap between legislative members and voters, meaning voters have no real power to choose the representatives they want.
3. Party members tend to be more connected to higher-ups than to the public, leading to a democracy dominated by a small oligarchic group.

The decision regarding the electoral system to be implemented in the 2024 General Election will not only affect the voting process but also the political structure and democracy in Indonesia.³⁴ If the closed proportional system is adopted, the power of political parties to determine who represents the people will become more significant. This can strengthen the parties' control over the political process, but on the other hand, it may reduce direct public involvement in selecting their representatives in parliament.

In the context of democracy, the closed proportional system often creates a dilemma.³⁵ On one hand, it allows political parties to focus more on internal development, including strengthening their ideologies and providing education for party cadres. Political parties are expected to produce politicians who are not only popular but also competent and possess integrity. However, on the other hand, excessive dominance of political parties can stifle public aspirations. Voters can only choose a party without having any influence over who will represent them, which increases the gap between elected representatives and their constituents.

A major criticism of the closed proportional system is its potential to strengthen political oligarchies.³⁶ Decisions about placing candidates at the top of the party list are often based not on meritocracy but on personal connections or specific political interests. This can lead to public dissatisfaction, especially if the elected candidates fail to represent the broader interests of society.

Moreover, transitioning from an open proportional system to a closed one requires extensive socialization efforts to ensure public understanding.³⁷ Voters accustomed to directly selecting candidates need to be thoroughly informed about the new mechanism to avoid confusion. Without proper socialization, voter participation rates could decline, and the phenomenon of voter apathy (*golput*) may increase.

From a technical perspective, although this system is considered more efficient in vote counting, other implications must be taken into account, such as ensuring

³⁴ Muhammad Darlis Pattalangi. et al. "Aktualisasi Fungsi Partai Politik Terhadap Penguatan Demokrasi Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Rectum: Tinjauan Yuridis Penanganan Tindak Pidana*, 6 (1), (2024), 600-610, <http://jurnal.darmaagung.ac.id/index.php/jurnalrectum/article/view/4772>

³⁵ Nurhayu Handayani Putri. Aturkian Laia. and Bestari Laia. "Sistem Proporsional Pemilihan Umum Dalam Perspektif Politik Hukum." *Jurnal Panah Keadilan*, 2 (2), (2023): 66-80, <https://jurnal.uniraya.ac.id/index.php/PanahKeadilan/article/view/1006>

³⁶ Tirta Yasa Agung Barus. et al. "Mengurai Permasalahan Sistem Pemilu Di Indonesia Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Demokrasi" *GOVERNANCE: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Politik Lokal dan Pembangunan*, 11 (2), (2024): 40-45, <http://governance.lkispol.or.id/index.php/description/article/view/318>

³⁷ Hendra Budi Setiawan. and Hertanto Hertanto. "Dampak Sistem Pemilu Proporsional Terbuka Atau Tertutup Di Indonesia Terhadap Partisipasi Pemilih." *Muqoddimah: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial, Politik, dan Humaniora*, 7 (2), (2023): 633-638, <http://repository.lppm.unila.ac.id/53343/>

transparency in the counting process and preventing data manipulation. Without strict oversight, this system could open opportunities for electoral fraud, as control is concentrated entirely in the hands of the parties.

5. Conclusion

So far, Indonesia has used two electoral systems: the open proportional system and the closed proportional system. Each of these systems has both positive and negative impacts. Therefore, the choice of which electoral system to implement should be based on the conditions of the society, as the highest authority in a democracy.

The growing issue of changing the electoral system in Indonesia from the open proportional system to the closed proportional system is driven by several negative impacts of the open proportional system, such as its connection to corruption, the weak position of political parties that affects the quality of legislative candidates, high campaign costs, and so on. However, the current condition of Indonesian society, which has a low level of trust in political parties as institutions that are supposed to represent the people's voice, makes the implementation of the closed proportional system less effective. The tendency of the public to trust legislative candidates individually rather than through political parties makes the open proportional system still a more suitable choice at this time.

The implementation of the closed proportional system will only be effective if the public has full trust in political parties. Therefore, political parties need to strengthen internal recruitment to produce quality cadres. This step is expected to improve public trust in parties, allowing people to choose a party with confidence, and for the party to be responsible for providing votes to the best candidates. However, to restore trust, a hybrid approach that combines elements of both electoral systems could be a more relevant solution and better suited to Indonesia's current context.

Meanwhile, for the open proportional system, campaign cost limitations and addressing political corruption practices need to be given deeper attention, with more concrete and measurable solutions to reduce high political costs. This could help reduce corruption and the vicious cycles that often occur, ensuring that the selected legislative candidates are truly based on their quality and integrity.

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