

Strengthening Indonesia's Open Proportional Electoral System: A SOAR Analysis for 2024 Implementation Strategy

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ABSTRACT: This research investigates the enhancement of Indonesia's Open Proportional Electoral System (OPES) through a SOAR (Strengths, Opportunities, Aspirations, Results) analysis to strategize its implementation for the 2024 elections. Utilizing a comprehensive literature review method, the study analyzed 984 articles from Google Scholar and 1000 from Crossref, narrowing down to eight pertinent studies published within the last three years. The SOAR analysis revealed key strengths of the OPES, including increased political plurality and direct voter engagement, while identifying opportunities for reform, such as reducing campaign financing and mitigating money politics. The aspirations highlighted a desire for greater accountability and integrity in electoral processes. Results indicated that implementing measures to limit campaign expenditures and enhance transparency could significantly reduce electoral misconduct. The study recommends establishing stricter regulations on campaign financing and fostering public awareness campaigns to educate voters on their rights and the electoral process. By addressing these challenges and leveraging existing strengths, Indonesia can strengthen its democratic practices and ensure a more equitable electoral landscape in the upcoming elections. This analysis provides a structured framework for policymakers to navigate the complexities of electoral reform effectively.

Keywords: General Election System, Open Proportional, Implementation Strategy, Policy Implementation



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INTRODUCTION

General elections (elections) are one concrete manifestation of a democratic system in which the public has a role in determining the direction of the country's political policy (Mulya & Adnan, 2021). Elections that uphold the principles of democracy, honesty, and justice are tools to achieve quality governance (Fathurrahman et al., 2023). Democracy as the cornerstone of the system of

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government recognizes that ultimately, people have control over key issues that affect their lives, including judgment of state policies because they play a role in determining their destiny ([Wijaya, 2023](#)). Elections are how people can exercise their political rights by electing or being elected as government leaders directly, by democratic principles. General elections themselves are held to realize the goals of democracy, namely government from the people, by the people, and for the people ([Sarno Maulana R, 2022](#)). In the context of Indonesia, the political system adopted is democracy, and elections are a means for the people to vote, express opinions through votes, and participate as an important part of the country to participate in determining the direction of the country ([Takdir et al., 2022](#)).

According to Reynolds et al., (2016) the Legislature or House of Representatives can be said to be quite descriptive if the body has inclusiveness and diversity, it contains things that include women and men, poor and rich, old and young, and describes religious affiliations, linguistic communities, and different ethnic groups in a society. The general election system for members of the legislature that is often applied in Indonesia includes the Plurality system and the Proportional system, depending on the type of election that is taking place ([Ismayanti et al., 2021](#)). Choosing the appropriate electoral system will carry substantial consequences for establishing a functional and democratic political framework ([Fitzgerald et al., 2023](#)). In the history of its development, elections in Indonesia have used two systems, namely a closed proportional system and an open proportional system ([Kansil & Haga, 2023](#)). In the elections between 1955 and 1999, Indonesia used a closed proportional election system. However, this system changed from the 2004 election to the 2019 election, which used an open proportional election system ([Annisa Medina Sari, 2023](#)). Indonesia's open and closed proportional electoral system has a major effect on voter turnout ([Setiawan & Hertanto, 2023](#)). These systems sparked support and objection among the public, some in favor while some opposed.

Ahead of the 2024 elections, the debate over changing the open proportional election system to a closed proportional election system through a legal process in the Constitutional Court has become a hot topic, because there are concerns that this could reduce democratic principles in Indonesia ([Maulidi, 2023](#)). The discourse of changing the open proportional election system to a closed proportional has caused controversy in national politics ahead of the 2024 elections. This polemic arose after a lawsuit against Article 168 Paragraph (2) of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections to the Constitutional Court. The plaintiffs say the implementation of an open proportional system creates unfair competition between candidates in elections because it encourages fraudulent practices, including giving money to election committees. Therefore, they argue that the abrogation of the open proportional system will reduce the practice of money politics and make elections cleaner, more honest, and fairer. In addition, an open proportional election system, with the determination of elected candidates based on majority votes, also requires high costs, such as expenses for printing election ballots for members of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, Provincial DPRD, and District/City DPRD from the State Budget (APBN). In addition, in their petition, the plaintiffs also requested that the Constitutional Court declare that the phrase "open" in Article 168 paragraph (2) of the Election Law is contrary to the 1945 Constitution and has no binding legal force ([Argawati, 2023](#)). Parliament itself is divided, with the PDIP as the largest faction supporting a closed proportional system. However, most parliamentary factions rejected the idea and still wanted to continue the

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open proportional electoral system. The use of a closed proportional system in the 2024 elections was also rejected by eight political parties participating in the election, including Golkar, NasDem, PKB, Demokrat, PKS, PAN, and PPP, which had submitted official statements of rejection ([Szalma Fatimarahma, 2023](#)). The Constitutional Court's decision on the lawsuit read by Constitutional Court chief Anwar Usman on June 15, 2023, rejects all claims about the Open Election system so that the 2024 Election system will still be implemented openly ([KompasTV, 2023](#)).

According to Pratiwi (2018) an open proportional electoral system is implemented to ensure accountability and closeness between people's representatives and their constituents but has the potential to lead to political corruption due to high political costs during electoral competitions. The closed proportional election system resulted in the strengthening of the party oligarchy, and money politics problems, and also contradicted the previous decisions of the Constitutional Court ([Kansil & Haga, 2023](#)). However, it is important to remember that each of the two proportional systems has its unique advantages and disadvantages ([Khairunnisa, Maulida, 2023](#)). The advantages and disadvantages in question can be assessed from the aspects of the degree of proportionality of representatives, party structure, representative institutions, and connections between elected representatives and voters ([Rahayu et al., 2017](#)). According to Monica Ayu Caesar Isabela (2023) both open and closed proportional electoral systems have their advantages and disadvantages.

Table 1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Open and Closed Proportional Electoral Systems

| Proportional Electoral System | Advantage | Lack |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| Open system | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Encourage election participants to compete to garner mass support for victory; 2. Building close relationships between voters and candidates; 3. Give voters the ability to vote directly for candidates of their choice; 4. Increase public participation and supervision, which encourages improved performance of political parties and parliaments. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Requires significant political capital, increasing the risk of widespread money political practices; 2. Complex vote counting process; 3. Make it difficult to implement gender and ethnic quotas; 4. There is the possibility of reducing the role of political parties; 5. Compete within the party between candidates. |
| Closed system | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political parties that determine their legislative candidates make it easier to achieve quotas for women or ethnic minority groups; 2. Can reduce the practice of money politics; 3. Increase the role of political parties in developing representative systems and | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Voters do not influence in determining the candidates for legislators proposed by political parties; 2. Less responsive to changes that occur quickly; 3. Causing separation between voters and representatives after elections; |

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| Proportional Electoral System | Advantage | Lack |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| | supporting the development of political party institutions. | 4. The potential for strengthening oligarchs within political parties; 5. The emergence of opportunities for the political practice of money in terms of buying and selling sequence numbers within political parties. |

Source: pemilu.kompas.com

Based on the table above, both open and closed systems have their advantages and disadvantages. An open proportional electoral system is a model of elections in which parliamentary seats are distributed proportionally based on the votes of political parties. According to Al-Hamdi et al. (Al-Hamdi et al., 2022) while the favorable aspects of open-list PR outweigh the unfavorable ones, this system must tackle the following issues: electoral misconduct, violations, financial influence, candidate competence, and integrity gaps, and the significant role played by financial backers. In Indonesia, this system has been implemented in several elections and has advantages and challenges to consider. One of the advantages of an open proportional electoral system is that it encourages political plurality. In this system, political parties can pitch their candidates directly to voters. This allows a variety of political opinions and ideologies to be represented in parliament, thus creating a wider diversity of thought and representation. Through this system, voters have more options to choose representatives that match their preferences. The following is presented the research gap from this study as a form of comparison with previous studies.

Table 2. Research Gap in Electoral System Policy Evaluation Open General Proportional Legislators in Indonesia

| Researchers | Article Title | Research Results | Research gap |
|---------------|---|--|--------------|
| Rantau (2019) | Closed Proportional Electoral System in 2024 Election Analysis | In 2019, the open proportional system resulted in negative impacts for Indonesia, including money politics, large budget expenditures by the government, and the loss of 527 electoral lives. This phenomenon prompted researchers to examine whether a closed proportional system could be a solution for the 2024 elections. Researchers believe that a closed proportional system, by strengthening the rules in the internal party system in the process of recruiting deputies, can be an alternative to overcome the weaknesses of the open proportional system. | Closed pro |
| Djidar (2024) | Simple and Low-Cost Elections With a Closed Proportional System | The application of open proportional systems in the context of multiparty systems makes their implementation complicated and very complex. The technical complexity of the voting process and vote counting poses various problems that drain the energy of the organizers. In the context of the 2024 elections, the only possible option is to use an electoral system with a closed proportional variant. This is the most viable | Closed pro |

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| Researchers | Article Title | Research Results | Research gap |
|------------------------------|--|--|--------------|
| | | alternative among the many options available in search of a more efficient concurrent electoral model or system. | |
| Fitzgerald et al. (2023) | Comparison Analysis of Open and Closed Proportional Election Systems in the Perspective of State Law in Indonesia | Implementation of an open or closed system cannot be viewed as a single solution to all legal problems in the country. Decisions on the most suitable electoral system for Indonesia must consider aspects of democracy, political participation, justice, and political stability. The selection of the right electoral system will have significant implications for building a democratic and effective political system. | Neutral |
| Adi Vibhisana et al. (2023) | Critical analysis of the application of open and closed proportional systems to opportunities for strengthening public control in the 2024 elections | Despite the debate between open and closed proportional systems, there is still widespread money politics practice, weak political representation, and vagueness in the ideological positions of political parties. A solution that can overcome both problems is a mixed system that combines a closed proportional system at the national level and an open proportional system at the provincial and district/city levels. This can address two issues at once: improving the quality of political representation while strengthening public control. | Neutral |
| Khairunnisa & Maulida (2023) | Open and Closed Proportional System in Indonesian Elections and Advantages and Disadvantages | The advantage of a closed proportional electoral system is that it can reduce the practice of money politics and can help control the cost of elections that tend to be high. However, one drawback of this closed system is that it can hinder broader public participation and reduce interaction between voters and deputies, often resulting in accumulated public disillusionment after elections. | Neutral |
| Kansil & Haga (2023) | Analysis of Indonesia's Closed Proportional Electoral System | On the other hand, one of the advantages of an open proportional electoral system is that it allows the public to directly see and vote for the candidates who will represent them, thus allowing voters to be more selective and rational in their elections. However, one of the disadvantages of this open system is the high cost of campaigning, the potential for rife money political practices, political polarization, a strong political identity, and the costs borne by the state that can be substantial. Adopting a closed proportional electoral system in Indonesia is not the right solution to overcome the problems that occur in the open proportional electoral system. This policy can potentially interfere with people's sovereignty in expressing their preferences when electing state officials who will represent their aspirations. In addition, the implementation of a closed | Open pro |

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| Researchers | Article Title | Research Results | Research gap |
|-------------------------|---|---|--------------|
| Azis & Sihombing (2023) | Comparison Between Open and Closed Proportional Electoral Systems in Indonesia: An Analysis Towards Better Administration | proportional election system can hinder the development of democracy and political culture in Indonesia. Problems such as the lack of competence of legislative candidates and the practice of money politics do not only arise from an open proportional electoral system, so changing it to a closed proportional electoral system is not the right solution. The open electoral system is more proportional because it has advantages in expanding public participation, increasing political representation, and strengthening political party accountability. | Open pro |
| Al-Hamdi et al. (2022) | Designing Open-list Proportional Representation System in Indonesia's Legislative Election during the Global Pandemic Era | Positive trends of Open-list PR are more than negative trends. Nevertheless, this system needs to address these negative trends: electoral malpractices; electoral violations; money politics; the absence of the candidate's competence, integrity, and ideology; and the influential role of financial owners. | Open Pro |

Source: primary data processed

From the description above, researchers see that there are still problems related to the implementation of the open proportional election system policy in legislative elections in Indonesia. Therefore, the formulation of the problem that the researcher poses is how the strategy for implementing proportional system policies is open in the future.

Research gaps of this article are: 1) limited study on mixed electoral systems. previous research focuses either on open or closed proportional systems, but the potential of a mixed electoral system, as proposed in recent debates, remains underexplored. this gap highlights the need for studies analyzing mixed systems that combine the benefits of both approaches to address representation and governance issues; 2) impact assessment of open proportional systems while the document identifies challenges like money politics and voter disconnection, detailed empirical evaluations of these issues under the open proportional system in Indonesia are scarce. research is needed to measure these impacts quantitatively and assess mitigation strategies; 3) public engagement in electoral policy decisions there is insufficient exploration of how public input and participation influence the debate over electoral system reforms. understanding public perspectives and their role in shaping policy could provide insights into making democratic processes more inclusive; 4) soar analysis in electoral systems the use of soar (strengths, opportunities, aspirations, and results) analysis in evaluating electoral systems is relatively novel. future studies can expand its application to broader governance reforms and cross-country comparisons to strengthen the framework; 5) role of technology in electoral processes the document mentions challenges in vote counting and operational complexity. however, the role

of emerging technologies in simplifying and securing electoral processes, especially under the open proportional system, requires deeper investigation. These gaps provide avenues for future research to enhance electoral system policies and governance effectiveness.

Legislative Election System Policy

The electoral system is an integral part of political institutions and has a very significant impact, especially in the context of more general governance issues. (Rosana, 2012). According to Riwanto (2014) (Riwanto, 2014) The electoral system was created to anticipate changes in political dynamics and be able to adapt to changes in voter attitudes and behavior in the future. Then, the electoral system must be operated in a dialogue manner, with a pattern of interacting relations between the people and the government, to contribute to the development of democracy (Kurniawan, 2016). On the other hand, the electoral system is also not only interpreted as a simple democratic process, as stated by Schumpeter (1947) that the democratic method is the organization of institutions, in which individuals compete competitively for government, to achieve a position in political decision-making.

The election policy for legislative members in Indonesia is governed by Article 168 paragraph (2) of Law No. 7 of 2017, specifying an open proportional system for electing members of the DPR, provincial DPRD, and district/city DPRD. The law emphasizes the guarantee of representation, ensuring that every Indonesian citizen has a representative advocating for their aspirations at various levels of government. The direct, public, free, secret, honest, and fair conduct of elections is deemed essential to achieve qualified, trustworthy, and optimally functioning legislative institutions. Implementing high-quality elections fosters healthy, participatory competition and results in stronger, accountable representation.

Public Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is actions carried out by actors implementing policies that occur after a program is declared valid to achieve the goals outlined in the relevant policy decision and the policy can be revised, at the implementation stage if indeed it is deemed necessary (Sunarya, 2023). According to Yuliah (2020) in policy implementation, some steps need to be followed, such as designing appropriate strategies and methods, and ensuring that all requirements and aspects are met. All of this aims to achieve success in implementing the policy. In line with this, according Mustanir (2016) policy implementation is a critical phase in the overall policy framework. This is the stage that determines whether government policies can be implemented on the ground and achieve results and impacts according to plan. To achieve the desired results and impacts, the implementation of public policies must be carried out; Without implementation, the policy will simply be a document without action. Brinkerhoff & Crosby (2002) states that the implementation of public policy refers to 4 things, namely:

1. Policy implementation is non-linear, facing interruptions and challenges, making clear objectives essential. Definite projections and achievement indicators are needed to reduce interruptions and ensure successful implementation;

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2. In policy implementation, involving multiple agents is crucial for success. Relying on a single agent is insufficient; all supporting agents must be engaged to achieve the intended outcomes;
3. Policy implementation cannot satisfy all parties, as interests may be accommodated or eliminated. Providing understanding to those feeling disadvantaged is essential, emphasizing the broader public interest;
4. New policy implementations often lack funding, requiring additional funds from sources like reallocating funds or involving non-governmental organizations due to the novelty of the initiative and inadequate preparation of funding sources.

The policy implementation process is not only seen from the static side (static picture) the involvement of various variables (problem character, implementation structure, and non-statutory factors) individually, but it is also necessary to see the policy implementation process as a dynamic process (dynamic process) where a large number of variables involved interact with each other that is very complex and takes place continuously throughout the implementation process ([Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983](#)). The purpose of this study is to analyze the impact of the open proportional electoral system on political representation, voter participation, and the prevalence of money politics in Indonesia, with a specific focus on the 2024 elections.

The state of the art of this research is this study focuses on analyzing the dynamics and challenges of Indonesia's electoral system, particularly the open proportional electoral system, in ensuring equitable political representation and fostering democratic values. Previous research has extensively discussed the advantages and disadvantages of open proportional systems, such as improved voter choice and representation, as well as challenges like high campaign costs and the risk of money politics. Unlike earlier studies that primarily concentrated on theoretical frameworks or comparative analyses of electoral systems, this research highlights the real-world implications of Indonesia's electoral practices during recent elections. The study integrates quantitative and qualitative approaches to examine the system's effectiveness in accommodating political diversity while identifying gaps in legislative accountability and public trust. Furthermore, this research adopts a contemporary perspective by addressing the evolving political landscape and the unique socio-political context of Indonesia, particularly its transition to digital democracy and the role of emerging technologies in electoral transparency. By exploring these intersections, the study provides a comprehensive evaluation of how Indonesia's electoral policies align with global democratic standards while addressing local challenges. The innovation of this study lies in its focus on practical solutions, such as optimizing legislative processes and enhancing public participation, which distinguishes it from prior research limited to normative discussions. This analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of how electoral systems can be restructured to strengthen democratic governance in Indonesia.

METHOD

This study employed a literature review method to collect and evaluate previous research on the open proportional electoral system in Indonesia, utilizing sources such as Publish or Perish. A search yielded 984 articles from Google Scholar and 1000 from Crossref. After filtering based on

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relevance and publication date (within the last 3 years), eight articles were identified, exploring various aspects of open and closed proportional electoral systems in Indonesia. The author facilitated the search using keywords like "open proportional election system" and set the publication year range from 2018-2023. The study then utilized SOAR analysis to formulate a strategy for implementing the open proportional election system policy in Indonesia, involving external environment analysis (aspirations and results) and internal environment analysis (strengths and opportunities). Identifies the organization's core strengths that serve as a foundation for growth and success. Strengths of SOAR, it identifies the organization's core strengths that serve as a foundation for growth and success. And then in opportunities, it can explore external opportunities that the organization can leverage for development. It can describe to inspiring visions and goals that reflect the shared aspirations of the organization. Also SOAR can define success indicators and desired outcomes based on the established aspirations. As qualitative data processing involves three stages: data reduction (selecting, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data), data presentation (displaying structured information through narrative text), and summing up (concluding deductive techniques). The process of analyzing qualitative data involves systematically organizing, understanding, and interpreting non-numeric information to derive meaningful insights. For the first is organizing the data, where all raw materials, such as interview transcripts, observation notes, and documents, are gathered, grouped by type, and read thoroughly to gain an initial understanding. Once organized, the researcher familiarizes themselves with the data by re-reading it carefully, identifying preliminary ideas, patterns, and potential themes while making reflective notes for further analysis.

The second is coding, which involves breaking the data into smaller segments and assigning labels or codes based on their meaning or relevance. This coding process can be open (broad and exploratory), axial (connecting related codes into categories), or selective (focusing on key categories). Once coding is complete, the researcher identifies themes or patterns by grouping similar codes into broader categories that reflect the core ideas in the data. The crucial step is interpreting the data, where the researcher provides meaning to the identified themes by connecting them to the research context, theories, or existing literature. This step helps answer the research questions and uncover deeper insights. To ensure the credibility of the findings, validation techniques such as triangulation, member checking, audit trails, and reflexivity are applied. These methods verify the accuracy and reliability of the analysis. Finally, the results are compiled into a detailed report, where themes are described, supported by direct quotes from the data, and interpreted to provide meaningful conclusions. The analysis process is iterative, allowing the researcher to revisit the data to refine interpretations and ensure a comprehensive understanding of the research phenomena. By following these steps, qualitative data analysis yields rich and insightful findings that align with the research objectives.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

To make an open proportional system policy implementation strategy in the future, it is necessary to conduct a SOAR analysis. The SOAR (Strengths, Opportunities, Aspirations, and Results) table is an analytical tool that can be used to understand the implementation of a particular policy or program. In this case, it will analyze the implementation of the Legislative Open Proportional

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Election (PUPP-T) policy using the SOAR table. The following is an analysis of the SOAR table for the implementation of the legislative open proportional election policy in Indonesia:

Table 3. SOAR Analysis of Policy Implementation Open Proportional System in Indonesia

| SOAR Analysis | S (Strengths) – Internal | O (Opportunities) - Eksternal |
|---|--|--|
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is more democratic because it prioritizes the freedom of voters and those elected, and provides greater opportunities for various political parties to compete; 2. Encourage each election participant to compete openly for time; 3. Voters have more power over their choices; 4. Increase political representation in Indonesia by providing opportunities for various political parties and independent candidates to gain seats in parliament. 5. Encourage public participation in politics because voters can vote for candidates directly, not just vote for political parties. 6. This policy received recognition and support from various parties, including international institutions, who considered it a positive step in strengthening democracy. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Implementation of activities that reduce campaign financing and the risk of widespread money political practices; 2. Increased Transparency by utilizing state-of-the-art technology and information systems in conducting electronic voting; 3. Increase opportunities for candidates in the party to increase loyalism to their party; 4. Increasing legislators' accountability to voters and strengthening bonds between representatives and the public 5. Improving the quality of legislative candidates by encouraging political parties to nominate candidates who are qualified and have high dedication to public service. 6. Improved Voter Education to increase public understanding of the Open proportional election system, to increase public interest in casting their votes in elections; 7. Involvement of NGOs and third parties in monitoring and supervising the implementation of the open proportional election system |
| <p>A (Aspirations) – Future</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The democracy index may increase as voter participation grows; 2. Having a solid and qualified party to achieve the goals of statehood; 3. The achievement of votes from the party will affect the level of trust of the people in the party; 4. Increased transparency in elections to build public trust in the political process and reduce | <p>Through the policy of an open proportional electoral system, it increases the index of democracy in Indonesia as a whole. This is marked by improved political party and voter participation, transparency, fairness, cleanliness, and legitimacy of election results. Indonesia can implement an electoral system that is by the development of civilization.</p> | <p>Various strategies can be carried out related to the implementation of the Open proportional election system policy to improve the democratic index, have a solid and quality party, achieve votes from parties, increase election transparency, voter empowerment, fair and clean elections, voter empowerment, political harmony, and political stability. The strategy in question</p> |

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-
- the potential for electoral fraud;
 5. Empower voters through greater control over their political representation. Voters can choose the candidate that best suits their preferences and aspirations, without having to be tied to a list of candidates predetermined by the political party;
 6. Fair and Clean Elections to minimize corrupt and fraudulent practices;
 7. Broader Public Participation in political and policy processes, including through elections;
 8. Political Harmony and domestic political stability through peaceful and inclusive elections.

is to take advantage of the 7 opportunities mentioned above.

R (Results) – Future

1. Increasing political parties that offer programs that prosper the people;
2. Increased political pluralism. With more diverse representation in parliament, people's perspectives and interests can be better represented;
3. Improving the quality of legislation in making laws that are more comprehensive and in favor of the interests of the community;
4. Increased Voter/Community Participation since the implementation of the open proportional election system;
5. Significant Political reforms, including diversification of political parties and wider representation;
6. Improving Democracy for more public participation and fairer elections;
7. Increased Specific Issues that allow people to vote based on their preferences.

Indonesia has clear rules in an open proportional electoral system. This will correlate with an increase in the quality of political parties, citizen/voter participation, improvement in the quality of legislation, political pluralism, political reform, improvement of democracy, and improvement of specific issues. This will increase public trust, reduce the apathy of voters and political parties, and become a more democratic country.

Various strategies can be carried out related to the implementation of the Open proportional election system policy to realize: increasing political parties that offer programs that prosper the people, increasing political pluralism, improving legislative quality, increasing voter participation, significant political reforms, improving democracy, and improving specific issues to attract voters. The strategy in question is to carry out the following:

Implementation of activities that reduce campaign financing and the risk of widespread money political practices;
Increased Transparency by utilizing state-of-the-art technology and information systems;
Increase opportunities for candidates in the party to increase loyalism to their party;
Increased accountability of legislators;
Improving the quality of legislative candidates;
Improved Voter Education;
Involvement of NGOs and third parties in monitoring and supervising the implementation

Source: Analysis Results, 2023

Based on the analysis of the SOAR table above provides an overview of the implementation of the legislative PUPP-T Policy in Indonesia, considering the strengths, opportunities, aspirations, and outcomes related to this policy. However, keep in mind that this analysis is general and may not cover all aspects related to the implementation of the legislative open proportional election policy in Indonesia. There are other factors to consider, such as the challenges that may arise in implementing this policy and its impact on the political system. Thus, the strategies that can be offered in the implementation of open proportional system policies in the future are:

1. Implementation of activities that reduce campaign financing and the risk of widespread money political practices. The practice of money politics is a serious problem in democracies because it can undermine the integrity of elections. Activities that reduce campaign financing such as donation limits and transparent reporting can help address this issue. However, effective implementation and strict enforcement are necessary to prevent violations. According to Bryan, S. & Baer (2005) corruption in the context of political party funding poses a significant danger to both democracy and economic progress. Research conducted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs investigates the present state of political party financing in 22 nations across the globe. Any legal reforms targeting the elimination of corruption will only yield results if they receive support from donors, and they must also be complemented by robust enforcement measures, alongside concurrent initiatives designed to encourage transparency and internal democratic practices within political parties. Meanwhile, according to Robert E. Mutch (2016) since the 1980s, the wealthiest one percent has been increasingly responsible for a larger portion of campaign donations. In the 2015 presidential election, more than 50 percent of the funds raised were attributed to approximately 350 families. A quarter of this funding came from a mere seventy-eight donors, all of whom contributed \$1 million or more. Is it still accurate to describe our society as a democracy when a small number of affluent families contribute such an unequal share of campaign financing? An open proportional electoral system, while providing a fair chance for political parties based on votes, faces integrity threats from large campaign financing and money politics. To safeguard this system, policies should address these challenges. Measures include limiting donation amounts from individuals or legal entities, enhancing transparency in funding sources, and promoting public funding. Additionally, it's crucial to bolster supervision and law enforcement to curb illegal money political practices. The risk of money politics in such a system can be mitigated through strict regulations on campaign spending limits, transparency in political funding, restrictions on donations, public funding, increased public education, and robust law enforcement. Implementing these measures collectively can enhance public trust and strengthen democracy.
2. Increased transparency by utilizing state-of-the-art technology and information systems. Technology and information systems can increase transparency in elections. For example, websites that provide information about candidates, campaign donations, and election results can give citizens greater access to relevant information. According to Richard Davis (2001), the anticipated social and political revolution widely forecasted will not be driven by the Internet.

Established power structures, traditional media, and influential groups are effectively adapting to the online landscape, ensuring their continued dominance in shaping political news, disseminating opinions, and mobilizing political engagement. Internet users will remain primarily those who are already politically engaged and affluent. Due to the Internet's inadequacy as a tool for public political involvement, the emergence of an Internet democracy, where individuals become political activists by gaining information, expressing their views, influencing policies, and engaging with their government, is unlikely. Meanwhile, according to Amin et al. (2023), digital democracy technology innovations hold significant promise. These diverse potentials, including artificial intelligence, blockchain, and mobile devices, can enhance the effectiveness and excellence of political engagement. Yet, there remain several challenges in their practical implementation, such as regulatory issues, ethical considerations, and disparities in technology access. With the right measures, a more comprehensive, transparent, and democratic digital democracy in the era of digital technology can be realized. Cutting-edge technology and information systems play a pivotal role in enhancing transparency in legislative elections. These systems encompass campaign finance reporting, political funding sources, and spending details, all of which can be accessible to voters through online platforms or specialized apps. Technology aids in monitoring and detecting money political practices through automated and well-documented systems, utilizing algorithms or artificial intelligence to analyze suspicious information and identify irregular patterns. Moreover, technology contributes to transparency by providing public access to election information, monitoring elections through geographic information systems, and ensuring security with blockchain technology. The use of digital platforms and smart contracts further enables the transparent tracking of campaign donations and spending, establishing a more effective oversight mechanism for campaign finance management and fostering transparency in the political process.

3. Increase opportunities for candidates in the party to increase loyalism to their party. Increased opportunities for candidates within a party can help strengthen the relationship between candidates and political parties. This can increase the loyalty and involvement of candidates in party policies, which in turn can strengthen the party's internal democracy. According to Scarrow (2005) a robust and enduring political party system is essential for a functioning democracy. These parties must be capable of representing the interests of the public and offering policy alternatives that showcase their competence in governing the common welfare. Given the widening gap between citizens and their elected representatives, a decrease in political engagement, and the increasing influence of anti-democratic elements, democratic political parties face ongoing challenges. Meanwhile, according to Kenneth & Kwak (2011) "Party Systems and Country Governance" delves into the diversity of party systems on a global scale and their impacts on the governance of nations, as well as the development and assessment of country governance. International aid organizations have invested substantial financial resources under the belief that the existence of stable party systems enhances the quality of country governance. This study broadly aligns with the assertions of these aid agencies. In an open proportional system, political parties have the freedom to determine their list of candidates, which can strengthen the candidate's loyalty to the party. This leads to increased emotional and ideological ties between candidates and parties. More opportunities for candidates within the party also create healthy internal competition, producing qualified and dedicated candidates. Increasing opportunities for candidates in the party can be improved by

- increasing communication and active engagement, providing incentives, and building personal relationships and social networks. With these actions, political parties can strengthen candidate loyalty and maintain party sustainability.
4. Increased accountability of legislators. Accountability of legislators is essential in a democratic system. Mechanisms such as performance monitoring, public reporting, and accountability to voters can increase legislators' accountability and encourage them to act in the interests of society. According to Mills (2017) there are two categories of accountability: vertical, which involves citizens directly holding those in power accountable, and horizontal, which entails legislators overseeing and holding the executive branch accountable. Concerning vertical accountability, the study assesses the outcomes of three policy measures: i) enhanced access to information about Members of Parliament, including through information and communication technologies (ICTs); ii) the disclosure of MPs' financial assets; and iii) the disclosure of MPs' campaign expenses and financial backers. Compared to more recent transparency measures, like the registration of beneficial ownership information, these measures have had some time to produce evidence regarding their impact. In terms of horizontal accountability, the study evaluates the influence of transparency on the effectiveness of Public Accounts Committees. The decision to concentrate on this committee was based on the existing research available. Then according to Ballard C. Campbell (1980) the emergence of a highly influential federal government during the 20th century has somewhat overshadowed the significance of state and local governments in American history. However, it's important to recognize that the government at these lower tiers had the most immediate and ongoing impact on the daily lives of regular citizens. The processes of urbanization, industrialization, and the growing national interconnectedness placed numerous challenging and pivotal choices before state legislators. Then according to Basuki & Budiarto (2021) Competition between regions is getting tighter, *local* governments are obliged to increase the competitiveness of their regions so that the welfare of the community remains stable and even increases. However, it's important to recognize that the government at these lower tiers had the most immediate and ongoing impact on the daily lives of regular citizens. The processes of urbanization, industrialization, and the growing national interconnectedness placed numerous challenging and pivotal choices before state legislators. In a representative system, legislators are accountable to political parties and voters, and increasing their accountability is essential to increased transparency, better representation, and public trust in the legislature. This can be achieved through regular reporting, participation in party councils, and open communication with constituents. Stronger accountability can minimize the gap between campaign promises and legislators' actions, while also increasing legislators' understanding of voters' needs. Strong internal and external oversight mechanisms, transparency of the legislative process, and increased public participation are important ways to increase legislator accountability.
 5. Improving the quality of legislative candidates. The quality of legislative candidates is critical to the success of a democratic system. A rigorous selection process and good political education can help produce candidates who are more competent and able to understand the problems faced by society. According to Moore et al. (2024) found evidence of politicians being both intrinsically and extrinsically motivated. Intrinsic motivations often derive from formative experiences occurring prior to entering politics. Extrinsic motivations most commonly include public/voters and external events. Importantly, intrinsic and extrinsic motivations vary in

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different political contexts, and indeed these two motivations may pull politicians in different directions. According to Michael & Gallagher (1988), the book wraps up with a comprehensive evaluation of the candidate selection's role within the political sphere. It raises queries about whether proportional representation inherently involves a centralized candidate selection process, whether left-wing parties tend to be more centralized than their right-wing counterparts, and whether various candidate selection methods yield different outcomes regarding the conduct of representatives. Then according to Reuven Y. Hazan (2010), democratic theory emphasizes the significance of electoral processes, yet it is frequently overlooked that elections occur on two fronts, involving not just competition between political parties but also internal dynamics within those parties. In this system, elected legislators represent political parties and are accountable for their decisions within the legislature. Enhanced accountability positively impacts transparency, representation, and public trust. Achieving this involves regular reporting on legislative activities, participation in party councils, and open communication with constituents. Increased accountability enables voters to monitor legislators' performance, evaluate adherence to campaign promises, and ensure representation of their interests. Strengthening internal and external oversight mechanisms, increasing transparency, and encouraging public participation are ways to enhance legislators' accountability. Through these actions, legislators can better understand and represent voter interests, maintaining a strong connection with constituents in the decision-making process.

6. Improved voter education. Education has a significant role in improving the quality of life of individuals, communities, and countries. Unfortunately, currently, only about 6% of Indonesia's population has undergone higher education. Data from the Directorate General of Population and Civil Registration (Dukcapil) in June 2022 recorded that Indonesia's population amounted to 275.36 million people ([Kusnandar, 2022a](#)).

Table 4. The proportion of Indonesia's population by education level (June 2022)

| No. | Name | Values/Soul | Value/Percent |
|-----|------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. | Doctoral Degree | 61.271 | 0,02 |
| 2. | Master degree | 855.757 | 0,31 |
| 3. | Bachelor degree | 12.081.571 | 4,39 |
| 4. | Diploma3 | 3.517.178 | 1,28 |
| 5. | Diploma1 and Diploma2 | 1.126.080 | 0,41 |
| 6. | Senior High School | 57.533.189 | 20,89 |
| 7. | Junior High School | 40.035.862 | 14,54 |
| 8. | Finished elementary school | 64.446.545 | 23,4 |
| 9. | Not finished elementary school yet | 30.685.363 | 11,14 |
| 10. | No/Not yet at school | 65.018.451 | 23,61 |

Source: [databoks.katadata.co.id](#) (2022)

Of these, only about 6.41% have pursued education up to the college level. The breakdown is that 0.41% have D1 and D2 level education, 1.28% have D3 level education, 4.39% have S1 level education, 0.31% have S2 level education, and only 0.02% of the population has completed S3 level education. As of June 2022, around 20.89% of Indonesia's population has completed education up to the Senior High School (SMA) level, while 14.54% have completed education up to the Junior High School (SMP) level. On the other hand, about 23.4% of the Indonesian population are elementary school graduates, 11.14% have not completed

elementary school, and 23. 61% of the population does not have access to education or has never received education (Kusnandar, 2022b). According to Mikander & Satokangas (2024) argue that perceiving *democracy* pedagogically as a pluralistic ideology would support students' democratic citizenship and equip them for a world where threats to *democracy* are being reported. Employing a case study on Finnish social studies textbooks, we analyze how *democracy* as well as threats to *democracy* are discursively portrayed. Our study shows that the textbooks present *democracy* as predominantly institutional and static. We also find that while disengagement is portrayed as a problem for *democracy*, anti-pluralist movements are generally not referred to as a threat. According to Naval et al. (2002) one notable consequence of the tragic events of September 11, 2001, and their aftermath is the acknowledgment of the necessity to educate individuals about the significance of democracy and being democratic citizens. Among those recognized as requiring such education, young students in schools stand out. Nevertheless, it would be unwise for governments to develop a potentially regressive approach to democratic education in response to this need. In addition, Armato et al. (2015) picture the United States in which politicians, government bodies, educational institutions, emerging technologies, and interest groups collaborate to encourage well-informed and actively involved citizens. Civic Education in the Twenty-First Century assembles experts from diverse fields to demonstrate the feasibility of realizing such a vision in the present day. Enhanced voter education is crucial in open proportional electoral systems, fostering active political participation, informed electoral decisions, and a deeper grasp of election consequences. It imparts an understanding of electoral systems, political parties, their programs, and the impact of political participation on public policy. Improving voter education involves formal programs in schools, public campaigns, and collaboration with educational institutions, NGOs, and local communities. Robust voter education enables a more politically engaged public, thereby strengthening democracy within an open proportional electoral system.

7. Involvement of NGOs and third parties in monitoring and supervising the implementation of the open proportional election system. The role of NGOs and third parties in election monitoring and monitoring can help ensure election integrity. They can oversee the electoral process, identify violations, and provide support to ensure elections run fairly and transparently. According to Chan (2006) in this research, civil society is expansively characterized as the unique domain of organization and administration by groups not affiliated with the government or the market, engaging in collective efforts to advance the common welfare and exert influence on the state's politics and policies. Meanwhile, according to Höhn (2013) documentation holds a significant place in the operations of every non-governmental organization (NGO). Donor reports, constitutions, membership records, and promotional materials serve not only as reflections of the organization's activities but also as a substantial mode of civic engagement. In Namibia, NGOs face a particular challenge in demonstrating their effectiveness in the presence of a robust developmental state and a proficient private sector. Consequently, the act of "documenting" has become a primary focus in their everyday activities. NGOs and third parties are pivotal in upholding election integrity, transparency, and accountability. Their rigorous oversight activities, including field monitoring, vote counting observation, social media monitoring, and digital campaigns, contribute to increased public trust and support law enforcement against electoral violations. These organizations also play a crucial role in enhancing voter education and public awareness through information campaigns and

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educational activities. Through their active involvement, elections can be more closely monitored, transparent, and fair, safeguarding the integrity of democracy. Different countries have different political contexts, and the application of these elements may vary. However, in general, these measures can improve the quality of democracy and the integrity of elections.

The implications of this study are the implementation of an open proportional electoral system in Indonesia enhances democracy by increasing voter participation, transparency, and representation in parliament while fostering political reforms through improved candidate accountability and party loyalty. By reducing money politics with advanced technologies for campaign transparency, empowering voters through education, and involving NGOs in monitoring, the system ensures fair, inclusive, and accountable elections. These measures collectively strengthen Indonesia's democratic framework and trust in the electoral process.

To ensure the successful implementation of the open proportional electoral system in Indonesia, several operational recommendations are proposed, including: enhancing voter education through nationwide campaigns and collaboration with educational institutions and NGOs, strengthening transparency by utilizing advanced technologies like blockchain for campaign financing and election monitoring, improving candidate selection by encouraging political parties to conduct rigorous screening and training programs, regulating campaign financing with strict limits on donations and expenditures and transparent reporting, increasing accountability by developing mechanisms for legislators to report their performance to constituents, empowering NGOs and independent monitors to oversee elections and educate voters, and leveraging technology such as e-voting systems and digital platforms to improve the electoral process and prevent fraud. These actions aim to maximize the effectiveness of the electoral system and strengthen Indonesia's democratic institutions.

CONCLUSION

Open proportional systems provide better public participation, representation, and candidate response than closed systems. However, open systems can face problems of stability and reward politics. In addition, this system weakens the role of political parties and influences elections based on popularity rather than ideology. This can result in structural weaknesses within political parties and a decrease in the quality of programs. The 2019 election leaves several problems that need to be addressed for the 2024 election by the applicable law, which will also increase the workload of election organizers. Thus, based on a study using SOAR analysis, the author recommends to the government and political parties, namely 7 (seven) strategies for implementing open proportional election policies that can be applied in the future as follows: 1) Reducing campaign financing and money politics; 2) Increase transparency with information technology; 3) Increase opportunities for candidates in the party; 4. Increased accountability of legislators; 5) Improve the quality of legislative candidates; 6. Improved voter education; 7) Involve NGOs and third parties in election monitoring.

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