

Examining the Redesign of the National and Local Simultaneous General Elections

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Abstract. Elections are an integral part of a country's democratic agenda. Indonesia's current election model is a simultaneous election model to strengthen the presidential system and ensure effective and efficient elections. Simultaneous elections have yet to result in a maximum election. This research aims to find out the problems related to the implementation of general elections through the National and Local Simultaneous General Election models, analyze the design of the National and Local Simultaneous General Elections in future elections, and the influence of the general election design on the sustainability of democracy. This law was written using a normative juridical research technique. According to the 2019 General election research, combining national and local elections produces issues such as complexity and workload for organizers, a lack of effective and efficient elections, and the most remarkable strengthening of the presidential system. As a result, it is vital to improving the design of a more direct general election by separating the national election from the local election to improve democracy's quality.

Keywords: National and Local Elections, Election Design, Democracy, Presidential System

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

One form of democracy is guaranteeing that citizens freely determine their government representatives through general elections. Theoretically, elections are both a means and the most crucial instrument for democratization [1]. Article 1, paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945) states that "Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is implemented according to this Constitution." In the people's sovereignty system, the highest power is in the hands of the people. Democracy cannot just be used as mere talk and rhetoric.

The belief in elections as the essential instrument for democratization gets strong legitimacy from Samuel P. Huntington in the book *The Third Wave of Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (1993). In his monumental book, Huntington defines democracy according to Joseph Schumpeter's opinion in his first published book in 1942. His book *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* defines democracy procedurally with elections as its essence. However, Huntington immediately added that the democratic system is not enough just with elections. Free, fair, and competitive elections are only possible if there is freedom of opinion, assembly, and press. The implementation of popular sovereignty can then be included

in the election process [2].

The implementation of elections in Indonesia from time to time has undergone many changes. This is because the democratic system always develops dynamically toward improvement. As explained by Robert Dahl, the ideal democracy always demands various things so that no regime can fully understand: "when looking for an ideal democracy, there is no democratic regime." [3] In implementing the general election model in Indonesia, the last time there was a change in 2019. The election was performed simultaneously to elect the pair of President and Vice President, members of the People's Representative Council (DPR), The Regional Representative Council (DPD), and members of the Assembly at provincial and Regency/City.

The simultaneous elections imply the decision of Constitutional Court Number 14/PUU-XI/2013. Simultaneous means that the election of legislature members (pileg) and the president and vice president (pilpres) are held on the same day. In the previous four elections, the legislative and presidential elections were held at different times, or the legislative elections preceded the presidential one.

One of the changes in this election format is strengthening the presidential system in Indonesia. The legal considerations of the Constitutional Court Judges with the implementation of the General Elections for Legislative Members must pay attention to three primary considerations. They are the relationship between the general election system and the choice of a presidential government system, the original intention of the makers of the 1945 Constitution that general elections must be held simultaneously, the effectiveness and efficiency of the implementation of general elections, and the right of citizens to vote intelligently [4]. This is because in previous elections, legislative elections were held before the presidential one, which led to dependence on political parties resulting from the election results, so presidential practices often had a parliamentary nuance [5]. In addition, simultaneous elections are performed to improve efficiency in terms of costs since they happen in the same time frame. It is also meant to avoid various problems such as the high cost of holding elections, high-cost politics or money politics, and conflicts between candidates in winning the election [6].

In practice, the expectation of simultaneous general elections that provide efficiency and effectiveness in its implementation has yet to be fully proven. These problems include, first, the handling of election logistics. Nationally, 10,520 polling stations (TPS) experienced a shortage of election logistics. In addition, there were also cases of a ballots swap between electoral districts or between polling stations. Based on data from Bawaslu, this case occurred in 3,411 polling stations. [7]. Second, the Handling of Voter Data. Updating the Final Voters List of Phase 3 Results (DPThp 3) carried out by the General Elections Commission (KPU) was only completed nine days before the D-day of voting. Third, the workload of the Voting Organizing Group (KPPS). Data from the Ministry of Health as of May 16, 2019, showed that 527 KPPS officers died and 11,239 people fell ill. The number was allegedly due to the workload of the 2019 Simultaneous Election organizers [8].

Seeing the problems in the 2019 simultaneous elections, several parties submitted requests related to the review of Law Number 7 of 2017 on General Elections regarding Simultaneous Elections. Although in the end, it was rejected; however, in its decision (the decision of the Constitutional Court Number 55/PUU-XVII/2019), the Constitutional Court stated that "Such reviews and arrangements can be carried out as long as they do not change the basic principle of simultaneous general elections in practice. the presidential system of government, namely maintaining general principles. The election is to elect members of the people's representative institutions at the central level (i.e., DPR and DPD) by electing the president and vice

president.” These considerations, doctrinally and practically, are based on the argument that the general election simultaneously elects members of the people's representative institutions at the central level, with the presidential election and vice president being a logical counter. This is a series of efforts to strengthen the presidential government system [9].

Constitutional Court Decision No. 55/PUU-XVII/2019 can be the primary reference in rearranging simultaneous general elections in the future. Based on the problems above, the writer is interested in writing research entitled “Examining The Redesign Of The National And Local Simultaneous General Elections.”

1.2 Theoretical Framework

1.2.1 General Election

Elections are a process to produce fair leaders who have integrity and prioritize the interests and welfare of the community. Conceptually, elections are a means to realize people's sovereignty. According to Harris G. Warren, elections allow citizens to choose government officials and decide what they want the government to do. Further, in making that decision, citizens determine what they want to have. Meanwhile, according to A. Sudiharto, elections are an essential means of democracy and are an actual manifestation of people's participation in the life of the state [10]. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia also regulates the legitimacy of the people, precisely in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Indonesia stipulates that “Sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is implemented according to this Constitution.” Sovereignty for the people is a way to determine or participate in determining specific state policies that can be implemented at any time according to specific procedures.

The principle of law is the broadest basis for the birth of legal regulation. If problems are implemented in a legal regulation, it returns to the principles. The implementation of elections in Indonesia is also based on the principles that must be adhered to, namely the principles of direct, general, free, confidential, honest, and fair [11]. Therefore, the legal principle is referred to as the reason for the birth of legislation or is the ratio legis of laws and regulations that must be obeyed in elections.

In more depth, elections are conducted with a purpose and function for the state. According to Prihatmoko, the election in its implementation has three objectives: [12] Elections are the transfer of conflicts of interest from the community to the people's representative through the elected representatives or parties that win seats so that community integration is guaranteed as a mechanism for selecting government leaders and alternative public policies. It is also a means to mobilize or garner popular support for the state and government by participating in the political process. On the other hand, the function of the General Election, according to C.S.T. Kansil and Christine S.T., is to maintain and develop the foundations of democracy in Indonesia, creating a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila (Social justice for all Indonesian people). It is also meant to ensure the success of the New Order struggle, namely the enforcement of Pancasila and the preservation of the 1945 Constitution [13].

In Indonesia, general elections have been held several times with several designs and models, such as separate elections for the legislative and executive and simultaneous elections that combine the legislative and executive. Simultaneous elections came as a consequence of the Constitutional Court Decision 14/PUU-XI/2013, which changed the timing of holding presidential and legislative elections, which were initially separated to be held simultaneously. There are two main objectives of holding simultaneous elections: First, to emphasize and encourage the effectiveness of presidential government in Indonesia. Second, simultaneous

elections are present to create efficiency in the implementation of elections and reduce the amount of the election budget.

1.2.2 Democracy

According to constitutional law expert Mahfud MD, there are two reasons for choosing democracy as a system of society and state. First, almost all countries have made democracy a fundamental principle. Secondly, democracy as a state principle has provided direction for the role of the public to organize the state as its highest organization [14].

Etymologically, democracy means the government of the people or the people in power. In the "American Political Dictionary," democracy is defined as government by the people or government by agreement and political equality (as government by consent and political equality) [15].

According to Joseph Schumpeter, democracy, in a narrow sense, is a political method and mechanism for choosing political leaders. Citizens are allowed to choose one of the political leaders who compete for votes, and in the next election, citizens can replace the representatives they choose. Previously. The ability to choose among leaders during elections is what is called democracy [16].

Francis Fukuyama, in his book, says that the modern political order should have three main things that are pretty critical: The State or State Order, the Rule of Law or the Order of the Supremacy of Law, and Democratic Accountability or Accountability for a Democratic process [17]. These three orders are actually what Francis Fukuyama wants to convey.

What Francis Fukuyama means by accountability democracy is the response of the government of a country to the interests of all its people—which Aristotle calls the common good [18]. Alternatively, for the common good, that is not only for self-interest. Accountability is currently understood most commonly as accountability of a procedural nature, such as free and fair elections that allow citizens to choose who their rulers are.

When we use the word "accountability," most of us will be talking about modern democracies defined in such a way as to make governments responsive to their citizens. However, we must remember that reasonable procedures sometimes produce the right substantive results.

1.2.3 Presidential Government System

The presidential system is a government system centered on the president as head of government and head of state [19]. The president is the head of state as well as the chief executive. That is why the span of power of the president does not only touch the executive area but also more or less penetrates the legislative process and authority in the judicial sector [20].

According to Denny Indrayana, he only explained 3 (three) main things: [20] The President is the head of state and head of government. The President is not elected by the parliament but is directly elected by the people (popular selected); the President is not part of the parliament and cannot be dismissed by the parliament, except through the impeachment process, and cannot dissolve parliament.

Strengthening the presidential system is very close to providing adequate political support in the legislature for a President. However, according to Scott Mainwaring, the presidential system is complicated when combined with a multi-party system; the presidential power is significantly reduced because of the tug-of-war between the interests of political parties in parliament.

The view above is according to Ni'matul Huda and Imam Nasef [20]. Have several points

of argument. First, if the presidential and parliamentary elections are conducted separately, the elected president will likely be a president who does not have the support of parliament (a minority government). Second, politics formed in a presidential system tends to be fragile and easy because of the indiscipline of political parties. Third, to build the loyalty of his supporters, the President provides accommodative solutions with incentives for his supporting parties. In determining it, the President is not free to make his own decisions because he is more "hostage" by party visitors who support him. Departing from the construction of thought above, Simultaneous Elections found a correlation in strengthening the presidential system in Indonesia. As previously explained, the Simultaneous Election combines the holding of the Presidential Election and the Legislative Election simultaneously to create a government with congruent election results, namely the election of officials who receive legislative support. The purpose of this statement is that simultaneous elections are held to elect the president and the legislature simultaneously. Thus, the timing of the presidential and general elections is positively correlated with the amount of support the president of a political party gets in the legislature.

1.3 Problem Statement

Based on the background described above, the main problems that will be studied further are formulated as follows:

1. Why does implementing general elections through the National and Local Simultaneous General Election models need to be examined?
2. What is the ideal design for the National and Local Simultaneous General Elections in future elections?
3. How does the design of elections affect the sustainability of democracy?

2 Method

Method comes from the Greek *methode*, which means path or way. A method is a scientific activity related to the (systematic) understanding of a subject or object of research to find answers that can be explained scientifically and include their validity [21]. The Peter R. Senn method is a procedure or way to discover something with systematic steps.

The approach used in this research is normative juridical. It is a research method that uses the library and conceptual materials [22]. The object to be analyzed uses a qualitative approach, namely research that intends to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the subject holistically and utilizing decryption in the form of words and language [23].

The research specification used in this research is descriptive-analytical with a comparative study. The descriptive method describes or specifies everything that exists, carried out systematically and chronologically based on scientific principles [24]. Meanwhile, a comparative study is a method to compare the similarities and differences between two or more facts and the nature of the object under study based on a specific framework of thought. This analysis will assist the author in describing the phenomena and events related to the implementation of simultaneous elections that have been held in Indonesia and explain the ones that will be held in the future by looking at elections held in other countries.

The data collection method used is a literature study and interview as clarification. The literature study uses secondary data from reading, studying, and understanding through other media sources from literature, books, and documents [25].

The analytical method used in this study is qualitative. The qualitative analysis describes the data obtained in a logical sentence description, which is then given an interpretation and

conclusion [26]. All the collected data were edited, processed, and arranged systematically to be presented in a descriptive form.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 The National and Local Simultaneous General Elections Need to Be Reexamined

In practice, the 2019 General Election held simultaneously to elect the President and Vice President, members of DPR, DPD, provincial and Regency/City DPRD turned out to have several serious problems, thus requiring careful consideration evaluation. The issue relates to management and technical implementation and the election's substance. It includes the purity of citizens suffrage rights as a tangible manifestation of people's sovereignty which is affirmed in Article 1 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia relating to the right to vote for citizens. So that some groups propose that a more straightforward simultaneous general election design be reorganized into National and Simultaneous Local Elections, which are carried out separately because the complicated 2019 simultaneous elections cause several problems for voters, election organizers, and political parties; these problems include:

3.1.1 Creating complications for voters and a heavy workload for KPPS Officers

In the 2019 election, one of the problems was related to the complexity of the community in choosing their deputy candidates. This was due to many ballot choices of up to 5 boxes and many candidate compositions on the ballot paper to elect parliament members. According to data from the KPU of the Republic of Indonesia in the 2019 Election, there were several additional seat allocations in the electoral districts in the DPR election of 80 electoral districts with an allocation of 575 seats. Meanwhile, the Provincial DPRD has 272 electoral districts with a total allocation of 2,207 seats, and the Regency DPRD reaches 2,206 electoral districts with a total allocation of 17,610 seats [27].

The large allocation of seats in this electoral district impacts voter confusion in determining their choice. Based on a survey conducted by LIPI, as many as 77% of respondents admitted to voting first for the presidential election compared to voting for the legislative election [28]. The reason is that for a presidential election with only two pairs of candidates, it is easier for voters to choose with a ballot design that is not too big, plus a photo of the candidate pair. However, when dealing with ballots for legislative elections, particularly the DPR, Provincial DPRD, and Regency/City DPRD, the difficulty for voters to cast their ballots is much more difficult with the many names of candidates on the ballots, following the prevailing laws and regulations.

In addition, there are empirical facts stating that implementing the 2019 Simultaneous Elections took many victims from the election organizers. It means that the design of the implementation of the General Election with five boxes as ordered by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which became the basis for the decision of the Constitutional Court to grant the petition in Decision Number 14/PUU-XI/2013 needs to be reviewed and examined. Therefore, it needs to be seen as an effort to evaluate the results of future election design trials.

Based on data from the Ministry of Health, as of May 16, 2019, 527 KPPS officers died, and 11,239 fell ill [29]. The death rate of KPPS officers in 2019 increased compared to that in the 2014 elections.

Table 1. 2014 and 2019 Election

Election Administration	Number of Dead
Election 2014	144
Election 2019	527

{KPU Data}

An interdisciplinary study from Universitas Gadjah Mada concluded that one of the causes of the deaths of hundreds of election officials was the impact of excessive workloads. There were various psychological problems, such as anxiety and physical stress reactions experienced by election officials, both in the healthy and sick groups. These psychological problems, among others, occur due to the high work involvement of officers with excessive workloads, resulting in high fatigue. Especially in the group of sick officers, the high demands of the work environment lead to a tendency to physical fatigue and anxiety [30].

3.1.2 Not yet Efficient and has yet to show a substantial strengthening of the Presidential system

Based on the 2013 Constitutional Court Decision regarding simultaneous elections, the primary purpose of simultaneous elections is to strengthen the presidential government system and create effective and efficient elections. The 2019 simultaneous elections, which were held to select five boxes at once, also initially aimed to give birth to the concept of strengthening presidential in the state administration system.

One of the efforts to be created is the birth of the Coattail effect or the alignment of voter choices to cast their votes for political parties from the president chosen by the voters. Harmony will be created between the presidential election, and the support of political parties that carry the president in the legislature can support the president's work in making decisions and formulating policies that require presidential approval. However, if you look at the results of the 2019 Simultaneous Elections at the DPR level, the coattail effect was not too pronounced. PDIP and Gerindra, the main political parties that nominate the president, only benefited from increasing the vote gain of 2% at the maximum. In the 2014 presidential election with separate legislative elections, PDIP received 19.4% of the vote; in the 2019 presidential election, it won 21.4%. Likewise, Gerindra in the 2014 Election got 12.1%, and for the 2019 Simultaneous Election, it only won 13.9% [31]. This means that the expected concept of the Coattail effect has yet to be fully proven. Political parties that sent the presidential and vice-presidential delegates only received a not-so-significant increase in the number of votes.

Table 2. 2014 and 2019 DPR seat acquisition

Political party	Election Seat Gain 2014	Election Seat Gain 2019
PDIP	19,4%	21,4%
Gerindra	15,1%	13,6%
Nasdem	12,1%	13,9 %
PKB	6,9%	10%
Demokrat	9,3 %	10,7 %
PKS	10,4%	8,6%

Due to several factors, the coattail effect does not have much effect on the 2019 simultaneous elections. These factors include the simultaneous election model, which has to choose five boxes at once and creates complications for voters so that political parties will focus more on winning the presidential and vice presidential pair than in the legislative election. Moreover, it negatively impacts regional issues, which are then neglected because political parties are more focused on winning the presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs, even though the general election to elect candidates for DPRD members in the regions is essential for regional administration in the future.

In addition to campaigns performed by political parties, the coattail effect also does not affect voters because, with the concept of an election that has to choose five boxes at once, voters feel confused about which representatives will be elected in the legislature [32]. The 5-box election causes complications, as explained at the beginning of the chapter. This is because the number of election participants must be selected from the five ballots also needs to be clarified for voters.

The design of the 5-box simultaneous general election will also impact the president's weak position to align the government agenda and the development of regional heads, in addition to the central government, facing a different situation because they are elected together with the DPRD. This resulted in the elected regional heads often coming from parties that were not winners in the area. The effect is ineffective local government and weak support for regional heads due to simultaneous elections. In addition, the purpose of simultaneous elections still needs to be achieved in the regions [33]. Regional heads, as an extension of the central government and the organizers of regional autonomy for the sake of national development, will face fluctuating political changes when regional head elections are out of sync with the election of DPRD members, both at the provincial and regency/city levels.

In terms of efficiency and effectiveness, it could be more optimal. Simultaneous elections can be effective if they achieve the goals (effect) set. While Doing the right things means doing something according to its purpose, the way, and the goal must be right. However, the fact is related to the budget issued. The total budget allocation for the 2019 Election reached Rp. 25.12 trillion, with details of Rp. 9.33 trillion in 2018, and Rp. 15.79 trillion in 2019 (not including 2017 preparations of Rp 465.71 billion).

Meanwhile, the total budget allocation for the 2014 General Election was Rp. 24.8 trillion with details of Rp. 8.1 trillion in 2013, and Rp. 16.7 trillion in 2014 [34].

Table 3. 2014 and 2019 election budget

No	Election	Budget
1	2009	Rp 13,5 T
2	2014	Rp15,62 T
3	2019	Rp25,59 T

(RI Cabinet Secretariat Data)

Regarding the budget issued in the 2019 simultaneous elections, the BPK also noted a waste of the budget spent, amounting to Rp. 165.45 billion. This is based on the summary of the results of the semester exams (IHPS) II/2020 published by the BPK. The achievement of organizational goals measures the effectiveness of holding simultaneous elections. As for accountability, it relates to accountability in the implementation of activities. "The examination results show that there is still ineffectiveness and weakness of accountability in implementing the 2019 Simultaneous General Election. The ineffectiveness of holding the Simultaneous Election is because the distribution of election logistics needs to be thoroughly carried out promptly in terms of numbers and targets.

3.1.3 Election technology still needs to be improved, and Indonesia is not ready to use E-Voting

According to The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) in *Introducing Electronic Voting: Essential* once explained that the use of technology in elections is a solution to a problem in the administration of elections so that its existence makes the administration more effective and efficient [35]. However, technology only sometimes applies to answer all problems. According to IDEA, there are several requirements for implementing electoral technology. First, the need must come from civil society, not the political elite. Second, there is legal certainty (at least in the law, not technical regulations). Third, a good trial has been carried out for a long time [35]. In the 2019 simultaneous elections, election organizers have applied technology in every process, such as *sidalih*, *sipol*, and electronic recapitalization; some regions have even tested e-voting.

The e-voting system is still relatively new. Only now, so many regions still fully implement e-KTP, so this e-voting system will be challenging to implement in many areas. Some facilities regarding the solutions provided and the readiness of human resources need to be well prepared and require in-depth trials that will take a long time. In addition, several weaknesses arise from the implementation of e-voting, such as vulnerability to damage to the credibility of voters, constraints on environmental factors and human resources, and extensive costs for procurement and maintenance [36].

3.2 Design of Simultaneous National and Local Elections in the Election in the future

3.2.1 Election models in several countries of the world

Model pemilu di beberapa negara dunia, dapat menjadi contoh dan pembelajaran bagi Indonesia, khususnya dalam penyelenggaraan Pemilu Serentak yang efektif dan efisien. Ada dua negara yang mempunyai sistem pemerintahan presidensial sama dengan negara Indonesia yang menggunakan Pemilu serentak dalam model pemilunya, yakni Brasil dan Argentina.

Simultaneous elections have been implemented in Brazil since early 1994. They have succeeded in stabilizing and streamlining the government so that in the next 15 years, Brazil

has become a world economic power. Other countries followed Brazil's success in the region, so the simultaneous elections broke the thesis of Scot Mainwaring (1993) that the presidential system of government is not compatible with the multi-party system with proportional elections [37].

In Brazil, the national and local elections in municipal areas are separated. Simultaneous elections at the National level in Brazil are held every four years, every October in the fourth year, to elect the President and Parliament. They consist of two chambers. Meanwhile, elections at the regional level are held every four years, which are carried out after a gap of two years since the simultaneous elections at the national level to elect the Mayor and City Council. This is done to maximize the role of the coattail effect at the primary level between the presidential and parliamentary elections and to simplify the implementation of elections in regions that have a relatively large distribution of regions.

Then Argentina held direct general elections to elect the president and vice president in 2003. In Argentina itself, general elections are held every four years. In addition to 2003, Argentina held general elections in 2007, 2011, and 2015. In 2011, Argentina held simultaneous general elections for its executive and legislative elections. General elections in Argentina separate elections at the national and regional levels. At the national level, elections in Argentina are held simultaneously to elect the President and Vice President and the National Congress (Congreso Nacional), which has two chambers. Simultaneous elections that are separated between the central and regional levels aim to strengthen the presidential system for the government because Argentina has a multi-party system with 19 National Parties to produce a maximum coattail effect between presidential and parliamentary elections. In Argentina, for example, the party carrying the Candidate for President and Vice President, Daniel Scioli Carlos Zaninni from the Partido Justicialista/Justicialist Party of Argentina, managed to win the election with 38.67% of the national vote and managed to get 39 seats in the senate (high house) and 119 seats in Chambers of Deputies (lower house).

3.2.2 Election models that can be applied in Indonesia in the future

In 2020 the Constitutional Court (MK), through Decision Number 55/PUU-XVII/2019, provided a breakthrough for improving future election arrangements. In the Constitutional Court Decision Number 55/PUU-XVII/2019, which submitted a judicial review from the General Elections and Democracy Association (Perludem) as an applicant, although it was ultimately rejected, the Constitutional Court gave several considerations. Simultaneous general election model. There are 6 (six) models of simultaneous elections are considered constitutional based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD NRI 1945). Through this decision, the Constitutional Court provided several alternatives to the simultaneous general elections initiated in the context of implementing the Constitutional Court's Decision Number 14/PUU/XI/2013. The existence of the Constitutional Court Decision Number 55/PUU/XVII/2019 re-constructs the choices in determining simultaneous elections, which in essence, the election of 5 (five) ballot boxes is not the only option.

From the problems above, the most appropriate model for simultaneous general elections in Indonesia is the national followed by simultaneous local elections where the general election is divided into two: simultaneous national elections to elect members of DPR, DPD, President/Vice President, and sometime after that, i.e., a gap of 2 years, local simultaneous general elections are held to elect members of the Provincial DPRD, Regency/Municipal DPRD members, the election of Governors, and Regents/Mayors. This model is also the most ideal and most likely to be applied in Indonesia in the future. The preparation, implementation, and calculation of election results are also easier to manage appropriately. Several countries have also implemented national and local elections, for example, Brazil and Argentina.

National and local simultaneous elections are separated, so only three ballots are held at the election center level, namely the presidential election ballot, the DPR election ballot, and the DPD election ballot. Political parties that support the presidential election will feel the inherent effect because voters need clarification on the number of ballots to be selected, such as in the 2019 Simultaneous election, where the coattail effect does not run optimally because of the regional legislature. Elections were held at the same time. So with the national simultaneous election design, voters will focus more on the DPR election ballots synergized with the presidential election.

The same thing may also simultaneously happen at the regional head elections. Voters will only focus on four ballots, namely the ballots of governors, regents/mayors, provincial DPRD, and regency/municipal DPRD, which impact regional head elections. The voters elect regional heads. So that local people can catch the issue of local government without being divided into national issues. In addition, separating national and regional elections can provide a time lag for election organizers to carry out their duties. Giving the time lag will automatically reduce election organizers' burden and work volume. Meanwhile, separation will allow voters to seek as much information as possible about the candidate for the party they will vote for so that they will be more rational. With the existence of national and local elections held individually, it can also be a means of community control over the performance carried out by the government, both nationally and locally.

3.3 The Effect of Election Design on Democracy

General elections are closely related to the democratic process that occurs in a country. Elections are one of the democratic media whose role is essential in determining the size of a country to implement democracy. Various groups, especially the community, government, and political parties, carry out their rights and obligations in elections. The relationship between democracy and elections can be summed up in a sentence; "There is no democracy without elections." It seems that elections are an absolute prerequisite for creating a democracy. Elections are one way to realize democracy. However, realizing democratic elections is not easy because elections are ultimately only used as a procedural arena to change the power or form political institutions. The relationship between election design is very influential on the implementation of democracy; the better the design and implementation of elections, the quality of democracy will work, and vice versa. So that in this discussion, we will describe the effect of the 5-box simultaneous election design on the sustainability of democracy in terms of public participation, guarantees, election quality, election governance and management, and the election objectives to be achieved.

In the 2019 election, seen from the perspective of public participation, public participation in channeling their voting rights is relatively high. Where the level of voter participation came to the Polling Station (TPS) in the 2019 Election (81%) increased after a downward trend since the 1999 Election. This illustrates the start of awareness from the community to participate in the context of democracy. Community participation in elections is essential for democratic activities. This is related to the level of legitimacy of the election results because it will determine the people elected by the people to occupy certain positions. In addition, public participation in voting is also related to citizens' trust in democracy in the form of general elections that will represent them to carry out the people's mandate and become representatives in parliament. Community participation in elections, especially in choosing who will be the leader and who will be the people's representative in parliament, is one indicator of the success of democracy. In some countries, in holding elections, public participation in elections is often the main topic of conversation in democracy. [19].

In terms of election quality assurance, elections are fundamentally an excellent thing for building a democratic state. However, they can mean little if the design of elections makes it difficult for people to vote or if the way they vote makes a difference in how the country is governed. Ease of voting is determined by factors such as the complexity of the ballot, how easy it is for voters to reach the polling station, whether or not the voter register is up-to-date, and the extent to which voters believe that the vote they cast is direct, free and confidential, and the counting process is accountable. Although the level of public participation in the simultaneous elections is relatively high, merging the elections for DPR and DPRD for provinces, districts/cities, and DPD in one schedule results in complexities and technical complexities. Due to the high number of invalid ballots exceeding the global average of 4%. Even in the 2019 election, it reached 11.12% with details of invalid ballots for the presidential election, 2.38% or equivalent to 3.7 million. Meanwhile, the DPR Election reached 11.12%, equivalent to 17.5 million, and the DPD Election reached 19.02%, equivalent to 29.7 million.

In terms of organizing elections, according to International IDEA, as written in the Handbook on Electoral Management Design that to realize an ideal election administration, election organizers must be organizers whom all parties trust, election organizers must be guided by the principles of independence, justice, integrity, transparency, efficiency, professionalism, and service-oriented. However, looking at the facts on the ground holding the 2019 elections, there are still obstacles in election logistics and administrative problems, such as voter data collection. The first is related to logistics in general. There are four essential stages in logistics management, namely planning, procurement, maintenance and distribution, and storage and supervision.

Furthermore, the last one is related to the purpose of the simultaneous election, whose primary purpose is strengthening the presidential system. Because in carrying out democracy in Indonesia, presidential system problems generally occur when combined with a multi-party system, especially with a relatively high level of fragmentation and polarization. Presidentialism and multi-party systems are not only a "difficult combination" but also open up opportunities for deadlocks in executive and legislative relations which then impact the instability of presidential democracy. An unstable government will jeopardize the functioning of democracy in a country because it does not provide the conditions for forming the necessary opposition forces to support a strong, stable, and democratically effective regime and government.

Seeing the explanation above regarding the design of the simultaneous election system with five ballot boxes related to democracy, it is necessary to have a thorough improvement and evaluation since the previous design has brought good changes, but there are still many problems. This is very important because the election will reflect the people's awareness. This means that democratic elections will reflect a democratic society as well. Alternatively, in other words, the level of democracy in elections can be used to see the level of democracy in a state society.

4 Conclusion

1. The implementation of simultaneous National and Local Elections that are used needs to be examined because it causes several problems, such as the increasingly heavy burden of KPPS work officers, making it difficult for voters to understand the ballot paper, budget swelling, and the absence of a maximum coattail effect to harmonize the votes of

- candidates for members of parliament with the candidate pairs for President and Vice President.
2. Changes in the design of simultaneous elections that can be carried out are simultaneous national elections which will be separated and followed by simultaneous local elections where the general election is divided into two: simultaneous national elections to elect members of DPR, DPD, President/Vice President and for two years later local simultaneous general elections are held to elect members of the Provincial DPRD, members of the Regency/Municipal DPRD.
 3. Election Simultaneous Design is very closely related to the sustainability of democracy in a country because elections are one of the media of democracy whose role is essential in determining the size of a country to implement democracy, society, government, and political parties carry out their rights and obligations.

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