



## Ethical Challenges and Political Corruption in the 2024 Elections: A Perspective on Dignified Justice

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### Abstract

This research specifically to analyze the development of political corruption accompanied by ethical problems carried out by judicial institutions, namely Constitutional Court judges in the 2024 election contestation in Indonesia, viewed from the perspective of dignified justice. This research is socio-legal research by prioritizing conceptual, statutory and case approaches. The research results confirm that the practice of political corruption in the 2024 elections can be said to be massive, referring to the symptoms of new totalitarianism, namely the engineering of legal and democratic mechanisms to accommodate the political interests of certain parties. Viewed from the perspective of dignified justice, in holding the 2024 elections there are attempts to degrade and castrate the implementation and enforcement of legal norms and ethical norms at the same time. The phenomenon of money politics, the politicization of social assistance, and the engineering of legal and democratic mechanisms through the weakening of judicial institutions, in this case the Constitutional Court, is proof that there is weak enforcement of legal norms and ethical norms in the 2024 elections. Therefore, the main solution to minimizing political corruption is to understand, implementation and enforcement of legal norms and ethical norms simultaneously and concurrently in the perspective of dignified justice.

**Keywords:** Ethics; Political Corruption; Dignified Justice.

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### INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of political corruption in democratic countries is not a novel issue, as one of the characteristics of corruption is its ability to adapt and align with various political systems<sup>1</sup> Political corruption is, in essence, a “special” terminology that not only denotes corruption perpetrated by political officials but more broadly refers to corrupt acts facilitated by and involving political actors.<sup>2</sup> This underscores that political corruption is characterized by its structured and massive nature, which has direct implications for the governance and state affairs. The issue of political

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<sup>1</sup> Razananda Skandiva and Beniharmoni Harefa, “Urgensi Penerapan Foreign Bribery Dalam Konvensi Antikorupsi Di Indonesia,” *Integritas : Jurnal Antikorupsi* 7, no. 2 (2022): 245–262.

<sup>2</sup> Agil Oktaryal and Proborini Hastuti, “Desain Penegakan Hukum Korupsi Partai Politik Di Indonesia,” *Integritas* 7, no. 1 (2021): 1–22.

corruption in Indonesia has intensified, particularly in 2024, a political year. During 2024, Indonesia is holding simultaneous general elections aimed at electing the President and Vice President, members of the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), and Regional House of Representatives (DPRD).<sup>3</sup> The 2024 elections, while intended to manifest popular sovereignty, have also become a breeding ground for political corruption. This corruption manifests in various forms, such as money politics, the politicization of social aid, and electoral fraud involving political officials.<sup>4</sup>

The political corruption observed in the 2024 elections is particularly intriguing as it coincides with ethical issues within the judiciary, specifically the Constitutional Court (MK). Through Decision No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023, the MK altered the minimum age requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, thereby enabling Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the son of President Joko Widodo, to run for Vice President despite being under 40 years of age.<sup>5</sup> This controversial ruling led to allegations of ethical violations by Constitutional Court judges, resulting in the Honorary Council of the Constitutional Court (MKMK) Decision No. 5/MKMK/L/10/2023, which confirmed that the Constitutional Court judges, notably Chief Justice Anwar Usman, had committed severe ethical violations.

The ethical breaches by the judiciary, coupled with various forms of political corruption during the 2024 elections, reveal a “new face” of political corruption. Political corruption is not only perpetrated by political actors but also involves a broad network including political institutions and even judicial bodies.<sup>6</sup> This phenomenon motivates this study to analyze the evolution of political corruption alongside ethical issues within the judiciary, specifically concerning the Constitutional Court judges, during the 2024 electoral contest in Indonesia from the perspective of dignified justice.

The perspective of dignified justice is chosen as both the “lens” and “analytical tool” because it encompasses not only the legal and political dimensions of elections but also incorporates the ethical dimension. A well-conducted election should adhere to legal standards, ensure political participation, and uphold the ethics and dignity of

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<sup>3</sup> Osbin Samosir, “Serious Challenges To The 2024 Indonesian National General Election From The Serious Challenges To The 2024 Indonesian National General Election From The Aspect Of Election Organizer Behavior,” *International Journal of Current Research* 15, no. 1 (2024): 23186.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Misbahudholam Ar, Rofik Rofik, and Ahmad Hanafi, “Expensive Political Costs in the 2024 Simultaneous Elections,” *Jurnal Hukum dan Sosial Politik* 1, no. 1 (2023): 1-20.

<sup>5</sup> Rio Subandri, “Tinjauan Yuridis Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 90/PUU-XXI/2023 Tentang Persyaratan Batas Usia Pencalonan Presiden Dan Wakil Presiden,” *Jaksa: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Hukum Dan Politik* 2, no. 1 (2024): 135-153.

<sup>6</sup> Judhariksawan Handoko Alfiantoro, Abdul Maasba Magassing, M. Syukri Akub, “Legal Position of Criminal Act of Political Corruption as Part of Reflection Money Political Practice,” *Journal of Hunan University (Natural Sciences)* 49, no. 6 (2022): 237-248.

its organizers.<sup>7</sup> This study aims to explore and analyze the phenomena of political corruption and ethical issues in the 2024 elections through the framework of dignified justice.

Research on political corruption has been addressed by several prior studies with various focuses and orientations. These include: first, Ata (2022), who concentrated on political corruption through the practice of "ijon" in local election.<sup>8</sup> Ata's study is novel in that it highlights the widespread nature of "ijon" as a form of political corruption during local elections, utilizing diverse strategies and approaches. Second, Hakim and Muhyidin (2022) examined the relationship between corruption and the high costs of democracy.<sup>9</sup> The innovation of their research lies in demonstrating that the high costs of democracy compel politicians to resort to political corruption as a means to recoup the political expenses incurred during elections and regional head elections. Third, Sulastri et al. (2023) investigated the relevance of the open proportional system to the prevalence of political corruption.<sup>10</sup> The novelty of Sulastri et al.'s research is in showing that elections conducted under an open proportional system incur high costs, making them susceptible to political corruption among elected officials. Fourth, Syahrin and Sompaa (2023) focused on the phenomenon of political corruption resulting from money politics and a lack of understanding of the Pancasila ideology.<sup>11</sup> Their study is innovative in revealing that a superficial or textual understanding of the Pancasila ideology contributes to the prevalence of money politics, which in turn results in political corruption.

Among these four studies, none specifically analyze political corruption in relation to ethical issues. This gap arises because the intersection of political corruption with ethical problems has only become evident in the 2024 elections in Indonesia, which is the focus of this study. This underscores the originality of the current research.

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<sup>7</sup> Muhammad Afied Hambali et al., "Feasibility Test Reconstruction of Ethical Enforcement Regulations for Election Organizers Based on the Values of Justice with Dignity," *Scholars International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 5, no. 1 (2022): 1-7.

<sup>8</sup> Nursasi Ata, "Praktik Ijon Politik Pada Kasus Korupsi Kepala Daerah; Studi Kasus Korupsi Dana Alokasi Khusus (Dak) Pendidikan," *Journal of Governance Innovation* 4, no. 1 (2022): 65-83.

<sup>9</sup> Ahmad Burhan Hakim and Muhyidin, "Demokrasi Dan Politik Biaya Tinggi (High Cost Politics)," *Journal of Sharia* 1, no. 1 (2022): 12-22.

<sup>10</sup> Gusti M Ardi Abdussamad, Ergina Faralita, and Sulastri, "Korupsi Politik Terlahir Dari Sistem Pemilihan Umum Menggunakan Sistem Proporsional Terbuka Di Indonesia," *Wasaka Hukum: Jendela Informasi & Gagasan Hukum* 11, no. 1 (2023): 62-77.

<sup>11</sup> Andi Tenri Sompaa, M Najeri, and Al Syahrin, "Mereduksi Money Politics Dengan Penguatan Nilai Ideologis Pancasila Bagi Masyarakat Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Walagri Kebangsaan* 1, no. 1 (2023): 18-28.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This study, which specifically analyzes the evolution of political corruption alongside ethical issues within the judiciary, particularly focusing on Constitutional Court judges in the 2024 electoral contest in Indonesia from the perspective of dignified justice, constitutes a socio-legal research. According to Reza Banakar, the primary characteristic of socio-legal research is that it employs a social lens to examine, review, and analyze a legal issue by integrating social theories and concepts with legal theories and concepts.<sup>12</sup> The primary legal materials used in this research include the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and Constitutional Court Decision No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023. Secondary legal materials consist of journal articles, books, and research findings related to political corruption, the enforcement of ethical norms, and the 2024 elections. Non-legal materials include legal dictionaries. The research employs conceptual, legislative, and case-based approaches. Analysis is conducted using a qualitative-prescriptive method, which involves synthesizing theories or concepts from both the field of law and the social-political domain to address the legal issues under consideration.

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

### A. Ethical Violations and Political Corruption in the 2024 Elections

Corruption is defined as an act intended to provide benefits to individuals or groups, either individually or collectively, that contravenes legal regulations established by the state.<sup>13</sup> The understanding of corruption, as outlined in Black's Law Dictionary, aligns with the definition in Law No. 31 of 1999 on the Eradication of Corruption (Anti-Corruption Law), which emphasizes that corruption involves actions that benefit individuals in a manner contrary to state law.<sup>14</sup> In another perspective, Jeremy Pope defines corruption as unlawful or improper conduct by state officials in the performance of their duties, which tends to harm the state.<sup>15</sup> Pope's definition is broader compared to the Anti-Corruption Law, as it includes the element of improper conduct. Improper conduct encompasses not only actions that violate the law but also those that deviate from established procedures and have a tendency to harm the state.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Mariana Motta Vivian, "Law, Justice and Reza Banakar's Legal Sociology," *Onati Socio-Legal Series* 11, no. 1 (2021): 1-29.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Campbell Black Bryan A. Garner, *Black's Law Dictionary*, 11th ed. (Minnesota: West Publishing Co, St. Paul, 2019).

<sup>14</sup> Eddy Omar Sharif Hiariej, "United Nations Convention Against Corruption Dalam Sistem Hukum Indonesia," *Mimbar Hukum - Fakultas Hukum Universitas Gadjah Mada* 31, no. 1 (2019): 112.

<sup>15</sup> Bertrand Venard, Yehuda Baruch, and Julien Cloarec, "Consequences of Corruption: Determinants of Public Servants' Job Satisfaction and Performance," *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 34, no. 20 (2023): 3825-3856, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2022.2161323>.

<sup>16</sup> Staffan I. Lindberg, Maria C. Lo Bue, and Kunal Sen, "Clientelism, Corruption and the Rule of Law," *World Development* 158, no. 1 (2022): 2-9, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2022.105989>.

Guy Benveniste classifies corruption into three types: illegal corruption, mercenary corruption, and ideological corruption.<sup>17</sup> Illegal corruption involves circumventing or exploiting legal loopholes to evade criminal accountability. Mercenary corruption seeks personal gain, whether for individuals or specific groups.<sup>18</sup> Ideological corruption is driven by ideological beliefs held by individuals or groups. Among these perspectives, Benveniste's categorization is the broadest. He does not confine corruption to conventional notions of personal or group gain detrimental to the state but also includes efforts to evade criminal liability through exploitation of legal loopholes.

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From these various perspectives on corruption, it is understood that one prevalent type of corruption in Indonesia is political corruption. Artidjo Alkostar provides a brief understanding of political corruption, characterizing it as corruption perpetrated by political actors, whether at the national or regional level.<sup>21</sup> Alkostar's view of political corruption can be expanded to emphasize that political corruption is not solely about the perpetrators being political actors but also involves any corrupt practices aimed at achieving specific political objectives. Thus, political corruption encompasses various forms of corruption that manifest within political practices.

Corruption, in general, is categorized as an extraordinary crime, where perpetrators often employ various schemes and even exploit state resources to commit corrupt acts.<sup>22</sup> Political corruption is arguably more severe and can be considered a "massive extraordinary crime"

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<sup>17</sup> Isomiddinov Yunusjon Yusubboevich, "Problems of Defining the Concept of Corruption and Its Content," *International journal of health sciences* 6, no. 1 (2022): 849-857.

<sup>18</sup> Isomiddinov Yunusjon Yusubboevich, "Anti-Corruption Culture : Reforms And Main Directions Socio-Philosophical Analysis," *Texas Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* 8, no. 1 (2022): 50-53, <https://zienjournals.com/index.php/tjm/article/view/1514%0Ahttps://zienjournals.com/index.php/tjm/article/download/1514/1256>.

<sup>19</sup> Isomiddinov Yunusjon Yusubboevich, "Problems of Defining the Concept of Corruption and Its Content," *International journal of health sciences* 6, no. 1 (2022): 849-857.

<sup>20</sup> Isomiddinov Yunusjon Yusubboevich, "Anti-Corruption Culture : Reforms And Main Directions Socio-Philosophical Analysis," *Texas Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* 8, no. 1 (2022): 50-53, <https://zienjournals.com/index.php/tjm/article/view/1514%0Ahttps://zienjournals.com/index.php/tjm/article/download/1514/1256>.

<sup>21</sup> Artidjo Alkostar, *Korupsi Politik Di Negara Modern*, 2nd ed. (Yogyakarta: FH UII Press, 2015).

<sup>22</sup> Jonah Silas Leo Agustino, M.Dian Hikmawan, "Regional Head Elections, High-Cost Politics, and Corruption in Indonesia," *Otoritas: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 13, no. 1 (2023): 44-57, <https://revistas.ufjr.br/index.php/rce/article/download/1659/1508%0Ahttp://hipatiapress.com/hpjournals/index.php/qre/article/view/1348%5Cnhttp://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09500799708666915%5Cnhttps://mckinseysociety.com/downloads/reports/Educa>.

because, in addition to employing various scheme and exploiting state resources, it is carried out by individuals with excessive power, making it nearly impossible to apprehend and prosecute them according to legal procedures.<sup>23</sup> A significant period for the prevalence of political corruption is during elections. Elections represent a critical moment of succession, where the people, as the sovereign authority, elect leaders and representatives for legislative bodies.<sup>24</sup> This electoral period is often exploited for massive political corruption.

The use of elections as a means for widespread political corruption is also evident in the 2024 electoral contest. The 2024 elections represent a pivotal moment where the people of Indonesia directly elect the President and Vice President, as well as members of the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representative Council (DPD), and Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). Political corruption during the 2024 elections is perpetrated through various methods and efforts, such as money politics, promises of strategic project allocations if elected, and manipulation of legal regulations to facilitate political agendas for certain parties.

On January 10, 2024, one month prior to the election, the Integrated Law Enforcement Task Force (Gakkumdu) had already addressed 17 election-related criminal cases out of 75 reports received from the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu).<sup>25</sup> Of these 17 cases, the majority were related to money politics, with five reports, followed by various other reports, including the use of state facilities for political campaigning. This pre-election phenomenon indicates that both during and after the elections, the number of reports concerning various forms of electoral fraud and criminal offenses is expected to rise. The use of money politics, including state facilities for campaign purposes, constitutes a broad form of political corruption because elected officials engaging in money politics are likely to commit further acts of corruption to cover the political costs incurred during the provision of money politics.<sup>26</sup> The use of state facilities for political campaigns also represents a form of political corruption due to the misuse of state resources.<sup>27</sup>

Broadly, political corruption also manifests in the 2024 elections, particularly through attempts to manipulate or exploit legal regulations for specific political purposes.

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<sup>23</sup> Oualoufeye Razack Binda and Eustache Roger Koffi Adanhounme, "Political Corruption: Contribution and Actuality of Machiavelli," *European Journal of Social Sciences Studies* 8, no. 1 (2022): 310-318.

<sup>24</sup> Wasihun Bezabih Bekele and Yitagesu Bekele Nigatu, "Gender and Local Governance: Women's Participation in Electoral Politics, Leadership Positions, and Decision-Making Process at Local Governments of Bench-Maji and Kaffa Zones of Southwest Ethiopia," *Ethiopian Renaissance Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 10, no. 1 (2023): 100-120.

<sup>25</sup> Norbertus Arya Dwiangga Martiar, "17 Tindak Pidana Pemilu Diproses, Kebanyakan Pemalsuan Dan Politik Uang," 2024, <https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2024/01/10/17-tindak-pidana-pemilu-diproses-kebanyakan-pemalsuan-dan-politik-uang>.

<sup>26</sup> Ridho Al-Hamdi and Nur Sofyan, "To What Extent Political Education Can Influences Young Voters' Perceptions?," *Journal of Government and Civil Society* 7, no. 1 (2023): 119.

<sup>27</sup> Edward Aspinall, "Parliament and Patronage," *Journal of Democracy* 25, no. 4 (2014): 96-110.

This is evidenced by efforts to circumvent electoral regulations, specifically regarding the minimum age requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Such manipulation is illustrated by the case of Gibran Rakabuming Raka, the son of President Joko Widodo, who, despite being under 40 years old, sought to run for Vice President. These attempts to circumvent electoral regulations were formally embodied in Constitutional Court Decision No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023.<sup>28</sup> Through this decision, the electoral law was amended to bypass the 40-year minimum age requirement for Vice President candidates, a modification made through a decision with erga omnes effects.<sup>29</sup>

Constitutional Court Decision No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023 is controversial both conceptually and in terms of the configuration of Constitutional Court judges who issued dissenting opinions. Conceptually, this decision is problematic as it diverges from the ratio decidendi of previous Constitutional Court decisions, which upheld the minimum age requirement as an open legal policy.<sup>30</sup> Regarding the configuration of judges, dissenting opinions from Constitutional Court judges Saldi Isra and Arief Hidayat reveal a “systemic mechanism” used to influence the decision in favor of allowing Gibran Rakabuming Raka to run for Vice President despite not meeting the age requirement.

The controversy surrounding Constitutional Court Decision No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023 was subsequently affirmed by the Constitutional Court Honorary Council (MKMK) Decision No. 5/MKMK/L/10/2023, which confirmed that certain Constitutional Court judges, including the Chief Justice Anwar Usman, had committed ethical violations, with the Chief Justice’s violations categorized as severe. The controversy in the 2024 elections, marked by ethical breaches within the judiciary, particularly the Constitutional Court, underscores a significant phenomenon in which political corruption is carried out on a massive scale. This includes the misuse of state resources, the distribution of social assistance before the election, and the manipulation of judicial authority to advance the political agendas of certain parties.<sup>31</sup>

This widespread political corruption aligns with Jimly Asshidiqie’s view that as time progresses, corruption practices also diversify, reflecting symptoms of a new

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<sup>28</sup> Muhammad Rinaldy Bima and John Tumba Jacob, “The Age Threshold for Presidential Nominations in the Perspective of Dignified Justice Theory: Why Is There a Court of Family (Mahkamah Keluarga) Issue?,” *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum dan Keadilan* 11, no. 3 (2023): 403-422.

<sup>29</sup> Adam Ilyas Dicky Eko Prasetio, “Judicial Activism Dalam Pengujian Konstitusionalitas Undang-Undang Ratifikasi,” *Negara Hukum* 13, no. 2 (2022): 258.

<sup>30</sup> Iwan Satriawan and Tanto Lailam, “Open Legal Policy Dalam Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Dan Pembentukan Undang-Undang,” *Jurnal Konstitusi* 16, no. 3 (October 2019): 559.

<sup>31</sup> Derwin Tambunan, “Indonesia under Threat: The Danger of Corruption to Political Legitimacy,” *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 8, no. 1 (2023): 112-140.

form of totalitarianism.<sup>32</sup> This new totalitarianism, as described by Sheldon S. Wolin, involves the engineering of various state institutions and mechanisms to serve the interests of a small group, typically political elites influenced by business or corporate interests.<sup>33</sup> A characteristic of this new totalitarianism is the appearance of normal legal and democratic operations while, in reality, it entails the suppression of popular sovereignty facilitated by mechanisms that are legally and democratically deemed legitimate.<sup>34</sup>

Jimly Asshidiqie further develops Wolin's concept of new totalitarianism by asserting that in its more advanced form, it involves the centralization of four main aspects of social life, commonly referred to as the macro *quadra politica*: the state, the market, civil society organizations, and the media.<sup>35</sup> In this newer form of totalitarianism, legal and democratic mechanisms are engineered to fulfill the objectives of a select few who control state institutions, markets, civil society organizations, and the media either individually or collectively.<sup>36</sup> The political corruption evident in the 2024 elections is consistent with this newer form of totalitarianism, where corruption is not only used to advance the political goals of individuals or groups but also involves manipulating legal and political institutions. This is evident in the controversial Constitutional Court Decision No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023, where the court, which is supposed to oversee and adjudicate election results, was manipulated to produce a decision accommodating specific interests.

The increasing prevalence of political corruption in the 2024 elections further reflects the development of new totalitarianism symptoms, exacerbated by ethical breaches by Constitutional Court judges. Although there is a conceptual distinction between ethical norms and legal norms, in the context of elections, the adherence to ethical norms is crucial alongside the enforcement of legal norms, especially for election organizers.<sup>37</sup> Compliance with ethical norms by election organizers and related parties is necessary to ensure that elections not only guarantee justice based on legal principles, as stipulated in Article 22E of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, but also adhere to ethical codes to produce an election of integrity and

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<sup>32</sup> Jimly Asshidiqie, *Perkembangan Baru Tentang Konstitusi Dan Konstitusionalisme Dalam Teori Dan Praktik*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Genta Publishing, 2018).

<sup>33</sup> Alan S. Kahan, "Liberalism and Populism: The Crisis of Our Time," *Political Insight* 14, no. 4 (2023): 28-30.

<sup>34</sup> Marṭian Iovan, "Analysis of the Connections Between Law and Morals, Between Customs and Contemporaneity," *Journal of Legal Studies* 25, no. 39 (June 2020): 57-68.

<sup>35</sup> Jimly Asshiddiqie, *Oligarki Dan Totalitarianisme Baru* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2022).

<sup>36</sup> Jimly Asshidiqie, *Penguatan Sistem Pemerintahan Dan Peradilan* (Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, 2015).

<sup>37</sup> Claudya Inamas Putri Fradhana Putra Disantara, Ruetaitip Chansrakaeo, Mohamad Jazuli, Ni Putu Ratnayutika, Rini Triastutiek Umiasih, "The Enigma of Ethics: Code of Ethics Enforcement on Covid-19 Health Protocol," *De Lega Lata* 7, no. 1 (2021): 3.

dignity.<sup>38</sup> The widespread political corruption in the 2024 elections, reflecting the new totalitarianism, involves the violation of ethical norms to manipulate the law. As Earl Warren noted, ethical norms relate to the implementation of law, serving as the ocean in which the ship of law navigates.<sup>39</sup> If ethical norms are not adhered to, how can the ship of law sail toward the island of justice envisioned for all?

Based on the above discussion, it can be observed that political corruption in the 2024 elections has occurred on a massive scale, reflecting symptoms of new totalitarianism, characterized by the manipulation of legal and democratic mechanisms to serve the interests of specific political actors. The implications of political corruption in the 2024 elections extend beyond the weak legitimacy of the elected officials, who are perceived to have engaged in various manipulations and fraud for particular political objectives. This corruption also holds the potential to exacerbate political corruption significantly during their subsequent tenure in office.

## **B. Perspectives on Dignified Justice Concerning Ethical Issues and Political Corruption in the 2024 Election Contest**

The phenomenon of political corruption in the 2024 election, characterized by attempts to manipulate and violate ethical and legal norms, warrants an examination from the perspective of dignified justice. This perspective is particularly relevant given its focus on ensuring that both legal and ethical norms are adhered to in the electoral process. Essentially, the concept of dignified justice emphasizes the need for synergy between the adherence to legal norms and ethical standards, facilitating a just and equitable societal framework.<sup>40</sup>

Dignified justice, as conceptualized by Teguh Prasetyo, comprises two complementary aspects. The first aspect involves accommodating and facilitating laws that are grounded in the national spirit or *volkgeis*.<sup>41</sup> Such laws, derived from the social values within a community, are inherently relevant to societal development, making them effective and adhered to by the public as they reflect the values of society. The national spirit or *volkgeist* also intersects with ethical norms, as laws are

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<sup>38</sup> Moch. Nurhasim, "Potensi Pelanggaran Etik Pada Pemilu Paralel 2024," *Etika dan Pemilu* 7, no. Juni (2021): 25-45.

<sup>39</sup> Maharani Nurdin, "Eksistensi Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu (Dkpp) Dalam Penegakan Etika Penyelenggara Pemilu," *Veritas* 5, no. 2 (2019): 3.

<sup>40</sup> Fradhana Putra Disantara, Bayu Dwi Anggono, and A'An Efendi, "Mendudukkan Norma Etika: Perspektif Teori Keadilan Bermartabat Terhadap Relasi Etika Dan Hukum," *Rechtsidee* 10, no. 2 (2022): 1-13.

<sup>41</sup> Koesmoyo Ponco Aji et al., "Dual Citizenship in Indonesia from the Perspective of Dignified Justice and Sovereignty," *Law and Humanities Quarterly Reviews* 3, no. 1 (2024): 27-38.

supported and complemented by ethical standards, underscoring the need for simultaneous understanding and enforcement of both legal and ethical norms.<sup>42</sup>

The second aspect of dignified justice pertains to its religious dimension, which should be distinguished from religious dimensions that are specific to particular beliefs or religions. The religious dimension emphasizes that legal and ethical rules should be based on universal values rooted in the diverse religions and beliefs in Indonesia.<sup>43</sup> These universal values, which are moderated into guiding principles for ethical and legal norms, can be seen in the foundational values of Pancasila, which include belief in God, human dignity, unity, democracy, and social justice.<sup>44</sup> These foundational values guide the application of laws and ethics to create a fair and dignified society.

In the context of the 2024 election, the perspective of dignified justice stresses that elections are optimally conducted when laws are enforced fairly and ethical standards are upheld to ensure the dignity of the electoral process.<sup>45</sup> The synergy between legal and ethical norms is a hallmark of dignified justice in guiding the electoral process. However, the 2024 election has been marred by political corruption, including practices such as money politics, politicization of social assistance, and manipulation of legal and political procedures for the benefit of specific parties. The Constitutional Court Decision No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023 exemplifies attempts to undermine the judiciary through legal manipulation, leading to ethical violations, as evidenced by the decision's critique of Chief Justice Anwar Usman for ethical breaches. Viewed from the perspective of dignified justice, these issues not only tarnish the conduct of the 2024 election but also represent a broader effort to undermine the principles of justice and dignity grounded in both legal and ethical understanding.

The 2024 election practices, when examined through the lens of dignified justice, reflect an attempt to manipulate legal and ethical norms to serve the interests of specific parties. Both legal and ethical norms appear to be undermined and detached from the nation's fundamental values, which are rooted in the national spirit or *volksgeist* and universal religious values as enshrined in Pancasila.<sup>46</sup> The erosion of these norms in the 2024 election has sparked controversy, as it represents a manifestation of political corruption. This form of corruption, which involves the degradation of legal and ethical standards during the 2024 election, can be seen as the

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<sup>42</sup> Aisyatul Azizah and Rosita Risma Yanti, "Pseudo Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Keadilan Bermartabat," *Sinda* x, no. x (2022): 1-11.

<sup>43</sup> Christina Maya Indah Susilowati, "The Philosophy Of Sentencing In Indonesia Based On Dignified Justice," *International Journal of Business, Economics and Law* 22, no. 1 (2020): 174.

<sup>44</sup> Dicky Eko Prasetyo, "Pancasila Sebagai Pengembangan Moral Virtual Dalam Perspektif Living Ideology," *Pancasila : Jurnal Keindonesiaan* 3, no. 2 (2023): 127.

<sup>45</sup> Teguh Prasetyo, Muhammad Muhammad, and Ida Budhiati, *Filsafat Pemilu Berbasis Teori Keadilan Bermartabat* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit K-Media, 2021).

<sup>46</sup> Deborah L. Rhode et al., *Legal Ethics*, 8th ed. (Minnesota: West Academic, 2020).

initial gateway to more extensive political corruption. Once the parties responsible for undermining these norms are elected and assume office, the potential for corruption is likely to intensify.

If legal and ethical norms can be compromised and manipulated during the initial electoral contest, there is a significant risk that such violations will proliferate post-election, particularly as mechanisms to perpetuate political corruption are solidified. Political corruption is inherently linked to the electoral process, and how elections are conducted can influence the extent of future corruption.<sup>47</sup> An election that upholds and enforces legal and ethical norms with dignity is likely to minimize future political corruption. Conversely, an election that fails to uphold these standards may serve as a precursor to more significant political corruption.

Based on the above discussion, from the perspective of dignified justice, the 2024 election reveals efforts to undermine and degrade the enforcement of legal and ethical norms simultaneously. The presence of phenomena such as money politics, the politicization of social assistance, and the manipulation of legal and democratic mechanisms through the weakening of judicial institutions, notably the Constitutional Court, demonstrates that the weakening of legal and ethical norms during the 2024 election could lead to more substantial political corruption. This is particularly concerning for the period following the election when those who have undermined ethical and legal standards assume office. Therefore, the violations of legal and ethical norms in the 2024 election, when viewed from the perspective of dignified justice, should serve as a critical lesson. The primary solution to minimizing political corruption lies in the simultaneous understanding, implementation, and enforcement of legal and ethical norms, which is central to the concept of dignified justice.

## CONCLUSION

The political corruption observed in the 2024 elections can be described as pervasive, reflecting characteristics of "new totalitarianism," particularly through the manipulation of legal and democratic mechanisms to serve the interests of specific political actors. The implications of such political corruption are significant, not only due to the perceived weakness in the legitimacy of those elected—attributed to the various manipulations and frauds undertaken for political ends—but also because of the potential for more extensive political corruption once these actors assume office.

From the perspective of dignified justice, the 2024 election administration reveals efforts to degrade and undermine both legal and ethical norms simultaneously. Phenomena such as money politics, the politicization of social assistance, and the manipulation of legal and democratic processes through the weakening of judicial

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<sup>47</sup> David Seth Jones, "Challenges in Combating Corruption in Malaysia: Issues of Leadership, Culture and Money Politics," *Public Administration and Policy* 25, no. 2 (2022): 136-149.

institutions, specifically the Constitutional Court, illustrate the deficiencies in upholding legal and ethical standards during the 2024 elections. Therefore, the primary solution to minimizing political corruption is to ensure the simultaneous understanding, implementation, and enforcement of legal and ethical norms, which constitutes the core of the dignified justice perspective.

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