

ELECTION DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC: ANALYSIS ON HEALTH RIGHTS PROTECTION

Supriyadi
Aminuddin Kasim
Andi Intan Purnamasari
Achmad Allang

ABSTRACT

The 2020 Regional Election has just ended, this local-level democracy party in Indonesia was held under conditions of the spread of Covid-19. The tug of war about the implementation of the regional elections had colored, until in the end the government held the elections in a situation of the outbreak of Covid-19. This activity is in fact inversely proportional to several countries in other parts of the world that have taken policies to hold regional head elections on the grounds that the spread of Covid-19 is still quite high. The spread of Covid-19 in Indonesia is also quite high, to be precise in 2020, since the implementation of the Regional Election the number of Covid-19 sufferers has continued to increase. Even some regions that will carry out the elections are included in the red zone category. This research uses the socio-legal method while still relying on normative (doctrinal) research. The results of the research are first: The implementation of regional elections in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic is still carried out because it relies on three main aspects, namely the philosophical aspect which emphasizes that the Regional Election is a form of the realization of people's sovereignty, a juridical aspect that provides legal legitimacy regarding the legality of the Regional Election implementation and the sociological aspect that views implementation. Regional Election can strengthen ethnic and religious diversity in Indonesia. Second: the health protection system for participants, organizers and voters in the process of organizing the 2020 regional elections in the midst of the pandemic is in the sub-optimal category, this is evidenced by data on the number of participants and organizers who were confirmed positive for Covid-19. Third: The ideal election or regional election in a Covid-19 pandemic is to reconceptualize the election implementation system from a substance aspect which includes the stages of updating voter data, verification of individual candidates, and campaigns using the online method and the use of the E-Votting method in voting. As well as the presence of community obedience and voters to the level of internalization.

Key words: Regional elections, Covid-19 Pandemic, Health Protection.

INTRODUCTION

The Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia has claimed millions of the lives of the nation's children, this figure is predicted to continue to grow along with the increasing spread of Covid-19 in various regions in Indonesia. This situation is increasingly possible in line with the issuance of a government policy to carry out simultaneous regional elections in 2020 in the midst of the spread of Covid-19, after previously postponing it. The simultaneous regional elections held in 2020 were conducted in 270 regions with a distribution of 9 provinces, 224 regencies and 37 cities, meaning that nearly 60 percent of regions in Indonesia carry out regional elections. Of the 270 regional areas that have held regional elections, there are several areas that have a significant number of Covid-19 spreads. From the 2020 Regional Election Vulnerability Index data released by Bawaslu RI, there are 9 provinces that are categorized as high prone, 50 districts / cities high prone, 126 regencies / cities with medium prone, 85 districts / cities with low risk. The 9 provinces categorized as highly vulnerable include Central Kalimantan 95.56%, West Sumatra 94.44%, North Sulawesi, 90.00%, Central Sulawesi 84.44%, Bengkulu 83.33%, South Kalimantan, 83.33% , Riau Islands 82.22%, Jambi 72.22%, and North Kalimantan 61.11%.

The figures above confirm that the state of Indonesia is still at the emergency level of Covid-19, especially for the 9 provinces that are holding regional elections in 2020. This situation forces the election process to be on the threshold of confusion between constitutional rights in the political field and the right to health. On the one hand, there are constitutional rights in the political sector that must be protected in order to fill the positions of regional heads and deputy regional heads, while on the other hand public health is also a fundamental right. The implementation of the elections in 2020, experienced several rejections from various parties, including election organizers and observers. This is quite reasonable considering that the status of the spread of covid-19 eggplant has increased in this country, the situation is made worse by several confirmed covid-19 organizers, for example the chairman of the KPU of the Republic of Indonesia and members of the Bawaslu of the Republic of Indonesia. In the midst of the uncertainty of this implementation, the government finally took a policy to continue to carry out simultaneous regional elections in the middle of the Covid-19 pandemic by complying with health protocols. This policy demands that the government is obliged to provide self-protection for organizers, participants and voters in organizing the elections.

Emergency to Covid-19 can also be interpreted as emergency to health, because the main element touched by the spread of Covid-19 is health (Stobbs et al., 2020). No one can argue if there are those who argue that Covid-19 takes health, and that health is threatened by Covid-19. Health insurance is a non-negotiable right for organizers, participants and voters, because the availability of protection for health in the implementation of regional elections in the midst of a pandemic is one of the determinants of the quality of the elections in 2020. The quality of election results is largely determined by the quality of the implementation process, the quality of the process here. also means the quality of the availability of personal protective equipment for each element of the elections (organizers, participants and voters).

When carrying out its duties, the government, through policies taken in the event of the spread of Covid-19, is obliged to place human rights in the health sector at the first and foremost level. Likewise, regarding policies in holding simultaneous regional elections in 2020, it is mandatory to place health at the main level. It does not intend to put aside human rights in the political field, but under current circumstances the position of human rights in the health sector must be given more attention. The simultaneous Regional Election is a democratic party as well as an Indonesian constitutional agenda, with the aim of evaluating the leadership of the previous period and conducting elections for the next period. The implementation of democracy is also not justified in ignoring the basic rights of the people.

The spread of Covid-19 in Indonesia directly affects the infrastructure for organizing the elections. the situation becomes a tug of war over the interests of rights in the health sector and rights in the political field. The readiness of the government in fulfilling the need for personal protective equipment for election organizers and participants cannot be implemented optimally and adequately, this is evidenced by the fact that there are 60 regional head candidates registering themselves to the Regency / City KPU confirmed positive for Covid-19 spread across 21 regions, namely: Bali: 1 person. East Kalimantan: 2 people. Central Java: 1 person. North Maluku: 4 people. East Java: 3 people. Gorontalo: 10 people. Riau: 1 person. South Sulawesi: 2 people. North Sumatra: 6 people. Lampung: 1 person. Bengkulu: 1 person. East Nusa Tenggara: 1 person. North Sulawesi: 2 people. South Kalimantan: 8 people. Banten: 1 person. West Papua: 1 person. Southeast Sulawesi: 1 Person. South Sumatra: 1 person. Papua: 7 people. North Kalimantan: 1 person. West Sumatra: 5 people (Hafidz, 2020). Among the names of prospective regional heads who were confirmed positive for Covid-19 at the time of registering were scattered in the following areas:

Table 1 : Name of Candidate who was confirmed positive for Covid-19 when registering

Candidate Name	Regency / City	Status Covid-19
Lisa Andriani	Kota Binjai	Positif
Khairunas	Solok Selatan	Positif
Suyatno	Rokan Hilir	Positif
Antoni Imam	Lampung Selatan	Positif
Muhammad Fajri	Klaten	Positif
Ika Rizky Viryani	Dompu	Positif

The number of prospective pairs of candidates who were confirmed positive when registering as a participant in the implementation of the regional elections confirms that Indonesia's condition at that time was not in a good condition from the spread of Covid-19. In organizing the elections during the Covid-19 pandemic, the readiness of the Regional Election infrastructure must be prioritized, because it involves the safety of every citizen, both participants and voters. However, the readiness of the Regional Election infrastructure, especially in the preparation of personal protective equipment and safety guarantees for election organizers, is still at a very minimal level, this is evidenced by several organizers who have tested positive for Covid-19. From the data records released by Bawaslu of the Republic of Indonesia, there were KPPS officers consisting of 1,172 polling stations that were positively infected with Covid-19. The 1,172 polling stations where the Covid-19 positive KPPS confirms that the health security infrastructure in organizing the elections is not going well.

This incident, bringing the policy of implementing the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 in Indonesia is in a conflict between the protection of human rights in the health sector and human rights in the political field. To direct and focus the discussion in the next section, it is necessary to limit the problems that will be answered in this paper. The formulation of the problem is: First, why was the regional election being held in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. Second, what is the form of protection for health in the implementation of regional elections in the midst of a pandemic. third, what is the ideal regional election concept in a Covid-19 pandemic.

RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in the study of this article is based on the results of legal research. In this legal research use a statutory approach, a conceptual approach, and a case approach. The statutory approach focuses on regulations related to regional head and deputy regional head elections as well as regulations related to the spread of Covid-19. Meanwhile, the conceptual approach is related to the ideal concept of implementing elections in areas in the midst of a pandemic. and the case approach, which is used to assess cases of the spread of covid-19 during the implementation of regional head elections. The materials used consist of primary legal materials, namely all laws and regulations related to regional head elections and Covid-19, as well as secondary legal materials sourced from books, articles in journals, and research results. Furthermore, all legal materials that underlie the study are analyzed using the method of interpretation and legal reasoning.

DISCUSSION

1. The Urgency of Simultaneous Regional Elections in the Middle of the Covid-19 Pandemic

Regional Election is a democratic party at the local level which is carried out in stages based on the provisions of laws and regulations. 2015 marked the initial stage of implementing simultaneous regional elections in Indonesia, this has also become a history of the development of local democracy where previously the regional elections were not carried out simultaneously. The

implementation of the Regional Election is seen as a form of overcoming the value of people's sovereignty, the people based on their sovereignty evaluate regional leaders one previous period and elect leaders for the next period.

Apart from some of the probabilities that occurred in the implementation of the Regional Election, on the other hand, the Regional Election can have a big influence on the various ethnic and religious rivalries in Indonesia. Edward Aspinall stated: "For more than a decade, Indonesia has had a reputation for being afflicted by serious ethnic and other forms of communal conflict....But now, more than twelve years after democratization began, there is remarkably little organized ethnic conflict in Indonesia, and ethnicity rests only lightly on national politics. Not only has the incidence of communal violence declined sharply, but new modes of inter-ethnic coalition building and cooperation have emerged" (Aspinall, 2020)

From Aspinall's point of view, the Regional Election has become a strong instrument to tame ethnic and religious rivalries. Which of these two spectrums has a very strong influence on the course of democracy in Indonesia to date. Therefore, the Regional Election has a major influence not only on the sustainability of democracy in the regions but also on maintaining ethnic and religious stability. Law Number 10 of 2016 is the legality of implementing simultaneous regional elections, but its existence is not contextual with the conditions in 2020 due to the spread of Covid-19 that has hit the world, including Indonesia. To overcome this situation, Perpu Number 2 of 2020 was born (currently it has been stipulated as Law Number 6 of 2020) as a form of legal certainty for the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 amid the Covid-19 pandemic.

After experiencing delays in the implementation of the stages due to the spread of Covid-19, in the end the implementation of the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 was resumed with standard health protocols. This phenomenon presents pros and cons among the public considering that several regions that will carry out regional elections are categorized as red zone areas. This has become a fundamental question regarding the urgency of implementing the regional elections in the midst of a pandemic to continue to be carried out. Diversity in Indonesia is a gift to be grateful for, the characteristics of society that are different from one another also give color to the implementation of simultaneous regional elections in Indonesia.

The urgency of implementing regional elections in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic can be assessed from three approaches, namely: philosophical, juridical and sociological. From a philosophical point of view, the implementation of the Regional Election is a form of realizing the people's sovereignty as stated in Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states "Governors, Regents and Mayors respectively as heads of provincial, regency governments, and the city is elected democratically". Furthermore, in the basic provisions considering the riots a and b the Regional Election Law states: that in order to ensure that the election for the Governor, Regent and Mayor is carried out in a democratic manner as mandated in Article 18 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the sovereignty of the people and democracy of the people, by the people, and for the people must be respected as the main condition for the implementation of elections for governors, regents and mayors.

Juridically, the implementation of simultaneous regional elections in 2020 has been regulated in the provisions of Article 201A paragraph (2) of the Regional Election Law which states "The postponed simultaneous voting as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be held in December 2020". The provisions of Article 201A paragraph (2) are a form of legal certainty for the simultaneous regional elections in 2020. Legal certainty (*Rechtssicherheit*) is a concept that is closely related to the enforcement of law (*Die Geltung es Rechts*). Gustav Radbruch stated that validity consists of juridical enforceability (*juristische Geltung*), philosophical enforceability (*philosophische geltung*), and sociological enforceability (*soziologische Geltung*) (Meuwissen, 2018). Legal certainty is a feature that cannot be separated from legal positivism. certainty is the minimum legal goal that must be achieved through the assumptions of legal positivism (Shidarta, 2007). Jan Michiel Otto expanded the meaning of legal certainty by defining legal certainty in certain situations, namely first, the availability of clear, consistent and accessible legal rules, issued by and recognized because of the (power) of the state. Second, the ruling agencies (government) consistently apply these legal rules. Third, most citizens in principle adapt their behavior to the rules. Fourth, independent and impartial judges apply the law. Fifth, the judicial decisions are concretely implemented. (Jan Michiel Otto, 2003). Regional Election is a must in a juridical aspect, because it involves legal certainty and obedience to the law itself.

Sociologically, the existence of simultaneous regional elections is used as a means of attaching the relationship between ethnic and religious entities in a region, for example, one of the candidates for governor and deputy governor of Central Sulawesi Province who is paired with a different religious background. To borrow back from Aspinall's opinion above, that the meaning of the implementation of the Regional Election cannot be separated from merely a change of leadership, but also as a manifestation of people's sovereign rights and maintaining the integrity of ethnic and religious areas in the region. This means that the Regional Election chooses a very strong role in maintaining the integrity of diversity in Indonesia, so that the argument for the spread of covid-19 cannot be used as a basis for conditions that force the elections to not be implemented. Besides that, the state of the spread of Covid-19 to date cannot be predicted when it will end.

2. Forms of Protection of Health Rights in the 2020 Regional Election

The pull and pull of the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic cannot be separated from the intersection of health insurance and politics. Both health and politics are human rights that must be protected because they are guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Marisa et al., 2020). In principle, the simultaneous regional election is the realization of human rights values in the political field, because every citizen has the right to vote and be elected in a general election. The state has a full obligation to ensure the implementation of these political rights by carrying out simultaneous regional elections as mandated by Law Number 10 of 2016. Prior to the implementation of the 2020 regional elections, the first batch of simultaneous regional elections was held in 2015, the second batch in 2017, and the third batch. in 2018. This means that the implementation of simultaneous regional elections in 2020 is a constitutional agenda that has legal certainty to be implemented

In contrast to the simultaneous regional elections in 2015, 2017 and 2018, the implementation of the 2020 elections was held amid the spread of Covid-19 that has hit Indonesian territory. Based on data released by Bawaslu RI, of the 9 Provinces that held Regional Election, all of them were included in the category of regions with a fairly high level of Covid-19 spread. (Hafidz, 2020). Therefore, this situation makes the government have an obligation which in addition to protecting rights in the political field is also obliged to protect health rights.

The implementation of the Regional Election in the middle of the Covid-19 Pandemic, occupying the right to health is a major element in the exercise of political rights. This means that the assessment of the success of holding the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 is not only seen from the voter turnout rate but also how to protect the health of organizers, voters and participants. Protection of health during the holding of elections is a benchmark that cannot be ruled out in the successful implementation of the simultaneous regional elections in 2020. Protection of health and politics is put in the form of legal protection. (Hidayat, 2016). Satjipto Raharjo explained that legal protection is an effort to organize various interests in society so that there is no conflict between interests and can enjoy all the rights provided by law. Furthermore, Satjipto Raharjo's view divides legal protection into two dimensions, namely preventive and repressive legal protection. (Harun, 2019).

If the quality of a policy is determined by the government's ability to provide a means of protection for participants and organizers at the simultaneous regional elections in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic being placed as a crown of justice, it will raise the question whether the crown has been carried out properly. Referring to the data as described above, there are 60 regional head candidates who have been confirmed positive for Covid-19 and there are KPSS officers consisting of 1,172 polling stations who are also confirmed positive for Covid-19, indicating that the process of holding the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 is still very minimal in terms of health protection. The large number of participants and organizers in the holding of regional elections simultaneously provides confirmation that protection for health is at a poor level. The quality of the election results is largely determined by a good process. A good process is very important because it involves the value of justice.

Observing the provisions of PKPU Number 6 of 2020 as amended by PKPU Number 13 of 2020, the process of organizing the elections must comply with health protocols and use personal protective equipment for election organizers. The provisions of this rule are inversely proportional to the legal facts presented based on the data above, which shows that the implementation of protecting the right to health in the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 is not running optimally. Not only about the inadequate health protection for participants and organizers which was highlighted during the process of organizing the 2020 elections, but upholding the principle of justice in the election system is also a very important issue, because for prospective participants who tested positive when registering to the KPUD based on PKPU, nominations were made a delay in the appointment of a candidate pair for regional head and deputy regional head, this delay in stipulation has an impact on the time and allocation in carrying out the campaign stages. Those who test positive for Covid-19 will be appointed as Regional Election participants after being declared negative for Covid-19, so that the campaign period is relatively short compared to other candidate pairs who are tested negative for Covid-19, because it is set according to schedule. The discourse of this situation falls in the domain of justice, for Regional Election participants the principle of this regulation is far from the dimension of justice because submitting candidates to different levels and levels, even though they have the same rights in the political field.

Hart explains the concept that describes justice by assigning the same treatment to the same situation, and different treatment for different circumstances. "Treat like things in the same way"; though we need to add to it 'and treat different things in a different way'. (Hart, 2010). Hart's thought construction can be understood in the sense that the position of the pair of candidates in holding regional head elections is at the same level and level, so that the treatment of these conditions must be the same.

3. Implementation of the Ideal Regional Election in the Middle of the Covid-19 Pandemic

The Covid-19 pandemic that has hit the world including Indonesia has not shown any signs of ending in the near future, so this situation is likely to continue until the next democratic party (presidential and vice presidential and legislative elections). Indonesia itself, will again hold democratic parties both at local and national levels in 2023 and 2024 (Umberg & Rivera Diaz, 2020). If the trend of the state of the spread of Covid-19 continues, it is highly likely that the implementation of the democratic party in 2023 and 2024 will be carried out in the same conditions as the 2020 regional elections, namely in a pandemic state. as described in the previous discussion regarding the urgency of implementing a democratic party, this has illustrated that delaying the implementation of the next election is not the right solution. Then what to do?

Stopping democratic parties (elections and Regional Election) with the argument that the spread of Covid-19 is not the right solution in the administration of government in Indonesia, elections are still a very important part of determining the sustainability of the government system. Therefore, the reconceptualization of the implementation of elections in Indonesia is the right solution so that it is contextual with the current situation. A good election is not only measured by the implementation of the electoral system well, but also the extent to which the election provides benefits to the Indonesian people, especially in a pandemic situation, benefit is the main goal in the administration of elections, including the law of the election itself. Marcus Cicero mentioned the principle of *salus populi suprema lex esto*, which means that people's safety is the highest law (Supriyadi, 2020). In the perspective of Sociological Jurisprudence, the meaning of law does not only have a function as a Social Order but the law can carry out social reforms or in popular terms the function of law as social engineering (Shidarta, 2013). *Edward A. Ross is one of the experts who popularized the function of law as a means of social control* (Rosana, 2013). According to Ross, social control includes all the forces that create and maintain social bonds. In this context, Ross adopts the imperative theory and connects the function of the law with criminal law. Good law is a contextual law so that the meaning that the law is hobbling after the development of society becomes an irrelevant concept in the construction of the legal function as social engineering. Satjipto Rahardjo stated that law is not a finite scheme, but continues to move, change, following the dynamics of human life. Therefore, the law must continue to be reformed and explored through progressive efforts to reach the bright light of truth in attaining justice. (Satjipto, 2010)

In response to the complexities of the development of the electoral system in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic, the conceptualization of the electoral system cannot be postponed. The reconceptualization of the electoral system can be done by using a substance, structure and culture perspective so that it can be contextualized to the current situation. The basic ideas regarding the concepts of substance, structure and culture are inseparable from the legal system theory put forward by Lawrence M. Friedman (Friedman & Hayden, 2017). He stated that the terminology of the legal system is broadly defined to include elements of the substance, structure and legal culture.

The reconceptualization begins with substance, substance with respect to election law instruments, namely the Election Law and the Regional Election Law which technically regulates the implementation of elections and regional elections in Indonesia. At present, the substance of our election law still uses the concepts of elections in normal circumstances so that it becomes irrelevant if applied in a pandemic context. In the substance of the Election Law, the main highlight is the system for organizing the electoral stages. Broadly speaking, the stages of the election or regional election are divided into two, namely the preparation stage and the implementation stage. The first stage or the preparation stage relates to the preparation of the election and regional election budgets, while the implementation stage includes technical stages. For the author, these technical stages in the future are adjusted to the context of the pandemic situation, as described below:

1. Stages of updating voter data by using the Coklit method manually can be changed by combining online and manual verification methods (especially for areas that have not been accessed by telecommunications networks);
2. Lowering the minimum number of requirements for regional head candidates from independent channels so that it is easier to carry out the administrative and factual verification of the nomination requirements;
3. The stage of factual verification for individual candidates is carried out by using the online method;
4. Eliminate face-to-face campaign methods, both in the form of general meetings and limited meetings, and replace it with campaign methods through online media in the form of dialogue with the public (voters);
5. Implement a voting system using the E-Voting method.

The five concepts above can be applied by normalizing them into the substance of the election law, so that they are contextual with the current situation. Furthermore, from the structural aspect, each election organizer is oriented to form a technology-based system starting from the preparation stage to the implementation stage. Then the cultural aspect, this aspect is closely related to obedience to electoral law. According to Herbert C. Kelman, a person's obedience to the rule of law can be divided into three categories, namely:

- a. Compliance which is compliance, that is, if a person is obedient to a rule of law just because he is afraid of being penalized;
- b. Obedience that is identification in nature, that is, if someone obeys a rule of law only because he is afraid that his good relationship with someone will be damaged; and
- c. Internalization is obedience, that is, if someone is obedient to a rule of law because he truly feels that the rule of law is in accordance with the intrinsic values he adheres to (Aminuddin Kasim dan Supriyadi, 2019)

Public adherence to health protocols as signs in the implementation of future elections is also a very determinant of the quality of elections in the era of the Covid-19 pandemic. The regulation in question is not to carry out direct meeting campaign activities with the community but to follow the rules that have been set by the campaign during method as the ideas previously described. Thus, the upcoming election and regional elections will use a concept that is more friendly to public health.

CONCLUSION

Moving on from the results of the discussion and analysis in this study, there are several notes that are taken as conclusions, namely: first: The implementation of regional elections in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic is still being carried out because it relies on three main aspects, namely the philosophical aspect which emphasizes that the Regional Election is a form of controlling the people's sovereignty, juridical aspects that provide legal legitimacy regarding the legality of the Regional Election implementation and sociological aspects that view the implementation of the Regional Election can strengthen ethnic and religious diversity in Indonesia. Second: the health protection system for participants, organizers and voters in the process of organizing the 2020 regional elections in the midst of the pandemic is in the not optimal category, this is evidenced by data on the number of participants and organizers who were confirmed positive for Covid-19. Third: The ideal election or regional election in a Covid-19 pandemic is to reconceptualize the election implementation system from the substance aspect which includes the stages of updating voter data, verification of individual candidates, and campaigns using the online method and the use of the E-Votting method in voting. As well as the presence of community obedience and voter participants to the level of internalization of health protocols during election or regional elections.

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the above conclusions, the following are suggested:

1. Advise the House of Representatives and the Government to make changes to the Election Law and Regional Election Law, particularly in the technology-based election management system.
2. Conducting the stages of updating voter data, verification of individual candidates, online campaigns and using the E-Votting method in voting.

REFERENCES

- Aminuddin Kasim dan Supriyadi. (2019). Money Politics Pada Pemilu 2019 (Kajian Terhadap Potret Pengawasan dan Daya Imperatif Hukum Pemilu). *Jurnal Adhyasta Pemilu*, Vol. 6 No.
- Aspinall, E. (2020). Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Nine Theses subject to the Cambridge Core. *Journal of East Asian Studies*.
- Friedman, L. M., & Hayden, G. M. (2017). American law: An introduction. In *American Law: An Introduction*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190460587.001.0001>
- Hafidz, M. et Al. (2020). *Indeks Kerawanan Pemilu (IKP) Pilkada Serentak Tahun 2020*. Bawaslu Republik Indonesia.
- Harun, M. (2019). Philosophical Study of Hans Kelsen's Thoughts on Law and Satjipto Rahardjo's Ideas on Progressive Law. *Walisongo Law Review (Walrev)*. <https://doi.org/10.21580/walrev.2019.2.2.4815>
- Hidayat, E. (2016). Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia Dalam Negara Hukum Indonesia. *Asas: Jurnal Hukum Dan Ekonomi Islam*.
- Jan Michiel Otto. (2003). *Kepastian Hukum di Negara Berkembang, Terjemahan Tristram Moeliono*. Komisi Hukum Nasional.
- Marisa, H., Pornauli, A., Indra, A., & Aurora, A. (2020). The Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) 2020 During Covid-19 Pandemic: A Projection. *Journal of Election and Leadership*. <https://doi.org/10.31849/joels.v1i2.4424>
- Meuwissen. (2018). *Meuwissen tentang Pengembangan Hukum, Ilmu Hukum, Teori Hukum, dan Filsafat Hukum*. Reflika Aditama.
- Rosana, E. (2013). Hukum dan Perkembangan Masyarakat. *Jurnal TAPIS*.
- Satjipto, R. (2010). *Penegakan Hukum Progresif*. Kompas.
- Shidarta. (2007). *Positivisme Hukum*. Universitas Tarumanegara.
- Shidarta. (2013). *Hukum Penalaran dan Penalaran Hukum*. Genta Publishig.
- Stobbs, N., Bennett, B., & Freckelton, I. (2020). Compassion, Law and COVID-19. *Journal of Law and Medicine*.
- Supriyadi, S. (2020). Menakar Nilai Keadilan Penyelenggaraan Pilkada 2020 di Tengah Pandemi Covid-19. *Kanun Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*. <https://doi.org/10.24815/kanun.v22i3.17466>
- Umberg, T., & Rivera Diaz, J. (2020). Election Law Changes as a Result of COVID-19. *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.5070/p2cjpp1150414>

Supriyadi
Faculty of Law, Tadulako University
Jl. Soekarno-Hatta Km 9 Palu, Sulawesi Tengah, Indonesia
Email: supriyadi@untad.ac.id

Aminuddin Kasim
Faculty of Law, Tadulako University
Jl. Soekarno-Hatta Km 9 Palu, Sulawesi Tengah, Indonesia
Email: aminuddinkasim@untad.ac.id

Andi Intan Purnamasari
Faculty of Law, Tadulako University
Jl. Soekarno-Hatta Km 9 Palu, Sulawesi Tengah, Indonesia
Email: andi.intanpurnamasari@untad.ac.id

Achmad Allang
Faculty of Law, Tadulako University
Jl. Soekarno-Hatta Km 9 Palu, Sulawesi Tengah, Indonesia
Email: achmadallang@untad.ac.id