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Implementing ADR for Election Result Disputes Among Party Candidates in the Indonesian House

Saivol Virdaus¹, Adi Sulistiyono², Isharyanto³ & Saldi Isra⁴

Abstract

Resolving disputes over election results between candidates within the same party currently does not guarantee access to justice for prospective members of the Indonesian House of Representatives (IHR). To file a lawsuit, candidates must obtain a written permission letter from the leader of the supporting party. Since the implementation of the open proportional system from 2009 to 2019, 27 candidates' applications for disputes over election results were rejected by the Indonesian Constitutional Court due to the absence of such written permission, which is a formal requirement. This research focuses on resolving election result disputes between legislative candidates and explores the opportunities for using Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). Employing a normative juridical research method, the study proposes the institutionalization of ADR for IHR election result disputes. It advocates the use of facilitative mediation, evaluative mediation, and arbitration conducted by the Party Court. These methods would complement and support the existing formal mechanisms at the Constitutional Court, providing a more accessible and just avenue for candidates to resolve their disputes. The findings of this research highlight the necessity of integrating ADR into the dispute resolution framework to enhance the fairness and effectiveness of the electoral process for legislative candidates in Indonesia.

Keywords: Alternative Dispute Resolution, Election Results Disputes, Access to Justice

Introduction

The application of a pure open proportional system in elections in the Indonesian House of Representatives (IHR) has the consequence that competition is no longer only between political parties participating in elections, but also between IHR member candidates within the same party. Therefore, there is also the potential for disputes between candidates within the same party. The

¹Department of Law, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia, Indonesia. saivol@uniska-kediri.ac.id

²Department of Law, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia. <u>Adi sumo@yahoo.co.id</u>
³Department of Law, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia. <u>Isharyanto fh@staff.uns.ac.id</u>

⁴Constitutional Court and Department of Law, Andalas University, Padang, Indonesia. saldiisra@yahoo.com

implementation of this system also influences arrangements for resolving disputes over IHR election results. The authority for resolving disputes over IHR election results lies with the Indonesian Constitutional Court (ICC), as regulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia article 24C paragraph 1. The legal framework for resolving disputes over IHR election results is currently regulated in Constitutional Court Regulations Number 2 of 2008 concerning procedures for disputes over IHR general election results. From Constitutional Court Regulation (CCR) Number 3 of 2014 until the current CCR, namely CCR Number 2 of 2018 and most recently CCR No. 2 in 2023The the procedures for disputes over the results of the IHR general election regulate that the parties who can become Petitioners and Related Parties in disputes over the results of the IHR general election are not only political parties, but also prospective members of the IHR. However, there is a requirement, namely that you must obtain written permission from the chief of each political party. The existence of a written permission letter from the party leadership as a formal requirement for candidates to submit a request to dispute election results has actually become an obstacle to accessing justice. As a result, since the elections in 2009, 2014, and finally 2019, there were 27 candidates for IHR members whose petitions were not accepted by the Constitutional Court because they did not obtain written permission from the leadership of the political party and therefore did not have legal standing as an applicant. As a result, the court did not consider the main petition.

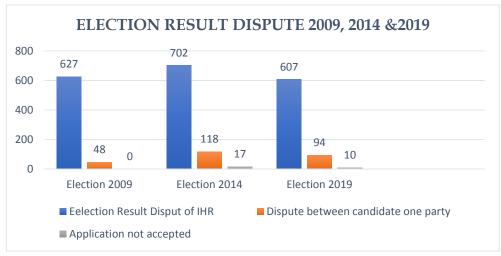


Figure 1: Data and Facts processed from the Constitutional Court Website.

The data above are based on applications and decisions submitted to the ICC; in other words, they are prospective IHR members who feel that their rights have been violated and are determined to submit an application to the ICC even though

they have not received permission from the political party leadership. It could be that the actual number is higher, but because prospective IHR members who felt their rights in obtaining votes had been violated, chose not to submit an application because they did not obtain permission and received intervention from the party concerned.

The legal construction of elections results in disputes that currently apply; even though prospective IHR members can be parties, namely petitioners and/or Related Parties, there are still conditions that must be fulfilled, namely that they must obtain written permission from their Political Party.

The granting of legal standing to prospective IHR members in disputes over election results seems to be superficial and does not mean anything because it still really depends on whether the political party elites give written permission. In its implementation, legal construction experienced many problems. In the end, prospective IHR members who believe that their vote results were rigged and/or that the determination of the number of votes by the General Election Commissioners (GEC) is considered wrong and detrimental cannot become petitioners and/or Relevant Parties to fight for the people's vote/people's mandate because they did not obtain written permission from the supporting party.

In particular, a dispute occurs between candidates in the same party. This shows that prospective IHR members are in a vulnerable position and do not have access to justice when their votes are cheated/disadvantaged. As a result, prospective IHR members do not have the opportunity to restore their rights through formal judicial institutions for losses resulting from fraud in accordance with state law standards.

With the condition of formal legal procedures being deadlocked/difficult to access by prospective IHR members in disputes over election results, as illustrated above, alternative routes should be provided in election law enforcement to resolve these disputes. The unavailability of a clear mechanism regarding alternative dispute resolution in election result disputes has made the path for prospective IHR members to obtain justice deadlocked.

This condition means that prospective IHR members who feel disadvantaged do not receive legal protection and do not have access to justice for the dispute they are experiencing and of course this situation makes the election far from the principle of justice. However, democracy cannot be realized without the supremacy of law and access to justice. Without these two conditions, free and fair elections cannot be achieved and citizens' rights are not protected.

The electoral justice system plays an important role in this; it ensures that all components of the election are held in accordance with the law, that citizens can exercise their political rights, and, ultimately, that the election is seen as legitimate

(Otaila, 2019). This also illustrates that the Party's authority in determining the electability of IHR member candidates is still very high. In other words, the sovereignty of people is defeated by the sovereignty of political parties.

Method

This normative legal research examines legal texts, regulations, and court decisions to analyze and understand the regulation and application of resolving election result disputes among legislative candidates in the Indonesian House of Representatives (IHR).(Akhmad et al., 2023) This method involves reviewing legal documents and related literature to identify and address the issues in the current legal framework and explore the potential of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms. Firstly, the study utilizes a comparative approach to analyze the procedural requirements and the role of political parties in election result disputes as outlined in various Constitutional Court Regulations (CCR) from 2008 to 2023. It compares these regulations to identify changes and their implications for access to justice for IHR candidates. The legal history approach is also employed to understand the evolution and rationale behind these regulations, as well as their impact on the enforcement of election laws in Indonesia. Primary data sources include the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Constitutional Court Regulations (CCR) Numbers 2 of 2008, 3 of 2014, 2 of 2018, and the latest CCR No. 2 of 2023, along with court decisions and official documents related to election disputes. Secondary data consists of academic literature, legal commentaries, articles, legal journals, and books discussing electoral justice, ADR, and the role of political parties in election processes. Data collection is conducted through documentation studies and literature reviews, examining official documents, textbooks, journal articles, and other sources to gather information on legal changes and their interpretation.(Zico Junius Fernando et al, 2022) The collected data is analyzed both descriptively and comparatively. Descriptive analysis is used to explain the existing legal provisions and their application, while comparative analysis assesses the differences and similarities between the regulations over different periods and with legal systems in other countries. This research method is designed to facilitate a comprehensive examination of election result disputes and the potential for ADR in the Indonesian electoral system, aiming to produce a thorough understanding of its impact on justice and the electoral process. By integrating ADR into the dispute resolution framework, the study seeks to enhance the fairness and accessibility of legal recourse for legislative candidates.

Possibility using of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) by the Party Court in Election Results Disputes between Candidates for IHR Members in One Party

Departing from the deadlocked condition of access to justice through litigation faced by prospective IHR members, as described above and envisioned by the rule of law, this must not happen. Therefore, it is necessary to find a way to build access to justice for prospective IHR members in disputes over election results. When there is a deadlock in seeking justice through formal/litigation channels, it is necessary to provide an alternative mechanism to obtain justice, namely through non-litigation channels or what is called alternative dispute resolution (ADR). This is in accordance with the concept of access to justice, as presented by Ervo and Nylund (2014), which is based on the idea that the system of legal procedures and legal rules must be equally accessible to every citizen, and alternative dispute resolution (ADR) must also be available to provide alternatives for dispute resolution. Alternative dispute resolution (ADR) is a mechanism used to resolve disputes without going through an adjudication process, a court decision, or outside court (Menkel-meadow, 2015). In this case, the mechanism for resolving disputes outside court can resolve disputes through mediation, negotiation, and arbitration (Mnookin, 1998).

In Indonesia, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms concerning Arbitration and Alternative Dispute Resolution have been regulated in Law No. 30 of 1999. There are six methods for resolving disputes outside the court: consultation, negotiation, mediation, conciliation, legal opinions by arbitration institutions, and arbitration. Mediation is a dispute resolution mechanism between two disputing parties that involves a third person (mediator) who is neutral and impartial at one time to find a solution to the dispute at hand and then mutually agree (Oloye et al., 2020). Furthermore, negotiation is a mechanism for resolving disputes between disputing parties by negotiating the problems faced in obtaining an agreement (Menkel-meadow, 2015). Arbitration is a dispute resolution procedure outside the court based on the agreement of interested parties and submitting their dispute to a referee or arbitrator to obtain a final and binding decision for both parties (Oloye et al., 2020).

This arbitration mechanism is similar to the formal court process, and is more flexible. If the spirit of mediation and negotiation is a win-win solution, arbitration is the final step when mediation or negotiation is not achieved. Product arbitration is a decision where there are parties who are defeated and there are parties who are won by the arbitrator's decision. Thus, the spirit of this arbitration is to win or lose. The term alternative dispute resolution (ADR) first appeared in the United States under the name "Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)" (ADR) as a

response to the lack of pressure that arose in the country's fishing system. uncertainty regarding their ability to satisfactorily resolve problems. Essentially, legal practitioners and academics have created ADR as dispute resolution methods with better access to justice. In the concept of access to justice, the broadest understanding of effective dispute resolution is whether it can be resolved through court-based litigation or through alternative dispute resolution processes. These two mechanisms are important for ensuring the realization of the basic rights recognized and protected by the Constitution (Byrne et al., 2010). The main function of ADR is based on the idea of being used to support and not replace the existing formal settlement system. So it is hoped that ADR and formal/litigation mechanisms can go hand in hand and can complement each other. ADR is a mechanism that is integrated with litigation mechanisms through the judiciary, all of which are building blocks of access to justice in protecting the fundamental rights of citizens, which is one of the things that must be realized in a rule-of-law state. The European Commission stated the following.

APSs are an integral part of the policies aimed at improving access to justice. In effect, they complement judicial procedures, insofar as the methods used in the context of APSs are often better suited to the nature of the disputes involved. APS can help the parties to enter into dialogue where this was not possible before, and to come to their own assessment of the value of going to court (Comunities, 2002).

In the context of organizing elections, the International IDEA Handbook for Electoral Justice states that general election justice includes facilities and mechanisms that guarantee that the election process does not contain irregularities or fraud. The electoral justice process includes preventing election disputes, resolving institutional disputes, and resolving informal or alternative disputes (International IDEA, 2010). Why is ADR an option and what are its advantages? ADR begins with a fundamentally different premise: cooperation and collaboration are possible when resolving disputes. Additionally, ADR is beneficial for all parties involved because it is more accessible and understandable to laypeople, less adversarial, inexpensive, less time-consuming, and more likely to produce results that are in the interests of the disputing parties (Becerra, 2018). Little research has been conducted on alternative election dispute resolution mechanisms; however, many countries already have this alternative system for resolving election disputes. Some of these are South Africa, Zambia, Myanmar, the United States, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Nigeria, Nepal, Elsavador, Guatemala, Malawi, Mexico, and Sinegal (Anyanwu et al., 2023).

Indonesia has implemented alternative dispute resolution mechanisms in the implementation of elections, but these are only limited to election process disputes. The ADR mechanism used to resolve election process disputes in Indonesia uses a mediation method.

General Election Supervisory Body Regulation Number 9 of 2022 concerning Procedures for Resolving General Election Process Disputes regulates the mediation of election-process disputes. Bawaslu summons the parties to the dispute, determines the mediation schedule, and summarizes the parties after the election process dispute application is registered. Both the respondent and applicant are required to attend the mediation. If an applicant does not attend two mediation calls, Bawaslu declares that the application is invalid. On the other hand, if the respondent is summoned twice but does not appear, Bawaslu states that the mediation did not reach an agreement, and the election dispute resolution process continued to the adjudication stage. Bawaslu, in the mediation mechanism in this dispute process, acts as a mediator (Article 42, paragraph 1, paragraph 2 of the Republic of Indonesia General Election Supervisory Agency Regulation Number 9 of 2022 concerning Procedures for Resolving General Election Process Disputes), where the mediator must be neutral. The mediation process was carried out behind closed doors and confidentiality was maintained. This mediation mechanism turned out to be quite effective in resolving election process disputes. Based on Bawaslu's report on handling election process disputes in 2019, of the 816 election process dispute requests submitted to Bawaslu, 376 could be resolved through mediation, 325 through adjudication, 38 were rejected, and 77 could not be deregistered. This means that 53% of the total number of disputes processed were resolved through alternative dispute resolution mechanisms through mediation.

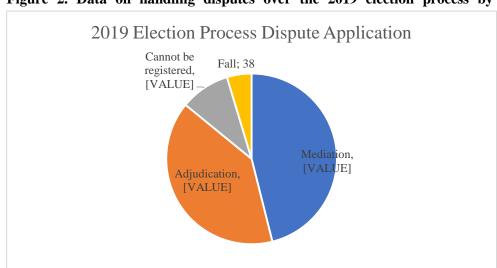


Figure 2. Data on handling disputes over the 2019 election process by

Bawaslu.

The successful implementation of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms in the election process should be used as the best practice in election result disputes. If in a dispute, the election process uses the mediation method, compatible results are used. If not, what method is appropriate for application in disputes over the election results?

In response to the idea of implementing ADR in disputes over election results, election law experts have two camps of thought. Some argue that ADR is not compatible with being applied in resolving disputes over election results on the grounds that competition in elections is zero sum in that it requires someone to win and someone to lose (win and lose). Therefore, it is impossible to divide equally or find a win-win solution. However, there are also election law and ADR experts who believe that ADR can be applied (Green, 2012). There are various methods known for ADR, apart from mediation, conciliation, negotiation, and arbitration. If, in the mediation, conciliation, or negotiation method, the goal is a win-win solution or the best agreement agreed upon by both parties to the dispute, this is not the case in the arbitration method. Arbitration is better known as the last resort for ADR when mediation, conciliation, or negotiation cannot be agreed upon. The arbitrator decides the product of arbitration. The arbitration mechanism tends to be similar to the litigation process in court; the only difference is the flexibility of the procedural law and its more flexible and closed nature. Arbitration is unlike mediation. Arbitration requires a neutral third party to make a definitive decision in a dispute that is binding on the party. Considering the urgency to resolve the election results dispute. Therefore, it is important for a neutral third party to make decisions. It is important for a neutral third party to play an active role in deciding the outcome rather than facilitating the parties to reach their own decisions (Becerra, 2018). Using arbitration for disputes that arise during the run-up to or after an election would relieve some of the pressure on courts to hear all election disputes, allowing arbitrators to resolve such cases (Becerra, 2018).

Disputes over IHR election results between candidates fighting over who has the right to win and who loses, or who has the right to sit in the IHR seat and who has no right. Therefore, this dispute is a zero sum and requires a decision product that determines who has the right. Therefore, mediation, conciliation, and negotiation are not suitable for resolving election result disputes, but are more suitable for resolving election process disputes (Sheppard, 2022). Arbitration is the most appropriate model to use as an alternative mechanism in resolving election result disputes between IHR member candidates apart from settling through litigation at the Constitutional Court (Sheppard, 2022). If the Constitutional Court requires written permission from the leadership of the political party, which is often an obstacle for prospective IHR members to seek justice, this arbitration mechanism could be used as an alternative solution to resolve these disputes.

Now, the question is how arbitration instituted in this election results in dispute. What and who is more appropriate to play the role of arbitration institution and arbitrator? Departing from the experience/best practices implemented by the Nasdem Party in resolving disputes over election results within the party between IHR member candidates Venna Melinda and Nurhadi in the 2019 election in electoral district VI, East Java. At that time, Venna won 57,060 votes, losing 83 votes to his party colleague from the same electoral district, Nurhadi, who received 57,143 votes. The Nasdem Party received only one seat from an electoral district. To resolve this dispute, the Nasdem Party, through its Party Court, presented both parties to the dispute by asking them to provide information to each other and prove each other's truth.

Based on information from an interview with Ali Mahudi, the Bawaslu Commissioner for Kediri Regency explained that, in resolving this dispute, the Party Court also asked for information from Bawaslu regarding the object of the dispute. From the results of the examination carried out by the party court, it was concluded that Nurhadi had received the most votes based on evidence held by the Party in the form of a copy of the vote recapitulation and information from Bawaslu. Based on what was decided by the Party Court, all parties have accepted and will no longer continue the dispute to the Constitutional Court. The Nasdem

Party has done to resolve disputes over election results between candidates within the same party, which is actually an alternative mechanism for resolving disputes through arbitration by the party court. From this experience, we can conclude that arbitration can be applied to resolve election-result disputes between IHR member candidates in the same party. This mechanism is a solution and can guarantee access to justice for prospective IHR members in seeking justice and restore their rights when they feel cheated or disadvantaged.

In the future, it would be appropriate if arbitration by a party court in resolving election result disputes between IHR candidate members within the party could be recommended to be regulated within the electoral legal framework. Those who act as arbitrators are administrators of the Party Court. If there is a dispute between prospective IHR members within the party, the process is to be resolved first within the party through the party court or other terms within a certain time limit. If a party is not satisfied with the decision of the party court, they can only submit a dispute over the results to the Constitutional Court. This decision of the party court will later be used as a formal requirement for an application to the Constitutional Court to replace the written permission from the party leadership, which has thus far hampered many. In addition, the party court's decision will also save the time of the panel of constitutional judges in examining the quo case. This is because the panel of judges can read and pay attention to the content of the decisions made by the party court when making considerations.

If this format can be implemented, guaranteed access to justice for prospective IHR members in disputes over election results can be realized. Thus, the ideals of electoral justice in the rule of law and democracy can be implemented effectively in the future. Institutionalization of elections results in dispute resolution mechanisms through Facilitative Mediation and Evaluative Mediation (ADR) and arbitration. So that prospective IHR members get full access to justice in the form of access to justice, namely through the Constitutional Court as a litigation process and through Alternative Dispute Resolution (APS) at the respective Party Courts as a non-litigation mechanism to support and complement the election results dispute resolution mechanism.

Construction of the Dispute Flow on Election Results Between Candidates of IHR Members in the Same Party

In the future, it will be necessary to institutionalize alternative mechanisms to resolve disputes regarding IHR election results. This can be formulated through changes to the provisions in the Constitutional Court Regulation Number:2 of 2018 as the latest is CCR Number: 2 of 2023 concerning Procedural Procedures in IHR Election Results Dispute Cases article 3 paragraph (1) letter b, article 3

paragraph (3) letter b, where the applicant/party related to the IHR member candidate required written permission from the party leadership, which was later changed to no longer require a written permission letter from the party leadership but only needed to attach court minutes. party regarding the resolution of disputes between IHR members as proof that the court of the party concerned has gone through an alternative resolution.

The normative provisions that must be added to institutionalize an alternative mechanism for resolving disputes over IHR election results between candidates within the same party are in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning elections in Article 474 by adding one more paragraph that reads as follows:

"In the event of a dispute between prospective IHR members in the same party regarding the determination of the vote tally in the General Election, it will be resolved first through internal parties and if this fails, the prospective IHR member can submit a request to cancel the determination of the vote tally results by the General Election Commission to the Constitutional Court."

Technical implementation of this alternative dispute resolution can be carried out by the respective party's court or other designations. The implementation time is before the registration period for disputes over results at the Constitutional Court. Even though it has not yet been determined/announced by the GEC, during the vote recapitulation stage at the sub-district, district/city level, the vote results for each candidate can be seen, counted, and checked for validity with the vote results at each polling place via Form C1 or with the C1 plano posted in the village. Therefore, if a prospective member of the IHR feels that his calculations are wrong or his vote has been reduced or lost, which could harm him and benefit other candidates in the same party, he can immediately propose a resolution through the party internally by involving party witnesses and election organizers. If this effort is *successful*, it is stated in minutes and then submitted to the GEC for follow-up. However, if, on the contrary, an official report is made stating that efforts to resolve the dispute through internal parties have failed, then this official report will be used by prospective IHR members to take legal action in the Constitutional Court.

With the latest IHR election results in dispute resolution construction as described above, in the future, IHR member candidates will receive legal protection and guaranteed access to justice when the votes obtained during the election feel cheated and disadvantaged by the GEC's decision. Thus, the right of prospective IHR members to obtain justice in the rule of law system means that

everyone without exception must have guaranteed access to smoking and obtaining justice (access to justice) to restore their rights when they have been harmed, either through formal or informal *justice* institutions based on the principles of human rights, can be fulfilled. Apart from that, what is no less important is that prospective IHR members can fight for the votes of the people who have chosen them in the election, so that the concept of popular sovereignty can truly be realized and is no less than the sovereignty of political parties.

Conclusion

The implementation of an open proportional system in the election of members of the House of Representatives (DPR) results in competition not only between political parties, but also between DPR candidates within the same party. This has the potential to cause disputes between candidates within the same party. The authority to resolve disputes over DPR election results rests with the Constitutional Court (MK) as stipulated in Article 24C paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution. Currently, the legal framework for resolving disputes over DPR election results is regulated by Constitutional Court Regulation No. 2/2008 to Constitutional Court Regulation No. 2/2023. The procedures for disputing election results stipulate that parties who can become Petitioners and Related Parties are not only political parties, but also candidates for DPR members with the condition that they must obtain written permission from the head of their respective political parties. The existence of this written permission letter is an obstacle to access to justice, as evidenced by the 27 DPR candidates whose petitions were not accepted by the Constitutional Court in the 2009, 2014 and 2019 elections because they did not obtain the written permission. Thus, parliamentary candidates who feel that their rights have been violated often do not have the opportunity to restore their rights through formal judicial institutions.

The inaccessibility of formal legal procedures for parliamentary candidates in disputes over election results suggests the need for alternative mechanisms to obtain justice, namely through non-litigation or alternative dispute resolution (ADR). ADR such as mediation, negotiation and arbitration can be a solution to overcome this obstacle. Although ADR has been regulated in Law No. 30/1999 on Arbitration and Alternative Dispute Resolution, its application in election result disputes is still limited to election process disputes. The Nasdem Party's experience in resolving internal election result disputes through the party court shows that arbitration by the party court can be an effective solution for disputes between DPR candidates within one party.

Going forward, there is a need to institutionalize ADR mechanisms in resolving disputes over DPR election results. Legislative changes such as the

revision of the Constitutional Court Regulation and the Election Law need to be made to remove the requirement for written permission from the party leader, and replace it with the minutes of the party court as a formal requirement for submitting a dispute to the Constitutional Court. This way, DPR candidates will have full access to justice both through litigation at the Constitutional Court and through ADR mechanisms at their respective party councils. This will ensure the implementation of the principles of fairness in elections and protect the basic rights of citizens in accordance with the principles of the rule of law.

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