



CONSIDERATION OF MASLAHAH–MAFSADAH IN CONSTITUTIONAL COURT DECISION NO. 90/PUU-XXI/2023 ON THE AGE LIMIT FOR PRESIDENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

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ABSTRACT

Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, which changed the age requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates by adding alternative criteria in the form of elective office experience, sparked widespread debate in constitutional law discourse. This article analyzes the decision through the *maslahah-mafsadah* principle as a framework for assessing the benefits and potential harms of constitutional norm changes. The study uses a normative juridical method by examining legislation, Constitutional Court decisions, and related literature. The results of the study show that in terms of *maslahah*, this decision opens up space for leadership regeneration, expands the political participation of the younger generation, and emphasizes the importance of electoral experience as an indicator of leadership ability. However, in terms of *mafsadah*, there is great potential for judicial overreach, regulatory uncertainty due to ambiguous wording, indications of formal defects, and the risk of strengthening dynastic politics, which could undermine electoral justice. Based on an evaluation of *maslahah-mafsadah*, this article asserts that state decisions concerning the political rights of citizens must be based on long-term public interest and avoid harm that could threaten the integrity of democracy and the authority of constitutional justice.

Keywords: Constitutional court decision 90/2023; *maslahah-mafsadah*; age limit for presidential candidates; judicial overreach; constitutional law

1. INTRODUCTION

The 1945 Constitution guarantees the right to vote for citizens as stipulated in Article 27 paragraph 1 concerning the equality of citizens before the law as an implementation of the legal principle of “equality before the law.” One important aspect in conducting general elections is the rules regarding the requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. These rules have become final decisions as norms that apply in Indonesia. The purpose of these decisions is to ensure the maturity of prospective leaders in carrying out their mandate to run the government.

Law No. 7 of 2017 Article 169c stipulates that the minimum age requirement for presidential and vice presidential candidates is 40 years old. However, this requirement was challenged through a judicial review of the law against the 1945 Constitution. The reason for the challenge is

that the age restriction for presidential and vice presidential candidates limits the political rights of citizens to be elected and to vote, especially for the younger generation who have experience in government through elected office.

The result of the lawsuit was Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, which provided an exception that even though the age requirement for presidential and vice presidential candidates is under 40 years old, those who have experience in government positions through general elections, such as regional heads or legislative members, can become presidential and vice presidential candidates. The impact of this ruling has been varied, such as the polemic over the ambiguity of the Constitutional Court's authority, which should only be able to confirm or invalidate the validity of a norm, but Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/ 2023 actually creates a new rule, resulting in inconsistency in authority¹ and further controversy over the formal flaws in Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, referring to Article 17 paragraph (5) and (6) of the Judicial Power Law, which states that every judge (including constitutional judges) must recuse themselves from adjudicating cases involving their family interests. If they do not recuse themselves, the resulting decision becomes invalid in the formulation and enforcement of a norm.²

However, the Constitutional Court's decision remains final and binding, meaning that it cannot be overturned and is applicable to the general public. This has sparked debate among legal practitioners and academics, such as Dr. Zainal Arifin Mochtar, who argues that the concept is too positivistic and incapable of realizing progressive law that seeks substantive justice.³ On the other hand, one of the Constitutional Court judges, Enny Nurbaningsih, argues that the final and binding nature of the Constitutional Court's decisions is mandated by Article 24C paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution, which states that the Constitutional Court does not recognize any appeal or cassation mechanisms. Once a case has been decided by the Constitutional Court judges, there are no further legal remedies available. Enny Nurbaningsih argues that if legal remedies are still pursued, it means that the Constitutional Court judges are unable to resolve the case constitutionally.⁴

The focus of this paper is to analyze Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023 using the *maslahah* and *mafsadah* approach. This approach is a key principle in constitutional politics related to the fulfillment of citizens' rights, so that every state policy or decision should consider the benefits and prevent harm to the public. Therefore, this paper aims to measure and compare the extent of the *maslahah* and potential *mafsadah* arising from the decision.

¹ Fahrur Razi, "POLEMIK WEWENANG MAHKAMAH KONSTITUSI DALAM PUTUSAN," no. *Ciastech* (2023): 383–89.

² Ady Thea DA, "Dua Pakar Hukum UGM Ini Minta MK Batalkan Putusan No.90/PUU-XXI/2023," *hukumonline.com*, 2024, <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/dua-pakar-hukum-ugm-ini-minta-mk-batalkan-putusan-no90-puu-xxi-2023-lt659fda1fa5ac9/?page=2>.

³ Ady Thea DA, "Dua Pakar Hukum UGM Ini Minta MK Batalkan Putusan No.90/PUU-XXI/2023," *hukumonline.com*, 2024, <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/dua-pakar-hukum-ugm-ini-minta-mk-batalkan-putusan-no90-puu-xxi-2023-lt659fda1fa5ac9/?page=2>.

⁴ Mimi Kartika, "Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Bersifat Final Dan Mengikat," *Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia*, 2024, <https://www.mkri.id/berita/putusan-mahkamah-konstitusi-bersifat-final-dan-mengikat-21529>.

In order to understand the basis for analyzing *maslahah* and *mafsadah* in Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, it is necessary to describe these concepts as part of Islamic legal thought. The principle of *maslahah-mafsadah* is one of the normative considerations in constitutional Islamic politics⁵, especially when a state policy relates to the protection of citizens' rights and the achievement of public benefit. Therefore, before assessing the decision, it is important to explore the epistemological basis and conceptual position of *maslahah* and *mafsadah* in *ushul fiqh*.

The principle of *maslahah* and *mafsadah* itself is a principle of *usul fiqh* conceived by Imam Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali. This principle first appeared in his book *Syifâ' al-Ghalîl*.⁶ Imam Al-Ghazali explained that the definitive measure in assessing something must be directed at *maslahat* and the rejection of *mafsadah*. In his book *al-Mustasfâ min 'Ilm al-Usûl*, Imam Al-Ghazali explains that *maslahah* is a statement regarding the achievement of benefits and the rejection of harm, while *mafsadah*, as the opposite of *maslahah*, is something that can cause harm both in this world and in the hereafter. Furthermore, Imam Al-Ghazali argues that to know whether something has *maslahah*, one cannot rely directly on humans who have subjective knowledge, but must rely on the texts found in the Qur'an.⁷ However, it should be emphasized that Imam Al-Ghazali does not consider the principle of *maslahah* to be a source of law that can replace the main sources of Islamic law. Rather, Imam Al-Ghazali views *maslahah* as a method of Islamic law that still depends on the main sources of Islamic law, namely the Qur'an, Sunnah, Ijma, and Qiyas.

Although there have been several articles examining Constitutional Court Decision No. 90 in terms of constitutional law, legal standing, and legal policy, and some studies have also touched on Islamic law, they have only been limited to normative comparisons regarding the maturity of leaders without further examining the impact on public interest and the potential harm of changing the age requirement for candidacy. To date, there have been few studies that comprehensively integrate the *maslahah-mafsadah* theory to evaluate whether the decision truly brings greater benefits to society or instead opens up space for *mafsadah* in the legal and democratic systems. Therefore, this study offers a new contribution by providing a critical analysis of the balance between *maslahah* and *mafsadah* in Constitutional Court Decision 90/2023 and its implications for the legitimacy of constitutional justice and the quality of national leadership regeneration.⁷

This paper is expected to contribute to the study of constitutional law, particularly in the review of Constitutional Court Decision No. 90 based on the *maslahah* and *mafsadah* approach, which is still rarely studied, and to add to the literature on the *maslahah* and *mafsadah* principles in the analysis of Constitutional Court decisions. In practical terms, it is hoped that this paper can serve as a recommendation for other Constitutional Court decisions so that such decisions favor the welfare of citizens and avoid potential harm arising from subsequent Constitutional Court decisions.

⁵ Yeni Mafiah and Tri Wahyu Hidayati, "The Significance of Al-Ghazali's *Maslahah* Concept to the Development of *Usul Fiqh* and Islamic Law," *AN NUR: Jurnal Studi Islam* 15, no. 1 (2023): 34–48, <https://doi.org/10.37252/annur.v15i1.444>.

⁶ Akbar Sarif and Ridzwan Ahmad, "Konsep *Maslahat* Dan *Mafsadah* Menurut Imam Al-Ghazali," *Tsaqafah* 13, no. 2 (2018): 353, <https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v13i2.1183>.

⁷ Akbar, Sarif. "Analisis perbandingan konsep *maslahah* dan *mafsadah* antara imam Al- Ghazzali dan imam Al- Shatibi / Akbar Sarif." (2012).

2. METHODS

This study uses a normative juridical research method, namely analysis of legislation as the main source of data.⁸ This type of research focuses on a literature study of rules or Constitutional Court decisions. This method is also used because the issue to be examined relates to constitutional decisions by the Constitutional Court, thus requiring the legal arguments used in Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023. The analysis technique used in this study is descriptive analysis, which breaks down the content of the decision by linking the theories of *maslahah* and *mafsadah* as analytical tools to assess the implications of the decision.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

General Summary of Constitutional Court Decision Number 90 of 2023

Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023⁹ is one of the most important decisions at the start of the 2024 democratic elections and is also controversial in the history of constitutional justice in Indonesia. The subject matter of this petition relates to the material review of Article 169 letter q of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, which previously stipulated that the minimum age to become a candidate for President and Vice President was 40 years. The petitioner, Almas Tsaqibbirru Re A, a citizen who felt that his constitutional rights had been violated, argued that this age limit restricted a person's freedom to be elected to public office as guaranteed in Article 28D paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution. According to him, the indicator of maturity in terms of leadership should not only be determined by age, but can also be measured by experience in leading government administration, especially for those who have held the position of regional head as a result of general elections. Thus, the Petitioner requested that the norm be interpreted alternatively, namely a minimum age of 40 years or experience as a regional head.

The Constitutional Court ultimately granted part of the petition by reinterpreting the norm of Article 169 letter q to mean a minimum age requirement of 40 years or having held/currently holding a public office elected through general elections, including regional head elections. This ruling not only changed the wording of the norm, but also expanded the scope of positions that could replace the age requirement beyond the Petitioner's request, so that from a procedural law perspective, this ruling contained the character of *ultra petita*¹⁰, namely giving more than what was requested. This change in the norm, which was issued ahead of the 2024 general election, has very significant political implications because it opens up opportunities for political actors under the age of 40 who have held strategic political positions to become presidential or vice-presidential candidates. This situation has led to speculation that the ruling is directly linked to ongoing practical political dynamics, thereby sparking widespread controversy among the public and academics.

⁸ Muhammad Zainuddin and Aisyah Dinda Karina, "Use of Normative Juridical Methods in Proving the Truth in Legal Research," *Smart Law Journal* 2, no. 2 (2023): 114–23.

⁹ MAHKAMAH KONSTITUSI REPUBLIK INDONESIA, "PUTUSAN Nomor 90/PUU-XXI/2023" (2023).

¹⁰ Mohamad Safrin and Maulana Amin Tahir, "ULTRA PETITA CONSTITUTIONALITY IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT," *Qaumiyyah: Jurnal Hukum Tata Negara* 6, no. 1 (June 29, 2025): 65–82, <https://doi.org/10.24239/qaumiyyah.v6i1.204>.

On the other hand, this ruling also reveals a sharp dissenting opinion within the constitutional court. The narrow margin between those who agreed and those who disagreed shows a fundamental disagreement regarding the scope of the Constitutional Court's authority in interpreting laws, particularly on policies relating to electoral law. Some judges agreed with the consideration that public office experience could be a rational justification as a sign of leadership ability equivalent to the age limit. However, others expressed a strong dissenting opinion that the age limit provision was an area of open legal policy that was entirely within the domain of the legislature¹¹, so the Court should not interfere with this policy. There were even judges who argued that the Petitioner had lost his legal standing because he had withdrawn his petition, and therefore the case should have been declared inadmissible. In addition, several judges in their dissenting opinions considered that this decision was made hastily and inconsistently because it was only a few days after a previous decision on a case with similar substance.

Theoretically, this ruling debates the line between judicial activism, or judges acting beyond the law, and judicial restraint, or limiting judges from making decisions that are outside their responsibility. In this ruling, the Court shows a tendency to actively correct legislation in order to protect the constitutional rights of citizens. However, strong criticism has been directed at the aspect of judicial legitimacy¹², as excessive activism could potentially turn the Court into a political actor involved in determining the architecture of state power. Changes to norms that affect the landscape of the 2024 elections are seen as a form of intervention in a sensitive political arena and have the potential to blur the boundaries of authority between state institutions under the principle of separation of powers. These implications are not only felt normatively, but also ethically and institutionally, especially in relation to public trust in the neutrality and integrity of the Constitutional Court as the guardian of the constitution.

From the perspective of constitutional law, this ruling is an important case study in assessing the extent to which the Court can interpret laws to guarantee constitutional rights without conflicting with the authority of the legislature. This ruling opens up space for democracy and expands the scope of participants to be more inclusive based on the principle that leadership competence is not solely determined by biological factors such as age. However, this ruling also serves as a warning that any expansion of the powers of the constitutional court must be accompanied by caution and transparency so as not to cause inconsistencies with previous rulings¹³. Therefore, Ruling No. 90/PUU-XXI/2023 reflects that constitutional courts not only adjudicate norms, but can also play a decisive role in the political currents of the nation. The academic debate over this ruling is relevant to continue developing as part of efforts to improve the quality of constitutional democracy in Indonesia and maintain the authority of the Constitutional Court as an institution that safeguards the integrity of the constitution.

¹¹ Iwan Satriawan and Tanto Lailam, "Open Legal Policy in the Constitutional Court Decisions and National Legislation Making," in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Sustainable Innovation 2019 – Humanity, Education and Social Sciences (IcoSIHESS 2019)* (Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.2991/icosihess-19.2019.70>.

¹² Anjas Rinaldi Siregar, "Perselisihan Hasil Pemilihan Umum Berbasis Judicial Activism Dan Judicial Restrain Dalam Mewujudkan Asas Jujur Dan Adil Pada Pemilihan Umum," *Kompleksitas Konflik Ukraina-Rusia* Vol. 15, no. 2 (2025): 39–48, <https://doi.org/10.37630/jpi.v12i1.617>.

¹³ Fatriansyah Fatriansyah, "Eksistensi Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi," *Legalitas: Jurnal Hukum* 15, no. 2 (2024): 339, <https://doi.org/10.33087/legalitas.v15i2.537>.

Considerations of Maslahah and Mafsadah in Constitutional Court Decision Number 90 of 2023

Maslahah and mafsadah are concepts that originated long ago from Imam Al-Ghazali, who attempted to describe the concepts of maslahah and mafsadah as important parts of achieving Maqashid Syariah. According to Imam Al-Ghazali, every matter that upholds the objectives of Islamic law is considered maslahah, and every matter that rejects or negates the objectives of Islamic law is called mafsadah¹⁴. Furthermore, according to Al-Khawarizmi, maslahah is the preservation of Islamic law by rejecting harm to creatures, so according to Al-Khawarizmi, the measure of benefit or maslahah must be based on the Qur'an and Sunnah.¹⁵ Imam Al-Syatibi explains the concept of maslahah as everything that is understood to describe human maslahah through the achievement of benefits and the rejection of harm, and it is not obtained through reason alone but must be recognized by syarak to accept or reject it¹⁶. From the opinions of the scholars, it can be concluded that the concepts of maslahah and mafsadah are Islamic legal concepts that emphasize the achievement of benefits and the rejection of harm, which remain based on Islamic legal sources.

The impact of Constitutional Court Decision No. 90 of 2023 has two sides that intersect. This can be seen from the concept of "Elected Official"¹⁷, which provides an alternative to the 40-year age limit for candidates by adding an alternative requirement, namely, experience as an elected regional head, to the requirements for presidential and vice presidential candidates. Therefore, age is not the only factor that prevents someone from participating in political contests; experience is also a measure of one's ability to lead a country. This opens up opportunities for the younger generation to participate in politics and become leaders of the country, as a representation and dynamic of democracy.

The concept of "Elected Official" is believed to accelerate leadership regeneration and improve the quality of political competition in elections¹⁸. This also strengthens more inclusive political representation and reflects the increasingly dynamic society, so that democracy is not statically controlled by older age groups¹⁹. Furthermore, this decision emphasizes that the legitimacy of elections is an important indicator in assessing leadership capabilities, as the experience of carrying out governmental functions through the people's choice is an objective affirmation of one's political abilities and leadership capacity.

¹⁴ Sarif Akbar and Ahmad Ridzwan, "Konsep Maslahah Dan Mafsadah Sebagai Asas Pemikiran Maqashid Syariah: Satu Analisis," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Hukum Dan Ekonomi Islam* 10, no. 2 (2016): 1–20.

¹⁵ Sarif and Ahmad, "Konsep Maslahat Dan Mafsadah Menurut Imam Al-Ghazali."

¹⁶ Melis, "Pemikiran Tokoh Ekonomi Muslim: Imam Al-Syatibi," *Islamic Banking* 2, no. 1 (2016): 51–62.

¹⁷ Mukhtadin Fajri Hafifulloh and Agus Setiawan, "Konsep Elected Official Sebagai Syarat Pencalonan Presiden Dan Wakil Presiden Perspektif Maslahah," *Jurnal Hukum Pelita* 5, no. 2 (2024): 124–37, <https://doi.org/10.37366/jh.v5i2.5170>.

¹⁸ Kira Renée Kurz and Felix Ettensperger, *Exploring the Conditions for Youth Representation: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Party Parliamentary Groups, European Political Science*, vol. 23 (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-023-00460-7>.

¹⁹ Daniel Stockemer and Aksel Sundström, "Age Inequalities in Political Representation: A Review Article," *Government and Opposition* 60, no. 1 (2025): 271–88, <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2023.11>.

Islamic law considers it important for leaders to possess leadership qualities, namely maturity of age when carrying out responsibilities. The Qur'an emphasizes the importance of maturity, or "Baligh," in carrying out responsibilities, and age is often considered a factor that reflects this maturity. The view that when someone has reached "Baligh" means that they are able to judge good and bad in accordance with Islamic principles, but the Prophet Muhammad SAW warned that maturity in age in carrying out responsibilities as a leader is not enough; experience and, most importantly, scientific capacity are also necessary. The Prophet Muhammad SAW said, "If a matter is entrusted to someone who is not an expert, then wait for its destruction" (HR. Bukhari, No. 58). Islam opens up room for ijtihad in determining the requirements for leadership in accordance with the socio-political context²⁰.

Thus, the decision on the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates has the benefit of emphasizing maturity and ability as leadership requirements, not just age. Lowering the age limit with the requirement of elected office experience can be seen as an effort to balance the needs of the times with Islamic principles.

However, the inevitable consequences of this decision have emerged. One of the biggest concerns is the possibility of politicization of judicial power or judicial overreach, or in procedural law known as *ultra petita*²¹, where the Constitutional Court is considered to have exceeded its authority by significantly changing the election law, which is ideally the authority of the legislature. If this trend continues, the independence and credibility of the Court could be threatened because it is considered to be involved in the formation of political power. One piece of evidence that the decision was influenced by political interests can be seen in the formal flaws in the decision. Before Constitutional Court Decision Number 90 of 2023, there had already been a similar petition regarding Law Number 7 of 2017 Article 169c, which was rejected. Formally, judges cannot pursue similar cases that have already been rejected²², especially in sensitive situations such as the electoral momentum. Due to the general phrase "positions elected through general elections," this decision also creates normative uncertainty, or legal uncertainty²³. This can lead to debate and differences in interpretation, both at the level of election organizers and in subsequent political contests. Furthermore, although this new regulation is said to enable the younger generation to enter politics, the fact is that it could result in a new type of power dynasty mechanism.

Because only those with greater opportunities to run for elected political office, who usually come from close family connections (nepotism), can do so. In other words, democracy

²⁰ Khoiruddin Manahan Siregar and Hendra Gunawan, "The Dynamics of the Minimum Age Requirements for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates in the 2024 General Elections in the Constitutional Court Decision Number 90 / PUU-XXI / 2023 Reviewed from Islamic Politics," *AL IMARAH: JURNAL PEMERINTAHAN DAN POLITIK ISLAM* 9, no. 1 (July 31, 2024): 87, <https://doi.org/10.29300/imr.v9i1.4931>.

²¹ Mohamad Safrin and Maulana Amin Tahir, "ULTRA PETITA CONSTITUTIONALITY IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT."

²² Perludem, "Tafsir Serampangan, Inkonsistensi Logika, Dan Konflik Kepentingan Mahkamah Konstitusi Dalam Putusan No.90/PUU-XXI/2023," *Pekumpulan untuk pemilu dan demokrasi*, 2024, <https://perludem.org/2023/10/17/tafsir-serampangan-inkonsistensi-logika-dan-konflik-kepentingan-mahkamah-konstitusi-dalam-putusan-no-90-puu-xxi-2023/>.

²³ Yensi Matdha Datu Lullung, Donald A. Rumokoy, and Josepus J. Pinori, "Tinjauan Yuridis Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi Nomor 90/PUU-XXI/2023 TENTANG PERUBAHAN BATAS USIA CALON PRESIDEN DAN CALON WAKIL PRESIDEN," *Lex Privatum Universitas Sam Ratulangi Fakultas Hukum* 14, no. 2 (2024): 1–11.

remains confined to the elite circle because ordinary citizens who lack social and political capital will not easily obtain such positions. Therefore, although this decision is expected to increase political participation and representation, the potential negative consequences must be handled carefully so as not to disrupt the balance of power and the principle of electoral justice in Indonesia as a country governed by law.

Islam strictly prohibits unfair behavior that could have a negative impact on the welfare of the people. Allah SWT says, "O you who believe! Be upholders of justice for the sake of Allah... let not hatred for a people incite you to act unjustly. Be just, for justice is closer to piety." QS. Al-Mā'idah: 8. The principles of *usul fiqh* also indicate that prohibition indicates prohibition²⁴. From the findings that Constitutional Court Decision Number 90 of 2023 contains politicization of power, which if it continues in the long term can cause more dominant harm and can destroy democracy²⁵.

4. CONCLUSION

By adding the alternative requirement of elective office experience, Constitutional Court Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023 changes the age standard for presidential and vice presidential candidates. From a *maslahah* perspective, this decision allows younger generations to participate in politics, strengthens leadership regeneration, and assesses the abilities of public officials by considering not only age but also practical political experience. There is a belief that this can improve democratic representation in Indonesia

However, the possible negative consequences are also very significant, especially due to the possibility of constitutional violations, legal uncertainty, and the threat of politicization of judicial institutions. Criticism has also arisen regarding alleged formal flaws and the possibility of strengthening political dynasties, which could hinder electoral justice as a whole. Therefore, this article, by analyzing the principle of *maslahah-mafsadah* in Islamic law, states that state decisions, especially those related to the political rights of citizens, must be aimed at the greater public interest and at preventing damage to democracy and the constitutional system.

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Ady Thea DA. "Dua Pakar Hukum UGM Ini Minta MK Batalkan Putusan No.90/PUU-XXI/2023."

²⁴ Abd. Muqit, "Metode Tafsir Tematik Kontekstual Perspektif Abdullah Saeed," *Ta'wiluna: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an, Tafsir Dan Pemikiran Islam* 2, no. 1 (2021): 102–19, <https://doi.org/10.58401/takwiluna.v2i1.297>.

²⁵ Alip Dian Pratama et al., "Towards A Juristocratic State: A Critical Analysis Of The Constitutional Court Decision No 90/Puu-Xxi/2023 Concerning The Age Limits Of Vice Presidential Candidates," *Constitutionale* 5, no. 2 (2025): 111–22, <https://doi.org/10.25041/constitutionale.v5i2.3515>.

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