

Collaborative Governance Strategies of the Tuban Regency Election Supervisory Agency in Preventing Vote Buying during the 2024 Regional Election

Rupiarsieh¹, Ahmad Suprastiyo², Novia Nuraini³, Ellya Nur Rosyda⁴

^{1,2,3,4}Department of Public Administration, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bojonegoro, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Money politics remains one of the major challenges threatening electoral integrity and democratic quality in Indonesia. This study aims to analyze the collaborative governance strategy implemented by the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Tuban Regency in preventing vote-buying practices during the 2024 Regional Election. The research employed a qualitative descriptive approach using the Collaborative Governance framework developed by Ansell and Gash (2008), which includes the dimensions of starting conditions, institutional design, facilitative leadership, and collaborative process. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis involving Bawaslu officials and community members. The findings reveal that collaborative efforts emerged due to the persistent potential for vote buying, limited public awareness, and the restricted supervisory capacity of Bawaslu. Institutional support was reflected in a clear organizational structure, coordination mechanisms, and accessible public reporting systems. Facilitative leadership was demonstrated through stakeholder engagement, political education programs, and partnerships with civil society organizations and universities. The collaborative process was characterized by continuous dialogue, trust-building, shared commitment, and participatory monitoring initiatives. The study concludes that collaborative governance has strengthened vote-buying prevention efforts by fostering collective responsibility among stakeholders. However, challenges remain, particularly the persistence of transactional political culture and low public awareness regarding the negative impacts of money politics.

KEYWORDS: Collaborative Governance, Vote Buying, Money Politics, Election Supervision, Regional Election, Bawaslu.

ARTICLE DETAILS

Published On:
26 June 2026

Available on:
<https://ijiissh.com/>

1. INTRODUCTION

Democracy is a system of government that places citizens as the ultimate holders of sovereignty in determining the direction of public policy and governance. Within a democratic system, general elections and regional head elections serve as essential mechanisms for facilitating direct political participation by citizens. Through these electoral processes, individuals are granted the right to freely, fairly, and transparently elect their political representatives and leaders. However, the quality of democracy is determined not only by the regular conduct of elections but also by the integrity of the electoral process itself. According to Aspinall and Sukmajati (2016), one of the most significant challenges facing electoral democracy in Indonesia is the persistence of patronage and clientelistic practices that facilitate vote buying in political contests. This concern is further supported by Muhtadi (2019), who argues that vote buying has become a widespread phenomenon that undermines democratic quality and weakens the principle of popular sovereignty.

Vote buying refers to the provision of money, goods, or other material benefits to voters with the intention of influencing their electoral choices. This practice occurs not only in national elections but also frequently characterizes regional head elections across Indonesia. Muhtadi (2019) observes that vote buying has become deeply embedded within Indonesia's electoral system and is increasingly perceived as a normal aspect of electoral competition by certain segments of society. Furthermore, Aspinall (2014) explains that vote-buying practices are often facilitated by networks of political brokers who act as intermediaries between candidates and voters. Similarly, Berenschot (2018) emphasizes that the persistence of patron-client relationships in Indonesia

Collaborative Governance Strategies of the Tuban Regency Election Supervisory Agency in Preventing Vote Buying during the 2024 Regional Election

encourages candidates to distribute material benefits as a strategy for securing political support. Consequently, electoral decisions are, in some cases, influenced less by candidates' visions, policy agendas, and leadership capacities than by the material incentives offered prior to voting.

The implications of vote buying extend beyond the electoral process and affect the quality of governance produced by democratic institutions. Candidates who incur substantial political expenditures through vote-buying activities often face incentives to recover these costs after assuming office, thereby increasing the risk of corruption and abuse of power. Pahlevi and Amrullo (2020) argue that vote buying weakens political education by encouraging voters to prioritize short-term material gains over rational evaluations of candidates' programs and competencies. Likewise, Fitriyah (2020) contends that the high political costs associated with vote-buying practices may motivate elected officials to misuse public office in order to recoup campaign expenditures. Consequently, vote buying is widely regarded as one of the most serious threats to the development of a healthy, accountable, and integrity-based democratic system.

To safeguard electoral integrity, the Indonesian government established the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), which is mandated to oversee, prevent, and enforce regulations concerning electoral violations. As electoral violations have become increasingly complex, Bawaslu has expanded its approach beyond legal enforcement by developing preventive strategies that emphasize community participation. One notable initiative is the Anti-Money Politics Village Program (*Desa Anti Politik Uang*), which aims to raise public awareness regarding the dangers of vote buying while simultaneously encouraging citizen involvement in electoral oversight. Riwanto et al. (2021) demonstrate that this program serves as an important instrument for fostering a more democratic and integrity-driven political culture through the strengthening of community social capital. The program has also been recognized for enhancing participatory electoral monitoring by positioning citizens as active actors within the electoral oversight system.

The implementation of the Anti-Money Politics Village Program has been examined by Muqsith and Subono (2022), who found that the initiative successfully increased public awareness of the risks associated with vote buying through educational and participatory approaches. Nevertheless, their study also identified several challenges, including limited resources, low levels of community participation, and the persistence of local patronage cultures. Similar findings were reported by Purwaningsih et al. (2023), who argue that the effectiveness of vote-buying prevention programs depends heavily on sustained political education, active community engagement, and adequate institutional support. These findings suggest that successful prevention efforts require strong collaboration among Bawaslu, local governments, civil society organizations, community leaders, and citizens to ensure the sustainability of anti-vote-buying initiatives.

Tuban Regency represents one of the regions confronting significant challenges in preventing vote-buying practices during regional elections. To address this issue, Bawaslu Tuban has implemented various initiatives, including public outreach campaigns, political education programs, the strengthening of participatory monitoring mechanisms, and the encouragement of public reporting of alleged electoral violations. Despite these efforts, vote buying remains a potential electoral offense that requires continuous vigilance. The strategies adopted by Bawaslu Tuban in preventing vote buying during the 2024 Regional Election can be analyzed through the lens of Collaborative Governance theory proposed by Ansell and Gash (2008). This framework posits that the resolution of complex public problems requires structured collaboration among government institutions and diverse stakeholders. In the context of vote-buying prevention, the involvement of Bawaslu, local government agencies, law enforcement authorities, civil society organizations, media institutions, and citizens is essential for developing an effective electoral oversight system.

A review of the existing literature indicates that most previous studies have focused primarily on the phenomenon of vote buying and the general implementation of the Anti-Money Politics Village Program. In contrast, studies specifically examining the strategies employed by Bawaslu Tuban in preventing vote buying during the 2024 Regional Election from a Collaborative Governance perspective remain limited. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the strategies adopted by Bawaslu Tuban to prevent vote-buying practices during the 2024 Regional Election and to identify the challenges encountered in their implementation.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative research method with a descriptive approach to gain an in-depth understanding of the strategies implemented by the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Tuban Regency in preventing vote-buying practices during the 2024 Regional Election. A qualitative approach was selected because it enables researchers to explore participants' meanings, experiences, and interpretations of social phenomena in a comprehensive manner (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Meanwhile, the descriptive approach was utilized to systematically and factually describe the vote-buying prevention strategies undertaken by Bawaslu based on empirical conditions in the field without manipulating the research setting (Sugiyono, 2018). The study was conducted at Bawaslu Tuban Regency and was guided by the Collaborative Governance framework developed by Ansell and Gash (2008), focusing on four key dimensions: starting conditions, institutional design, facilitative leadership, and collaborative process in the context of vote-buying prevention during the 2024 Regional Election.

The study utilized both primary and secondary data sources. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with

Collaborative Governance Strategies of the Tuban Regency Election Supervisory Agency in Preventing Vote Buying during the 2024 Regional Election

informants selected using purposive sampling. The informants consisted of members of Bawaslu Tuban Regency, particularly those involved in the Division of Prevention, Public Participation, and Public Relations, as well as community members who possessed knowledge and experience related to the implementation of the 2024 Regional Election and efforts to prevent vote-buying practices. Purposive sampling was employed to identify individuals who were considered to have the most relevant knowledge and insights regarding the research problem, thereby enabling the collection of rich and meaningful data (Sugiyono, 2018). In addition to interviews, data were obtained through direct observation of electoral supervision and vote-buying prevention activities. Documentary evidence, including activity reports, institutional archives, electoral regulations, and other relevant documents, was also examined to enrich the analysis. Secondary data were gathered from scholarly books, peer-reviewed journal articles, and official publications relevant to electoral governance, vote buying, and collaborative governance.

Data analysis followed the interactive model proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), which consists of three interconnected stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification. Data reduction involved selecting, organizing, and categorizing information relevant to the research objectives. The reduced data were subsequently presented in narrative form to facilitate interpretation and pattern identification. Conclusions were then drawn based on recurring themes, relationships, and insights emerging from the data. To ensure the trustworthiness of the findings, the study applied source triangulation and methodological triangulation by comparing information obtained from interviews, observations, and documentary sources. In addition, member checking was conducted to verify the accuracy of the collected data and ensure that the interpretations reflected the participants' intended meanings, thereby enhancing the credibility and validity of the research findings (Moleong, 2017).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Starting Conditions

According to Ansell and Gash (2008), *starting conditions* refer to the initial circumstances that necessitate collaboration among actors in addressing public problems. These conditions may include resource asymmetries, a history of recurring conflicts or persistent issues, and interdependence among stakeholders in solving problems that cannot be effectively managed by a single institution. In the context of this study, the starting conditions underlying the collaborative strategy of the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Tuban Regency in preventing vote-buying practices during the 2024 Regional Election were characterized by three key factors: the continued potential for vote buying, low public awareness regarding its detrimental impacts, and the limited supervisory capacity of Bawaslu when relying solely on formal electoral oversight mechanisms.

The findings indicate that Bawaslu Tuban Regency identified several allegations of vote-buying practices during the stages of the 2024 Regional Election. Although subsequent investigations and deliberations conducted through the Integrated Law Enforcement Center (*Sentra Gakkumdu*) concluded that these allegations did not meet the legal requirements for electoral criminal offenses, the existence of such reports demonstrates that vote buying remains a significant electoral vulnerability requiring continuous attention. As stated by Informant NR, Coordinator of the Division of Prevention, Public Participation, and Public Relations of Bawaslu Tuban Regency:

“During the 2024 Regional Election, there were allegations related to vote-buying practices during the campaign period, and these allegations were followed up through an investigative review process until a decision was issued. However, after further examination, the allegations did not fulfill the legal elements required to constitute an electoral vote-buying offense.” (NR, Interview, 2025)

This finding suggests that even when allegations cannot be legally substantiated, the potential occurrence of vote-buying practices remains a serious concern for electoral supervisors. The finding corroborates Muhtadi's (2019) argument that vote buying has become deeply embedded within Indonesia's electoral system and is often perceived as a normal component of electoral competition. Consequently, preventive efforts should not rely solely on legal enforcement but must also incorporate educational and collaborative approaches aimed at reducing opportunities for electoral misconduct before violations occur.

Another important starting condition identified in this study is the relatively low level of public awareness regarding the adverse consequences of vote buying. Interviews with community members revealed that some citizens continue to perceive the distribution of money before elections as an acceptable and even customary practice. One respondent stated:

“Because it is considered a blessing and should not be rejected.” (MA, Interview, 2025)

Similarly, another informant explained:

“It has become common practice; before every election there is usually some form of money distribution.” (MB, Interview, 2025)

These statements illustrate the persistence of a transactional political culture within local communities. Vote buying is not always perceived as a violation of democratic principles but rather as a routine aspect of electoral participation. Such perceptions pose a substantial challenge for Bawaslu because the success of vote-buying prevention depends not only on regulatory enforcement but also on transforming citizens' political attitudes and behaviors. This finding supports Pahlevi and Amrullobbi (2020), who argue

Collaborative Governance Strategies of the Tuban Regency Election Supervisory Agency in Preventing Vote Buying during the 2024 Regional Election

that public tolerance toward vote-buying practices constitutes one of the primary obstacles to their eradication, particularly when voters perceive immediate economic benefits from such transactions.

The third starting condition concerns the limited supervisory capacity of Bawaslu when relying exclusively on formal electoral monitoring structures. Tuban Regency encompasses a wide geographical area consisting of numerous districts and villages, making comprehensive monitoring difficult without the active involvement of citizens and other stakeholders. As a result, Bawaslu recognized the necessity of establishing collaborative partnerships with local government institutions, law enforcement agencies, media organizations, civil society groups, universities, and community members to strengthen participatory electoral oversight. As emphasized by Informant NR:

“Raising public awareness about the dangers of vote buying cannot be accomplished by Bawaslu alone. It is a shared responsibility involving local government, the General Election Commission (KPU), Bawaslu, civil society organizations, and the broader community.” (NR, Interview, 2025)

This statement reflects a central assumption of collaborative governance, namely that complex public problems require collective action among multiple stakeholders. The limitations of institutional resources and monitoring capacities create interdependence among actors, thereby encouraging collaborative arrangements to achieve common objectives. In this regard, participatory supervision becomes an essential strategy for extending electoral oversight beyond formal institutional boundaries.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the *starting conditions* dimension of collaborative governance in Tuban Regency was shaped by three interconnected factors: the persistent risk of vote-buying practices, limited public awareness of the dangers associated with money politics, and the restricted supervisory capacity of formal electoral institutions. These conditions created a strong rationale for collaboration and served as the foundation for the development of preventive strategies involving political education, public outreach, participatory monitoring, and cross-sectoral partnerships. Consistent with Ansell and Gash’s (2008) collaborative governance framework, these initial conditions functioned as critical drivers that motivated stakeholders to engage in collective efforts aimed at safeguarding electoral integrity during the 2024 Regional Election.

b. Institutional Design

According to Ansell and Gash (2008), *institutional design* refers to the formal and informal arrangements that provide the foundation for collaborative governance, including rules, organizational structures, operational mechanisms, procedures, and participatory opportunities that enable stakeholders to engage in addressing public problems. Effective institutional design promotes clarity of roles, responsibilities, and coordination mechanisms, thereby facilitating the achievement of collaborative objectives. In the context of this study, the institutional design adopted by Bawaslu Tuban Regency was reflected in its organizational structure, inter-unit coordination mechanisms, internal reporting and supervisory systems, and the provision of accessible channels for public participation in electoral oversight.

The findings reveal that Bawaslu Tuban Regency possesses a functional organizational structure in which responsibilities are distributed according to specific mandates and areas of expertise. The organization consists of the Chairperson, the Supervision Division, the Violation Handling Division, the Legal Affairs and Dispute Resolution Division, the Prevention, Public Participation, and Public Relations Division, as well as the Secretariat. This division of responsibilities enables each unit to perform its designated functions effectively while contributing to the broader objective of safeguarding electoral integrity. A clearly defined organizational structure also minimizes overlapping responsibilities and facilitates more efficient coordination during the implementation of electoral supervision activities. Interview data indicate that vote-buying prevention is not confined to a single division but constitutes a collective responsibility shared across all organizational units within Bawaslu Tuban Regency. As explained by Informant NR:

“The prevention of vote buying is not solely the responsibility of the Prevention Division. All elements within Bawaslu are involved according to their respective duties and functions. Some conduct supervision, others handle alleged violations, while others focus on public outreach and education.” (NR, Interview, 2025)

This statement demonstrates that the institutional design adopted by Bawaslu Tuban Regency promotes both functional specialization and organizational integration. While each division performs distinct tasks, the collaborative interaction among units enables a coordinated response to electoral challenges. From the perspective of Collaborative Governance, this finding illustrates the importance of internal institutional readiness as a prerequisite for broader external collaboration. Effective collaboration with external stakeholders is more likely to succeed when internal organizational arrangements are clearly defined and well coordinated. Beyond organizational structure, institutional design is also reflected in the coordination mechanisms established among different organizational units. The findings show that coordination is routinely conducted through internal meetings, evaluation forums, and inter-divisional communication throughout each stage of the electoral process. These mechanisms serve to align perceptions, share supervisory findings, exchange information regarding potential violations, and determine appropriate follow-up actions. Such continuous coordination fosters organizational coherence and ensures that preventive and supervisory activities are implemented in

Collaborative Governance Strategies of the Tuban Regency Election Supervisory Agency in Preventing Vote Buying during the 2024 Regional Election

a complementary manner. This finding supports Ansell and Gash's (2008) argument that institutional arrangements must facilitate communication and coordination among actors to sustain collaborative efforts and enhance policy effectiveness.

The study further found that Bawaslu Tuban Regency has established a structured internal reporting and monitoring system to manage information related to alleged electoral violations. Reports and preliminary information are processed through a series of clearly defined procedures, including initial assessment, clarification, evidence examination, and, when necessary, joint deliberation with the Integrated Law Enforcement Center (*Sentra Gakkumdu*). Informant MT explained:

"When information regarding alleged vote buying is received, the first step is an initial assessment. This is followed by clarification with the relevant parties, and if sufficient elements are identified, the case is discussed jointly with the police and the public prosecutor's office through *Sentra Gakkumdu*." (MT, Interview, 2025)

The existence of these procedures indicates that Bawaslu Tuban Regency has developed an institutional framework characterized by procedural clarity and accountability. Such mechanisms are essential elements of institutional design because they provide legal certainty and operational consistency in handling alleged electoral violations. Moreover, clear procedures help strengthen institutional credibility by ensuring that decisions are made through transparent and standardized processes.

Another important aspect of institutional design identified in this study is the provision of accessible reporting channels for citizens. Bawaslu Tuban Regency has established multiple avenues through which members of the public can submit information or complaints regarding electoral violations, including complaint posts, the *Sigap Lapor* service, official social media platforms, and WhatsApp communication channels. These mechanisms were designed to encourage citizen participation and facilitate the timely reporting of suspected violations. As stated by Informant MT:

"Many members of the public provide initial information through complaint posts, *Sigap Lapor*, social media platforms, and WhatsApp to Bawaslu and electoral supervisors regarding suspected vote-buying practices." (MT, Interview, 2025)

This finding demonstrates that Bawaslu Tuban Regency has developed an inclusive institutional design that actively encourages public involvement in electoral oversight. In the Collaborative Governance framework, participatory inclusiveness is a critical component of institutional design because it creates opportunities for stakeholders to contribute to decision-making and problem-solving processes (Ansell & Gash, 2008). By providing accessible reporting mechanisms, Bawaslu extends the scope of electoral supervision beyond formal institutions and empowers citizens to act as partners in safeguarding electoral integrity.

Overall, the findings suggest that the *institutional design* dimension of collaborative governance has been effectively implemented within Bawaslu Tuban Regency. This is evidenced by the presence of a clear and functional organizational structure, routine inter-unit coordination mechanisms, structured internal reporting and monitoring procedures, and open access for public participation through various reporting channels. Collectively, these institutional arrangements provide a solid foundation for collaborative action and enhance the effectiveness of vote-buying prevention efforts during the 2024 Regional Election. Consistent with Ansell and Gash's (2008) framework, the study demonstrates that well-designed institutional arrangements are essential for facilitating coordination, fostering stakeholder participation, and strengthening the overall capacity of collaborative governance initiatives.

c. Facilitative Leadership

According to Ansell and Gash (2008), *facilitative leadership* refers to the capacity of leaders to facilitate collaborative processes through effective communication, trust-building, coordination, and stakeholder engagement. Facilitative leaders do not merely function as decision-makers; they also act as mediators and coordinators who connect diverse actors and encourage collective action toward shared objectives. In the context of this study, facilitative leadership was reflected in the active role of Bawaslu Tuban Regency in initiating collaborative partnerships, strengthening cross-sectoral communication, and encouraging public participation in preventing vote-buying practices during the 2024 Regional Election.

The findings indicate that Bawaslu Tuban Regency did not rely solely on internal supervisory mechanisms but actively engaged with a broad range of stakeholders to strengthen electoral integrity. These collaborative efforts involved the Tuban Regency Government, the General Election Commission (KPU), the Police Department, the Public Prosecutor's Office, mass media organizations, civil society groups, and higher education institutions. As explained by Informant NR:

"In addition to public outreach and preventive campaigns, we have undertaken coordination with various stakeholders, including the Regency Government, the Police, the Tuban District Police Office, the Military District Command, the Public Prosecutor's Office, journalists, and mass media organizations. This coordination is conducted regularly to prevent vote-buying practices." (NR, Interview, 2025)

This finding demonstrates that Bawaslu Tuban Regency has assumed the role of a facilitator capable of connecting multiple institutions around a common objective, namely the realization of a clean and fair regional election free from vote-buying practices. From a Collaborative Governance perspective, the ability to build and maintain interorganizational networks is a key indicator of

Collaborative Governance Strategies of the Tuban Regency Election Supervisory Agency in Preventing Vote Buying during the 2024 Regional Election

facilitative leadership because it strengthens mutual commitment, enhances communication, and promotes a shared understanding among stakeholders (Ansell & Gash, 2008). The findings further support Emerson et al. (2012), who argue that collaborative leadership is essential for mobilizing stakeholders and sustaining collective action in addressing complex public issues.

Beyond interinstitutional coordination, facilitative leadership was also reflected in Bawaslu's efforts to mobilize community participation. Recognizing the limitations of formal electoral supervision, Bawaslu acknowledged that effective prevention of vote buying requires active citizen involvement. Consequently, a variety of political education and participatory monitoring programs were implemented to enhance public engagement in electoral oversight. These initiatives included public awareness campaigns, political education activities, electoral monitoring villages (*Kampung Pengawasan*), and the Anti-Money Politics Village Program (*Desa Anti Politik Uang*), all of which encouraged citizens to become active participants in safeguarding electoral integrity. This commitment was highlighted by Informant NR, who stated:

"The special programs we implemented include public outreach, political education, and the Anti-Money Politics Village Program. These programs actively involve citizens in jointly preventing vote-buying practices." (NR, Interview, 2025)

The statement illustrates that Bawaslu's role extends beyond regulatory supervision to encompass community empowerment and civic education. Through these initiatives, citizens are encouraged not only to recognize electoral violations but also to actively participate in prevention efforts. Such an approach reflects a participatory and inclusive style of leadership that empowers stakeholders to contribute to collective goals. This finding aligns with Ansell and Gash's (2008) assertion that facilitative leadership is crucial for fostering stakeholder ownership and strengthening collaborative engagement.

Another manifestation of facilitative leadership was evident in the organizational innovations introduced during the 2024 Regional Election. The study found that Bawaslu Tuban Regency actively pursued formal partnerships with civil society organizations and higher education institutions through Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs). These partnerships were designed to broaden the reach of political education initiatives and strengthen participatory monitoring among youth and university students. Informant NR explained:

"One of the innovations introduced during the recent Regional Election was the establishment of cooperation agreements and Memoranda of Understanding with various community organizations and universities. Among them were the Young Indonesian Student Association of Tuban Regency and several universities through the 'Bawaslu Percaya Kampus' program." (NR, Interview, 2025)

The *Bawaslu Percaya Kampus* program represents an important example of collaborative innovation in electoral governance. By engaging universities and student organizations, Bawaslu expanded its educational outreach while simultaneously cultivating a new generation of participatory electoral monitors. The involvement of academic institutions contributes not only to the dissemination of democratic values but also to the development of critical political awareness among young voters. Such initiatives illustrate the strategic role of facilitative leadership in creating partnerships that enhance both institutional capacity and community engagement. Furthermore, facilitative leadership was reflected in Bawaslu's efforts to cultivate a collective awareness of the dangers posed by vote buying. Interview findings revealed that the primary challenge was not merely the technical aspect of electoral supervision but the persistence of societal perceptions that regard vote buying as a normal and acceptable practice. To address this challenge, Bawaslu positioned itself as a catalyst for collective action by encouraging multiple stakeholders to participate in public political education and awareness-building initiatives. As stated by Informant NR: "Raising public awareness about the dangers of vote buying cannot be accomplished by Bawaslu alone. It is a shared responsibility involving local government, the KPU, Bawaslu, civil society organizations, and the broader community." (NR, Interview, 2025)

This statement highlights Bawaslu's recognition that preventing vote buying requires a collective effort rather than a single-institution approach. Instead of positioning itself as the sole actor responsible for electoral integrity, Bawaslu acts as a facilitator that coordinates and mobilizes stakeholders toward a shared mission. Such an approach is consistent with the concept of facilitative leadership, which emphasizes trust-building, shared responsibility, and collective commitment as fundamental components of successful collaboration (Emerson et al., 2012).

Overall, the findings suggest that the *facilitative leadership* dimension of collaborative governance has been effectively implemented by Bawaslu Tuban Regency. This is evidenced by its ability to establish cross-sectoral coordination, encourage citizen participation, develop innovative partnerships with civil society organizations and higher education institutions, and foster collective awareness regarding the dangers of vote buying. These leadership practices have strengthened collaborative relationships among stakeholders and enhanced the effectiveness of preventive efforts. Consistent with the Collaborative Governance framework proposed by Ansell and Gash (2008), facilitative leadership emerged as a critical factor in mobilizing collective action and promoting a fair, transparent, and integrity-based electoral process during the 2024 Regional Election.

d. Collaborative Process

According to Ansell and Gash (2008), the *collaborative process* constitutes the core component of collaborative governance, describing how stakeholders engage in face-to-face dialogue, build trust, develop commitment to the collaborative process, establish shared understanding, and generate intermediate outcomes in addressing public problems. In the context of this study, the collaborative process undertaken by Bawaslu Tuban Regency was reflected in the active involvement of multiple stakeholders in preventing vote-buying practices during the 2024 Regional Election through political education initiatives, public outreach activities, participatory electoral monitoring, and cross-sectoral partnerships.

The initial stage of the collaborative process was manifested through intensive communication and dialogue among Bawaslu and various stakeholders. Bawaslu Tuban Regency regularly organized coordination meetings, consolidation forums, public outreach activities, and stakeholder consultations involving the Tuban Regency Government, the General Election Commission (KPU), the Police Department, the Public Prosecutor's Office, mass media organizations, civil society groups, and higher education institutions. These activities were intended to establish a common understanding of the importance of maintaining electoral integrity and preventing vote-buying practices from the early stages of the electoral process. The findings indicate that communication served as a fundamental instrument through which Bawaslu fostered collective awareness and strengthened stakeholders' commitment to electoral oversight. As explained by Informant NR:

"We conduct regular coordination with various stakeholders, including local government institutions, the police, the public prosecutor's office, mass media organizations, and other electoral management bodies to prevent vote-buying practices. This preventive effort cannot be carried out by Bawaslu alone." (NR, Interview, 2025)

This statement reflects the existence of *face-to-face dialogue*, which Ansell and Gash (2008) identify as a critical element of collaborative governance. Through continuous interaction and deliberation, stakeholders are able to exchange information, articulate concerns, negotiate responsibilities, and develop mutually agreed strategies for addressing electoral challenges. The findings suggest that regular dialogue has contributed to the development of stronger interorganizational relationships and enhanced coordination among actors involved in vote-buying prevention.

The collaborative process was further characterized by efforts to build trust between Bawaslu and the broader community. In this study, trust-building was facilitated through transparency in information dissemination, openness in handling reports of alleged electoral violations, and the provision of accessible reporting mechanisms. Bawaslu Tuban Regency utilized multiple communication channels, including social media platforms, its official website, the *Sigap Lapor* service, WhatsApp communication channels, and community complaint posts to encourage public participation in reporting suspected violations. Informant MT stated:

"Although the number of formal reports submitted by citizens remains relatively limited, substantial preliminary information regarding alleged vote-buying practices has been communicated through complaint posts, Sigap Lapor, social media platforms, and WhatsApp channels." (MT, Interview, 2025)

This finding indicates that, despite the relatively low volume of formal complaints, citizens increasingly perceive Bawaslu as a credible institution capable of receiving and responding to information related to electoral violations. Such trust is particularly important because collaborative governance depends on stakeholders' confidence that their participation will be valued and acted upon. Consistent with Ansell and Gash (2008), trust serves as a foundational element that encourages sustained stakeholder engagement and facilitates the development of collaborative relationships over time.

Another important component of the collaborative process identified in this study is *commitment to process*, which refers to stakeholders' willingness to remain engaged in collaborative activities despite challenges and resource constraints. The findings reveal that Bawaslu Tuban Regency consistently implemented a variety of preventive initiatives throughout the electoral cycle rather than relying exclusively on formal supervisory mechanisms. These initiatives included participatory monitoring campaigns, political education programs, community forums, electoral monitoring villages (*Kampung Pengawasan*), the Anti-Money Politics Village Program (*Desa Anti Politik Uang*), and the *Bawaslu Percaya Kampus* initiative. As stated by Informant NR:

"The special programs implemented include public outreach activities, political education, and the Anti-Money Politics Village Program. These initiatives actively involve citizens in jointly preventing vote-buying practices." (NR, Interview, 2025)

The implementation of these programs demonstrates a strong institutional commitment to fostering political awareness and strengthening public participation. Furthermore, the involvement of civil society organizations and universities indicates that collaborative commitment extends beyond governmental institutions and encompasses broader societal actors. This finding reinforces the argument of Ansell and Gash (2008) that sustained collaboration requires long-term commitment from all participating stakeholders to achieve meaningful outcomes.

The study also identified the development of *shared understanding* among stakeholders regarding the dangers of vote buying and its implications for democratic governance. Through continuous public outreach and political education activities, Bawaslu sought

Collaborative Governance Strategies of the Tuban Regency Election Supervisory Agency in Preventing Vote Buying during the 2024 Regional Election

to cultivate a common perception that vote buying constitutes a violation of democratic principles and electoral regulations. Establishing such shared understanding was particularly important because interview findings revealed that some community members continued to regard vote buying as a normal and acceptable practice during election periods.

Despite these challenges, the findings indicate that educational initiatives gradually contributed to increased public awareness regarding the negative consequences of transactional politics. This positive development was reflected in the growing number of citizens who voluntarily provided preliminary information regarding suspected vote-buying activities to Bawaslu. Although the process of transforming deeply rooted political norms remains ongoing, the emergence of greater public awareness suggests that collaborative efforts have begun to influence citizens' perceptions and attitudes toward electoral integrity.

In the Collaborative Governance framework, the effectiveness of collaboration can also be assessed through the achievement of *intermediate outcomes*, which represent tangible progress generated during the collaborative process (Ansell & Gash, 2008). The findings reveal several intermediate outcomes associated with Bawaslu's collaborative strategy. One notable achievement was the high intensity of preventive activities conducted throughout the electoral stages. Data from the study indicate that public outreach and socialization activities constituted the most frequently implemented preventive measures compared to other forms of intervention. In addition, Bawaslu actively issued public advisories, organized stakeholder consolidation forums, conducted coordination meetings, implemented electoral monitoring patrols, provided participatory monitoring training, and facilitated various educational programs aimed at preventing vote-buying practices.

The predominance of outreach and educational activities suggests that communication-based strategies became the primary mechanism through which collaborative efforts were operationalized. Rather than relying exclusively on punitive measures, Bawaslu emphasized preventive approaches designed to transform public attitudes and encourage citizen participation. This finding highlights the importance of civic engagement and political education as essential components of collaborative electoral governance. Nevertheless, the collaborative process continues to face significant challenges. The most prominent obstacle identified in this study is the persistence of transactional political culture and the relatively low level of awareness among some segments of the population regarding the dangers of vote buying. Economic considerations and longstanding social norms continue to influence voter behavior, leading some citizens to accept monetary incentives offered by political actors. These conditions demonstrate that institutional interventions alone are insufficient to eradicate vote-buying practices and that broader socio-cultural transformation remains necessary.

Despite these challenges, the collaborative process established by Bawaslu Tuban Regency has demonstrated encouraging progress. The active involvement of local government institutions, law enforcement agencies, media organizations, civil society groups, universities, and citizens in participatory monitoring initiatives indicates that vote-buying prevention is no longer perceived solely as the responsibility of Bawaslu. Instead, it has increasingly evolved into a shared responsibility among multiple stakeholders committed to protecting electoral integrity.

Overall, the findings suggest that the *collaborative process* dimension has been effectively implemented through intensive communication and dialogue, trust-building initiatives, sustained stakeholder commitment, the development of shared understanding regarding the dangers of vote buying, and the achievement of several intermediate outcomes, including increased preventive activities and greater public participation. Although challenges associated with entrenched transactional political culture remain, the collaborative process demonstrates that a collaborative governance approach can serve as an effective strategy for strengthening vote-buying prevention efforts and enhancing electoral integrity during the 2024 Regional Election in Tuban Regency. Consistent with Ansell and Gash's (2008) framework, the findings highlight that successful electoral governance depends not only on formal institutions but also on the collective engagement of diverse stakeholders working toward a common democratic objective.

4. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the strategy adopted by the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Tuban Regency to prevent vote-buying practices during the 2024 Regional Election was implemented through a collaborative governance approach involving multiple stakeholders. Based on the framework developed by Ansell and Gash (2008), the collaboration emerged from three critical starting conditions: the persistent risk of vote-buying practices, limited public awareness of the detrimental effects of money politics, and the restricted supervisory capacity of formal electoral monitoring institutions. To address these challenges, Bawaslu established a collaborative governance system supported by a functional institutional design, routine interorganizational coordination, transparent reporting mechanisms, and accessible public complaint channels. Furthermore, facilitative leadership played a significant role in mobilizing stakeholders, promoting public participation, and fostering strategic partnerships with civil society organizations and higher education institutions. The collaborative process was characterized by continuous dialogue, trust-building, shared commitment, political education initiatives, and participatory monitoring programs, all of which contributed to strengthening electoral integrity and preventing vote-buying practices during the election process.

The findings contribute to the advancement of Collaborative Governance theory by confirming the applicability of the Ansell and Gash (2008) framework in the context of electoral governance and election supervision. While previous studies have predominantly

Collaborative Governance Strategies of the Tuban Regency Election Supervisory Agency in Preventing Vote Buying during the 2024 Regional Election

applied collaborative governance to public service delivery, environmental management, and policy implementation, this study demonstrates its relevance in addressing electoral integrity challenges at the local level. Practically, the findings suggest that the prevention of vote buying should not rely solely on legal enforcement mechanisms. Instead, it requires sustained collaboration among election management bodies, local governments, law enforcement agencies, civil society organizations, media institutions, universities, and citizens. Strengthening political literacy, expanding participatory monitoring initiatives, and institutionalizing multi-stakeholder partnerships are crucial strategies for promoting democratic values and reducing the acceptance of transactional politics within society.

Despite these contributions, several limitations should be acknowledged. First, the study was conducted exclusively in Tuban Regency, which may limit the transferability of the findings to regions with different political, social, and cultural contexts. Second, the research relied primarily on qualitative data derived from interviews, observations, and documentary analysis, which may be influenced by participants' subjective interpretations. Third, the study focused on understanding the collaborative governance process rather than quantitatively measuring the effectiveness of specific vote-buying prevention programs. Future research is therefore encouraged to undertake comparative studies across multiple regions, employ mixed-methods approaches, and examine the long-term effectiveness of collaborative governance initiatives in reducing vote-buying practices and strengthening electoral integrity in Indonesia.

REFERENCES

- 1) Ansell, C., & Gash, A. (2008). Collaborative governance in theory and practice. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(4), 543–571. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mum032>
- 2) Aspinall, E. (2014). When brokers betray: Clientelism, social networks, and electoral politics in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 46(4), 545–570. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2014.960706>. Diakses dari <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14672715.2014.960706>
- 3) Berenschot, W. (2018). The political economy of clientelism in Indonesia. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 37(1), 3–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/186810341803700101>. Diakses dari <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/186810341803700101>
- 4) Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (5th ed.). Sage Publications.
- 5) Emerson, K., Nabatchi, T., & Balogh, S. (2012). An integrative framework for collaborative governance. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mur011>
- 6) Fitriyah. (2020). Politik uang dalam pemilu lokal dan tantangan demokrasi elektoral di Indonesia. *Jurnal Wacana Politik*, 5(2), 134–146. Diakses dari <https://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/wacanapolitik>
- 7) Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- 8) Moleong, L. J. (2017). *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Edisi Revisi). PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- 9) Muhtadi, B. (2019). Politik uang dan new normal dalam pemilu paska-Orde Baru. *Integritas: Jurnal Antikorupsi*, 5(1), 55–74. <https://doi.org/10.32697/integritas.v5i1.413>. Diakses dari <https://jurnal.kpk.go.id/integritas/article/view/413>
- 10) Muqsith, A., & Subono, N. I. (2022). Implementasi kebijakan pembuatan desa anti politik uang oleh Bawaslu Kabupaten Kendal. *Indonesian Journal of Democracy and Election Studies*, 4(2), 145–159. <https://doi.org/10.37950/ijd.v4i2.289>. Diakses dari <https://hk-publishing.id/ijd-demos/article/view/289>
- 11) Nurhasim, M. (2018). Politik uang dan demokrasi lokal di Indonesia. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 15(2), 123–138. Diakses dari <https://ejournal.politik.lipi.go.id>
- 12) Pahlevi, I., & Amrullobbi, A. A. (2020). Politik uang dalam pemilu: Kajian terhadap perilaku pemilih dan tantangan demokrasi lokal di Indonesia. *Jurnal Politica*, 11(2), 123–138. <https://jurnal.dpr.go.id/index.php/politica/article/view/1838>
- 13) Purwaningsih, T., Pahlevi, M. E. T., Amrullobbi, A. A., Khatami, M. I., & Nuryanti, S. (2023). Penguatan demokrasi dari desa di masa pandemi Covid-19: Problematika pengembangan program desa anti politik uang. *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 11(2), 129–145. <https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v11i2a1>. Diakses dari <https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/jpp/article/view/38187>
- 14) Ratner, B. D. (2012). Collaborative governance for ecosystem management: A primer. *CGIAR Program on Aquatic Agricultural Systems*. <https://hdl.handle.net/10568/34863>
- 15) Riwanto, A., Achmad, A., Suranto, S., Firdaus, S. U., & Wahyuni, S. (2021). Membangun model desa anti politik uang sebagai strategi Bawaslu dalam mencegah Pilkada curang. *Masalah-Masalah Hukum*, 50(3), 279–289. <https://doi.org/10.14710/mmh.50.3.2021.279-289>. Diakses dari <https://ejournal.undip.ac.id/index.php/mmh/article/view/34412>
- 16) Sugiyono. (2018). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Alfabeta.

- 17) Suharyanto, A. (2020). Pengawasan partisipatif dalam penyelenggaraan pemilu di Indonesia. *Jurnal Bawaslu*, 6(2), 117–132. <https://journal.bawaslu.go.id/index.php/jurnalbawaslu/article/view/154>
- 18) Tawakkal, G. T. I., Suhardono, W., Garner, A. D., & Seitz, T. (2019). Voting their conscience: Poverty, education, social pressure and vote buying in Indonesia. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 19(1), 19–38. <https://doi.org/10.1017/jea.2018.27>. Diakses dari <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-east-asian-studies/article/voting-their-conscience-poverty-education-social-pressure-and-vote-buying-in-indonesia>
- 19) Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 7 Tahun 2017 tentang Pemilihan Umum. <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Home/Details/37644/uu-no-7-tahun-2017-tentang-pemilihan-umum>