

Implementation of Bawaslu Policies in Supervising the Voting Stage of the 2024 Election in Serang City, Banten Province

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Abstract—General elections (Pemilu) are a crucial instrument in realizing popular sovereignty. The Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), as an oversight institution, plays a strategic role in safeguarding the integrity of the democratic process, particularly during the voting stage. This study aims to analyze the implementation of Bawaslu's supervisory policies in the 2024 Election in Serang City, Banten Province. Employing a descriptive qualitative approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews, document analysis, and field observations. The findings indicate that Bawaslu Serang City has carried out its supervisory functions effectively; however, challenges remain, including limited human resources, technical difficulties in operating the Siwaslu application, and suboptimal inter-agency coordination. The implementation of Bawaslu's policies can be examined through the policy implementation theories of Edward III, Mazmanian and Sabatier, and Grindle, which highlight the importance of communication, resources, disposition, and socio-political conditions. This study recommends enhancing human resource capacity, improving the Siwaslu application system, and strengthening inter-agency coordination to ensure the integrity of future elections.

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I. INTRODUCTION

General elections (Pemilu) are a key instrument of Indonesia's democratic system, serving to realize the sovereignty of the people as mandated by the 1945 Constitution. The 2024 simultaneous elections hold particular significance because they involve the election of the President and Vice President, members of the House of Representatives (DPR), the Regional Representatives Council (DPD), the Provincial DPRD (Regional People's Representative Council), and the Regency/City DPRD. The implementation of democratic, integrity-based, and accountable elections depends

largely on effective oversight. In this context, the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) carries a constitutional mandate to oversee all stages of the election, including the voting stage, which is the most crucial because it directly determines the final outcome of the democratic process (Siregar, 2024).

At the national level, the effectiveness of election oversight continues to be a matter of concern among academics and practitioners. Studies across various regions illustrate the diverse challenges faced by Bawaslu. For example, research in Central Java found that supervising revotes (PSU) required specific strategies, including multi-level coordination, technical simulations, and institutional evaluations (Yatazacka & Yudhanti, 2025). In West Java, participatory monitoring proved effective in reducing the number of violations from 942 cases in the 2019 Election to 582 cases in the 2024 Election, highlighting the importance of synergy between the public and formal supervisors (Amal, 2024). Meanwhile, a study in Banten Province revealed that Bawaslu continues to face obstacles such as a limited number of supervisors, short case-handling deadlines, and uneven human resource quality, all of which hinder effective field monitoring (Pahlevi et al., 2024).

Serang City, the capital of Banten Province, occupies a strategic position in both the regional and national political landscape. Voter turnout in the 2024 Election exceeded 80%, reflecting strong public enthusiasm in exercising political rights (KPU RI, 2024). However, this high level of participation also posed challenges for the Serang City Bawaslu in ensuring effective oversight at every polling station (TPS). Key issues included the limited number of polling station supervisors and the underutilization of Siwaslu (the General Election Supervisory System), a monitoring application designed to facilitate election oversight and enable real-time reporting of violations. Additionally, several administrative and technical violations were still found during the voting process (Fauzan,

2025).

Given these conditions, it is essential to examine how Serang City Bawaslu implemented its oversight policies. This study seeks to describe and analyze the implementation of these policies, assess their effectiveness, and identify the supporting and inhibiting factors. The analysis draws on public policy implementation theories developed by George C. Edwards III (1980), Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983), and Grindle (1980), which emphasize that successful policy implementation is shaped by communication, resources, implementers' disposition, organizational structure, and the socio-political environment.

The urgency of this research lies in two key aspects. First, from an academic perspective, it contributes to filling a gap in empirical studies on election supervision in Serang City, which has unique characteristics as both a center of regional governance and political activity. Second, from a practical perspective, the findings are expected to provide policy recommendations for Bawaslu at the city, provincial, and national levels to strengthen the quality of election supervision in the future. These recommendations include enhancing human resource capacity, optimizing the use of digital monitoring systems, and reinforcing community-based participatory supervision. Thus, this research offers not only an academic contribution but also practical implications for efforts to strengthen electoral democracy in Indonesia.

Theoretical Review

1. Public Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is a crucial stage in the public policy cycle that follows policy formulation and adoption. According to Edwards III (1980), the success of policy implementation is determined by four key variables: communication, resources, implementer disposition, and bureaucratic structure.

First, communication concerns how policies are transmitted to field implementers; the clearer and more consistent the communication, the more effective the implementation. Second, resources include the availability of funds, facilities, infrastructure, and competent human resources. Third, implementer disposition emphasizes the commitment, integrity, and professionalism of those responsible for carrying out the policy. Fourth, the bureaucratic structure relates to organizational arrangements, coordination systems, and operational standards applied in the implementation process (Edwards, 1980; Wibowo, 2024).

Applied to the context of Bawaslu (the Election Supervisory Agency), the supervision of elections can be analyzed through these four dimensions. For example, communication relates to how technical regulations are

conveyed from central Bawaslu to polling station supervisors. Resources refer to the availability of supervisors and the use of the Siwaslu application. Disposition reflects the integrity and professionalism of supervisors. Meanwhile, the bureaucratic structure concerns hierarchical coordination mechanisms among different levels of election supervisors.

2. Mazmanian and Sabatier's Perspective

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) argue that the success of policy implementation is influenced by three factors: the characteristics of the problem, the clarity of policy design, and political, social, and economic environmental variables.

First, the characteristics of the problem determine the level of complexity in implementation. In the case of election supervision, the complexity is high because it involves millions of voters, thousands of polling stations, and diverse types of violations. Second, policy design highlights the importance of regulatory clarity, consistent instruments, and effective monitoring mechanisms. Third, environmental variables underscore the influence of political support, public participation, and socio-cultural conditions within a particular region (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983; Prasetyo, 2025).

In Serang City, complexity is reflected in high voter turnout, the limited number of polling station supervisors, and technical challenges in using the Siwaslu application. In terms of policy design, Bawaslu has issued guidelines through Bawaslu Regulation Number 7 of 2022, but practical implementation in the field continues to face technical obstacles. Environmental factors are also evident in the role of civil society and political parties, which significantly shape the effectiveness of oversight.

3. Grindle's Model

Grindle (1980) introduced an implementation framework that emphasizes two dimensions: the content of policy and the context of implementation.

The content of policy includes the interests affected, the types of benefits provided, the scope of change expected, and the clarity of objectives. The context of implementation involves institutional conditions, bureaucratic capacity, the distribution of power, and the level of public support (Grindle, 1980; Santoso, 2024).

This approach is highly relevant to election supervision in Serang City. The content of Bawaslu's oversight policies includes prevention, supervision, and enforcement of election violations. However, the implementation context presents significant challenges, such as limited institutional capacity at the polling station (TPS) level, the distribution of power between Bawaslu and the General Elections Commission (KPU), and suboptimal levels of public participation.

4. Research Analysis Framework

This study applies a policy implementation approach that

integrates three main dimensions. First, the implementation process, which includes communication, resources, disposition, and bureaucratic structure. Second, the supporting and inhibiting factors, which are assessed through problem characteristics, policy design, and environmental variables. Third, the institutional and participatory context, which emphasizes policy content and public support.

Through this framework, the implementation of Bawaslu's supervisory policies in Serang City can be analyzed more comprehensively, combining both normative perspectives and practical realities..

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach and was conducted in Serang City between September and December 2024, focusing on the implementation of Bawaslu's oversight policies during the voting stage. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, consisting of Serang City Bawaslu commissioners, sub-district election supervisory committees (Panwascam), polling station (TPS) supervisors, representatives from the Serang City General Elections Commission (KPU), and community leaders.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, field observations, and document analysis. The data were then analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, which involves three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. To ensure the credibility and validity of findings, this study applied source triangulation and methodological triangulation.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This study analyzes the implementation of Bawaslu's (Election Supervisory Agency) oversight during the 2024 Election voting stage in Serang City, using the theoretical frameworks of Edwards III (1980), Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983), and Grindle (1980). The analysis is presented through three main dimensions: (1) the implementation process, (2) supporting and inhibiting factors, and (3) the institutional context and public participation.

Based on the research findings and field interviews with Sub-district Election Supervisory Committees (Panwascam), Village Election Supervisory Committees, and Polling Station (TPS) supervisors in Serang City, the supervision of the 2024 Election voting stage encountered a number of complex issues. These can be categorized into six key aspects: limited human resources (HR), political pressure, communication and technology constraints, logistical distribution, polling station security, and the technical capacity of ad hoc supervisors.

1. Limited Human Resources (HR)

The shortage of supervisory personnel was the most critical challenge. In many TPS, one supervisor was required to oversee more than one location in shifts. This hindered early detection of potential violations, especially concerning vote buying and the neutrality of election officials. As one Panwascam member stated: "We are often overwhelmed in the field because there are so many polling stations but too few supervisors. Often, one person has to oversee more than one location in shifts." (Interview, 2024).

The limited number of TPS supervisors highlights a mismatch between supervisory needs and available resources. This gap undermines Bawaslu's ability to detect sporadic violations that require continuous field presence. Strengthening the number and distribution of supervisors, particularly at the TPS level, is therefore an urgent necessity to safeguard election integrity.

2. Intimidation and Political Pressure

Political pressure also emerged as a significant obstacle. Some TPS supervisors reported experiencing intimidation from political party supporters when reporting violations, which threatened their independence and sense of security. One TPS supervisor explained: "There were times when we were harshly reprimanded by supporters of a particular party simply for reporting covert campaign violations around the polling station. This made us feel unsafe while on duty." (Interview, 2024). Such intimidation demonstrates that the implementation of Bawaslu's supervisory policies has not fully ensured the safety of field officers. Political pressure from candidates or party supporters compromises independence and objectivity. This highlights the urgent need for legal protection and stronger security support for supervisors.

3. Communication and Coordination Issues

Supervisors frequently reported weak coordination between different supervisory levels and technical problems with the Siwaslu application. For instance, login difficulties often caused delays in reporting. A Panwascam official noted: "When we try to input reports into Siwaslu, there are often errors. As a result, our reports are received late, which affects the recapitulation data sent to the city level." (Interview, 2024). These issues indicate that the technology intended to support supervision has instead become a barrier. Weak communication and recurring application errors resulted in late field reports, reducing the accuracy and timeliness of recapitulation. This shows that technological readiness and user capacity are crucial in enhancing Bawaslu's effectiveness.

4. Distribution of Election Logistics

Delays in distributing election logistics added further challenges for supervisors. Late arrivals of ballot materials increased the risk of manipulation. As one Panwascam member explained: "There are several polling stations whose logistics

only arrived close to voting day. We must be extra strict in monitoring to prevent manipulation during distribution.”

Table 1. Problems in Supervisory Implementation during the 2024 Election in Serang City

Supervisory Aspect	Main Problem	Impact	Expected Solution
Human Resources	Limited number of supervisors	Suboptimal monitoring	Increase number of ad hoc personnel
Political Pressure	Intimidation by supporters	Independence undermined	Strengthened legal protection & security
Technology (Siwaslu)	Login errors, system crashes	Reporting delays	System optimization & user training
Logistics	Late distribution of materials	Risk of manipulation	Stricter and scheduled SOPs
TPS Security	Potential conflicts	Risk of election disruption	Closer coordination with security forces
HR Capacity	Limited technical training	Supervisory errors	More intensive and structured training

Source: Processed by Researcher, 2024

The findings demonstrate that election supervision in Serang City still faces serious challenges, both technical and non-technical. Limited human resources, political pressure, and technological constraints remain dominant issues. Nevertheless, Bawaslu’s strong institutional commitment continues to safeguard electoral integrity. Future improvements require capacity building, technological optimization, and stronger legal protection for supervisors.

Theoretical Analysis

1. Implementation Process: Edwards III’s Perspective

According to Edwards III (1980), successful implementation depends on communication, resources, disposition, and bureaucratic structure. In Serang City:

- **Communication:** Although instructions were provided, the inconsistent delivery of technical guidance—especially regarding Siwaslu—reduced effectiveness.
- **Resources:** Supervisors were too few compared to the number of TPS, leading to excessive workloads.
- **Disposition:** Supervisors generally demonstrated strong commitment, despite political pressure and limited resources.
- **Bureaucratic Structure:** Coordination mechanisms existed but were undermined by uneven workloads and insufficient digital integration.

2. Supporting and Inhibiting Factors: Mazmanian & Sabatier’s Perspective

- **Problem Characteristics:** Oversight in Serang City was highly complex due to large voter numbers, high participation, and multiple violation types.
- **Policy Design:** Although supported by comprehensive regulations, practical implementation was constrained by limited resources and training.
- **Environmental Variables:** Political intimidation and low

community involvement weakened supervisory effectiveness.

3. Institutional Context and Participation: Grindle’s Perspective

- **Policy Content:** Bawaslu’s supervisory mandate was clear, with adequate regulations.
- **Implementation Context:** Institutional limitations at the TPS level, weak inter-agency coordination, and insufficient public participation posed major obstacles. Public participation, in particular, remains underutilized, despite its potential to strengthen oversight.

Table 2. Theoretical Analysis of Bawaslu’s Supervisory Implementation

Theory/Model	Key Aspect	Field Findings (Interviews/Observations)	Analysis
Edwards III (1980)	Communication	Technical instructions often delivered late	Inconsistent communication lowered supervisory quality
	Resources	Shortage of supervisors, unstable internet	Inadequate resources hindered proper oversight
	Disposition	Supervisors tried to remain independent	Strong commitment but needed additional protection
	Bureaucratic Struct.	Slow coordination between Panwascam and PTPS	Required strengthening via integrated digital systems
Mazmanian & Sabatier (1983)	Clarity of Objectives	Objectives were clear in regulations	No major issue in policy clarity
	Regulatory Instruments	Technical rules available, Siwaslu malfunctioned	Regulations sufficient but required better tech support
	Environmental Conditions	Intimidation by party supporters	Political environment undermined effective supervision
Grindle (1980)	Policy Content	Monitoring regulations were clear	Content was adequate, not a major obstacle
	Implementation Context	Logistics delays, coordination issues	Field realities did not always align with regulations

Source: Processed by Researcher, 2024

Overall Findings

The implementation of Bawaslu’s supervisory policies in Serang City during the 2024 Election was not yet optimal. The main challenges included limited human resources, technological shortcomings, political intimidation, and weak community involvement. While Bawaslu’s regulatory framework and institutional commitment were strong, the socio-political environment and institutional capacity significantly hindered effectiveness.

To improve future election oversight, three main strategies are essential :

1. Strengthening the capacity and number of supervisors, particularly at the TPS level.
2. Optimizing technological tools such as Siwaslu and improving user capacity.
3. Enhancing legal protection, security support, and participatory monitoring to empower supervisors and

involve communities.

These measures will not only enhance the implementation of Bawaslu's policies but also contribute to strengthening the integrity of Indonesia's democratic process.

IV. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of this research on the implementation of the Serang City Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) in supervising the 2024 Election, it can be concluded that supervision has not yet been fully optimal, despite the availability of policy instruments. From the perspective of the implementation process, policy communication remains inconsistent, resources are limited, supervisors' disposition is relatively strong despite political pressures, and the bureaucratic structure is not yet fully effective.

According to Mazmanian and Sabatier, election supervision in Serang City faces a high level of complexity; while the policy design is relatively clear, its implementation is constrained by technical issues, and the socio-political environment does not yet provide full support. Meanwhile, using Grindle's framework, the content of the supervisory policy is adequate, but its implementation context remains weak due to limited institutional capacity, unequal distribution of power between institutions, and low public participation. Overall, the key factors that hinder optimal supervision are limited human resources, suboptimal use of technology, and low levels of public participation.

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