

Analysis of Transparency and Public Participation in the Selection Process of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City in 2022

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ABSTRACT

The General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) is the most advanced mode of election supervision institutions, high public demands for the implementation of honest and fair elections pave the way for several improvements and strategic functions owned by The General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). With such strategic authority, which includes supervision, prevention, and enforcement of violations in elections, The General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) is required to have qualified human resources, especially at the grassroots level as the front line of election supervision. To fulfill these obligations, the General Election Supervisory Agency Regulation (Perbawaslu) Number 8 of 2019 was prepared as a reference in the selection and recruitment process for Election Supervisors. The selection of Bandung City cannot be separated from political complexity and some preliminary findings related to the issue of transparency and participation during the selection process. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study method. A series of in-depth interviews and relevant literature studies were conducted to meet data needs during the study. The results of this study show that the selection process for Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu Kecamatan) is still plagued by several problems, especially the carrying capacity of the budget and the relatively short preparation time. Meanwhile, in the aspect of transparency, the entire selection process supervised by the working group seems to display several positive things, including efforts to publish all selection results through various information media, both print and digital-based. Even though public participation in the context of registering as a candidate for Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu Kecamatan) members is far beyond the declared target, there are still problems that can be corrected, especially regarding the distribution of the number of applicants and the representation of 30% women in the entire selection stage that has not been met.

Keywords: *Transparency, Public Participation, Selection Process, Bawaslu.*

Background

The General Election Supervisory Agency (Indonesian: Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum, General Election Supervisory Agency) is an institution that has a constitutional mandate to supervise the process of conducting general elections. Historically, the existence of this institution

cannot be separated from the continuous evolution of various electoral supervisory structures born from the womb of modern Indonesia. The institution of election supervisors was first introduced in 1982 with the nomenclature of the Election Implementation Supervisory Committee (Panitia Pengawas Pelaksanaan Pemilu, Panwaslak). Although it exists institutionally, in the past the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) was suspected only as a *dummy*, its establishment was only a formality, to make it seem as if the new order government had tried and had good intentions in preventing violations and fraud that occurred in general elections (Afifudin, 2020).

In Indonesian political literature, *the mainstream* argues that the New Order regime committed a lot of political fraud and manipulation, especially in the implementation of the electoral process. Anderson (in Muzani, 2019) argues that general elections in the New Order regime were fabricated and did not act following basic democratic principles. The election is even considered a place to boast the electoral process of the government party, so, naturally, the winner can be predicted before the election is over (Prasetyo, 2019).

The wave of reform that blew in 1998 has brought with it greater public demands for free and fair elections. A wider society expects general elections to be a democratic arena that is not only dominated by one group. On the other hand, *constitutional reform* (1999-2002) which took place 4 (four) times also changed the basic requirements related to organizing general elections, this point is alleged to be the beginning of opening the way to strengthen the position of general election organizers.

The legalization of Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning general elections marked the historical process of the establishment of an ad hoc institution called the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) which automatically negated the existence of the Election Implementation Supervisory Committee (Panwaslak). Furthermore, through Law No. 22 of 2007, Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) officially left its status as an ad hoc body that was only formed every time the local elections or general elections were executed. The release of the status was followed by the embedding of a new status as a permanent institution called the Election Supervisory Agency (General Election Supervisory Agency). At its peak, the strengthening of the Election Supervisory Agency is contained in Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. Election Supervisory Agency at the Regency/City level is set as the last hierarchy in the structure of election supervision institutions following the Election Supervisory Agency of the Republic of Indonesia and the General Election Supervisory Agency at the provincial level which already has permanent status.

From historical records showing the origins of the formation of the Election Supervisory Agency, provisional conclusions show that this institution was designed to oversee quality elections by working according to the mandate given by Law. In such a framework, it is natural that Election Supervisory Agency is encountered with a series of complex homework, one of which is the necessity to find a qualified election supervisor through a selection or recruitment of Human Resources (HR). The most important and strategic elements in creating free and fair elections are the existence of competent, independent, and integrity election organizers (Suranto

et al., 2020). Categorically, the characteristics of a capable election supervisor will only be produced by a professional and transparent selection process.

In this study, the case that will be highlighted more is the selection process for the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu), especially at the district level. According to Law Number 7 of 2017, the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee is a committee formed by the District/City Election Supervisory Agency to oversee the implementation of elections in the district area. Considering that the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee has a significant responsibility as well as being the front line related to monitoring and enforcing violations in the implementation of democracy including general elections, the selection process for candidates for the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee should ideally be carried out optimally, following applicable principles and guidelines, specifically transparency, fairness, accountability, independence, legal certainty, and openness to produce individuals who can accept supervisory responsibilities, including being quality controllers of electoral wheel stability.

On top of conducting a more detailed review on a layer-by-layer basis of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee member selection process, Researchers will also focus on issues of transparency and public participation during the selection process. The principle of transparency is not a new vocabulary in the recruitment scheme of state institutions or other public agencies, in a democratic country, transparency is an important embodiment of a good country, where every policy and decision-making must involve public opinion. In the context of the recruitment of electoral institutions, the principle of transparency will also play an important role in supporting the performance of the General Election Supervisory Agency. As Afifudin (2020) states that election supervisors with integrity, the recruitment process must be carried out openly, fairly, transparently, and without intervention, with prioritizing capacity and integrity. While the term transparency has always attracted attention, it has the consequence of opening space for different interpretations. Therefore, in this study, the participation model will be adjusted to the translation of the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City, specifically the involvement of the public or individuals who register themselves in the selection process of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee.

Before reviewing many aspects related to recruitment that took place at General Election Supervisory Agency Kota Bandung, this study first reviewed the rules related to the recruitment of District Panwaslu as stated in Law Number 7 of 2017 as follows:

Article 90 (1) Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, Village Panwaslu, and Overseas Panwaslu shall be formed at the latest 1 (one) month before the commencement of the first stage of electoral conduct and shall be disbanded at the latest 2 (two) months after the completion of the last stage of electoral conduct.

Pasal 132 (1) Members of a Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee shall be selected and appointed by the Regency/City General Election Supervisory Agency.

Pasal 132 (5) Further provisions regarding the procedures of selecting and appointing the members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, Village Panwaslu, and Polling Station Supervisors as

mentioned in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) shall be regulated by a General Election Supervisory Agency Regulation.

Furthermore, the mechanism or procedure for selecting the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee is regulated in the General Election Supervisory Agency Regulation (Per General Election Supervisory Agency) Number 8 of 2019 concerning the Establishment, Dismissal, and Replacement between the time of the Provincial Election Supervisory Agency, Regency/City Election Supervisory Agency, Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, Urban Village/Village Election Supervisory Committee, Overseas Election Supervisory Committee, and Supervisor of Polling Station. Meanwhile, the implementation guidelines refer to the Decree of the Chairman of the General Election Supervisory Agency Number 354/HK.01/K1/10/2022 concerning Implementation Guidelines for the Establishment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in the 2024 Simultaneous Elections. Finally, the related rules that oversee the selection process for Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee are the Letter of the Chairman of the General Election Supervisory Agency of the Republic of Indonesia Number 352/KP.01/K1/09/2022, released September 10, 2022, concerning the Establishment of Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee.

Referring to the normative framework and rules that guide the selection of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, the Chairman of the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City issued Decree (SK) Number 11/HK.01.01/K.JB-19/09/2022 concerning the Composition of the Working Group for the Establishment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee for the 2024 Simultaneous Elections. Composition of the Working Group (Pokja) The formation of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in Bandung City can be seen in the following table:

Table 1

Composition of the Working Group (Pokja) in Bawaslu Bandung City

No	Nama	Jabatan	Kedudukan
I	Ketua		
	Ferreddy, S.E	Anggota General Election Supervisory Agency	Ketua
II	Sekretaris		
	Indra Ahmad Rivai, S.STP.,M.M	Staff ASN	Sekretaris
III	Anggota		
	Zacky Muhammad Zam Zam. S.Psi.,M.MPd	Ketua General Election Supervisory Agency	Anggota
	Farhatun Fauziyyah, S.Ag	Anggota General Election Supervisory Agency	Anggota
	Wawan Kurniawan, M.Ag	Anggota General Election Supervisory Agency	Anggota

Mahali, S.Pd	Anggota General Election Supervisory Agency	Anggota
Alfa Harry Perdana, S.STP	Analisis Kebijakan Muda, Sub Koordinator Fasilitas Kelembagaan, Pemerintah dan Partai Politik Kesbangpol Bandung	Anggota
Fajar Kurniawan, S.H	Staff Divisi SDMO	Anggota
Putri Indri Rachmawati, S.H	Staff Divisi SDMO	Anggota

Source: Bawaslu Kota Bandung

Working Group (Pokja) mandated to form Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) structures in 30 sub-districts in Bandung City with a work duration of 56 days, starting from September 10 to November 4, 2022. Within 56 days, the Working Group has the authority to provide information about the selection process, accept the registration of prospective members, announce the results of the selection of administrative files for prospective members, receive feedback and input from the community, conduct a written test using Computer Assisted Test (CAT) method, carry out interview tests, announce the elected Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, conduct inaugurations, and submit a report on the selection results to the Provincial General Election Supervisory Agency.

Along the way, several turbulences were considered to interfere with the working group in carrying out its duties and function as a tap for selecting members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee. First, the socialization process is too short resulting in low public participation in some sub-districts. This is shown by the very minimal number of registrants in certain sub-districts. Second, there are complaints against the working group which is considered not transparent in carrying out the selection process, one of which is an allegation that one of the candidates for Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in Buah Batu is declared to have passed the selection without going through an interview process.

Referring to several findings above, this article will review and analyze the selection practices of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City by presenting two (2) central issues, which are the principles of transparency and public participation.

Literature Review

The Concept of Transparency

Transparency as a principle is an inseparable compound of the concept of modern nation-state administration, almost all state institutions and compact public bodies make transparency one of the important indicators in achieving and supporting the positive performance of the organization. Dahl (2001) explained that one of the important things in the journey of democracy

is transparency and the building of an inclusive world of information for citizens. More specifically, Sabarno (2007) recites that the principle of transparency is one of the fundamental aspects of the realization of good governance. The principle of transparency is related to democracy substantially.

Through the simplest approach, Transparency is defined as a principle of openness in the delivery of actual, factual, and relevant information (Hidayat & Wardhaningrum, 2022). Referring to what is instructed by Law No. 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Openness, Transparency has two stages of openness, they are the openness of processes and the openness of access. The openness of processes is openness about policy preparation plans, programs, decision-making processes, and arguments behind decision-making. While accessibility means that all information is open and accessible to every community.

In its development, transparency is widely used as a tool to observe government works. Therefore, not a few theories of transparency are related to the study of state institutions. Krina (2003) for example, the approach to transparency emphasizes principles that guarantee access or freedom for every individual to obtain information about the administration of government, specifically information about the process of drafting, implementing, and the results achieved from a policy. Still in the same approach, Krina (2003) stated that there are indicators that must be met in the principle of transparency, including the following:

1. Provision of clear information.
2. Ease of access to information.
3. Establish a complaint mechanism if any regulations are violated.
4. Increase the flow of information through cooperation with mass media and non-governmental organizations.

Concepts related to transparency and the right to information are also expressly regulated by the Constitution contained in Article 28 F of The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states "Every person shall have the right to communicate and to obtain information for the development of his/her self and social environment, and shall have the right to seek, obtain, possess, store, process and convey information by employing all available types of channels". The mandate contained in the constitution was then elaborated more in-depth by Law Number 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Disclosure (KIP) which in principle aims to encourage public participation in the policy-making process and good management of public agencies. In the concept of a democratic rule of law, public information disclosure is the foundation for building good governance, which is transparent, open, and participatory in the entire state process.

Meanwhile, in correlation with the electoral scheme, the principle of transparency is contained in the standard normative foundation set by *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance* (IDEA). Transparency is considered key to democratic electoral governance. Transparency guarantees electoral participants, and the public can access information about the implementation of the election, whether in the aspects of budget, policy, and accountability of all stages of the implemented election.

Public Participation in the Recruitment of Electoral Supervisor

The development trend of democratic theories continues to undermine the importance of public participation in various models of policymaking and implementation. In this dominant perspective, participation is defined as a personal activity or action carried out by citizens to influence decision-making and policies taken by the government (Huntington & Nelson, 1990). Concerning policies planned by the state, Kaho (2007) said that the benchmark for the success of development includes political, economic, and socio-cultural aspects in activities that involve participation from the community itself.

The urgency related to participation as a standard in good governance was also raised by *United Nations Development Programme* (UNDP), this International Organization suggests that participation as a characteristic of good governance is the involvement of the community in decision-making either directly or indirectly. Participation is considered fully maximizable if the institutional structure allows citizens to participate and decide their issues and represent the community proportionally in every policy-making process in the name of the common interest (Purnamasari, 2006). Meanwhile, to build proportional participation, there are at least four (4) aspects that must be met, they are 1) information or other access; 2) citizen initiative and appreciation; 3) decision-making mechanisms; 4) Supervisory control.

In the social science approach, participation is always closely related to the public interest at large. Therefore, in recent decades the concept of participation has always been linked with an additional attribute, namely public participation. The concept of public participation cannot be reduced to voluntariness to take part in the electoral process, but as stated by Antoft and Novack (in Agustino, 2006) public participation is an active involvement of citizens in forming general policies that especially affect them (society). Meanwhile, based on existing schemes and mechanisms, Nasution (2009) who replicates Norman Uphoff's model distinguishes public participation into four (4) types, they are 1) participation in decision-making; 2) participation in implementation; 3) participation in benefits; 4) participation in evaluation.

Concerning the recruitment process carried out by state agencies, public participation is a legal action aimed at influencing the selection of Government officials or the actions they take (Prasojo, 2005). In other identification models, Gaventa and Valderrama (2001) suggest that in the habitat of a democratic society, public participation is the involvement of citizens in decision-making in government institutions and processes.

In the selection process carried out by an institution, participation is not the sole determining factor of success. However, as stated by Afifudin (2020), community involvement or participation will be closely related to the level of public trust, legitimacy, accountability, public service quality, and preventing public disobedience movements.

Method

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study method. According to Creswell (2014), a case study is a qualitative approach that conducts scientific research through detailed and in-depth data collection involving various sources of information or multiple sources of information, as well as reporting case descriptions and case themes. In data collection techniques, researchers conduct in-depth targeted interviews with research subjects or informants determined based on the consideration that informants are directly involved in the layer-by-layer selection process of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City. In addition, researchers also conduct documentation studies by collecting various research sources such as books, journals, official documents from the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City, and articles, newspapers, or internet sites that are considered to correlate with research.

Result and Discussion

Selection Process of Candidates for Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee

The selection of election supervisors is a crucial momentum in the framework of recruiting reliable and competent individuals in carrying out the duties of supervision, prevention, and enforcement carried out by the General Election Supervisory Agency. This process will determine the extent of the integrity and professionalism of supervisors in ensuring the conduct of elections takes place with honest and fair principles. In the institutional context, the output produced will be strongly correlated with the face of the General Election Supervisory Agency organization going forward.

Referring to the Letter of the Chairman of the General Election Supervisory Agency of the Republic of Indonesia Concerning the Establishment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in the 2024 Simultaneous Election, The overall task to carry out the selection process for the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee at the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City is carried out by the Working Group led by the Resource Division (HR) of the General Election Supervisory Agency of the City/District concerned, in this case, the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City. Furthermore, the working group will be responsible for compiling the ad hoc structure of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee which consists of 3 (three people) with a composition of members that pay attention to women's representation of at least 30% (thirty percent).

These responsibilities are also accompanied by the following inherent duties:

1. Carry out the process of establishing the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee following the principles of conducting elections.
2. Prepare a work plan for the establishment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee.
3. Carry out activities to establish a Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee consisting of:

- a. Announce the registration of candidates for the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee
- b. Publicize the registration of candidates for members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee to all community groups including women's groups, persons with disabilities, and indigenous groups.
- c. Receive registration and registration administration files.
- d. Research registration administration files.
- e. Announce the results of administrative file research.
- f. Receive feedback and input from the community.
- g. Written selection using test material prepared by the Provincial General Election Supervisory Agency.
- h. Announce the results of the written selection.
- i. Facilitating the implementation of interview tests conducted by Members of the General Election Supervisory Agency Kab/Kota; and
- j. Report the results of the selection to the District/City General Election Supervisory Agency.

During the fulfillment of these tasks, the working group is emphasized to work and maintain the principles of the electoral committee and maintain confidentiality and when the entire selection process ends, the working group must report the activities of forming the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee to the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City. Based on the applicable rules and guidelines, the tasks and functions, and mechanisms of the formation of working groups can be said to be quite ideal. Although in practice there are many obstacles, even indications of discipline. Reflecting on similar momentum, the recruitment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in West Java in 2019 still found some violations committed by the working group (pokja), both ethical and administrative, which led to sanctions (Suhenty, 2021).

In the context of the flow of the selection mechanism executed by the Working Group (pokja), researchers divide the stages as follows:

1. Socialization and Registration

Socialization plays an important role in measuring the success of recruitment. Therefore, it is universal that the recruitment agenda always begins with socialization aimed at disseminating information to a large audience. In the context of the selection of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, there should be 12 days from 10 to 21 September 2022 for the working group to socialize the selection process. Based on an interview with the head of the working group, socialization is carried out through two approaches, offline and online.

The first socialization strategy is to build institutional cooperation with the government at the regional level, in this case, the sub-district, so that the working group gets space to conduct socialization at sub-district offices both through direct activities with residents and the installation of many banners bearing the announcement of the opening of the selection of members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee. The

second socialization strategy, the working group maximizes the power of social media and website pages owned by the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City. Both platforms are used as storefronts that display information as well as some requirements related to the recruitment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee.

When implemented in the field, the problem not only touches the technical aspects of socialization but also related to time and understanding related to the selection process. The data collected by researchers shows that the entire selection process takes a kick-off on September 10, 2022, with the first agenda being the socialization of the selection process directed at the public. However, as stated by the head of the working group (pokja), the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City only received an official letter from the General Election Supervisory Agency regarding the establishment of members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee on September 9, 2022. It can be concluded that the General Election Supervisory Agency has a very short time to prepare, in addition to also needing to rush to develop a socialization strategy. The short time and preparation were also complicated by the absence of the General Election Supervisory Agency to carry out Technical Guidance (Bimtek) to the General Election Supervisory Agency of the District/City regarding the implementation of the selection process.

2. File Reception and Administrative Examination

Following the timeline that has been prepared, the receipt of registration files takes place from 21 to 28 September 2022. Receipt of registration files is carried out by the working group (pokja) by opening a registration desk at the General Election Supervisory Agency office in Bandung City with operational hours from 09.00 to 20.00 WIB. During the registration process, the working group (pokja) received 495 registrants from 30 sub-districts.

After closing the registration time, the working group (pokja) rushed to conduct administrative checks within 2 working days from 28 to 30 September 2022. In the observation of researchers in the field, the working group (pokja) works professionally by selecting and sorting out the participant registration sheets they receive. As a rule, new applicants will be declared to have passed the administrative selection if they can meet 31 things required by the General Election Supervisory Agency, including related points Never been a member of a political party for at least 5 (five) years with at least 5 (five) years of education in Senior High School (SMA) or equivalent.

Most registrants, to be precise 491 people out of 495 registered, were declared to have passed the administrative selection and were entitled to take the written test. In this case, there are only four people who do not meet the administrative qualifications and are not entitled to participate in the next selection stage.

3. Written Test (CAT) and Interview Test

The written test is a stage that must be taken by selection participants who have been declared to have passed the administration. In its implementation, the written test uses the CAT (Computer Assessment Test) system and contains material on knowledge and loyalty to Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the Unitary State of the

Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), Constitutional Law Insights, Electoral Law, and knowledge related to elections. From the perspective of the General Election Supervisory Agency, it seems that the use of the CAT system ensures that the selection process can meet the rules of accountability. This is because of the measurable model so that selection participants can directly know the results of the scores from the exams conducted. It is also believed to make the selection transparent and free from corruption, collusion, and nepotism (KKN) activities.

With various considerations, especially technical aspects where the test location must have infrastructure, facilities, and infrastructure that can support the needs of computer-based tests. The working group decided to conduct the test at SMPN 5 Bandung on October 16, 2022, according to the timeline outlined by the General Election Supervisory Agency. In terms of participation, 491 participants took the written test which was divided into 5 sessions. Although the working group (pokja) has the authority to carry out and oversee the written selection process, the data as well as the results of the tests followed by all participants are in the hands of the Provincial General Election Supervisory Agency, so the working group (pokja) does not have access to the data.

Furthermore, the Provincial General Election Supervisory Agency will determine six (6) names with the highest test scores in each sub-district while still having to pay attention to the provisions for women's representation of at least 30% to the working group (pokja) to then follow up by calling six people in each sub-district to follow the next stage, namely the interview stage. Thus, the written test seems to depend heavily on the knowledge and ability of participants in solving questions whose assessment is carried out by a machine called a computer.

Even though it is considered the right way to produce candidates who have national, elective, and constitutional insights, the CAT test also does not escape criticism and evaluation. According to Budhianti in Suranto (2020), the CAT test is somewhat reductionist, considering that the substance to be achieved through CAT is somewhat less relevant to the needs of implementing and supervising elections in the field, where election problems can not only be solved through "yes" and "no" answers but also must be able to explore practical knowledge about elections. In addition, CAT is considered not too capable of reaching individuals who have experience in supervision and leadership.

After being declared passed in the written selection of the CAT, six names in each sub-district that have been announced through the official website and social media of the General Election Supervisory Agency are then entitled to take an interview test with members of the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City. This refers to the fifteenth point of selection implementation, to be precise: "Interviews of Candidates for Members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee are conducted jointly or at least attended by two Members of the General Election Supervisory Agency District/City which are recorded audio-visual and record of Plenary Results of the Interview (BA)."

According to the schedule, the interview test took place from 19 to 22 October 2022 at the Bandung City General Election Supervisory Agency Office. There are as many as 180 people from 30 sub-districts throughout the city of Bandung who are entitled to take the interview test. Based on the interview test assessment sheet prepared by the General Election Supervisory Agency, four (4) aspects of assessment are used as indicators,

including: a). Deepening of vision-mission, motivation of integrity, and full-time commitment of Candidates for Members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee (30% weight); b). Experience and knowledge on the implementation of electoral supervision, as well as inclusive election governance (30% weight); c). Knowledge of local wisdom (20% weight); d). Communication skills, teamwork, leadership qualities, and organizational skills (weighting 20%). As universal in the selection process, weighting is intended to provide clear indicators while minimizing bias from the interviewer's subjectivity.

Based on interviews with some participants, the material asked not only includes four key questions but also questions covering the background of prospective members, understanding of the structure and institutions of the General Election Supervisory Agency, including the understanding of the territory of each participant.

4. Announcement of Selected Candidates

The plenary of the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City is a crucial moment that determines the final selection of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in Bandung City. As the determining party, the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City must adhere to the guidelines for the implementation of selection. The seventeenth and eighteenth points, namely "The General Election Supervisory Agency of the District/City sums the tertulis test scores and interview test scores with a percentage of 40% (forty) percent of written test scores and 60% (sixty percent of interview scores" then "The General Election Supervisory Agency of the District/City compiles the results of the sum of the written test scores and Interview test with a list of sequential candidate names based on the highest score ranking by taking into account female representation of at least 30% (thirty percent). Solidly compiled rules and indicators will minimize abuse of power originating from the selection team component. In addition, the selection process will have objective and transparent legitimacy. Based on the results of an interview with the head of the working group (pokja) who is also the Coordinator of the HR, Organization, Education, and Research Division of the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City, the plenary meeting was carried out with a collective collegial principle which was attended by all members of the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City.

Right on October 25, 2022, the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City officially determined the names of those elected to be members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee throughout the city of Bandung which amounted to 90 people with distribution in 30 sub-districts. The results of the selection process were published on social media and by the official General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City. What needs to be important is that of the 90 names announced to have passed, there were only 11 individual women. That is, the selection failed to meet the affirmation rules related to the representation of 30% of women. Furthermore, there are 20 sub-districts whose announcement results show that all members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee are men.

Community Participation and Involvement

There is a timeless adagium, it reads *there's no democracy without participation*. The adage is considered appropriate to illustrate how important participation in the implementation of democracy is substantial. In the context of the recruitment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, participation is defined as public involvement and participation as measured through the number of registrations successfully administered by the selection team (Pokja).

Based on data collected by researchers, the Working Group (pokja) assigned to lead the birth of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee was recorded to receive 495 registrants during the 6-day registration period from September 21 to 27, 2022. Antapani, Ujungberung, and Arcamanik respectively occupy the top three (3) positions as the sub-districts with the highest number of registrants, on the other hand, Sumur Bandung, Cidadap, and Cinambo become the three (3) sub-districts with the least number of registrants.

Statistically, the number of applicants received by the working group (pokja) can be considered to have been at the maximum level. Based on an interview with the head of the working group (pokja), the target previously announced was only 270 registrants, assuming there were at least 9 registrants in each sub-district. Therefore, the number of registrants who touched 495 people is claimed as one of the successes which in this case is the high public participation during the selection process of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee.

Table 2

The selection process of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee

No	Kecamatan	Laki-laki	Perempuan	Total Pendaftar	Keterangan	Presentase Perempuan
1	Andir	9	5	14	Terpenuhi	36%
2	Antapani	25	5	30	Tidak Terpenuhi	17%
3	Arcamanik	19	8	27	Terpenuhi	30%
4	Astana Anyar	9	4	13	Terpenuhi	31%
5	Babakan Ciparay	13	2	15	Tidak Terpenuhi	13%
6	Bandung Kidul	9	2	11	Tidak Terpenuhi	18%
7	Bandung Kulon	10	3	13	Tidak Terpenuhi	23%
8	Bandung Wetan	10	2	12	Tidak Terpenuhi	17%
9	Batununggal	17	5	22	Tidak Terpenuhi	23%
10	Bojongloa Kaler	12	3	15	Tidak Terpenuhi	20%
11	Bojongloa Kidul	18	4	22	Tidak Terpenuhi	18%

12	Buah Batu	14	4	18	Tidak Terpenuhi	22%
13	Cibeunying Kaler	12	4	16	Tidak Terpenuhi	25%
14	Cibeunying Kidul	16	8	24	Terpenuhi	33%
15	Cibiru	10	6	16	Terpenuhi	38%
16	Cicendo	8	2	10	Tidak Terpenuhi	20%
17	Cidadap	4	2	6	Terpenuhi	33%
18	Cinambo	6	2	8	Tidak Terpenuhi	25%
19	Coblong	14	3	17	Tidak Terpenuhi	18%
20	Gedebage	7	2	9	Tidak Terpenuhi	22%
21	Kiaracondong	9	5	14	Terpenuhi	36%
22	Lengkong	13	5	18	Tidak Terpenuhi	28%
23	Mandalajati	17	4	21	Tidak Terpenuhi	19%
24	Panyileukan	14	3	17	Tidak Terpenuhi	18%
25	Rancasari	15	10	25	Terpenuhi	40%
26	Regol	18	4	22	Tidak Terpenuhi	18%
27	Sukajadi	8	4	12	Terpenuhi	33%
28	Sukasari	11	3	14	Tidak Terpenuhi	21%
29	Sumur Bandung	3	3	6	Terpenuhi	50%
30	Ujungberung	26	2	28	Tidak Terpenuhi	7%
TOTAL				495		25%

Source: Bawaslu Kota Bandung

Although considered to have far exceeded the target of community participation, the data shows that there are still several problems that need to be used as evaluation material. First, in the 30 sub-districts that were supposed to carry out the selection process, there were only 10 sub-districts that were able to meet the aspect of 30% female representation, while the other 20 sub-districts failed to meet the target. In fact, in the guidelines for the establishment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, it is stated that women's representation of at least 30% must be implemented in all stages of the selection process. Second, there is a gap in the uneven number of registrants, this can be seen from the table which shows that four (4) sub-districts only have some registrants below 9 people. This means that community participation in these sub-districts is categorized as very low.

The results of the analysis of piece by piece of data and information, both in the form of written documents and interviews with informants show that the working group (pokja) has summarized the work of the organization aimed at encouraging public participation in the implementation of the selection process. During the socialization and registration announcement period which took place from 15 to 27 September 2022, the working group (pokja) conducted socialization and announcement of registration acceptance through various platforms. Virtually, the working group (pokja) displays registration information through the official website and Instagram social media of the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City, this is considered effective through the consideration that websites and social media are considered to have a wide range of reach to access the people of Bandung City. Not only maximizing online-based media, but the working group (pokja) also takes socialization efforts using paid advertising facilities provided by one of the print media based in Bandung (Tribun Jabar). The paid ads began airing and can be accessed by the public starting September 15, 2022.

As another concrete step, the working group (pokja) took a strategic step by optimizing institutional relations through the preparation of inter-institutional cooperation involving the Bandung City General Election Supervisory Agency with elements of the Government at the sub-district level. With the establishment of this institutional cooperation, the working group (pokja) then has a space to display banners containing registration announcements in each sub-district under the jurisdiction of the Bandung City Government. In quantity, the working group (pokja) succeeded in distributing 60 banners in 30 sub-districts with the motivation that recruitment information for the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee could be conveyed thoroughly to the citizens of Bandung City.

Despite having carried out a series of socialization activities and announcements that are considered massive, through a series of interviews the head of the working group (pokja) does not deny that the team he leads can still achieve maximum results if it can overcome some substantive and elementary problems at once. Some problems are even considered to have direct implications for the cessation of several programs that can further increase public participation in recruitment activities.

Throughout the course of the research, several things had negative implications for the acceleration rate of the selection process. The researcher noted three (3) important issues that can be used as evaluation material during the selection process, first the weak budget carrying capacity of the General Election Supervisory Agency institution. A budget, as defined by Mardiasmo (2009) is a management planning tool to achieve organizational goals so that the organization will have flexibility regarding the direction of the policies prepared. In the literature of public administration and modern public policy, mainstream currents always place budgets in a position that is determinant of policy quality. In the context of the recruitment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, the chairman of the working group (pokja) said that all funding for the selection process was borne by the budget posture of the Bandung City General Election Supervisory Agency. This is considered burdensome because based on preliminary information received by the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City, funding for the entire

selection process will be borne by the General Election Supervisory Agency. One of the consequences of these budget constraints, the working group (pokja) finally did not choose to activate the option of the registration extension period which can be done for 7 working days, considering the inadequate number of participating registrants.

Second, the emergence of preference politics from the bureaucracy in some regions is a problem that contributes to public participation in the selection process. The classic problem in recruitment activities in Indonesia is the existence of preference politics, which takes the form of non-professional considerations, proximity, kinship, tribalism, and organizational approaches that override aspects of capacity (Suranto et al., 2020). This politics of preference is evidenced by the existence of letters of recommendation signed by the Sub-district Head so that only certain names they recommend are eligible to participate in the selection process of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee. In fact, in the format of cooperation between institutions, namely the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City and Sub-district, one of the points of agreement is the willingness of Government elements at the sub-district level to help socialize the registration of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee in their respective regions. This includes encouraging community participation to be involved, participate, and register as candidates for members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee.

Third, the distribution timeline of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee Recruitment Guidelines. As stated by the head of the working group (pokja), the Technical Guidance (Juknis) regarding the recruitment of a new Sub-district Supervisory Committee (panwascam) was conveyed to the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City on September 9, 2022. The timeline is very important to note considering that one (1) day later, namely September 10, 2022, the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City has been required to complete the working group structure (pokja) and rush to socialize. The narrow space owned by the General Election Supervisory Agency of the City/District then closes the space to develop the ideal socialization strategy and format. As a result, many socialization programs are not right on target and are carried out within the framework of mere formalities.

Transparency of Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee Selection

Transparency is one of the pillars that supports the sustainability of good governance. This is confirmed by Sabarno (2007) that transparency is an important aspect that ensures the realization of excellent, good, and clean governance. Thus, all public bodies and other state institutions should carry out the principles of transparency, information disclosure, and accountability to ensure that state management is on the right track.

Institutionally, the General Election Supervisory Agency is a public agency (Organization that receives a state budget or regional budget) Having the obligation to be an open (transparent) institution, this affirmation is expressly stated in the KIP Law which regulates public information disclosure. Being a closed institution or restricting public access to information would potentially

drag down the General Election Supervisory Agency on a series of reports, and public complaints would even further face sanctions from the Election Organizer Ethics Council (Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu, DKPP). Therefore, the General Election Supervisory Agency needs to be a transparent and accountable institution to comply with applicable rules and regulations and be able to gain the trust of the public.

In the context of the recruitment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, all stages that take place are directed to be open and accommodate the public's right to access information. This can be seen in the Juknis Guidelines for the Establishment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee Part one (1) which states that the selection process carried out by the Working group (pokja) must be guided by the principle of a). Independent; b). Be honest; c) Fair; d). Legal Certainty; e). Orderly; f). Open; g). Proportional; h). Professional; i). Accountable; j). Effective; k). Efficient; l). Accessibility; and m). Affirmations. Thus, juridically the space not to practice the principle of transparency has been closed.

Following the ideal model of transparency, based on the results of interviews with the head of the working group (pokja), his party has made very maximum efforts to carry out transparent and open principles during the selection process. This is implemented from the earliest stage, namely socialization, then the registration phase, written test, and interview, to the final phase related to the implementation of the announcement of the elected Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee. All information related to the selection process can be accessed by the public at large, including candidates for members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee through the website-based platform and official social media of the General Election Supervisory Agency Bandung City.

However, not all information can be conveyed directly to the public, this is related to a mechanism called information classification. The classification of information in question is the division, separation, or division of information based on certain categories. Classifying information needs to be done to provide legal certainty for information; protect citizens' data; ascertain the principle of the benefit of public information; ensure the public's means of accessing information; and ascertain the legal consequences borne by the General Election Supervisory Agency if it ignores requests and/or announcements of information (afifudin, 2020). Based on this classification, as a result, there are some data and information that cannot be accessed by the public and candidates for members of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee.

The non-opening of all access to data and information during the process and the announcement of the selection results caused several problems and dissatisfaction among the selected participants. First, access to written selection results using the CAT (Computer Assessment Test) system. The written test using the CAT system is used to narrow the selection participants to only six (6) in each sub-district, meaning that participants whose test scores are in the highest six (6) are entitled to take the next stage, namely the interview test. However, the problem that many participants complained about was the closure of access to test results from all participants, where participants could only access their respective scores without being able to

know the test results of other prospective members. This has implications for the emergence of allegations that working groups (pokja) are not transparent and do not prioritize information disclosure on things that should be known by the public.

Second, the implementation and results of the interview test. As stated in the guidelines for the establishment of the Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee, the interview test is the last phase of a series of selection processes carried out by the working group (pokja). The interview test is a kind of final game that must be taken by the selected participants to be declared passed to fill in the formation of three Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) personnel in each sub-district. Based on the results of an interview with the head of the working group (pokja), in the context of weighting the scores of selected participants, the interview test has a weight equivalent to 60%, slightly above the weight of the CAT test which is at 40%. It, therefore, makes sense that interview tests receive a large proportion of demands for transparency, especially from registered participants. The results of information aggregation obtained from interviews with prospective panwascam members, there were several complaints related to transparency issues, including assessment indicators, interview duration, and even claims related to the passing of a candidate for the Buah Batu Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee who did not participate in the selection process. Related to the last issue, researchers are interested in exploring it further so that they raise the issue in the form of questions when conducting interviews with the head of the working group (pokja). According to the head of the working group (pokja), the allegations related to the passing of a member of the panwascam cannot be justified, considering that individuals who are accused of passing without passing the test still take the interview test, only it takes place on a different day, considering that the prospective member has first applied for permission to withdraw the interview test because he is in a sick condition. On another occasion, the results of interviews with the participants concerned showed the same thing significantly, namely, participants continued to follow the interview with notes that were held on different days.

Third, the politics of preference. The politics of preference, which generally manifests in the form of subjectivity or non-professional considerations based on non-technical aspects, is a recurring problem in the recruitment model of state institutions. In studies used by Djujandi (2018) Using the approach of hegemony theory (Gramsci) and the concept of Civil Society, the origins of political preferences in filling positions or positions in the General Election Supervisory Agency can be traced through the organizational or community background of the team members who make the selection. In the context of panwascam selection in Bandung City, the issue of non-transparency also arose due to complaints from selection participants who indicated that in the interview test phase, the working group (pokja) and also the chairman of the General Election Supervisory Agency passed more individuals who had certain organizational backgrounds, in this case, organizations where the working group (pokja) and the chairman and members of the General Election Supervisory Agency were active. This once again arises as a result of not opening access to public information on indicators and results of interview tests that have been conducted on all participants who are declared to have passed the written test.

As a public agency that has been awarded the informative public agency award five (5) times in a row (on a scale: informative, less informative, and uninformative) in 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, and 2022, the General Election Supervisory Agency should be able to prioritize the principle of public information disclosure in the institutional way of selection or recruitment process. Thus, it can better meet public expectations while reducing dissatisfaction with the results of the General Election Supervisory Agency personnel recruitment.

Based on an interview with the head of the working group (pokja), all stages and results of the selection have been announced both through the official website and social media of the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City. On the other hand, following the General Election Supervisory Agency Regulation (Perbawaslu) Number 7 of 2019, to support information disclosure, the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City also has an information service desk that has the duties and authority of public relations. However, the results of the researchers' analysis found that several things are outside the working group (pokja) domain, one of which is the authority related to the results of written selection and the responsibility to announce it widely. Referring to the applicable rules, the authority is entirely in the hands of the Provincial General Election Supervisory Agency, while the City/District General Election Supervisory Agency is only given the task of reproducing test result information and conveying it through available media channels. Therefore, the issue is not only the extent to which the institution is committed to transparency and information disclosure but also issues related to formal rules and mechanisms in carrying out the selection process comprehensively.

Conclusion

The election supervisory institution continues to transform and undergo improvements to meet public demands for honest and fair elections. On the dimension of laws, the turning point for the status of the election supervisory agency rolled through the enacting of Law Number 12 of 2003 concerning elections. The regulation changes the status of election supervisors who are often claimed to be 'fringe players' to 'core players' who have an important role in the success of the election. After completing the ritual of changing the nomenclature to the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) through the mandate given by Law Number 22 of 2007, this institution increasingly has legitimacy and strategic role. At its peak, through Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning elections, the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) increasingly finds itself as an institution with expanded and enlarged authority, including not only its inherent function as a supervisory institution, but also has other functions, namely prevention and enforcement of election violations. Furthermore, the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) is tasked with ensuring that the entire series of election processes starting from verification of election participants, voter lists, provision of election logistics, counting and recapitulation of votes can take place properly and correctly.

With such great authority and duties, the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) like a universal problem for all other public organizations is faced with urgent matters regarding the minimum amount of strength of qualified human resources. Meanwhile, to obtain qualified

human resources or qualified election supervisors, the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) has an obligation to organize a transparent, accountable, participatory, and fair recruitment process. The election supervisor recruitment model regulated through the General Election Supervisory Agency Regulation (Perbawaslu) Number 8 of 2019 whose technical rules are contained in the Decree of the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of the Republic of Indonesia Number 352/KP.01/K1/09/2022 can be said to be an ideal model. This can be seen from the opening of participation taps for the public, access to information from the recruitment process that is widely opened, and the competency approach as a filter media to obtain quality recruitment results.

Efforts to organize a transparent and participatory Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu Kecamatan) selection process as happened to the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Bandung City still have loopholes that need to be evaluated. Several problems related to the non-fulfillment of the 30% affirmation for women, the politics of preferences and the relatively minimal implementation time became stumbling blocks for the success of the overall selection process. Even though public participation in registering as a selection participant can achieve the declared target, it is just that the distribution map is uneven and still unable to encourage further involvement of women.

On the other hand, The General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) ability in preparing the budget and the relatively minimal preparation time design has implications for the weakness of several sectors during the selection process. The carrying capacity of the budget resulted in City/Sub-district General Election Supervisory Agency not having enough preparation to compile other supports such as Technical Guidance (Bimtek), recruitment and comprehensive socialization of Technical Instructions (Juknis). Minimum preparation time is another obstacle that hinders during the selection process, as described in the previous section, the General Election Supervisory Agency of Bandung City through the Working Group (pokja) led by the HR Division Coordinator was unable to design an effective socialization design due to coordination in the aspect of limited implementation time.

With a series of existing problems, the selection process for Sub-district Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu Kecamatan) in Bandung City can be said to be quite good. This can be seen from the minimal number of complaints or reports related to maladministration or other violations during the selection. In addition, the total participation of 495 people is something that deserves appreciation. Coupled with the maximum efforts of The General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Bandung City, to roll out all information related to the selection process to the public directly through various mediums, both conventional and digital-based such as website pages and official social media accounts.

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