



Tripartite Collaboration Between Tvri, Kpu, And Bawaslu In Accountability In The Implementation Of The 2024 Regional Elections

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ABSTRACT

The simultaneous 2024 Regional Election (Pilkada) in North Sulawesi faced complex challenges of accountability, transparency, and integrity across an archipelagic region with 15 regencies/cities where 320 violation reports were recorded. This study aims to analyze the tripartite collaboration model among TVRI North Sulawesi, KPU North Sulawesi Province, and Bawaslu North Sulawesi Province in strengthening accountability of the 2024 Pilkada. A qualitative case study approach was employed using Emerson and Nabatchi's (2015) Collaborative Governance Regime (CGR) framework and Rhodes's (1997) Policy Network Theory, conducted during August–December 2024 through in-depth interviews with key informants and documentation review, with data analysis following Miles and Huberman's interactive model and triangulation for validity. Results show that tripartite collaboration functioned effectively despite the absence of a formal legal framework, anchored in resource interdependence awareness, internalized democratic culture, mutual trust, and commitment to shared goals, with a triangular interdependence pattern creating intrinsic incentives for collaboration that produced a voter participation rate of 76.8%, surpassing the national average. It is concluded that a flexible institutionalization approach combining informal flexibility with selective formalization in critical aspects is needed to ensure collaboration sustainability in future elections, while contributing a triangular interdependence model to the collaborative governance literature in the Indonesian context.



INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as the world's third-largest democracy, faces complex challenges in implementing local democracy through regional head elections (Pilkada). The complexity of the 2024 simultaneous regional elections, involving 508 regions with a budget of Rp 28.72 trillion from regional government grants and Rp 974.36 billion from the state budget (Indonesian General Elections Commission, 2024), demonstrates the significant challenges in ensuring accountability, transparency, and integrity (Bovens, 2007; Andrews & Entwistle, 2010).

Collaborative governance has emerged as an alternative model offering solutions through a synergistic multi-stakeholder approach. Emerson et al. (2012) define collaborative governance as a process and structure for public policy decision-making that involves multiple parties across government agencies to achieve public goals that cannot be achieved individually. This model assumes that the effectiveness of public affairs can be enhanced through systematic collaboration between actors with complementary capacities and resources (Agranoff & McGuire, 2003).

Emerson & Nabatchi (2015) developed a collaborative governance regime (CGR) model consisting of three main dimensions: principled engagement, shared motivation, and capacity for collective action. A complementary perspective is offered by Rhodes' Policy Network Theory (1997) which defines a policy network as a relatively stable set of non-hierarchical and interdependent relationships, connecting various actors who share a common interest in a policy and exchange resources to pursue that interest.

The Indonesian regional election system involves three main actors: the General Elections Commission (KPU) as the organizer, the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) as the supervisor, and the mass media, particularly TVRI as the public broadcaster. In the context of the 2024 North Sulawesi gubernatorial election, the tripartite collaboration faces specific complexities related to the geographical characteristics of the archipelago with 15 regencies/cities, which create unique challenges in accessibility,

information distribution, and inter-agency coordination.

The Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) and the North Sulawesi General Elections Commission (KPU) recorded a total of 320 findings and reports of violations in the 2024 regional elections (North Sulawesi Provincial Elections Supervisory Agency, 2024; North Sulawesi Provincial Elections Commission, 2024). These findings indicate the complexity of oversight, necessitating the strengthening of collaborative mechanisms.

Research on collaboration between TVRI, the General Elections Commission (KPU), and the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) in regional elections is still limited. Wijaya (2023) examined the bipartite collaboration between the KPU and Bawaslu in the 2019 Indonesian elections. Sari & Pratama (2024) limitedly examined TVRI's role in the 2024 regional elections in five provinces. Meanwhile, Chen & Kumar (2023) analyzed the implementation of collaborative governance between organizing institutions in managing general elections in six Asian countries. This study aims to analyze the tripartite collaboration model between TVRI North Sulawesi, the North Sulawesi Provincial KPU, and the North Sulawesi Provincial Bawaslu in strengthening accountability for the implementation of the 2024 regional elections through the perspective of a collaborative governance regime, with a focus on: (1) principled engagement; (2) shared motivation; and (3) capacity for collective action.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study approach. This approach aims to deeply understand the dynamics of tripartite collaboration within the context of collaborative governance to strengthen accountability in the implementation of the 2024 regional elections.

The research was conducted in North Sulawesi Province from August to December 2024, focusing on three institutions: TVRI North Sulawesi, the North Sulawesi Provincial General Elections Commission (KPU), and the North Sulawesi Provincial Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). The location selection was based on



the consideration that North Sulawesi will hold simultaneous regional elections in 2024, given its unique archipelagic geography, encompassing 15 regencies/cities spread across the archipelago, each with unique challenges in accessibility, infrastructure, and socio-political heterogeneity.

Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with key informants from the three institutions, including leaders and staff directly involved in the collaboration. Secondary data were obtained from official documents, activity reports, media publications, and relevant previous research. Data collection was conducted through: (1) in-depth interviews with semi-structured guidelines; (2) documentation studies of regulations, institutional decisions, and activity reports; and (3) observations of collaboration practices during the Pilkada stages. Data analysis used the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, which includes data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions (Creswell, 2009).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This study analyzes the tripartite collaboration between TVRI North Sulawesi, the North Sulawesi Provincial General Elections Commission (KPU), and the North Sulawesi Provincial Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) in the 2024 Regional Elections using the Collaborative Governance Regime (CGR) framework of Emerson & Nabatchi (2015). The collaboration model is informal yet effective, based on resource interdependence and an internalized democratic culture.

1. Principled Engagement

1.1 Organic Consciousness-Based Common Goal Discovery

The discovery process within the tripartite collaboration exhibits a unique characteristic: the identification of shared goals was not triggered by a formal legal mandate, but rather by an organic awareness arising from the experience of holding previous regional elections. The three institutions identified the need for collaboration based on the media's position as a pillar of democracy (TVRI), the natural democratic culture (Bawaslu), and the involvement of various stakeholders (KPU),

indicating that the exploration emerged organically, not by deliberate design.

A relevant theoretical argument is that the exploration process within policy networks does not always require formal initiation but can instead develop through recognized interdependencies, as described by Rhodes (1997). This triangular pattern of interdependence creates intrinsic incentives for collaboration: the KPU requires TVRI's broadcast reach and Bawaslu's oversight legitimacy; Bawaslu requires TVRI's publication platform and KPU information; and TVRI requires access to KPU and Bawaslu information to carry out its journalistic and political education functions. The achievement of a voter turnout of 76.8%, exceeding the national average of 74.11%, indicates that collaboration yields value that cannot be achieved individually.

This organically emerging characteristic of discovery also has structural weaknesses. The lack of formal documentation creates a fragile institutional memory—knowledge of how collaborations are formed is stored only in the personal memory of the current leader, so that when leadership changes, the exploration process may have to be repeated.

1.2 Defining Roles Through Informal Norms

The definition process presents a paradox between the clarity of functional roles and the ambiguity of collaborative roles. Functionally, the roles of the three institutions have been defined through their respective constitutional mandates. However, collaborative roles—namely, how the three institutions work together within a tripartite framework—are not defined in formal regulations. The division of roles is informally constructed through mutual understanding and repeated practice, providing flexibility for adaptation but creating gray areas in certain situations. This finding aligns with Rhodes' (1997) concept of non-hierarchical networks within collaborative partnerships.

The convergence of recommendations from the three institutions toward selective formalization indicates an awareness that while informal definitions are functional in the 2024



regional elections, actors recognize the need for partial institutionalization for sustainability.

This finding can be compared with the study by Anugrah & Wahyudi (2025), which analyzed collaborative governance in the development of the Gronjong Wariti tourist attraction in Kediri Regency using the Ansell & Gash (2008) model. Both studies found that the success of collaboration does not depend solely on legal formalization, but rather on the internalization of shared values and mutual awareness of the interdependence of actors. However, there are significant contextual differences: collaboration in election management requires a much more sensitive balance between institutional synergy and media editorial independence and supervisory neutrality. Furthermore, Anugrah & Wahyudi's (2025) finding that obstacles in the collaboration process can be overcome without disrupting the overall collaboration aligns with the finding that informal flexibility is an adaptive strength of the TVRI-KPU-Bawaslu tripartite collaboration.

1.3 Pragmatic Deliberation and Trust-Based Agreement

The deliberation mechanism was developed pragmatically through formal and informal forums tailored to the needs of the regional election stages. The finding that TVRI held in-depth discussions with the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) on themes, sources, and news angles for the Smart Choice Dialogue program demonstrates that deliberation encompasses not only technical coordination but also substantive, encompassing program content, communication strategy, and information balance (Thomson & Perry, 2006). This flexibility provides advantages in terms of speed of response to urgent issues, although it creates challenges in terms of accountability for the process and documentation of decisions (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

The agreement is based on mutual trust, reciprocity, and an awareness of mutual dependence, not contractual obligations. The finding that TVRI required the allocation of concrete resources—senior journalists, prime-time slots, a socialization budget from the KPU,

and supervisory resources from Bawaslu—reinforces Emerson & Nabatchi's (2015) argument that determination is not merely rhetorical but operational.

2. Shared Motivation

2.1 Shared Understanding and Internal Legitimacy

The three collaborating institutions have a convergent understanding of the complexities of regional elections in the archipelago, namely geographical challenges, limited infrastructure, and socio-political heterogeneity. This mutual understanding is not the result of formal knowledge-sharing or joint training programs, but rather the result of experiential learning through direct involvement in the implementation of previous regional elections, which has become implicit knowledge in the organizational culture of all three institutions.

Strong internal support is manifested in resource allocation, leadership commitment, and operational staff participation. This structural—not merely symbolic—support ensures that collaboration does not rely solely on personal initiative but becomes an organizational priority, reflecting leadership as a key element in the capacity for joint action (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015).

2.2 Sustainable Commitment and Shared Ownership

TVRI, the General Elections Commission (KPU), and the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) are committed to collaborative processes and outcomes throughout all stages of the regional elections, demonstrating ongoing engagement rather than episodic participation. The KPU's recognition that achieving the third-best national IPP (Information and Communications Supervisory Board) is not solely the result of the KPU but rather the collaboration, coupled with Bawaslu's recognition that violations are a shared responsibility, demonstrates mature shared ownership (Provan & Kenis, 2008; Huxham & Vangen, 2005).

This flexible, adaptive commitment to learning and adjustment aligns with the concept of adaptive governance, which emphasizes the



importance of learning by doing and iterative adjustment (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

3. Capacity for Joint Action

3.1 Informal Procedural Arrangements and Horizontal Structures

Despite the lack of a formal legal framework, all three institutions developed effective informal work procedures through repeated practice and organizational learning. Procedural flexibility provides the ability to adapt to unpredictable dynamics. However, the absence of standard operating procedures (SOPs) makes procedures highly dependent on personal initiative, so the recommendation for selective formalization reflects an awareness of the need for partial procedural institutionalization (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

The institutional structure is horizontal and non-hierarchical—no institution has formal coordinating authority over the others. This structural equality is crucial to maintaining TVRI's editorial independence as a public media outlet that must be able to criticize the performance of the General Elections Commission (KPU) or the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) when necessary (Cushion, 2022). The KPU explains that dominance is contextual and functional, based on expertise, in line with shared leadership (Ansell & Gash, 2008).

3.2 Facilitative Leadership and Knowledge Integration

Leadership is both facilitative and distributive: the General Elections Commission (KPU) builds vision and facilitates communication (Ansell & Gash, 2008); TVRI encourages innovation and provides professional staff autonomy, demonstrating transformational leadership (Bryson et al., 2015); and Bawaslu manages expectations and resolves conflict (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015). In distributed leadership, actors must be willing to lead within their domains while also following in others.

All three institutions possess complementary knowledge: the KPU with technical knowledge of election administration, Bawaslu with violation methods and oversight strategies, and TVRI with mass communication and public education. This reciprocal knowledge sharing enhances the

collective capacity of the network and creates capacity spillovers that strengthen both individual and collective capacity (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015; Huxham & Vangen, 2005).

3.3 Resource Allocation and Collaborative Optimization

All three institutions allocated significant resources: TVRI allocated senior journalists, prime-time slots, and production equipment; the General Elections Commission (KPU) allocated a budget for outreach, coordination staff, and data access; and the Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) allocated supervisory resources, a budget for joint activities, and staff time as resource persons. This concrete resource allocation reflects a preference that collaboration is viewed as a strategic priority, not a peripheral activity (Emerson & Nabatchi, 2015).

However, resource limitations create geographic gaps in collaboration—remote areas in the archipelago are less likely to benefit. Optimization through resource sharing, such as the "Smart Choice Dialogue" program, which integrates the contributions of all three institutions, has helped mitigate these limitations.

4. Synthesis: Interdependence-Based Tripartite Collaboration Model

The TVRI-KPU-Bawaslu tripartite collaboration model in the 2024 regional elections has five main characteristics. First, an informal yet effective collaboration model without a tripartite MoU, based on an awareness of resource interdependence, an internalized democratic culture, shared trust, and a commitment to shared goals (Rhodes, 1997). Second, a triangular interdependence pattern: the KPU requires TVRI's reach and Bawaslu's legitimacy; Bawaslu requires TVRI's platform and KPU information; and TVRI requires access to KPU and Bawaslu information for its journalistic and political education functions. Third, a non-hierarchical horizontal structure with facilitative and distributive leadership. Fourth, flexibility versus predictability: the absence of a formal framework provides adaptability but creates uncertainty about sustainability. Fifth, a tangible contribution to accountability: 76.8% participation, handling



of 320 findings/reports, the third best IPP nationally.

Table 1. Tripartite Collaborative Activities in the Implementation of the 2024 Regional Elections

Institution	Activity Category	Main Activities
KPU Sulut	Voter Socialization and Education	Coordination Meeting with 25 community organizations; Socialization for new voters in collaboration with TVRI; Socialization for the elderly; KPU Goes to Campus Program.
	Technical Guidance	Sub-district Election Committee Briefing (ECB).
	Recapitulation and Determination	The recapitulation plenary meeting was broadcast via YouTube; the elected pair was determined.
Bawaslu Sulut	Preparation and Coordination of Supervision	Supervision Readiness Coordination Meeting; Campaign Supervision Alert Roll Call.
	Active Supervision and Handling of Violations	Surveillance patrol.
	Institutional Coordination	Grant signing; FGD with multi-stakeholders.
TVRI Sulut	News and Information Program	"North Sulawesi Today" program.
	Interactive Dialogue Program	"Smart Choice" Program; "Public Forum".
	Critical Stage Live Coverage	Live broadcast of registration, determination of candidate pairs; public debate; recapitulation; and determination of results.
	Socialization Collaboration	Co-organizing outreach for new voters with the KPU.

Based on an analysis of the three dimensions of CGR, tripartite collaboration can be categorized as effective but not yet ideal. Structural gaps that need to be addressed include: (1) the formalization gap—excessive reliance on the personal commitment of leaders; (2) the collaborative accountability gap—the absence of a specific contribution measurement framework; (3) the documentation and institutional memory gap; (4) the equality gap in geographic coverage;

and (5) the protocol gap regarding TVRI's dual role.

CONCLUSION

The tripartite collaboration between TVRI North Sulawesi, the North Sulawesi Provincial General Elections Commission (KPU), and the North Sulawesi Provincial Elections Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) in the 2024 Regional Elections has successfully strengthened accountability through an effective informal collaborative governance model. In the principled engagement dimension, collaboration is constructed through organic awareness, informal norms, mutual trust, and pragmatic deliberation without a formal legal framework. In the shared motivation dimension, the three institutions have a convergent understanding, strong internal support, sustained commitment, and shared ownership. In the capacity for collective action dimension, collaboration demonstrates a non-hierarchical horizontal structure, facilitative leadership, and the integration of complementary knowledge.

The collaborative model creates a triangular pattern of interdependence that serves as a natural foundation for collaboration: the KPU requires TVRI's broadcast reach and Bawaslu's oversight legitimacy, Bawaslu requires TVRI's platform and KPU information, and TVRI requires access to KPU and Bawaslu information for its journalistic and political education functions. This pattern creates intrinsic incentives driven by functional logic, rather than formal legal obligations.

CONFESSION

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