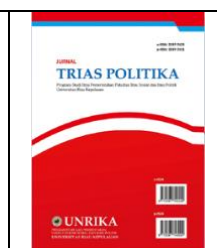


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Journal Homepage : <https://www.journal.unrika.ac.id/index.php/jurnaltriaspolitika>**ESTIMATING THE PERFORMANCE OF THE GAKKUMDU IN HANDLING REPORTS AND FINDINGS OF VIOLATIONS OF THE 2024 ELECTIONS****Dwi Astuti Wahyu Nurhayati**

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Abstract: : It is imperative that vulnerabilities in the 2024 election law enforcement system be identified in order to provide learning and development for election organisers and other law enforcement organisations. This study aims to comprehend the kinds of cases that remain unresolved, the actions that are taken, the opinions of GAKKUMDU, about the receipt of reports and violations, the challenges encountered in managing and resolving issues, and the perspectives that the public will have going forward regarding election dispute resolution. Using a juridical-normative approach, the research uses normative legal research methodologies to analyse the relevant legal norms in the context of addressing election-related criminal offences in 2024. The results show two different types of reports: one was registered and included the village heads' lack of neutrality, while the other four were not (distribution of staple food packages, damage to campaign media (APK and APS), lack of transparency by the Election Supervisory Body, and circulation of the "Tabloid Indonesia Maju". Several steps were taken by GAKKUMDU in handling reports and violations included harmonising perceptions is the result of the actions conducted, which include beginning harmonisation, receiving reports, managing violations, monitoring, and evaluation. Assessing the Gakkumdu Center's efficiency in addressing electoral infractions in 2024 and aligning perceptions entails coordinating the opinions, strategies, and tactics of the several stakeholders engaged in election law enforcement are obligation to conduct. It is intended that by comprehending the current problems, practical measures to strengthen accountability, better the election law enforcement process, and guarantee a more equitable and transparent election can be found. The collaboration is not only done by Bawaslu, the Police, or the Prosecutor's Office but also in order to manage the election offences of 2024.

Keywords: . estimating; handling report; gakkumdu; violations; election 2024.

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**INTRODUCTION**

The General Election, or PEMILU, is the foundation of the democratic system in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Hudhaibi, 2023). According to Law No. 7 of 2017, the purpose of the election is to realize the sovereignty of the people to produce representatives and a government that is democratic based on PANCASILA and the 1945 Constitution. Therefore, elections must be held for the President and Vice President, members of the Regional Representative Council (DPD), members of the People's Consultative Assembly (DPR), and for electing members of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). Additionally, the elections for regional heads, including Governors, Regents, and Mayors (PILKADA), are to be conducted democratically based on Article 18 Paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution (Iriani et al., 2023).

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Article 22E Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution mandates that elections in Indonesia be conducted directly, publicly, freely, confidentially, honestly, and fairly (Luber-Jurdil) every five years (Hasbullah, 2023). The holding of elections every five years provides every citizen of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) with the opportunity to exercise their political rights in determining leaders and representatives at both the central and regional levels for the upcoming term (Purnama & Manitra, 2023). Elections uphold the sovereignty of the people and ensure the state remains intact by actively involving the people, thus ensuring that the former government truly represents the interests of the people and maintains democratic principles (Nugroho et al., 2023).

The Gakkumdu Center for the 2024 General Election was established based on the Decision of the Chairman of the General Election Supervisory Board Number: 277/PP.00.00/K1/08/2022. The Tulungagung Regency Gakkumdu Center faces primary challenges in coordinating among the three involved agencies: Bawaslu, the Police, and the Prosecutor's Office (Laxamana & Firdaus, 2023). These agencies each have their own agendas and busy schedules, often making it difficult to align meeting times and routine coordination (Faizal, 2023). Additionally, the lack of monthly coordination meetings exacerbates the situation, impeding effective communication and complicating the resolution of issues regarding election crimes (Comission, 2021). Suboptimal coordination may lead to inconsistent decisions and poorly coordinated actions (Garrett & Daw, 2020).

Human resource support is a significant challenge in election supervision (Kristian et al., 2021). At the village level, there is only one election supervisor, whereas the village KPU has three Voting Organizing Committees (PPS) with technical secretariat support (Fauzi et al., 2023). The limited number of supervisors results in a heavy workload (Nyamugoro et al., 2023). In addition to monitoring election participants, supervisors must ensure the neutrality of State Civil Apparatus (ASN) and oversee various aspects in accordance with Law No. 7 of 2017 on General Elections (Mawuntu et al., 2023). This staff limitation reduces the ability to handle allegations of violations effectively. The shortage of personnel significantly impacts the effectiveness of supervision and handling violations, as the lack of workforce affects the ability to monitor and address violations comprehensively (Matemani, 2019).

The vast and strategic area of Tulungagung Regency also adds to the challenges in supervision. The regency comprises 19 sub-districts with varying sizes and travel distances. The long distances and difficult terrain slow down the supervision and handling of violations. For Bawaslu, this challenge affects support and supervision of findings and reports at the sub-district level (Febriyanti & Fatkhuri, 2024). The long distances and difficult terrain limit the mobility of supervisors, slowing responses to violations and hindering efforts to resolve cases promptly. The limited time available for handling election violations complicates the processes of tracing, investigating, and collecting evidence.

The time constraints often lead to suboptimal handling results, forcing supervisors to work quickly but with less thoroughness. Moreover, the limited budget poses a serious constraint in law enforcement for elections (R. H. Ramadhan & Azhari, 2022). Budget constraints hinder investigation, prosecution, execution, and the creation of a List of Wanted Persons (DPO) (Dharma et al., 2023). Without adequate funding, the law enforcement process cannot be optimally executed (Tacconi et al., 2019). Although the facilities at the Tulungagung Regency Gakkumdu Center are relatively good, challenges such as the lack of a dedicated space for the Gakkumdu Center and insufficient Wi-Fi signal in some areas affect communication, coordination, and distribution of supervisory tools.

The lack of public reporting is another significant challenge. Many citizens are reluctant to report suspected election violations for various reasons (Taqdirullah et al., 2021). Proximity to the perpetrators or the belief that election violations are common and committed by many election participants makes citizens hesitant to report. There is also a view that reporting

violations could be harmful to oneself, thus reducing motivation to get involved. Distrust in Bawaslu's independence and performance reinforces the minimal reporting, decreasing the number of cases that can be addressed and processed, and hindering efforts to ensure fair and honest elections. Addressing the challenges in election supervision and handling violations in Tulungagung Regency requires a comprehensive approach (Mansyur et al., 2021).

The simultaneous elections of 2024 are a significant milestone in Indonesia's democratic history (Suparto et al., 2024). The increasing complexity and scale of elections, along with advancements in information technology, add to the challenges faced by Gakkumdu in handling reports and findings of election violations (Ramadhan, 2021). During the 2024 elections, the Tulungagung Regency Gakkumdu Center handled four reports that did not meet the elements of violations and thus could not be registered, and one finding that was registered but discontinued due to insufficient evidence to proceed to the investigation stage (Santoso & Teguh, 2021).

None of the election violation cases handled by the Gakkumdu Center proceeded to the investigation and prosecution stages due to the lack of evidence for further investigation after joint discussions and clarifications with the reported parties and witnesses, leading to the discontinuation of the 2024 election crime violation findings (Muslihannisa et al., 2023). This situation indicates deficiencies in the evidence collection and assessment processes, as well as challenges in coordination and implementation of effective procedures. The lack of cases that can be advanced further raises concerns about the effectiveness and accountability of Gakkumdu in performing its duties.

This study is crucial for a detailed evaluation of how reports and findings of violations are handled, identifying existing constraints in the handling process, and assessing the steps taken by Gakkumdu in addressing these challenges. The main focus of this research is to evaluate the effectiveness of the Gakkumdu Center in handling election violations in 2024. This research is based on a number of significant unanswered research gaps, namely: Despite the pivotal role of the Gakkumdu in the enforcement of electoral legislation in Indonesia, research that specifically examines the performance of Gakkumdu at the local level, such as in Tulungagung Regency, remains scarce. Previous research has tended to focus on the national or provincial level. A significant number of studies examine the electoral law process in general. However, there is a paucity of detailed evaluations of how reported offences and findings are handled by Gakkumdu, both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

The 2024 general election in Indonesia presents a unique set of challenges in the context of law enforcement. Nevertheless, there is a paucity of research analysing the specific challenges faced by Gakkumdu in the regions, particularly in the context of more complex elections such as simultaneous elections. The potential for enhanced collaboration between Gakkumdu and Bawaslu in the enforcement of electoral law has yet to be fully realised, particularly at the local level. Therefore, although research on electoral law and the role of Gakkumdu in general has been conducted, this study addresses a gap in the literature by providing district-specific insights and an empirical analysis of law enforcement performance in the 2024 elections. It does so by examining the effectiveness of their cooperation in handling election violations in 2024.

By understanding the existing issues, it is hoped that effective solutions can be found to improve the election law enforcement process, enhance accountability, and ensure a fairer and more transparent election. This effort is not only important for strengthening the democratic system in Indonesia but also for increasing public trust in the integrity of elections and the overall electoral process. With regard to the evolution of electoral system studies, notable advancements have been made from the initial legalistic focus to a more comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach. This incorporates political science, technology, sociology, and even criminology, with the objective of enhancing the efficacy and fairness of electoral processes.

A further development in the study of electoral law enforcement is the growing awareness of the necessity for the establishment of a fair electoral system that is free from intimidation and fraud. Initially, the study of electoral law enforcement concentrated on the procedural aspects and formalities of offences, such as vote fraud and administrative violations. However, this approach has subsequently evolved to become more complex, involving digital surveillance, the use of forensic data and the involvement of additional institutions in the handling of offences. This has prompted studies to assess the extent to which electoral legal systems can protect citizens' voting rights, address intimidation practices and uphold overall electoral justice.

The impact of electoral law enforcement on social and political stability in a country has also been the subject of recent research. Furthermore, this study considers the influence of legal action on public confidence in the electoral process and its impact on voter turnout. Consequently, this study aims to address a research gap at the district level while also contributing to a broader understanding of the evolution of electoral law enforcement systems in the modern era. These systems play a pivotal role in maintaining the integrity of the electoral process in Indonesia.

METHODOLOGY

The research method used in this study is normative legal research, with a juridical-normative approach (Nurhayati, 2020). Juridical-normative legal research focuses on studying applicable legal norms. This approach involves analyzing laws, legal documents, and relevant literature to understand the application of law in the context of handling election crimes in 2024 (Lubis et al., 2023). This research aims to describe in detail the legal phenomena at hand without formulating hypotheses or statistical calculations.

The data collection techniques used in this research includes document and literature studies (Taherdoost, 2021). Secondary data collection consists of: (a) Primary legal materials such as legislation, court decisions, and other official legal documents related to election crimes in 2024 (Hantoro, 2024); (b) Secondary legal materials including legal literature, journals, articles, and academic publications that provide analysis and commentary on primary legal materials. Secondary legal materials enrich the analysis with diverse perspectives and interpretations (Marzuki, 2022); (c) Tertiary legal materials including legal encyclopaedias, legal dictionaries, and other reference sources that help explain legal concepts used by the researcher.

The analysis technique used is descriptive (Nasir & Sukmawati, 2023). This approach aims to systematically describe the handling of election crimes in 2024, the challenges faced, and the perceptions and roles of GAKKUMDU Tulungagung Regency in the 2024 General Election (Bagaskara & Rajagukguk, 2024). Descriptive analysis allows the researcher to present data in a structured and detailed manner, providing a comprehensive overview of the issues related to the tasks and authority of the Tulungagung Regency Gakkumdu Center in addressing election crimes in Tulungagung Regency (Nurhayati, 2020).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Election violations refer to actions that contradict or are inconsistent with the regulations governing the conduct of elections. In scientific terms, violations are defined as actions or deeds that breach legal norms established to ensure that elections are conducted according to principles of justice, transparency, and integrity. Election violations can result from various factors, both intentional and unintentional. Such actions can be carried out by various parties, from individual voters to election organizers. Election violations can occur at different levels, including candidates, organizers, and voters.



Figure 1. Word Cloud Gakkumdu
 Source: Dwi Astuti Wahyu Nurhayati, 2024

There are two types of reports: (1) Not Registered: four (4) cases; (2) Registered: one (1) case, with details as follows: Unregistered, Alleged Reports include (a) Non-transparency of the Karangrejo Sub-district Panwaslu in the recruitment process for the formation of PPK, PPS and KPPS PEMILU; (b) Distribution of basic necessities to vote by *PDI Perjuangan* candidates with serial number 3; (c) Destruction of Campaign Props (APK) and Socialization Props (APS) of *PDI Perjuangan*; (d) Circulation of Tabloid Indonesia Maju which is prohibited by Bawaslu; Alleged Report Registered (e) Circulation of Videos to the Tulungagung Bawaslu Staff regarding his Non-neutrality as a Village Head supporting one of the Paslon. Violations are reports submitted by various parties, including Indonesian citizens who have the right to vote, election participants, or election observers, to Bawaslu, Regency / City Bawaslu, Sub-district Panwaslu, Village / Village Panwaslu, Overseas Panwaslu, and / or TPS Supervisors.

This report covers alleged violations that occur at every stage of an election and is an important part of the electoral monitoring and oversight system. This report serves as a mechanism to report actions that are considered to violate the rules, so that the authorities can follow up and ensure that actions that violate the rules receive proper attention and handling. In 2024, Bawaslu Tulungagung Regency received a number of reports related to election violations that highlighted various problems in the implementation of general elections in the Tulungagung Regency area.

Table 1 Types of Reports and Findings of Election Action Handling Results in 2024

No.	Report Types	Report Number	Report Date	Report Content	Report Findings Results
1.	Not Registered	001/LP/PL/ Kab/16.37/II /2023	January 24, 2023	Alleged violation by the KPU Tulungagung against the Panwaslu Karangrejo for lack of transparency in the recruitment	The report was not registered due to incomplete formal and material requirements and submission after the deadline.

				process for PPK, PPS, and KPPS in the General Election.	
2.	Not Registered	002/LP/PL/Kab/16.37/I/2024	December 13, 2024	Alleged Violation committed by Candidate YUDHA SAWUNG PERMADHI (PDI Perjuangan Candidate) Number 3 by distributing basic necessities to vote.	The reporter did not complete the formal and material requirements; the report was not registered because the submission of the report exceeded the specified time limit.
3.	Not Registered	003/LP/PL/Kab/16.37/I/2024	December 15, 2023	Destruction of Campaign Props (APK) and Socialization Props (APS) of PDI Perjuangan.	The reporter did not complete the formal and material requirements.
4.	Not Registered	004/LP/PL/Kab/16.37/XII/2023	December 27, 2023	Circulation of Tabloid Indonesia Maju which is prohibited by Bawaslu.	The report has not fulfilled the formal and material requirements
5.	Registered	001/REG/TM/PP/Kab/16.37/II/2024	January 14, 2024	The emergence of a circulating video that entered the staff of Bawaslu Tulungagung related to the involvement of the Active Village Head of Kradinan on behalf of Sujarwo for his non-neutrality as a Village Head who supported one of the Candidate Pairs	The findings were stopped after clarification of the relevant parties because the evidence was not fulfilled to proceed to the investigation stage.

Source: (Division Of Handling Violations And Information Data Bawaslu Tulungagung Regency, 2024)

The following is a summary of reports on several cases of alleged violations involving various parties and issues of violations received by Bawaslu Tulungagung:

Report Number 001/LP/PL/Kab/16.37/II/2023 contents of the report Alleged Violation of the KPU against Panwaslu Karangrejo District

The first report submitted on behalf of Mohammad Wahyu Ramadhani on January 24, 2023, refers to alleged violations committed by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Tulungagung Regency. This case involved the Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) of Karangrejo District, which allegedly did not carry out the recruitment process for the formation of the Sub-District Election Committee (PPK), Voting Committee (PPS), and Voting

Organizing Group (KPPS) transparently. In the context of general elections, transparency in the recruitment process is one of the essential basic principles to ensure the fairness and integrity of elections. PPK, PPS, and KPPS are institutions that have vital responsibilities in organizing elections, from preparation, implementation, to vote counting. Their recruitment process must be conducted honestly and openly to avoid potential conflicts of interest and ensure that the entire electoral process can be implemented fairly. The alleged violation in this report is the non-transparency in the recruitment of PPK, PPS, and KPPS by Panwaslu Karangrejo. This non-transparency can include various aspects, such as the absence of adequate publication or announcement of recruitment procedures, unclear or unfair assessment of candidates, or disregard for procedures established by electoral regulations.

The Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) of Tulungagung Regency has conducted a study and clarified with the involved parties and witnesses regarding the alleged lack of transparency in the recruitment process of the District Election Committee (PPK), Voting Committee (PPS), and Voting Organizing Group (KPPS) conducted by the KPU of Tulungagung Regency. On January 26, 2023, Bawaslu Tulungagung held a Plenary Meeting with the following results:

- a) The report of the alleged violation concerning the determination of the selected PPS by the KPU of Tulungagung Regency met formal requirements, but the evidence presented by the reporter did not meet material requirements;
- b) The report of the alleged violation concerning the determination of the selected PPS by the KPU of Tulungagung Regency could not be followed up due to not meeting the material reporting requirements and the elements of an election violation;
- c) The reporter was given an opportunity to complete the formal and/or material requirements within a maximum of two days after the notification to complete was delivered.

However, within the specified time, the reporter could not complete the formal or material requirements. Therefore, on January 31, 2023, Bawaslu issued a Report Status to the reporter stating that the report did not meet the formal and material requirements.

PL/Kab/16.37/I/2024 contents of Violation report by Candidate Yudha Sawung Permadhi

On December 13, 2023, Hendri Dwiyanto reported to the Tulungagung Regency Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) about alleged violations committed by legislative candidate Yudha Sawung Permadhi from PDI Perjuangan, who has serial number 3. In the report, Hendri Dwiyanto revealed that candidate Yudha Sawung Permadhi was allegedly involved in the practice of distributing basic necessities to influence voters to vote for him. This action is a form of money politics that violates the basic principles of elections that must be free from rewards or coercion. Furthermore, the report also includes allegations of intimidation against families receiving Family Hope Program (PKH) benefits from the Ministry of Social Affairs. This intimidation indicates an attempt to influence voters' choices through threats or unauthorized pressure.

The Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) of Tulungagung Regency conducted a study of the alleged violation report submitted on December 13, 2023. After an in-depth study and plenary meeting on December 15, 2023, Bawaslu Tulungagung determined several points as follows:

- a) Report Submission Deadline: The report of the alleged violation was submitted by the reporter on December 13, 2023, while the violation incident was reported to have occurred on December 1-2, 2023. This shows that the report was filed more than seven days after the violation occurred, thus not meeting the report submission deadline;
- b) Elements of Alleged Election Violation: Based on the incident chronology compiled in Form B1, the report did not meet the material requirements needed to follow up on the

alleged election violation.

As a result of this study, on December 15, 2023, Bawaslu Tulungagung issued a decision stating that the report did not meet the formal and material requirements. This report status was then communicated to the reporter, indicating that the report could not be followed up.

Report Number 003/LP/PL/Kab/16.37/I/2024 contents of the report Destruction of Campaign Props by Hendy Wicaksono

On December 15, 2024, Hendy Wicaksono, a staff of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), reported to the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Tulungagung Regency regarding alleged violations involving the destruction of PDIP's Campaign Props (APK) and Socialization Props (APS). In his report, Hendy revealed that this destruction occurred at several points in the Tulungagung Regency area, covering the Tulungagung 1 to Tulungagung 6 electoral districts. The destruction of APKs and APS directly not only harms PDIP by disrupting campaign efforts carried out by PDIP candidates, but also has the potential to damage public confidence in the electoral process.

On December 13, 2023, Bawaslu Tulungagung received a report of alleged destruction of campaign props (APK) submitted by Hendy Wicaksono. Bawaslu then conducted an initial study of the report and gave the reporter two days to complete the required report documents. However, by the specified deadline, the reporter could not complete the requested documents. Subsequently, Bawaslu Tulungagung held a plenary meeting on December 18, 2023, to discuss the alleged APK destruction report. In this meeting, several conclusions were agreed upon:

- 1) Based on the study of the alleged election violation, the report on behalf of Hendy Wicaksono was deemed not to meet the formal and material requirements;
- 2) The report did not meet the specified submission deadline, as the violation incident was reported to have occurred on December 2, 2023, but was only reported on December 13, 2023. This exceeded the report submission deadline of no more than seven days after the violation occurred.

Bawaslu Tulungagung then sent a report correction letter to the reporter on December 18, 2023, detailing the documents that needed to be completed as follows:

- a) Formal Requirements: The reporter must complete the identity of the reported party and evidence of APK destruction in the form of photos or videos;
- b) Material Requirements: The reporter must provide a detailed description of the incident and location known from December 6 to 13, 2023.

The reporter was given two working days after this notification, until December 20, 2023, to complete the documents. However, by the specified deadline, the reporter could not meet or complete the requested documents. Therefore, Bawaslu Tulungagung issued a notification letter on the report status on December 27, 2023, stating that the report did not meet the formal or material requirements.

Report Number 004/LP/PL/Kab/16.37/XII/2023 report content Circulation of Indonesia Maju Tabloid

On December 22, 2023, Nanang Rohmad submitted a report to Bawaslu regarding alleged violations related to a tabloid called "Indonesia Maju". This report departs from information obtained by Nanang that morning, around 09.00 WIB. He read news on online news sites such as detik.com and kompas.com which reported that Bawaslu had banned the circulation of the tabloid. This ban was issued as part of Bawaslu's efforts to maintain integrity and fairness in the election process. This incident came to Nanang's attention because on the previous Wednesday, December 20, 2023, he saw an upload in the Tulungagung Kritis (TK) WhatsApp group. The upload featured two accounts, Al Ghoibi and Hellboys, who appeared to be holding and showing off a pile of "Indonesia Maju" tabloids. This is all the more significant because these tabloids should not have been circulated in accordance with

Bawaslu's ban. Feeling that the circulation of these banned tabloids could affect the election process, Nanang decided to report the incident to Bawaslu.

On December 22, 2023, Bawaslu Tulungagung held a plenary session to discuss this report. The plenary session results stated that the report did not yet meet the formal and material requirements. The reporter was given two days to correct and complete the report. However, within the specified time, the reporter could not meet or correct the report documents. Therefore, Bawaslu Tulungagung held a second plenary session on December 27, 2023. In this plenary session, it was decided that the report from Nanang Rohmat could not be registered because it did not meet the material reporting requirements.

Report Number 001/REG/TM/PP/Kab/16.37/II/2024: Involvement of the Kradinan Village Head in Candidate Support

On January 19, 2024, Bawaslu Tulungagung received a report regarding an alleged violation related to the neutrality of a Village Head. The report noted that Sujarwo, the active Village Head of Kradinan Village, was allegedly showing active support for one of the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs, number 2. Initial evidence, in the form of circulating videos and photos, showed Sujarwo wearing a T-shirt with the candidate pair's logo and chanting slogans of support. The neutrality of public officials, such as Village Heads, in elections is crucial to ensuring they do not favor any candidate or political party, thereby maintaining a fair election process. The involvement of public officials in supporting specific candidates can be considered a violation of the neutrality principle stipulated in election regulations.

On January 19, 2024, at 7:00 PM WIB, Bawaslu Tulungagung conducted an investigation at Warung Gembuk, owned by Mr. Suyaji, located in Samar Village, Pagerwojo District, Tulungagung Regency. The investigation revealed that the incident began when someone from outside Pagerwojo District, named Tatang, came to Warung Gembuk to meet his friend. Afterward, his friends arrived and joined other visitors in the warung, distributing T-shirts featuring the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair number 2, Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka. Tatang then invited everyone present to wear the T-shirts and chant slogans as a form of support.

The results of this investigation were documented in Form-A on February 1, 2024, indicating the presence of a violation. This finding was then registered in Form B.2 with the number 001/TM/PP/Kab/16.37/II/2024. On February 2, 2024, Bawaslu Tulungagung held a plenary meeting and decided on several points:

- a) The alleged neutrality violation by the Kradinan Village Head, Pagerwojo District, Tulungagung Regency, would be registered as a suspected violation on February 5, 2024, with the registration number 001/REG/TM/PP/Kab/16.37/II/2024;
- b) Bawaslu Tulungagung would invite members of the Tulungagung Gakkumdu Center to discuss the alleged violation;
- c) Bawaslu Tulungagung, together with the Tulungagung Regency Gakkumdu Center, would hold discussions with the active Village Head of Kradinan Village as the reported party.

After clarifying with the reported party and witnesses, Bawaslu decided to cease the investigation on February 22, 2024. This decision was made due to the lack of necessary evidence to proceed to the investigation stage. These findings are in line with research conducted by (Baharudin & Sari, 2022) of the difference is that in the incraht decision a comprehensive pattern of handling violations is found, namely the acceptance of registration applications, discussion at the first level, to the determination of court decisions, while in non-incraht decisions, the pattern of handling violations stops at discussion. In terms of collecting evidence, investigators experienced difficulties because the facts on the ground did not match the reports given to investigators, because when the reporter submitted the report, there was

not enough evidence attached, and also because the public did not present witnesses for alleged election crimes.

Out of the four reports of alleged violations received, the evaluation results indicated that none met the criteria for violations as stipulated in the election regulations. After thorough investigation and verification processes, it was found that these reports could not be registered because there was insufficient evidence to indicate substantial violations. The aspects evaluated included whether there were violations of election provisions and the clarity of evidence of criminal or administrative violations. Additionally, there was one finding initially registered by the Gakkumdu Center. Overall, these five reports highlight various aspects and challenges in enforcing election regulations, from the transparency of the recruitment process to potential vote-buying violations, campaign material damage, circulation of prohibited materials, and public officials' neutrality. Each case requires a thorough evaluation to ensure integrity and fairness in the election process.

This finding was accepted after meeting the administrative and formal requirements for registration. However, upon further examination, this finding was dismissed. The reason for this dismissal was that the finding did not meet the elements of an election crime necessary to proceed to the investigation stage. The evaluation showed that although the finding met administrative requirements, there was not enough evidence to classify it as an election crime according to the applicable regulations. Thus, the Tulungagung Regency Gakkumdu Center carefully processed and assessed each reported case, ensuring that only cases meeting the elements of election crimes would be pursued in the legal process.

Discussion

Election violations are the result of the complex interaction between various factors, including legal awareness, compliance, and internal control within the election process. Violation findings are the outcome of monitoring conducted by various agencies responsible for election oversight, such as Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, Regency/City Bawaslu, District Panwaslu, Village Panwaslu, Overseas Panwaslu, and TPS Supervisors. These findings indicate suspected violations that need to be followed up on. The purpose of this monitoring process is to ensure that every stage of the election implementation proceeds according to the applicable regulations and to detect and address potential violations.

The handling of election crimes in 2024 is not conducted independently by Bawaslu Tulungagung. Bawaslu Tulungagung collaborates with the Police and the Prosecutor's Office to form the Gakkumdu Center of Tulungagung Regency, aiming to discuss and reach agreements in resolving issues. This collaboration aims to achieve a shared understanding and effective solutions. Additionally, Bawaslu Tulungagung has developed a work plan and activities in preparation for the stages of the 2024 simultaneous elections. During the 2024 election implementation, the Gakkumdu Center of Tulungagung Regency handled several reported violation cases.

The Election Gakkumdu Center is a synergy of three key elements: Bawaslu, the Police, and the Prosecutor's Office, serving as the coordination center for election law enforcement. In facing the 2024 Election, this synergy is crucial to ensure that the process of receiving reports and handling election crimes runs effectively, fairly, and consistently. The Gakkumdu Center functions as an institution that coordinates election law enforcement efforts, combining Bawaslu's strength in election supervision, the Police in investigations, and the Prosecutor's Office in prosecution. The primary responsibility of the Gakkumdu Center is to ensure that the reception of reports and the handling of election crimes are carried out with consistency and fairness. To achieve this goal, the Gakkumdu Center needs to apply an approach that aligns the perceptions among all related parties.

In handling the 2024 election crimes, Gakkumdu must not be dominated by any single

institution, whether Bawaslu, the Police, or the Prosecutor's Office. Aligning perceptions means harmonizing views, understandings, and working methods among the various parties involved in election law enforcement. This alignment of perceptions is crucial to avoid inconsistencies in handling reports and violations and to ensure that all actions taken are in accordance with applicable laws and procedures. With a uniform understanding, case handling can be done consistently, reducing the likelihood of biased or unfair decisions. Thus, it can be ensured that the decisions on resolving 2024 election crimes issued by the Tulungagung Regency Gakkumdu are collectively made in accordance with the duties and functions of each institution.

The academic debate on electoral law enforcement systems over the past five years has encompassed a multitude of intricate dimensions, alongside technological advancements and a heightened recognition of the significance of electoral integrity. The following represents a summary of the principal points of contention within the debate:

The efficacy of electoral law enforcement

The researcher identified unsynchronised coordination between agencies and internal constraints, including resource limitations and complex procedures, as the primary impediments to the effective enforcement of electoral law by the Gakkumdu. As a consequence, the processing of cases pertaining to electoral offences frequently proves to be both protracted and ineffectual. A number of academics have also highlighted similar concerns, namely that there is a lack of synchronisation between institutions such as Bawaslu, the police and Gakkumdu. The lack of human resources and budgetary constraints are frequently identified as the primary factors contributing to inefficiency in law enforcement, a conclusion that aligns with the findings of this study.

A review of the literature reveals a consistent pattern of findings indicating the challenges that electoral law enforcement agencies face in terms of effectiveness. As Faizal (2023) implementation of the function of the Sentra Gakkumdu in law enforcement of election criminal offenses by the Sentra Gakkumdu in the elections in Lampung Province was ineffective. This can be seen from the many cases handled; not all of them have been followed up on by the Gakkumdu center. In a further study by Muslihannisa et al., (2023), Law enforcement against criminal acts of integrated law enforcement centers in handling criminal acts for the election of the head of Padang Pariaman region is ineffective because of the 3 (three) findings of criminal cases handled there are no cases has reached the court level, all cases stop on the second discussion of Sentra Gakkumdu.

These findings are consistent with the results of this study, which revealed that Gakkumdu continues to encounter challenges in effectively coordinating law enforcement efforts. This empirical evidence demonstrates that despite the existence of regulations, their implementation in practice continues to encounter procedural and logistical challenges, which are also frequently identified as shortcomings in academic literature.

The nexus of money, politics and administrative violations

The findings indicate that the eradication of money politics and administrative offences remains a significant challenge, despite the existence of clear regulatory frameworks. In numerous instances, these infractions cannot be addressed in an efficacious manner due to a dearth of evidence or the intricate nature of the enforcement process. Similarly, academics have identified that the practice of money politics persists despite the presence of stringent regulations. The efficacy of existing regulations in eradicating money politics is questionable, particularly given the involvement of significant political actors who are often difficult to reach by law enforcement.

Previous studies, such as the one conducted by Djufri (2023), have demonstrated that the practice of money politics remains challenging to eradicate despite the implementation

of increasingly stringent regulatory measures. These findings align with those of this study, which indicates that money politics persists as a significant challenge in electoral processes and that law enforcement agencies continue to face difficulties in addressing this issue effectively. Moreover, Iskandar (2023) underscores that money politics is frequently concealed and challenging to substantiate, impeding the capacity of law enforcement agencies to take resolute action because transactions are carried out not only by carrying out conventional transactions but have entered the era of electronic transactions. In the empirical context, Gakkumdu is still attempting to identify more effective methods for addressing this offence. However, constraints in evidence collection represent a significant challenge, as previously highlighted in research on this topic. The issue of limited authority is an obstacle in itself because the complexity of proof in electronic transactions cannot be easily carried out.

The question of the neutrality of the state civil apparatus (ASN) and law enforcement officials is a significant one.

The Gakkumdu encounters difficulties in maintaining the neutrality of the ASN and law enforcement officials, who are occasionally influenced by specific political forces during the electoral process. Furthermore, the supervision of this neutrality has also been inadequate. In academic discourse, the question of the neutrality of ASN and law enforcement officials is frequently the subject of criticism. There is a concern that government employees and law enforcement officers may be used by political forces, which could potentially compromise the integrity of electoral justice. This challenge is also reflected in the difficulties encountered by Gakkumdu in the field.

Furthermore, previous research has also identified the issue of neutrality among ASNs and law enforcement officials. To illustrate, research conducted by Setiawan & Hapsari (2022) indicates that the neutrality of the apparatus is frequently called into question due to the potential for political influences to impact the fairness of electoral processes. Commonly, the violation form is encountered through indirect campaigns on social media. The SCA neutrality violations are mostly caused due to the motive of getting a higher position. The findings of this study revealed a comparable issue in Gakkumdu, underscoring the necessity for more rigorous monitoring of the apparatus's neutrality. Previous researchers, such as Mawuntu et al., (2023), have proposed enhancements to necessary to impose strict punishment on Servants who violate the provisions regarding the neutrality of ASN to make the bureaucracy clean from abuse of authority during future elections.

The Impact of Technology and Social Media:

The proliferation of misinformation on social media represents a novel challenge for electoral law enforcement, where the Gakkumdu has thus far been unable to fully address the nuances of electoral violations occurring within this digital landscape. A significant number of academics have emphasised the part played by technology and social media in the context of elections, with a particular focus on the rapid dissemination of disinformation. It is evident that electoral law enforcement has not yet fully adapted to the technological advances that have occurred in recent times. Furthermore, the regulations that are currently in place with regard to social media are still considered to be insufficiently strong. The difficulties encountered by the Gakkumdu in this context are consistent with the findings of academic research on the necessity for legal reform to address technological concerns.

The impact of technology and social media on electoral processes has emerged as a significant topic of academic inquiry in recent years. The research conducted by Labolo, (2023) underscores the manner in which the dissemination of misinformation via social media has complicated the enforcement of electoral legislation. This finding is consistent with the results of the present study, which indicate that the Gakkumdu continues to

encounter difficulties in addressing black campaigns and disinformation on social media. Previous research has proposed the introduction of more stringent regulatory measures governing the utilisation of social media in electoral campaigns. However, the capacity of law enforcement agencies to effectively monitor and respond to the rapid evolution of technology remains a significant challenge.

The protection of electoral justice and the rights of voters

The research revealed that the rights of voters, particularly those belonging to disadvantaged groups such as the economically disadvantaged and ethnic minorities, were frequently disregarded. The Gakkumdu encountered difficulties in providing vulnerable voters with fair and expedient access to justice in the event of violations. The academic literature emphasises the significance of safeguarding the rights of voters, particularly those belonging to vulnerable groups. In numerous instances, access to justice is regarded as protracted and inequitable, which diminishes the efficacy of electoral law enforcement. These findings illustrate the challenges encountered by the Gakkumdu in ensuring the fair protection of voters' rights.

Prior research, as exemplified by the work of Adlin et al., (2022), has underscored the necessity of safeguarding the rights of voters, particularly those belonging to vulnerable groups such as economically disadvantaged individuals or minority populations. This research found that the region has complicated problems such as: (1) a high poverty rate, (2) a lack of public understanding of money politics and its effects, (3) a lack of a monitoring system, and (4) a weak justice system. The findings of this study indicate that Gakkumdu is still not operating in an optimal manner with regard to the provision of fair legal access for vulnerable groups. In a previous study, Faedlulloh et al., (2023) observed that the access of vulnerable voters to justice is frequently impeded by the presence of intricate bureaucratic procedures and a dearth of assistance from law enforcement agencies. These circumstances remain in place with regard to the enforcement of current electoral legislation, indicating that the recommendations set forth in previous research have not been fully implemented.

The issue of transparency and accountability is of paramount importance in this context:

The degree of transparency in the electoral law enforcement process by the Gakkumdu is not yet optimal. The dissemination of information regarding the outcomes of investigations and legal determinations is frequently constrained, which serves to diminish public confidence in the system. Transparency and accountability have constituted a significant area of focus within academic discourse on electoral law enforcement. It is frequently asserted that the investigative process and the legal decisions reached therein lack transparency, which can result in a reduction in public confidence in the integrity of the electoral process. This is consistent with the findings of the research on the lack of transparency in the Gakkumdu.

The issue of transparency and accountability in electoral law enforcement has also been the subject of extensive discussion in previous research. To illustrate, research conducted by Purnamasari et al., (2023) indicates that one of the most prevalent grievances from the general public pertains to the dearth of transparency in the investigation and adjudication processes pertaining to electoral offenses. This finding was also corroborated by the Gakkumdu research, which indicated that the lack of transparency in the disclosure of investigation results was a significant factor contributing to a decline in public trust in the electoral law enforcement system. Previous research has proposed enhancements to public reporting and independent auditing, yet their implementation in practice has been constrained.

The findings of this study are consistent with those of previous research, which have identified the challenges faced by the Gakkumdu and other law enforcement agencies in

ensuring electoral integrity in Indonesia. The obstacles identified, including inter-agency discord, the influence of financial incentives, the impartiality of officers, the impact of technology, and the lack of transparency, have been extensively documented in academic literature and remain pertinent in the present context. It is imperative that electoral law enforcement be subjected to more thorough implementation of reforms and strengthening of institutional capacity if it is to become more effective in the future.

CONCLUSION

In the 2024 elections, the Bawaslu Tulungagung received four reports of electoral violations, none of which were subsequently registered. One registered finding was also rejected on the grounds that it did not meet the criteria for an election offence. The Gakkumdu, in collaboration with the Bawaslu, the police, and the Attorney General's Office, have exerted their utmost efforts in addressing these cases of electoral violations. Notwithstanding the challenges, the handling process proceeded satisfactorily due to the robust inter-agency collaboration and a shared understanding of criminal sanctions. Nevertheless, this research indicates that there is scope for further improvement in the performance of Gakkumdu, particularly with regard to the unification of perceptions between institutions in order to enhance the efficiency with which election violations are handled in the future.

One of the most significant theoretical contributions to the field of electoral law enforcement is the development of a collaborative working model between Bawaslu, the Sentra Gakkumdu, the Police and the Prosecutor's Office for the investigation and prosecution of electoral offences at the district level. This contributes to the theoretical discourse on coordination between law enforcement agencies, which is typically situated at the national level. The study also offers new insights into the importance of inter-agency training and shared perceptions for enhancing the efficacy of electoral law enforcement. It should be noted, however, that this study is not without limitations, which have not been explicitly addressed. The findings of this study are not necessarily representative of the wider Indonesian context, given that the scope of the study is limited to Tulungagung Regency. Furthermore, the data employed in this study comprises merely four violation reports, which may not wholly encapsulate the broader dynamics of electoral violations.

It is recommended that future research expand the scope of the study to encompass a greater number of regions, including both districts and provinces. This will facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the broader dynamics of election law enforcement in different regions. Further research could provide a more detailed analysis of the constraining factors that have not been addressed in this study, such as time constraints, inter-agency coordination, or limited human resources, and their potential impact on Gakkumdu performance. As a result of the ongoing development of information technology, future research could investigate the potential for integrating technology in order to facilitate the detection, reporting and handling of electoral offences in the future.

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