

Analysis of Election Monitor Participation in Governance by Bawaslu in the Implementation of Elections

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KEYWORDS

participation; election
monitor; governance

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this is to implement the law while creating a participatory election climate for the public. In the previous elections, the role of monitors was mostly focused on the D-day of voting, then what is the pattern of monitoring participation in the 2024 elections? As a non-structural state institution, this intersects with the implementation of governance so that it is the main problem in this study, where analyzing the participation of election monitors in governance is important to provide feedback in the implementation of electoral democracy. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a research focus on the participation of election monitors as a representation in governance which is applied as an effort to prevent violations and other vulnerability issues. The results of the analysis show that the participation of election monitors includes policy making in the form of regulations (planning), the implementation of participation in the form of monitoring, and the resulting evaluation in the form of recommendations. At the level of governance, participation can be identified from the pattern of collaboration that shows the legitimacy of each other, upholding diversity and inclusivity both from the involvement of institutions that have a concentration on inclusive election issues and ideas built in election monitoring. In the implementation, it shows the expertise of each in showing participation to the level of public orientation so that public control is one of the important elements in realizing participatory election monitoring.

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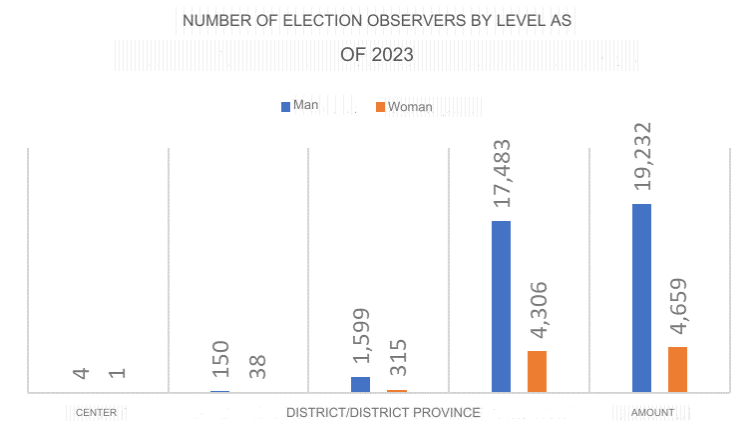


Introduction

Election monitors are legal entity community organizations or associations registered with the government and local governments that can come from within the country or abroad (foreign monitors are given the authority to monitor during the voting and vote counting stages) by carrying out election monitoring duties after obtaining accreditation from Bawaslu (Liu et al., 2013). In this case, Bawaslu's *positioning* of the

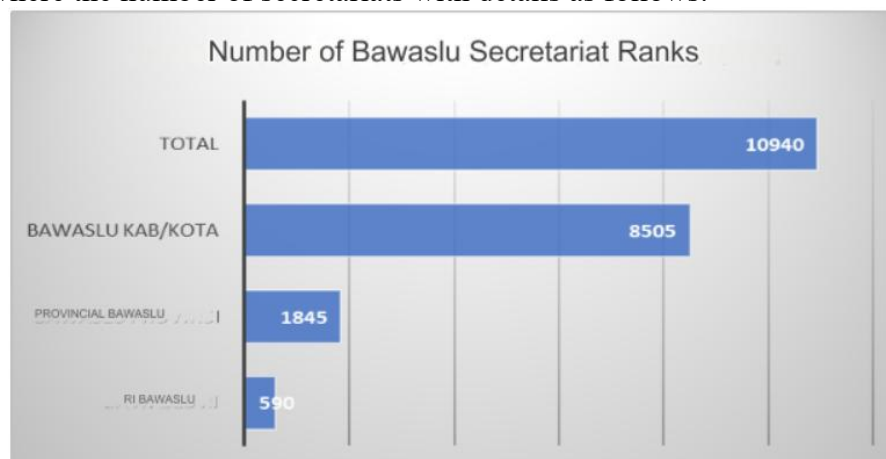
existence of election monitoring institutions is to carry out the mandate of the law in realizing elections that obey the principles based on the institution's mission, namely improving the quality of innovative election prevention and supervision as well as community leadership in participatory supervision (Rezvan et al., 2018). The monitoring function is a collaborative domain between the government and the community in realizing democratic elections.

Bawaslu is institutionally led by the chairman and members where the number at the central level is 5 people, the province is 5/7 people, and the district/city is 5/3 people (Anguria et al., 2014). Based on the data recapitulation, the adhoc ranks start from the sub-district supervisory committee as many as 3 people, the village/village supervisor as many as 1 person, the foreign election supervisor 3 people, and the TPS supervisor 1 person.



Data source: Human Resources Bawaslu RI

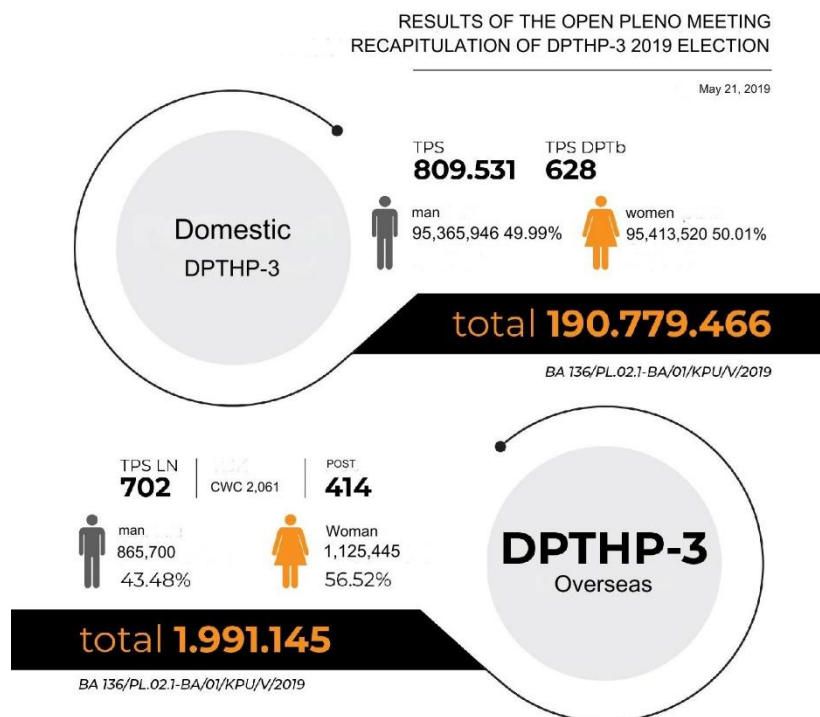
Based on the data above, the central Bawaslu has a total of 5 members, 188 provinces, 1,914 districts/cities, and 21,789 sub-districts, so that the total number of election supervisors from the central to the sub-district, the number of chairmen and members is 23,891 people (Chui et al., 2011). In carrying out their duties, both the chairman and members of Bawaslu at several levels, assisted by the support of the secretariat, where the number of secretariats with details as follows:



data source: Human Resources Bawaslu RI

In fact, this number is still small compared to the number of voters in the last election. As the data of the recapitulation of the permanent voter list is the result of the

third improvement in the last election, the number of domestic voters is 190,779,466, and abroad is 1.99145, so the total voter data is 192,770,611.



Data source: Recapitulation of the results of DPTHP-3 KPU RI

The disparity between the number of election supervisors and the number of voters is certainly a supervisory challenge in carrying out the function of election supervision and prevention of alleged violations and disputes in the election process. In the 2019 election, Bawaslu found 4,506 reports of alleged election violations, 18,995 findings, 20,999 registered reports/findings, and 2,502 unregistered reports/findings. Some of the alleged violations include 16,427 as administrative violations, 426 as violations of the code of ethics, 2,798 as criminal violations, and 1,518 as other violations of the law (Kaufman et al., 2013). After follow-up, it was recorded that 16,134 were administrative violations, 373 were violations of the code of ethics, 582 were criminal violations, 1,475 were other violations of the law and 2,578 were not violations (Detorakis & Spandidos, 2009). With the problem of inequality between the number of election supervisors and ranks and the number of voters in the last election, as well as the high number of alleged violations, the participation and involvement of election monitors is one of the efforts that needs to be optimized in preventing violations and disputes in the election process. In this context, public participation can also be identified to provide support to limited public resources (Abers, 2000) (Simonsen & Robbins, 2000). Bawaslu as a state institution certainly views that the big task of supervision cannot only be imposed on Bawaslu. The civic element and other election stakeholders ideally need to be the subject and object of supervision. Starting from the involvement process, *the transfer of knowledge* in the form of socialization to voters and community groups who have the potential to become voters during the election.

Efforts to find a relationship between the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) and election monitors as representatives of the community are the embodiment of community participation in governance. The existence of community participation

begins with the dynamics of public administration that has undergone a change in approach in line with the development of democracy. One of the ideas about participatory administration as according to Wilson's (1887) thought emphasizes that openness and responsiveness of the community are elements in building bureaucratic construction in accordance with the development of democracy. The presence of participation itself is a meeting between the aspirations and needs of the community that can be properly converted by the government in governance (Errais et al., 2008). Participation in governance requires the involvement of stakeholders consisting of individuals, groups, or organizations with the intention of being able to influence decision-making that explicitly indicates the relationship between the government and the public. The orientation of public participation is to involve the public in a network system and governance structure that is collaborative in nature (Nabatchi, 2010), stakeholders are able to raise concerns and provide *feedback* as well as evaluative of the interests of related parties that intersect with governance (Renn et al., 1993), making it easier to articulate problems and public interests (Reich, 1999). In general, the purpose of public participation in governance is to realize the public interest, to be able to understand well about public problems which can then be converted into effective policies (Bryson, 2014). Bawaslu in supervising general elections is responsible for ensuring that elections run in a participatory manner and run democratically and conducive as an embodiment of the democratic system, one of which is to ensure the involvement of civil society, so in this context is an election monitor

The existence of election monitors themselves is expected as a form in individuals or groups to participate, voluntarily to carry out civic responsibilities with active, independent participation that has the goal of strengthening the election monitoring community at the level of civil society. Election monitors in Indonesia are one of the elements in improving democratic values where the process is at the level of attachment in political discussions on election issues with the aim of advocating for a decision or policy related to elections (Jc, 2010).

One of the typologies of supervision is *Electoral Observation* which is carried out by election monitors, both local and international monitors, coalitions of international election organizers, and so on. In practice, *electoral monitoring* has authority as well as legitimacy in making observations in the implementation of elections. Furthermore, election monitors also have the authority to intervene in processes related to election norms whether they are carried out or violated. In Indonesia, Election Monitors in this case are guaranteed legal *standing* in the process of disputes over election voting results. In the context of Elections, Monitors can file a lawsuit for disputes over election results at the Constitutional Court in the domain of a single candidate, for example. Meanwhile, in the context of elections, Monitors can volunteer as related parties in the election dispute process. The pattern of Bawaslu's relationship with election monitors is based on the constitution, namely in article 360 jo Article 437 paragraph (7) which explicitly explains that the law gives authority to Bawaslu to regulate the registration mechanism for election monitors and election accreditation so that the expected election monitors are actively involved in the election process. Explicitly, Law 7 of 2017 provides attributable finance to Bawaslu to accredit institutions that have met the requirements to be election monitors. Accreditation in this context is a form of endorsement given by Bawaslu to Election Monitors who have met the requirements set by Bawaslu, for election monitors who have established legal entities, foundations. and/or associations. In its journey, Bawaslu is committed that the involvement of election monitors in the upcoming 2024 election will be carried out more widely in accordance with the *governance* paradigm. The stages of

holding the 2024 Election have been determined by the government starting on June 14, 2022 so that election monitors can register with Bawaslu. The existence of election monitors in the process of community involvement by Bawaslu then became an interesting study to become a research locus in the aspect of public affairs management. Bawaslu then together with election monitors in the 2019 election have several problems so that an evaluative study is needed as a reflection of the 2024 election.

Based on the above background, this paper wants to know about the participation of election monitors in *governance* by Bawaslu in the Implementation of Elections before the D-Day of the 2024 Elections. This moment is interesting to study because the process of the election stages that have started intersects with the monitoring registration time, so it is important for all election stakeholders to be able to identify vulnerabilities in election issues. Bawaslu as a state institution that has the authority to involve civilians in the monitoring process not only at the accreditation level, but also binding in the hope of improving democratic values through the election monitoring mechanism.

Research Methods

The author uses a descriptive qualitative research method with a research focus on the framework of public participation in Governance in the involvement of election monitors which is implemented as an effort to prevent violations and disputes in the election process. This research is a descriptive research, namely research that seeks to provide a description of events or events that are currently happening (Soendari, 2012). This research will later explain the participation of election observers as community representation in governance (governance) by Bawaslu in a series of elections with case studies before the voting stage of the 2024 Election.

The design of qualitative research in case studies generally emphasizes an event or momentum that is then clearly elaborated. The data collection method uses primary data to related parties, namely the Coordinator of the Division of Prevention, Parmas, and Public Relations (Lolly Suhenti), Expert (Iji Jaelani) Bawaslu RI, Secretary General of the Independent Election Awareness Committee (KISP) Azka Abdi Amrullobbi, Chairman of the Presidium of the Independent Election Monitoring Committee (KIPP) Jojo Rohi, National Coordinator of the Voter Education Network for the People (JPPR) Nurlia Dian P. For secondary data, namely books, journals, and other sources that support participation in governance, official manuscripts, policy briefs, and other data sources relevant to election monitoring participation. The data that has been collected is then analyzed and interpreted in accordance with the participatory thinking framework in governance that is contextualized in the issues raised.

Results and Discussions

Finding the Relationship between Bawaslu and Election Monitors

The involvement of election monitors as a representation of the community is one of Bawaslu's focuses to optimize the monitoring task of the 2024 Election. Institutions that already have a concentration in election issues and have been election monitors and community organizations are expected to be able to strengthen electoral democracy in the 2024 elections. Bawaslu's commitment to strengthening the agenda of community involvement and participation through Election Monitoring began by conducting a hearing agenda of community institutions/organizations regarding strengthening community participation and involvement through election monitoring on June 9, 2022. The institutions/community organizations participating in the agenda are the Independent

Election Monitoring Committee (KIPP), the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem), the Indonesian Parliamentary Center (IPC), the UI Puskapol, the Election and Democracy Syndicate (SPD), the Voter Education Network for the People (JPPR), the Network for Democracy and Electoral Integrity (Netgrit); Indonesian Voter Committee (TePI), Para Syndicate, Initiative Code, Netfid, Lingkar Madani, Visi Nusantara (VINUS), Kata Rakyat, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) Indonesia, Association for Islamic Boarding School and Community Development (P3M), Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), *General Election Network for Disability Access* (AGENDA), Indonesian Anti-Defamation Society, Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Indonesian Church Association (PGI), The Indonesian Bishops' Conference (KWI), Indonesian Buddhist Representatives (Walubi), the Indonesian Hindu Dharma Parisada (PHDI), the Indonesian Confucian Religious High Council (Matakin), and the Supreme Council of Belief in God Almighty. The above community groups include institutions/organizations that have a concentration on election issues, inclusivity issues, integrity issues, peaceful election issues, and religious groups.

Several institutions that are active in election issues such as the Independent Election Monitoring Committee (KIPP) emphasized that the ideal collaboration between Bawaslu and Election Monitors is the key to strengthening democracy. Issues such as the vulnerability of election violations through social media such as hoaxes and political propaganda are also a special emphasis of the Indonesian Anti-Defamation Society (Mafindo). Furthermore, the issue of election inclusivity was also emphasized by the *General Election Network for Disability Access* (AGENDA) institution to ensure access for people with disabilities which is currently far from ideal, so that Bawaslu together with Election Monitors are expected to be able to ensure that polling stations must be accessible.

Some of the points that became input from the community group included criticism of Bawaslu as an institution that has the authority to prevent violations and the supervisory function in ensuring that the election runs in accordance with principles. There are several input points, namely: first, Bawaslu needs to strengthen collaboration with civil society (academics, CSOs/NGOs, media, etc.), the police, and KASN to strengthen election supervision. Second, Independency needs to be strengthened by Bawaslu both in facing elite pressure from political parties and public pressure through social media. Third, Bawaslu needs to simplify the flow of reporting election violations in the midst of the development of information systems and social media. Fourth, Bawaslu can track key *persons* who deliberately lead public opinion and make noise in the process of holding elections. Fifth, Bawaslu needs to focus and map potential issues that can interfere with or reduce the quality of election administration, for example, the danger of identity politics is considered more potential to cause structural damage in society compared to money politics. Sixth, Bawaslu needs to promote socialization and voter education as a form of prevention efforts against potential violations in the 2024 General Election and Elections. Seventh, Bawaslu needs to ensure access for groups with disabilities because the reality is still far away because the elections have not been massively accessible. Eighth, Bawaslu needs to encourage business actors to contribute to socialization, voter education, and promoting peaceful elections. Ninth, Bawaslu needs to encourage business actors to contribute to socialization, voter education, and promoting peaceful elections. Tenth, Bawaslu needs to improve and encourage information disclosure because so far it seems to stand alone and is not associated with other *core issues*, ideally the information published is information that is intelligent and

touches the emotional side of the community, not information that only appears on the surface. This is so that the public has enough knowledge and it is not easy to participate in opinion rolling. Eleventh, Bawaslu needs to conduct mini research to find out what the ideal time is for dispute resolution. This is the basis for policy-making. Twelfth, Bawaslu must be more serious in handling violations.

Several other agendas in order to strengthen collaboration between Bawaslu and Election Monitors were then massively expanded, for example with the preparation of Technical Guidelines for Election Monitoring from 11 to 13 July 2022, Consolidation of Election Monitors from 24 to 26 August 2022 and several other activities. The Bawaslu facilitated the activity to comprehensively discuss the design of election monitoring, consolidate and equalize perceptions in carrying out election monitoring tasks, as well as strengthen Bawaslu's cooperative relationship with institutions that have become election monitors. The implication of this activity is that there are already more than 200 institutions that coordinate and consolidate to Bawaslu at all levels by emphasizing the provision that monitoring registration will be open until the 7th day of the 2024 election voting.

Not without intention, the above efforts are the common thread of the relationship built between Bawaslu and community institutions/organizations until finally becoming election monitors are an effort to get involved by optimizing participation. Bawaslu emphasized the pattern of openness to communication between institutions/community organizations to determine the direction of Bawaslu's policies in carrying out the function of preventing and prosecuting election violations to accommodate input from community organizations.

Manifestations of Election Monitor Participation

Regulatory Formulation

The legal basis for the implementation of election monitors in Chapter XVI of Law 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections regarding Election Monitoring. Explicit in article 437 of the law that institutions that will be election monitors can register with Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, and Regency/City Bawaslu. The institutions that meet the requirements will obtain accreditation from Bawaslu. At the technical level, the regulation regarding election monitoring is further accommodated in the Regulation of the Election Supervisory Agency (Perbawaslu) Number 4 of 2018 as the last has been changed to Perbawaslu Number 1 of 2023 which is about Election Monitoring. *The spirit* of the change in Perbawaslu regarding Election Monitoring is sought to increase public participation in conducting election monitoring. Explicitly, efforts to increase public participation in election monitors in carrying out election monitoring tasks begin with the involvement of institutions or organizations in the discussion of the draft Election Monitoring Perbawaslu.

The fundamental difference between the old Election Monitoring Regulation and the new one is the accreditation authority that was previously given to Bawaslu, but in the new arrangement it is given the authority to provide accreditation starting from Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, and Regency/City Bawaslu and can accommodate individuals who have an interest in becoming election monitors. The purpose of the change in the regulation is to accommodate the enthusiasm and interest of institutions to become election monitors in the context of a series of 2024 elections in all regions to be more efficient. In addition to being able to accommodate election monitoring, it also stimulates other institutions and individuals to register as election monitors.

The dynamics of the discussion of the Election Monitoring Regulation began by accommodating several inputs from election monitors such as in the *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) on the preparation of an inventory list of problems with the draft Election Monitoring Regulation on June 13, 2022. A total of 17 community organizations and election monitors were involved in participating in the activity, including: Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem); Initiative Code; *Indonesian Parliamentary Center* (IPC); *PARA Syndicate*; *Strategic Exposite*; Lingkar Madani; *Network for Indonesia Democratic Society* (NETFID); Electoral and Democracy Syndication (SPD); Executive Board of the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PB PMII); Executive Board of the Islamic Student Association (HMI); Executive Board of the Indonesian Christian Student Movement (PB GMKI); Executive Board of the Catholic Student Association of the Republic of Indonesia (PB PMKRI); Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM); Indonesian Hindu Dharma Student Union (KMHDI); National Student League for Democracy (LMND); Said the People; and the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI).

Several election monitors, namely the Voter Education Network for the People (JPPR), provided input on the technical verification of administration in the event of a change in documents, the need for election monitor qualifications that need to be deepened through scientific ideas and identify institutions based on expertise or concentration as election monitors, related to monitoring reports that are "known" by Bawaslu, not "approved" with the consideration that the consequences are does not place monitors as subordinate to Bawaslu, as well as proposals for a channel/portal to upload monitoring results and submit monitoring reports. Furthermore, Netfid provided input that in the context of the scope of monitoring, not only monitoring at polling stations, but can start from the election stage, namely political party registration. Regarding the pattern of *engagement* between Bawaslu and Election Monitors, the Initiative Code institution further conveyed that election monitors are not only present on the D-day of the election, but at all stages of election implementation. Furthermore, the pattern of involvement of election monitors needs to be optimized in information exchange, technical guidance, socialization, so that it is hoped that Bawaslu can encourage election monitoring to be carried out for all stages of the election.

The idea of individual election monitors, which was initially one of the points of change in the election monitoring regulations that will be initiated by Bawaslu, further invited a resistant response from several election monitoring institutions. Netfid responded that the Election Law that regulates Election Monitoring has been locked with the phrase "legal entity", so this idea of an individual is contrary to the law. This is also supported by the Indonesian Voter Committee (TePI) that the design of election monitoring arrangements is intended to be a legal entity, this is to maintain the independence of election monitors from the political interests of election participants.

Various dynamics in the discussion of the draft Election Monitoring Regulation which were outlined in the discussion of the problem inventory list (DIM) of the draft Election Monitoring Regulation at the *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD) activity continued the discussion of the draft Regulation and had been agreed upon in the Hearing Meeting (RDP) with Commission II of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia which emphasized the following points of change:

Table of Differences in Election Monitoring Arrangements by Bawaslu in the Context of Increasing Election Monitor Participation

| Aspects | Old Perbawaslu | New Perbawaslu | Information |
|--|--|--|--|
| Definition of election monitor | Circulating Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) | Community Organizations | Community organizations have a mass base in these organizations, while NGOs have an orientation to certain issues, so with the change in the definition which is then normed, it is hoped that it will stimulate community organizations to participate as election monitors more massively. |
| Accreditation Authority | Bawaslu | Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, or Regency/City Bawaslu according to each level | In the new arrangement, Bawaslu to Bawaslu Regency/City can provide accreditation by institutions that will be election monitors with the aim of facilitating access for monitors to regions throughout Indonesia |
| Completeness of administrative requirements (domestic) | There are document requirements in the form of deed of establishment and AD/ART | Deleted | The purpose of removing the completeness of the administrative requirements is to reduce the burden on election monitors in fulfilling the requirements for accreditation of election monitors, in this case it is hoped that it will be able to accommodate organizations/institutions that want to become election monitors but do not yet have a deed of establishment and AD/ART |
| Completeness of administrative requirements (Overseas Monitor) | Include a letter of recommendation from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia | Removing letters of recommendation, but adding visas to be election monitors | With the removal of the recommendation letter, it is hoped that it will not complicate enthusiasm and ask Foreign Monitors to participate in monitoring the election |
| Representatives of Friendly Countries | There is no | added the existence of friendly countries | This norm aims to provide a space for participation for representatives of friendly countries to participate in conducting Election Monitoring. The provision of visa requirements for representatives of friendly countries to provide diplomatic immunity in carrying out the duties and functions of election monitors. The participation of election monitors from representatives of friendly countries is expected to be able to make the election encouraged to become an educational media / <i>branchmark</i> for other countries to exchange election experiences. In the 2022 election in Brazil, Bawaslu monitored as well as <i>branchmark</i> in the context |

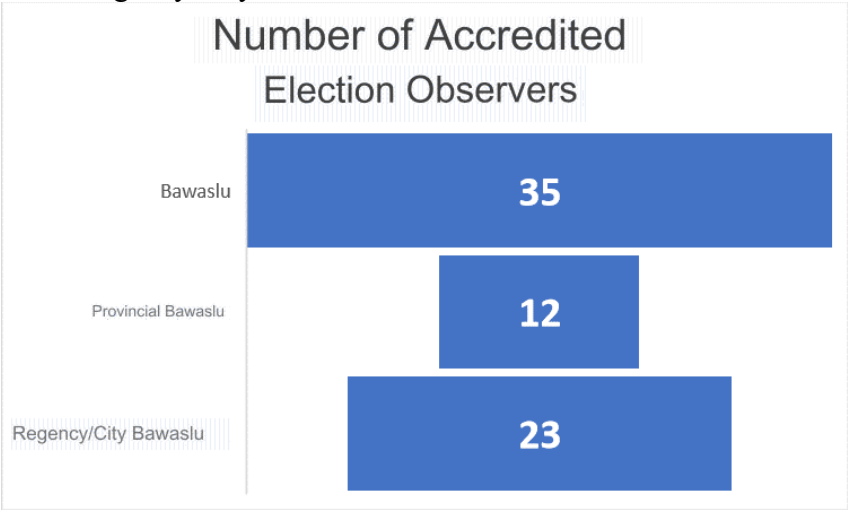
| of holding elections through <i>e-voting</i> | | | |
|--|------------------------|--|---|
| Revocation of accreditation | carried out by Bawaslu | carried out by Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, and Regency/City Bawaslu | As election monitors commit violations in accordance with the provisions of the law, Bawaslu according to the level can revoke accreditation in conducting election monitoring. |

Data source: comparative analysis of Perbawaslu 4/2018 and Perbawaslu 1/2023 elaborated with the Discussion of the DIM drafted by Perbawaslu with monitors and the Hearing Meeting of Commission II of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia

Based on the 2748above valuation, Bawaslu has initiated in order to open and accommodate community participation in election monitoring by involving community institutions/organizations in the design of the Election Monitoring Perbawaslu. The form of participation from institutional representatives also affects the policy direction in the regulation of Election Monitoring.

Binding Participation: Accreditation and MoU for Election Monitors

In this section, public participation to carry out election monitoring tasks is realized by registering as an election monitor starting on June 10, 2022. As of March 10, 2023, there are 70 monitoring institutions, of which 35 monitors have been accredited in Bawaslu, 12 monitors are accredited in the Provincial Bawaslu, and 23 monitors are accredited in the Regency/City Bawaslu.



data source: Election Supervision Facilitation Bureau

**Election Monitoring Data
that has been accredited at the national level**

| It | Monitoring Institutions | Accreditation Number | Date of Accreditation |
|----|--|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Election Education Network for the People (JPPR) | 001/PM.05/K1/6/2022 | June 24, 2022 |
| 2 | Indonesian Muslim Youth (PMI) | 002/PM.05/K1/7/2022 | July 7, 2022 |
| 3 | Indonesian Anti-Corruption Laskar (LAKI) | 003/PM.05/K1/7/2022 | July 27, 2022 |
| 4 | Executive Board of the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PB PMII) | 004/PM.05/K1/7/2022 | July 27, 2022 |
| 5 | White Wing Pelita Democracy Monitor | 005/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 5, 2022 |

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| It | Monitoring Institutions | Accreditation Number | Date of Accreditation |
|----|---|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 6 | Netfid Indonesia | 006/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 5, 2022 |
| 7 | Indonesian Youth Study Lantern (LSPI) | 007/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 5, 2022 |
| 8 | Elections and Democracy Association (Perludem) | 008/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 5, 2022 |
| 9 | Indonesian Hindu Dharma Student Union | 009/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 12, 2022 |
| 10 | Institute for the Study of the Vision of the Archipelago | 10/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 12, 2022 |
| 11 | Executive Board of the Islamic Student Association | 11/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 12, 2022 |
| 12 | HMI-Wati Corps Executive Board of the Islamic Student Association (KOHATI PB HMI) | 12/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 12, 2022 |
| 13 | Indonesian Christian Student Movement (GMKI) | 13/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 13, 2022 |
| 14 | Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI) | 14/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 22, 2022 |
| 15 | Progressive Democracywatch (PRODEWA) | 15/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 22, 2022 |
| 16 | Axis of Friends of the Archipelago (POSNU) | 16/PM.05/K1/8/2022 | August 22, 2022 |
| 17 | Indonesian Empowerment House | 17/PM.05/K1/9/2022 | September 02, 2022 |
| 18 | Indigo Kedilan | 18/PM.05/K1/9/2022 | September 02, 2022 |
| 19 | The Executive Council of the People's Justice Care Center (DPP PKR) | 19/PM.05/K1/9/2022 | September 02, 2022 |
| 20 | KIPP Indonesia | 20/PM.05/K1/9/2022 | September 02, 2022 |
| 21 | Parwa Institute | 21/PM.05/K1/9/2022 | 09 September 2022 |
| 22 | Marhaenis Youth Movement | 22/PM.05/K1/9/2022 | September 30, 2023 |
| 23 | KOPPEL Indonesia | 23/PM.05/K1/9/2022 | September 30, 2022 |
| 24 | Central Executive Board of Muhammadiyah Student Association | 26/PM.05/K1/9/2022 | September 30, 2022 |
| 25 | PMKRI | 27/PM.05/K1/10/2022 | October 20, 2022 |
| 26 | FATA Institute | 28/PM.05/K1/10/2022 | October 20, 2022 |
| 27 | JRDP (People's Network for Democracy and Elections) | 29/PM.05/K1/10/2022 | October 20, 2022 |
| 28 | LABAKI (Indonesian Anti-Corruption Soldiers) | 30/PM.05/K1/11/2022 | November 30, 2022 |
| 29 | FDM (millennial democracy forum) | 31/PM.05/K1/11/2022 | November 30, 2022 |
| 30 | DEEP (Democracy and Electoral Empowerment Partnership) | 32/PM.05/K1/11/2022 | November 30, 2022 |
| 31 | KISP (Independent Election Awareness Committee) | 33/PM.05/K1/11/2022 | November 30, 2022 |
| 32 | Strategic Forum for Social Development (FORES) | 34/PM.05/K1/12/2022 | December 19, 2022 |
| 33 | Asa Indonesia | 36/PM.05/K1/12/2022 | December 19, 2022 |
| 34 | Indonesia Youth Epocentrum | 38/PM.05/K1/1/2023 | January 5, 2023 |
| 35 | Indonesian Association for Migrant Workers (Migrant Care) | 39/PM.05/K1/1/2023 | January 16, 2023 |

Accredited Election Monitor Data At the Provincial Level

| It | Institution | Province | Accreditation No | Date of Accreditation |
|----|-------------|----------|------------------|-----------------------|
|----|-------------|----------|------------------|-----------------------|

| | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | Kuala Musi Indonesia | South Sumatra | 167/PM.05/K.SS/11/2022 | 15 November 2022 |
| 2 | Lampung Democracy Studies | Lampung | 176/HM.02.01/LA/12/2022 | December 21, 2022 |
| 3 | South Bengkulu State Investigation Agency (LIN) | Bengkulu | 57/PM.05/K.BE-1/12/2022 | December 26, 2022 |
| 4 | Indonesian Mosque Youth Communication Agency (BKPRMI) Maluku Province | Maluku | 100/PM.00.01/K.BM/09/20 | September 28, 2022 |
| 5 | Southeast Sulawesi Democracy Monitoring (SulTra DeMo) | Southeast Sulawesi | 016/PM.05/K.SG/01/2023 | January 24, 2023 |
| 6 | Indonesian Anti-Corruption Laskar West Sulawesi | West Sulawesi | 004/PM.05/K.1/7/2022 | July 27, 2022 |
| 7 | The Aceh Institute | Aceh | 01/PM.05/K.AC/11/2022 | December 14, 2022 |
| 8 | The Semeru institute | East Java | 402/PM.05/K.JI/10/2022 | October 17, 2022 |
| 9 | Election Education Network for the People of East Java Province | East Java | 026/PM.05/K.JI/1/2023 | January 13, 2023 |
| 10 | West Java Corruption Prevention Committee (KPK JABAR) | West Java | 37/PM.05/K.1/1/2023 | 01 May 2023 |
| 11 | Batam International University | Riau Islands | 001/HM.02.01/K.KR/03/20 | March 2, 2023 |
| 12 | South Sumatra Election Monitoring Line | South Sumatra | 001.2/PM.05/K.SS/01/2023 | January 3, 2023 |

**Accredited Election Monitor Data
At the Regency/City Level**

| It | Province | Regency/City Registration | Name of Institution | Accreditation Number | Date of Accreditation |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------------|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | West Java | Depok City | Dictionary Institute | 001/PM.05/KJB-25/8/2022 | August 13, 2022 |
| 2 | West Java | Bekasi City | Indonesian Child and Women's Defence Study Forum | 025/HM.02.01/K.JB.21/09/2022 | September 21, 2023 |
| 3 | West Java | Bekasi City | Bekasi City Knpi Dpd | 026/HM.02.01/K.JB.21/09/20 | September 21, 2023 |
| 4 | West Java | Bekasi City | Bekasi City Youth Organization | 027/HM.02.01/K.JB.21/09/2022 | September 21, 2023 |
| 5 | West Java | Bekasi City | Association of Women with Disabilities | 028/HM.02.01/K.JB.21/09/2022 | September 21, 2023 |
| 6 | West Java | Bekasi City | Raprey Institute | 023/HM.02.01/K.JB.21/09/2022 | September 21, 2023 |
| 7 | West Java | Bekasi City | Vox Point Indonesia | 024/HM.02.01/K.JB.21/09/2022 | September 21, 2023 |
| 8 | West Java | Depok City | Dictionary Institute | 001/PM.05/KJB-25/8/2022 | August 13, 2022 |
| 9 | Maluku | Central Maluku Regency | Independent Publicwatch (ICW) | 001/PM.05/KMA-05/8/2022 | August 19, 2022 |
| 10 | East Java | Blitar Regency | Lsm Jihad (Blitar Regency) | 045/PM.05/K.JI-03/08/2022 | August 19, 2022 |

Analysis of Election Monitor Participation In Governance By Bawaslu In The Implementation of Elections

| It | Province | Regency/City Registration | Name of Institution | Accreditation Number | Date of Accreditation |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 11 | East Java | Blitar City | NGO Jihat (Blitar City) | 024/PM.05/K.JI-31/08/2022 | 01 September 2022 |
| 12 | East Java | Blitar City | Non-Governmental Organizations Netting & Invertigiging Organized Crime | 024/PM.05/K.JI-31/08/2022 | 03 September 2022 |
| 13 | East Java | Pasuruan Regency | Indonesian Reform Supervisory Institute (LPRI) | 122/PM.05/K.JI-20/09/2022 | September 02, 2022 |
| 14 | East Java | Magetan City | People's Information Barn (LIRA) | 087/PM.05/K.JI-20/09/2022 | October 18, 2022 |
| 15 | Bengkulu | South Bengkulu Regency | State Investigation Agency (LIN) | 02/LIN-BS/01/2023 | December 2, 2022 |
| 16 | Central Java | Lamongan | LPRI Lamongan | 066/PM.05/K.JI-11/11/2022 | 14 November 2022 |
| 17 | East Java | Pasuruan | Indonesian Reform Supervisory Institute (LPRI) | 122/PM.05/K.JI-20/09/2022 | September 02, 2022 |
| 18 | East Java | Pasuruan | Pasuruan Community Justice and Welfare Foundation | 284/PM.05/K.JI-20/12/2022 | December 12, 2022 |
| 19 | Central Java | Pati Regency | Jamiyah Al Buhus Wa An Nasyr Foundation | 83/PM.05/K.JT-17/12/2022 | December 26, 2022 |
| 20 | Central Java | Pati Regency | Yayasan Matahari Nusantara Bersinar | 84/PM.05/K.JT-17/12/2022 | December 26, 2022 |
| 21 | Central Java | Pati Regency | Yudistira Nusantara Satu Foundation | 85/PM.05/K.JT-17/02/2023 | February 10, 2023 |
| 22 | Central Java | Pati Regency | Pengging Najahul Farug Foundation | 86/PM.05/K.JT-17/02/2024 | February 10, 2023 |
| 23 | South Sumatra | Ogan Komering Ulu Regency | NGO Sakti | 014/PM.05/K.SS-10/01/2023 | January 9, 2023 |

Data source: Supervision Facilitation Bureau

The above data will certainly undergo development, because currently more than 200 institutions have consulted related to procedures and mechanisms to monitor elections. Several institutions that are currently still in the process of verifying the administration of files and waiting for the accreditation process at the national level are Hidayatullah Youth, KAMMI, Women Against Corruption, and Kata Rakyat, while at the district/city level, namely FORSIS (Malang Regency). In the 2019 election, until the D-day of voting, the number of domestically accredited monitors was 138, and from abroad was 31. The number of registrants is still less than last year, but the deadline for registration for the election until D-7 voting is February 7, 2024, so there is still optimism from Bawaslu to always make socialization efforts to the public related to election monitoring.

All institutions that have become election monitors have different scopes in determining the focus of monitoring. The focus of monitoring will begin on election issues that are stages of holding elections, as well as those that are not holding elections.

Some of the stages that have been and will be monitored by election monitors are the verification stage of political parties (political parties); individual candidacy of DPD members; updating data and compiling voter lists; campaigns and campaign funds; production and distribution logistics; voting, counting and recapitulating votes; re-voting until the determination of the elected candidates. The issues outside the stage that are the focus of several election monitors are SARA politicization, hoaxes, hate speech, *black campaigns*, *money politics*/political dowry, disability-friendly elections, peaceful elections, 2752voter valuative, institutional strengthening of election organizers, and several other issues.

Institutions such as JPPR, KIPP, DEEP have the same characteristics and focus of monitoring, namely the stages of holding elections. JPPR, for example, has now started to participate in monitoring elections since the political party verification stage and the stage of updating data and compiling voter lists. Some of the monitoring activities carried out by JPPR are for example by socializing the public to check the NIK for profiteering as administrators or members of political parties in the Political Party Information System (Sipol) and opening public complaint services. Furthermore, at the stage of updating voter data, JPPR also monitored matching and research conducted by Pantarlih in the North Jakarta Administrative City. The Mafindo Institute, for example, has a concentration on monitoring issues of SARA politicization, identity politicization, hoaxes, disinformation, *black campaigns*, ASN neutrality, and other related issues. Furthermore, for example, the Indonesian Anti-Corruption Laskar Institute (LAKI) and Netfid have a concentration on monitoring issues in elections that are not corrupt-oriented which emphasizes monitoring election funds and campaign funds.

One form of follow-up to the accreditation, as the results of the release of Bawaslu on September 8, 2022, which explicitly intensifies the consolidation between Bawaslu and Pemanau, will be realized by scheduling a *Memorandum of Understanding* (MoU) for 20 accredited election monitors. The agenda for the signing of the MoU, that previously it had also been intensified for several election monitoring institutions, including the following:

Data on Election Monitors Who Conducted MoU with Bawaslu

| It | Election Monitor Name | Subject | Date |
|-----------|--|---|--------------------|
| 1 | Legislative Monitoring Committee Foundation (KOPEL) | Supervision of Election Monitoring with Integrity and Development of Village-Based Democratic Practices | September 30, 2022 |
| 2 | DEEP (Democracy and Electoral Empowerment Partnership) | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |
| 3 | Voter Education Network for the People (JPPR) | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |
| 4 | Initiative Code | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |

Analysis of Election Monitor Participation In Governance By Bawaslu In The Implementation of Elections

| It | Election Monitor Name | Subject | Date |
|----|--|--|------------------|
| 5 | Network For Indonesian Democratic Society (Netfid) | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |
| 6 | Independent Election Monitoring Committee | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |
| 7 | Indonesian Parliamentary Center (IPC) | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |
| 8 | Elections and Democracy Association (Peludem) | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |
| 9 | Democratic Election Syndication (SPD) | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |
| 10 | General Election Supervisory Agency of the Republic of Indonesia and Islamic Boarding School and Community Development Association (P3M) | Strengthening Participatory Supervision of Elections in the Implementation of Regional and General Head Elections | October 14, 2021 |
| 11 | Indonesian Anti-Defamation Society (Mafindo) | Voter Education and Handling of Disinformation and Hate Speech Content in Online Media in the Implementation of Elections for Governors, and Deputy Governors, Regents and Deputy Regents, as well as Mayors and Deputy Mayors | December 2, 2020 |

Source: Bawaslu Inter-Institutional Relationship Information Network System

The status of the Bawaslu MoU with the 11 election monitors above is still legally valid, because the validity period of the MoU is 5 years. The objectives of each MoU are adjusted to the focus of the understanding. The purpose of the MoU between KOPEL and Bawaslu is to increase public political awareness in the understanding of elections, the issue of participatory supervision, the development of participatory supervision networks, and the strengthening of other democratic values through several ways such as education, research, and training in participatory supervision. Furthermore, DEEP, JPPR, Initiative Code, Netfid, KIPP, IPC, Peludem, P3M and SPD who signed the memorandum of understanding have the goal of realizing quality human resources by increasing *knowledge*, attitudes, and behaviors in order to strengthen democracy through election supervision and encourage and strengthen participatory supervision, especially for civil society. The mechanism of these goals is through communication, information exchange,

and education to strengthen participatory supervision, as well as resource optimization. The Mafindo institution, which signed the MoU with Bawaslu, aims to provide education to voters to be able to identify news that contains SARA politicization, hoaxes, hate speech, *black campaigns*, and disinformation.

Implicitly, this MoU is a collaborative effort, so it has consequences to be carried out together in strengthening public participation and understanding in election issues. The MoU has the value of attachment between Bawaslu and election monitoring institutions in order to have a *road map* in carrying out the function of preventing election violations through the design of election supervision and monitoring.

Service and Information Disclosure Center

One of the levels of participation is notification. The scope of the notification is also very broad. Information regarding participation through massive election monitoring is carried out by the Bawaslu institution, which formally goes through several mechanisms. In addition to the official news of Bawaslu's public relations, it is also through the web portal and help desk for election monitoring.

- a. **Election Monitoring web portal:** is a media of information about election monitors starting from election monitor registration, news, and portfolios of election monitoring institutions. The monitoring portfolio is important, because the public is concerned about general information on election monitors, stages and issues to be monitored, monitoring areas, member allocation, and sources of funds. This information is indispensable and should ideally be open to the public with consideration to maintaining neutrality and independence from election monitoring institutions. There are 7 news and 15 monitoring agencies that have been included in the website. Election monitors whose information has been uploaded is 35% of the total, so this can be an evaluation to be updated immediately along with the increase in accredited election monitors. However, with the existence of this election monitoring web portal, it is hoped that the registration of election monitors will be more efficient, compared to coming directly to the nearest Bawaslu office. But so far, most election monitoring institutions use the direct registration mechanism rather than through the election monitoring web portal. The web address is <https://pemantau.bawaslu.go.id/>
- b. **Election Monitoring Service Help Desk:** the *help desk* service or election monitoring service desk opened at the same time as the opening of registration for election monitors on June 10, 2022. The election monitoring service desk is used as a place to provide services and exchange information or consult as well as register the institution that is the election monitor. This service desk was inaugurated simultaneously for all Bawaslu at all levels up to the district/city level. This is certainly the spirit of more participatory election monitoring because almost all institutions that register to be election monitors register through the *help desk mechanism* or election monitoring service desk. *Help desks* or election monitoring desks are located in all Bawaslu offices to Regency/City Bawaslu

The disclosure of information through the web portal is still formalistic by providing materials/materials that are not comprehensive and one-way in nature. It is not yet comprehensive, it can be identified from the number of news and portfolios of the uploaded institutions, only 35% of the total, and centralized from Bawaslu, while the Provincial and Regency/City Bawaslu have not been accommodated. In the web portal, there is no report/information about the monitoring results. Furthermore, the *help desk* or called the election monitoring service desk has been carried out optimally, which can be identified from the activities carried out ranging from consultation, registration, to the

submission of election monitor accreditation carried out at the election monitoring service desk.

Implementation of Monitoring by Election Monitoring Institutions

The implementation of monitoring by the election monitoring institution is the embodiment of the stages of implementing participation. The monitoring results are focused on the stages that are already running, namely political party verification, candidacy, and data update and the preparation of voter lists. Some of the election monitors in this study who have been active in monitoring activities are JPPR, KIPP, the Independent Election Awareness Committee, and Indonesia Youth Epicentrum. The output of monitoring is in the form of findings of alleged violations or vulnerabilities published through *Press Release*, Policy Brief, as well as through social media platforms.

Monitoring Activities of Election Monitoring Institutions (JPPR, KIPP, Independent Election Awareness Committee, and Indonesia Youth Epicentrum)

| It | Monit or Name | Monitoring Activities | Findings of Alleged Violations/Vulnerabili ties | Recommendations | Source |
|----|---------------------|--|---|--|--|
| 1. | JPPR | 1. Monitoring the recruitment process for Provincial Bawaslu members for the period 2022 to 2027 2. The composition of the female selection team is only 25% | 1. Lack of partiality towards women 2. Of the 75 names elected for members in 25 Provincial Bawaslu, 10 provinces have fulfilled the status of women's representation, while 15 provinces have no women's representation | 1. Bawaslu RI evaluates the selection process 2. Ensuring the representation of women in Bawaslu members in the province/district/city in the future | Media Release dated September 21, 2022 |
| | | 1. Appeal to the public to check the NIK to ensure that their names are not listed as administrators or members of political parties since August 30, 2023 2. Opening public complaint services through https://bit.ly/CeklisPemantauanJPPR | 1. 23 out of 24 political parties have profited from membership in Sipol There were 60 people who complained that their names were recorded in Sipol | 1. The KPU provides information on the social files of political parties participating in the election by not displaying personal data 2. Bawaslu publishes the results of the supervision of name profiteering as well as the sanctioning of political parties that misuse people's personal data 3. KPU RI follows up on Bawaslu's findings 4. Political parties delete the names of members who have complained to the KPU/Bawaslu | Media Release September 28, 2022 |
| | | Factual verification of candidate parties for election participants on October 15 to 17, 2022 | 1. There are parties that have not been able to meet the factual | 1. Encouraging the KPU to provide open information regarding sample data on political | Released October 24, 2022 |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|---|
| | | | verification criteria at the specified time | party membership in the factual verification process | |
| | | | 2. The discovery of the duplication of KTA of political party administrators, party administrators cannot attend directly, and it is still difficult to be contacted, | 2. In order for Bawaslu to obtain sample data | |
| | | | | 3. The use of alternative video call media as a substitute cannot be found directly during verification | |
| 2 | KIPP | Registration, administrative verification and factual verification | 1. Limited access to Sipol for election monitors and the public 2. Sipol seems to be a closed system 3. There are inconsistencies, inaccuracy, and unprofessionalism of the KPU in administrative verification | 1. The KPU needs to accommodate public involvement 2. The KPU evaluates the performance of each stage 3. Bawaslu to play a role in considering and taking steps on records for the implementation of elections | Press Release KIPP Indonesia, 20 October 2022 |
| 3 | Independent Election Awareness Committee | 1. Services regarding Voter Education for 2 Election Organizing Institutions, namely the General Election Commission (KPU) which was subsequently prepared a policy brief 2. Combining digital monitoring with big data and direct monitoring to the field. For digital/big data monitoring, focus on the campaign stage | The massive politicization of SARA has implications for polarization practices | 1. <i>Digital leadership</i> in Voter Education 2. Institutional strengthening 3. The ASN selection mechanism uses the merit system 4. Training/ 2756valuative on political participation education | <i>Policy Brief</i> Digital Leadership in Voter Education Services |
| 4 | Indonesia Youth Epicentrum | Education to the public in ensuring the status of voting rights through the cekdptonline.kpu.go.id | | 1. The construction of the education is that there is public awareness that the statute of voting rights is in accordance with | Social Media Instagram Indonesia Youth Epicentrum |

Election Observer Participation in the Implementation of Elections before the D-Day of the 2024 Elections: An Analysis of Realizing Participation in Governance

Bawaslu is a non-structural institution that organizes elections in the field of elections. Bawaslu carries out its function in the administrative aspect by involving the public such as the community/community organizations/non-governmental organizations, and other community groups to prevent violations or vulnerabilities in elections. Ideally, the participation of election monitors in collaboration with Bawaslu greatly affects how to carry out a participatory supervision and monitoring pattern.

The pattern of participation formed by the Election Monitor is based on stages starting from the policy-making stage which begins with Bawaslu's openness to input from the Election Monitor which is accommodated in various agendas such as Bawaslu Listening to the Election Monitor on June 9, 2022, FGD on the Discussion of the Draft of the Election Monitor on June 12 to 14, 2022, FGD on Election Monitoring Work Tools on July 11 to 13, 2022, Consolidation of Election Monitors from 24 to 26 August 2022, and several other agendas involving the participation of election monitors to develop strategic policies.

The next stage is implementation, where this has been summarized in ideas/ideas aimed at replacing the Perbawaslu on Election Monitoring which is designed to be looser against administrative requirements that are considered too strict. The idea of the monitors is the key to the design of the perbawaslu to have control over errors, both technical and substantive. Furthermore, in the implementation stage, it refers to substantial participation in the prevention of violations and vulnerabilities. The real action of this election monitor has feedback in the form of recommendations where this will be a form of evaluation where participation is included in the next stage, namely the evaluation stage.

The evaluation stage in the context of election monitoring is carried out partially. This means that for institutional monitoring work, this is adjusted to the concentration and focus of monitoring, as well as recommendations on the monitoring results of each institution. However, if in a forum that is consolidated, the participation of election monitors forms a consensus in the form of a follow-up plan.

The participation of Election Monitors at the governance level includes providing legitimacy to election organizing institutions that prioritize collegial collectives, so that this has implications for how the pattern of public participation in managing election monitoring affairs aims to strengthen the democratic government system. Furthermore, diversity and inclusivity also color how the participation of election monitors can be identified in the diversity of orientations and issues raised by each election monitor, so that the outputs and recommendations produced are also different. The inclusivity side can also be identified from gender mainstreaming, namely "women's representation" which continues to be encouraged by monitors in the position of Bawaslu members at all levels, as well as fighting for access and infrastructure for people with disabilities in the implementation of voting.

The form of expertise and participation from the monitoring institution contributes to determining the direction of policy to prevent violations and vulnerability issues in elections. The form of expertise is expressed in various ways, including using an empirical study approach so that the recommendations produced are data-based. For example, JPPR conducted a study based on the data of monitoring public complaints whose names were recorded in political party membership. Participation has been accommodated through various media. In addition to formal media, namely election monitoring pages and *help desk services*, as well as meeting agendas, there are also WhatsApp groups that are a forum for election officials to exchange information with each other.

Based on the level of participation, the pattern of participation of election monitors in government governance in Bawaslu in the implementation of elections is included in the level of community control. This can be identified from several election monitors who emphasize accountability or accountability for election monitoring to the public. The expected implication is that the public is massively informed and receives constructive criticism/suggestions.

Conclusion

Pterygium remains a significant ocular surface disorder, particularly in tropical and subtropical regions. While our understanding of its pathogenesis has improved, challenges persist in preventing recurrence. Future research should focus on developing targeted therapies and improving surgical outcomes.

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