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Cross-Sector Collaboration as a Strategy to Mitigate the Ecological Impact of Election Implementation

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ABSTRACT

Simultaneous general elections throughout Indonesia can have a substantial environmental impact. The primary environmental challenge, which repeatedly causes problems, is the inadequate management of waste from campaign props. Waste management for campaign materials has not been specifically regulated, leading to policy inconsistencies across regions. Currently, managing waste from campaign props falls under the responsibility of Regional Apparatus Organizations, which process it for reuse where possible. Waste that cannot be reused must not be disposed of in Final Disposal Sites (TPA). The limited number of landfills and waste recycling sites in each region is insufficient compared to the volume of campaign props used in simultaneous elections. The Province of Bali took the initiative to implement green elections from the initial planning stage through to the end of election implementation. The General Elections Commission (KPU) urged contestants' campaigns to avoid plastic billboards, promoting social media and non-plastic alternatives instead. This green election initiative was realized through policies enacted by the Regional Government, including the Governor's Regulation on reducing plastic waste. It exemplifies cross-sector collaboration as a strategy to mitigate the ecological impact of election implementation. This study analyzes collaborative efforts and proposes policy recommendations for realizing green elections in Indonesia. This research employs a qualitative method with an empirical juridical approach, focusing on the implementation of green elections in Bali Province during the 2024 Regional Elections.

Keywords:

Collaborative Governance; Green Elections; Green Policy.

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INTRODUCTION

The implementation of elections consumes various natural resources and has a direct environmental impact. The most immediate effect following elections is the accumulation of campaign props (*Alat Peraga Kampanye* or APK) waste. The Ministry of Environment and Forestry estimates that the 2024 election generated at least 250,000 tons of waste, predominantly plastic. The National Waste Management Information System (SIPSN) reports total waste generation in Indonesia at 38,504,317 tons, a figure expected to rise during the 2024 simultaneous regional head elections across 545 regions (37 provinces, 415 regencies, and 93 municipalities).

Campaign props commonly used in Indonesia are polyvinyl chloride (PVC) plastics, which are difficult to recycle and release toxins when burned (Hahn & Pinkse, 2014; Heuer, 2011; Pathak et al., 2023). Managing campaign waste is not the responsibility of a single party. General elections involve multiple stakeholders, including election contestants, voters, election organizers, and local governments. Law Number 18 of 2008 on Waste Management classifies election waste as specific, periodically generated waste. Further

regulations appear in Government Regulation Number 27 of 2020 on Specific Waste Management, which assigns authority to the central government, provincial governments, and regency/city governments. The central government oversees implementation by regional governments.

However, the substantial waste generated after campaigns lacks corresponding guidance from General Election Commission (KPU) regulations, which govern election conduct. Liability for campaign-period waste does not always fall solely on regional governments. Campaign waste qualifies as specific waste from mass activities and must first be managed by the producers. To date, no clear provisions address campaign waste management. Existing Ministry of Environment and Forestry regulations treat such waste as household waste, excluding APK from formal classification and thus limiting producer accountability.

The urgency of addressing electoral environmental impacts has reached a critical juncture, necessitating immediate research and policy interventions . It can only be realized through systematic cross-sector collaboration involving government, election organizers, political parties, the private sector, and communities, with each playing complementary roles. The government holds primary responsibility for policy frameworks supporting green elections, including regulations for environmentally friendly implementation, restrictions on non-eco-friendly campaign materials, incentives for digital campaigns, and efficient logistics. These policies require operationalization by the KPU and Bawaslu through technical guidelines across planning and implementation stages.

Green election implementation further demands genuine commitment from political parties to minimize plastic-based campaign props, alongside continuous community monitoring via civil society organizations. Without such integrated frameworks, environmentally destructive electoral practices persist despite rising awareness of climate change and sustainability imperatives.

Existing literature on environmental governance and electoral sustainability offers foundational frameworks but reveals significant gaps in cross-sector collaboration within electoral contexts. Ostrom (1990) laid theoretical groundwork for collaborative resource management, showing how multi-stakeholder governance addresses common-pool resource challenges. Ansell and Gash (2008) advanced collaborative governance models that emphasize consensus-building and shared ownership of public problems. Yet these frameworks rarely apply to electoral environmental impacts, especially in culturally specific contexts where traditional systems intersect with modern democratic institutions.

Research on Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) by Lindhqvist (2000) and Walls (2006) establishes producer accountability for product lifecycles, but its application to electoral campaign materials remains underexplored. The OECD (2001) offers governmental guidance on EPR, yet periodic, politically driven waste scenarios lack empirical study. Moreover, while meaningful participation has prominence in legal scholarship post-Constitutional Court decisions (Asshiddiqie, 2021), its role in environmental electoral governance is theoretically underdeveloped.

Most critically, no comprehensive study examines integrating indigenous governance—specifically Bali's *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy and *Awig-awig* customary law—with formal electoral regulations for environmental sustainability. This gap is

substantial, as culturally embedded values may foster greater compliance than regulatory approaches alone, particularly in regions with strong customary traditions.

This research fills these gaps by: (1) examining collaborative governance in electoral environmental management; (2) analyzing integration of indigenous systems (*Tri Hita Karana* and *Awig-awig*) with formal regulations; (3) investigating gaps between national election laws and environmental requirements; and (4) developing policy recommendations to scale localized green election initiatives nationally. The Bali case offers unique insights into hybrid models blending modern democracy with traditional stewardship, providing replicable approaches for similar regions.

This study aims to: (1) analyze collaborative governance in Bali's green election implementation; (2) identify regulatory gaps hindering campaign waste management; (3) evaluate cross-sector coordination among government, election organizers, political parties, and indigenous communities; and (4) propose policy harmonization for national green elections.

Research benefits include: (1) empirical evidence for electoral environmental regulations; (2) practical frameworks for replicating collaborative models regionally; (3) theoretical insights on indigenous-formal institutional integration; and (4) support for Indonesia's international climate commitments via sustainable elections.

Broader implications encompass: (1) strengthening Indonesia's environmental governance with regulatory alternatives; (2) enhancing democratic legitimacy by aligning elections with constitutional environmental rights and community values; (3) setting precedents for participatory environmental policymaking; and (4) contributing to global sustainable democracy discourse through Global South innovations.

METHOD

This research employed an empirical legal approach (socio-legal) focused on testing gaps between written laws (*law in the books*)—specifically KPU Regulation No. 15/2023 (Article 6), Election Law No. 7/2017 (Article 280), and Bali environmental regulations—and the practical needs for green elections in the field (Nonet & Selznick, 2001, p. 112). Empirical data were gathered through in-depth interviews with the Chairman of the Bali Provincial KPU, representatives from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, and drafting experts for laws and regulations (Patton, 2015, p. 301). These interviews measured the extent to which interactions and synergies among actors could generate new norms elevatable to legal norms (Black, 1976, p. 55).

The research focused on the Bali Provincial KPU's implementation of green elections, with the following research locations: first, a focus group discussion (FGD) with the Bali Provincial Government and Bali Provincial KPU in Denpasar; second, fieldwork at the Ministry of Environment and Forestry office.

The researcher conducted the study over 12 months following issuance of the research permit, allocated as 1 month for proposal preparation, 9 months for implementation, and 2 months for report finalization.

Data collection relied on interviews targeted at the Bali Provincial Government, Bali Provincial KPU, and Ministry of Environment and Forestry.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Green Election Strategy led by the Bali KPU through the call for "Billboard-Free Elections" and the strong push for the transition to digital campaigns has succeeded in creating an effective governance model, supported by cross-sector collaboration (Ostrom, 1990, 25) in which the Bali KPU as the initiator initiated the MOU together with Political Parties, Election Participants and Indigenous Peoples to organize the election billboard-free. Indigenous Communities play a crucial role as customary law enforcers through Awig-awig which provides prompt social and customary sanctions against the installation of APKs that violate Palemahan, a tangible manifestation of a unique and culturally rooted Multi-stakeholder Governance system (Wiana, 2018, 102). The success of the Green Election is still hit by significant structural challenges, including the limited regulatory authority of the regional KPU which is bound by the national PKPU which has not fully regulated the Green Election. In addition, political parties and candidates still prioritize physical visibility over ecological awareness (Political Party Interview, 2024, 18), so post-election mitigation still requires strengthening laws and incentives (Smith & Jones, 2023, 91).

Collaborative Government in Realizing Green Elections

Collaborative Government requires an emphasis on the authority possessed by an agency to be given to non-government actors. The actors must collaborate to divide roles according to their respective authorities. The Bali Provincial KPU divides the role of each actor in realizing green elections by coordinating with Political Parties, Election Participants and Balinese Indigenous Peoples which is outlined in the MOU before the implementation of the campaign carried out in the simultaneous elections in 2018.

Ansell and Gash mention collaborative governance as a new strategy in governance that makes various policy makers gather in the same forum to create a common consensus. Ansell and Gash emphasize six criteria. First, the forum was initiated by a public institution. Second, participants in the forum must include non-governmental actors. Third, participants must be directly involved in policy-making and not just "consult" with the government. Fourth, the forum must be formally organized and there are regular meetings. Fifth, the policies taken must be based on consensus. And sixth, collaboration focuses on public policy or public management.

Collaborative governance is an instrument used to solve a problem. Collaborative governance is the right instrument to confront problems, because collaborative governance creates "shared ownership" of the problem. Various actors have different perspectives in looking at a problem. It is not easy to create an understanding between the actor's roles. Collaborative governance acts as a mediator so that actors can formulate a common understanding on a problem. (Ansel, 2014, 172)

The collaborative governance process looks at stakeholder engagement with all sectors to create solutions to existing public problems. The involvement of all sectors in achieving key goals results in more informed and engaged citizens, more inclusive participants in decision-making, more stakeholder involvement in community partnerships, better deliberative methods, and greater accountability and trust in government.

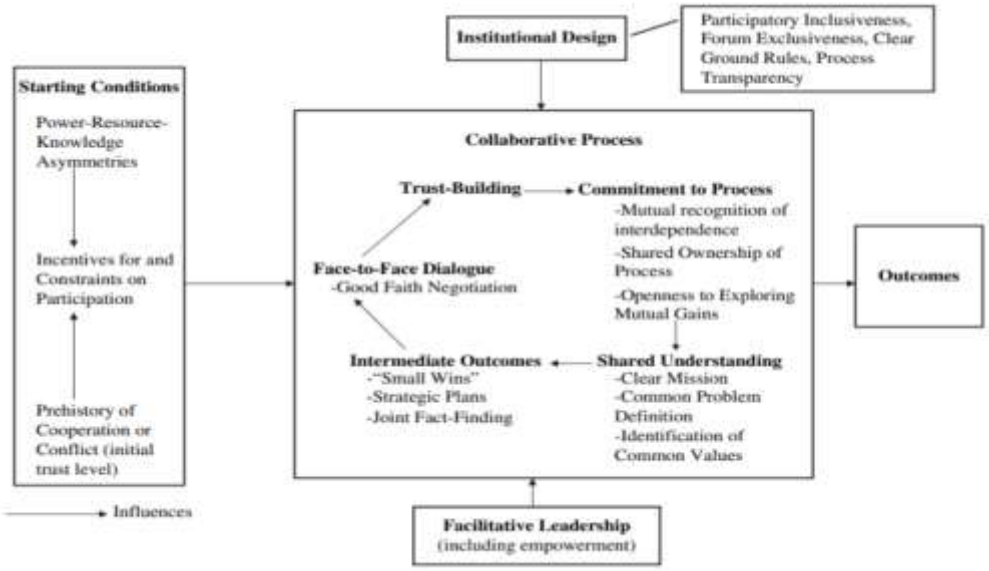


Figure 1. Collaborative Governance Framework for Green Elections in Bali
Source: Adapted from Ansell & Gash (2008) collaborative governance model, applied to Bali green election case study data (2024)

The Collaborative Government Model according to Ansell and Gash consists of:

1. Starting condition. Describing the relationship between stakeholders with different backgrounds can then produce an asymmetrical relationship in the relationship that is carried out. The Provincial KPU has the authority to determine the location of the campaign through the KPU Decree. Coordination can be carried out by the KPU with other stakeholders due to the needs of each stakeholder in the implementation of regional elections. The KPU as the election organizer who has the authority to regulate the regional election campaign has an initial level of trust in accommodating the interests of election participants and voters who want the implementation of green elections.
2. Facilitative Leadership, which includes three main components, namely, adequate management, management of the ability to carry out technical credibility, and ensuring collaboration results in credible and convincing decisions of all stakeholders. The Chairman of the Bali KPU has leadership skills with facilities that can overshadow other stakeholders.
3. Institutional design that refers to the basic protocols and ground rules for collaboration refers to procedural legitimacy in a collaborative process that is open and inclusive. Each stakeholder has a collective interest. The KPU as the organizer of the election, political parties as political vehicles that can regulate the campaign patterns of their members, and indigenous peoples who want sustainable green elections for their environment.
4. The Collaboration process begins through problem setting, direction setting, and implementation. The stages are carried out through a) Face-to-face dialogue from the KPU inviting all stakeholders, with b) Building trust, c) Commitment to the process, d) The provisional result is in the form of a joint MOU to be complied with during the campaign period.

The dynamics of the green election campaign process require the phenomenon of mutual trust between stakeholders, the existence of a process of compromise on policies, interpreting policy concepts and producing policy products that are determined together. This joint policy is a series of goals that cannot be achieved through their own authority.

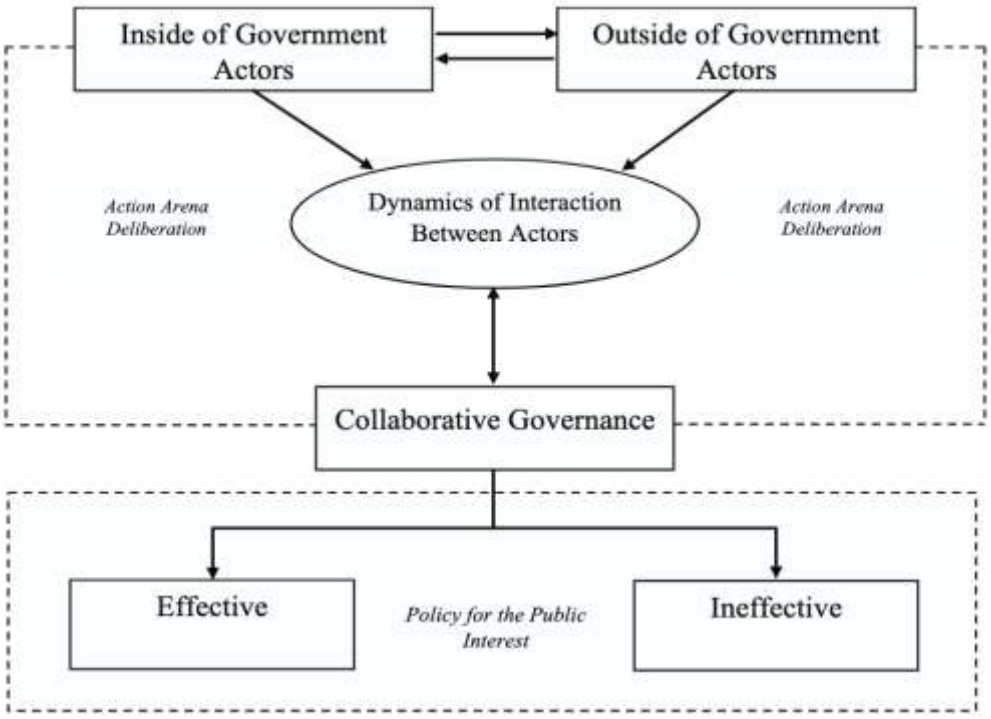


Figure 2. Stakeholder Interaction Model in Green Election Implementation
Source: Research data analysis based on interviews with Bali Provincial KPU and stakeholder FGDs (2024)

In general, the conceptual framework of collaborative government focuses on the dynamics between actors in realizing green elections, whose effectiveness can then be seen to be evaluated and improved into legal norms. The Bali Provincial KPU as the main actor in collaborative governance builds the trust of the parties in building green elections through communication between stakeholders. Equalization of perceptions of green elections can be carried out through the equalization of local values that are already rooted in the Balinese people. Tri Hita Karana as a cosmological concept of the Balinese people's philosophy of life, emphasizes three human relationships in life, namely (1) morality towards God Almighty (Parhyangan), (2) morality towards humans (Pawongan), and (3) morality towards the environment (Palemahan). (In Putu Gede, 2018, 29). Tri Hita Karana is sourced from Sad Kerthi where there is a kerthi universe which is an effort for dynamic harmony between social and nature.

The realization of green elections is the implementation of Palemahan, as a form of harmonization between humans and the environment. Humans have the task of processing the environment to be more organized and sustainable, which is supported through the

Governor of Bali Regulation Number 97 of 2018 concerning Restrictions on the Generation of Single-Use Plastic Waste, which requires Regional Apparatus, regional technical implementation units, other government agencies, regional public service agencies, Private Institutions, Religious Institutions, social institutions, Customary Villages/Pakraman Villages, communities and individuals not to use single-use plastics. In accordance with Article 12 of Bali Governor's Regulation Number 97 of 2018 concerning Restrictions on the Generation of Single-Use Plastic Waste, local governments must make a Regional Action Plan for Restrictions, including in campaign activities.

Collaboration with Customary Villages is realized where each Customary Village has arrangements for the implementation of Palemahan Traditional Villages which are regulated in Awig-Awig. The authority to regulate palemahan is carried out on the Customary Village Land and the Land for Work from the Customary Village. Awig-Awig is used as a handle by the traditional village prajusu in carrying out their obligations according to the conditions of each customary village. (Wibawa et al., 2020). Awig-Awig in Bali can be formed by traditional village and/or Banjar Customary organizations.

Based on the results of an interview with the Chairman of the Bali Provincial KPU, after the MOU between the KPU, Election Participants, Candidates, Political Parties and Traditional Villages in Bali was carried out, the Balinese traditional village made an arrangement that billboards could not be installed in the traditional village. This also applies to Traditional Villages which are Tourism Villages which are required to manage waste and waste as mandated in Bali Provincial Regulation Number 5 of 2020 concerning Standards for the Implementation of Balinese Cultural Tourism.

Absence of Green Election Implementing Regulations

Campaign waste is a specific waste whose management arrangement is specific waste management. Based on Government Regulation Number 27 of 2020 concerning Specific Waste Management. Based on Law Number 18 of 2008 concerning Waste Management, Specific Waste is defined as waste that due to its nature, concentration, and/or volume requires special management.

Specific waste management itself based on Law Number 18 of 2008 concerning Specific Waste Management is the responsibility of the Government which is financed by the Government and Regional Governments. The responsibility of everyone who produces waste containing B3 such as campaign waste is not mandatory. Waste collection is carried out by the regent/mayor to the Specific Waste Management Facility (hereinafter referred to as FPSS). The nature of FPSS development itself is still the authority of ministers, governors and regents/mayors, while the obligation of producers to build is still not optimal.

Article 12 of Government Regulation Number 27 of 2020 concerning Specific Waste Management states that the restriction of waste generation is carried out through a ten-year roadmap. The roadmap is regulated in the Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia Number P/75/MENLHK/SETJEN/KUM.1/10/2019 concerning the Roadmap for Waste Reduction by Producers which in Article 3 regulates the responsibilities of producers in the manufacturing, food and beverage services and retail sectors. In this case, billboard manufacturers are not included in the category and producers with small quantities have not been regulated related to their legal responsibilities in the

framework of EPR, where producers are required to prepare a report on the implementation of waste reduction verified by the Minister through the Director General, the Governor through the regional apparatus, and the Regent/mayor through the regional apparatus.

The concept of Extended Producer Responsibility (EPR) was first introduced by Thomas Lindhqvist in 1990 in his report to the Swedish Ministry of the Environment. Lindhqvist defines EPR as an environmental protection strategy that aims to reduce the total environmental impact of a product by making manufacturers responsible for the entire life cycle of the product, especially at the take-back, recycling, and final disposal stages.

Through EPR, the financial burden of waste management is transferred back to producers. Theoretically, this creates an incentive for companies to implement Design for Environment (DfE) or Eco-design. Walls (2006) in his study emphasized that if manufacturers had to pay for the cost of managing their own product waste, they would rationally reduce the use of hazardous materials, reduce the weight of packaging, and increase the recyclability of products to reduce these costs. Therefore, the literature often mentions that EPR has two dual goals: the improvement of waste management systems and the encouragement of product design innovation. EPR is mandated through Law No. 18 of 2008 concerning Waste Management and emphasized through the Regulation of the Minister of Environment and Forestry No. P.75 of 2019 concerning Waste Reduction Roadmap by Producers. The authority to manage waste, which focuses on local governments, does not require political parties to manage campaign waste. The publicity value of the APK installed after the campaign caused almost most political parties not to take back the APK and be disciplined by the Regional Government itself.

The existing campaign arrangements, namely General Election Commission Regulation Number 15 of 2023 concerning General Election Campaigns as amended in General Election Commission Regulation Number 20 of 2023 concerning Amendments to General Election Commission Regulation Number 15 of 2023 concerning General Election Campaigns in Article 72 only regulate the campaign and the place where the campaign is carried out, has not considered the environmental aspect of the campaign venue.

The absence of KPU regulations as an election organization compared to the community's needs for nature conservation, especially in the Balinese community, can still be accommodated through a joint MOU between the KPU, Bawaslu, Regional Government, Political Parties, Candidates and Traditional Villages. In this case the stakeholders act as the subject of civil law. From the perspective of state public law, P. Nicolai sees the position of the government as an organization of positions that has the following characteristics:

1. Government organs exercise authority in their own name and responsibility. Accountability is in the form of political and personnel accountability or the government's own responsibility before the judge.
2. The exercise of authority in order to maintain and maintain administrative law, government organs can act as defendants in the judicial process.
3. Government organs as the plaintiff.
4. Government organs are part (tools) of legal entities according to private law.

Government positions that attach the right, authority and authority to carry out legal actions through their representative officials. The Chairman of the KPU can act privately in coordinating other stakeholders as a form of his authority in organizing elections. Good

practices in Bali must be used as the basis for the Bali Provincial DPD to provide design and supervision of the Environmental Law in accordance with the functions of the DPD which is followed directly by community participation through meaningful participation.

The concept of Meaningful Participation represents an important evolution from traditional public participation toward an emphasis on the quality, access, and impact of community input on the legislative process. The urgency of this concept reached its peak in Indonesia after the Constitutional Court (MK) Decision No. 91/PUU-XVIII/2020 regarding the Job Creation Law, which explicitly demanded that the formation of laws must meet the conditions for substantive and meaningful participation, not just procedural (Constitutional Court, 2020, 189). Meaningful participation is based on three fundamental dimensions: The Right to Be Heard, The Right to Be Considered—where input must be seriously analyzed—and The Right to Be Explained—where lawmakers are obliged to provide a transparent explanation of the fate of the draft. Legally, although public participation is guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution (Article 28) and regulated in Law No. 12 of 2011 in conjunction with Law No. 15 of 2019 concerning the Establishment of Laws and Regulations (Law P3), the Constitutional Court Decision 91 serves as a milestone that forces a paradigm shift, demanding increased openness, accessibility, and equal participationfor groups that are directly affected, as well as shifting the focus from meeting quota fulfillment to ensuring the influence of input on the substance of the law (Asshiddiqie, 2021, 15).

The quality of meaningful participation is measured through several critical dimensions: Openness and Access to Information that demands that draft bills and academic texts be widely announced through inclusive digital platforms (World Bank, 2015, 40); Adequate Timing and Proper Timing, which emphasizes that participation should be given at an early stage of formulation when the draft bill is still flexible, not at a late stage where the main substance is already locked (Fung, 2006, 55); and Representation and Inclusivity, which requires lawmakers to proactively seek out and facilitate the participation of minority, marginalized, and most vulnerable groups—such as indigenous peoples, workers, and people with disabilities to ensure their input is heard equally (Dewi, 2022, 110).

The implementation of meaningful participation in Indonesia faces a number of substantial challenges that often reduce it back to a formality. The main challenges include Formalism and Proceduralism, where public consultation is often only conducted to formally qualify the P3 Act, reflecting the lowest level in the ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969, 21), with no substantive intention to change the material of the Bill; Power Asymmetry between policymakers and civil society, where vested interests with large financial resources are often more effective in lobbying and influencing substance than limited groups of society (Hadiz, 2006, 68); and most crucially, the absence of an Input Accountability Mechanism that is robust and standardized. It is difficult for the public to know transparently whether their input is ignored, rejected, or integrated into the bill, and what the reason is, a practice that eliminates the dimension of the right to be explained and erodes public trust in the legislative process (Sutrisno, 2023, 10). Meaningful participation, therefore, demands political commitment, technological transparency to track input, and strengthening sanctions for institutions that violate the principle of participation, as the main prerequisites for creating legitimate and sustainable laws in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The Bali Provincial KPU's Green Election Strategy has pioneered a unique collaborative governance model via the "Billboard-Free Elections" initiative and digital campaign promotion, bolstered by cross-sector partnerships among the KPU, political parties, election participants, and indigenous communities that integrate local philosophies like the *Palemahan* aspect of environmental harmony. Indigenous groups enforce compliance through *Awig-awig* customary law, enabling rapid sanctions, though challenges persist from limited national PKPU authority and absent mandates for parties to handle campaign waste. The study advocates policy reforms such as green incentives, logistics obligations, and stronger regulations to sustain this success, positioning Bali's hybrid model as a potential global best practice for sustainable democracy. For future research, comparative studies could evaluate scaling this model to other Indonesian provinces or Southeast Asian contexts with strong indigenous traditions, assessing long-term waste reduction metrics and policy adoption barriers.

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