ELECTORAL GOVERNANCE
JURNAL TATA KELOLA PEMILU INDONESIA

MITIGATING SOCIAL EXCLUSION TO STRENGTHEN CAMPAIGN FINANCE INTEGRITY IN INDONESIA'S 3T REGIONS

Stevan Kristyogi Barimbing
General Elections Commission of Nduga Regency, Nduga, Indonesia
E-mail: stevan.baringbing@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Social exclusion is a major structural challenge to campaign finance integrity in Indonesia's frontier, outermost, and least-developed (3T) regions. Geographic barriers, gaps in digital infrastructure, limited political literacy, and socio-cultural constraints restrict communities' access to campaign finance information and oversight. This study aims to identify forms of social exclusion and formulate mitigation strategies to strengthen campaign finance governance in 3T regions. It employs a qualitative approach with a legal-phenomenological design, drawing on regulatory analysis, literature review, problem mapping, non-participant observation, and a semi-structured interview. The findings reveal a gap between normative campaign finance standards and implementation conditions in 3T regions. Exclusion limits communities' and election stakeholders' ability to access information, meet reporting requirements, and participate in oversight. The study proposes a mitigation model built on four pillars: accessibility, adaptability, meaningful openness, and active participation. These pillars are translated into practical measures, including hybrid reporting, accessible information in local languages, community-based assistance, and collaboration between election organizers and local communities. The model offers a basis for more inclusive, transparent, participatory, and accountable campaign finance governance.

Keywords: social exclusion, campaign finance integrity, legal phenomenology, 3T regions, electoral policy

INTRODUCTION

The 2025–2029 Strategic Plan of the General Elections Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU) emphasizes strengthening internal control as an instrument for prevention, institutional learning, and election integrity (Komisi Pemilihan Umum [KPU], 2026, p. 115). Election integrity depends on applying the norms, principles, and standards of a healthy, inclusive, and sustainable democracy throughout the entire electoral cycle. One important element in strengthening election integrity is campaign finance management, which requires regulatory mechanisms to control funding sources, increase transparency, and provide space for public oversight of the political process (Norris, 2017). Campaign finance regulations are an important tool for ensuring fair, open, and accountable elections.

Campaign finance is a tool election participants use to convey their vision, mission, programs, and political identity to the public. Campaign finance is also essential, but if it is not managed under good governance principles, it can distort democracy (Aspinall & Berenschot, 2019, pp. 95–125, 203–227). Chandranegara and Bakhri (2023) argue that Indonesia's

campaign finance regulations still face structural weaknesses, especially in transparency and accountability enforcement. Their study links campaign finance violations and the prioritization of administrative compliance over effective enforcement to weakened regulatory effectiveness, creating opportunities for conflicts of interest and post-election corruption.

Campaign finance is legally recognized under KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024, but it can distort democracy if not managed with transparency, accountability, legal compliance, and equality. Campaign finance integrity is not merely an administrative obligation: it is an instrument to maintain political equality, prevent conflicts of interest, oversee public policy, and build public trust in the democratic process.

In a disclosure-based regulatory approach, disclosure becomes a key mechanism for building campaign finance integrity. An approach that emphasizes transparency about the sources of campaign finance receipts and expenditures enables the public, supervisory bodies, and the media to assess potential conflicts of interest and the disproportionate use of political resources (Falguera et al., 2014). The success of the disclosure-based regulation approach depends not only on the formal availability of information but also on the public's ability to obtain, understand, and use that information as a basis for political oversight.

Normatively, campaign finance integrity serves as a legal instrument to maintain balance in political competition within the democratic process. An effective campaign finance system requires a combination of finance regulations, disclosure obligations, independent oversight, and law enforcement mechanisms so that transparency does not stop at the administrative level but produces substantive accountability (Falguera et al., 2014). Campaign finance regulation can promote transparency, accountability, and effective oversight.

Formal rules alone, however, do not guarantee campaign finance integrity in practice. This condition indicates a regulatory gap, namely the gap between the normative goals of a regulation and the reality of its implementation. Three main factors shape regulatory effectiveness: the quality of the rules, the capacity of implementing institutions, and the ability of the parties targeted by the regulation to understand and carry out its provisions (Baldwin et al., 2012). Regulatory gaps emerge when campaign finance reports are available through official mechanisms but the public cannot access, understand, or use them to oversee campaign finance.

Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2020 concerning the Designation of Disadvantaged Regions provides a framework for identifying regions with development limitations based on specific economic, human resource, infrastructural, financial, accessibility, and geographical characteristics. These characteristics, linked to Indonesia's frontier, outermost, and least-developed (*terdepan, terluar, tertinggal*, 3T) regions,

may affect public services, digital connectivity, access to electoral information, and public participation in election processes.

Table 1.
List of Disadvantaged Regions in Indonesia for 2025–2029

Province	Regency
Sumatera Utara	Nias, Nias Selatan, Nias Barat, Nias Utara
Sumatera Barat	Kepulauan Mentawai
Sumatera Selatan	Musi Rawas Utara
Lampung	Pesisir Barat
Nusa Tenggara Barat	Lombok Utara
Nusa Tenggara Timur	Sumba Barat, Sumba Timur, Kupang, Belu, Alor, Rote Ndao, Manggarai Timur, Timur Tengah Selatan, Lembata, Malaka, Sumba Tengah, Sumba Barat Daya, Sabu Raijua
Maluku Utara	Kepulauan Sula, Pulau Taliabu
Sulawesi Tengah	Donggala, Tojo Una-una, Sigi
Maluku	Maluku Barat Daya, Seram Bagian Barat, Seram Bagian Timur, Kepulauan Tanimbar, Buru Selatan, Kepulauan Aru
Papua Barat	Teluk Bintuni, Manokwari Selatan, Teluk Wondama, Pegunungan Arfak
Papua Pegunungan	Jayawijaya, Yahukimo, Pegunungan Bintang, Tolikara, Nduga, Lanny Jaya, Mamberamo Tengah, Yalimo
Papua Tengah	Nabire, Paniai, Puncak Jaya, Puncak, Dogiyai, Intan Jaya, Deiyai
Papua	Waropen, Supiori, Mamberamo Raya, Keerom
Papua Selatan	Boven Digoel, Mappi, Asmat

Source: Regulation of the Minister of Villages and Development of Disadvantaged Regions Number 11 of 2025 (Peraturan Menteri Desa dan Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal Nomor 11 Tahun 2025, 2025).

Under Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2020 concerning the Designation of Disadvantaged Regions, 3T regions have special characteristics, including difficult accessibility, digital infrastructure gaps, and development conditions that affect the effectiveness of supervision and public participation in the general election process. This is reinforced by the 2022 Village Development Index (Indeks Desa Membangun, IDM) data from the Ministry of Villages and Development of Disadvantaged Regions, which show that 4,982 villages in Indonesia remain in the disadvantaged and very disadvantaged categories (Antaranews.com, 2022). This condition indicates limitations in basic services, regional connectivity, and the community's social capacity.

The digital access gap is an issue found in 3T regions. The Ministry of Communication and Digital Affairs (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Digital [Komdigi], 2025) states that 3T regions experience blank spot conditions. The main factor behind inadequate digital infrastructure development is that 3T regions with mountains and archipelagos face connectivity obstacles. A 2024

survey by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) and the Telecommunication and Information Accessibility Agency (BAKTI) of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics found that, in 3T regions, 30.2% of respondents did not have a device or computer that could connect to the internet, 26.4% had no internet connection, and 21.1% did not know how to use devices that could connect to the internet (Katadata.co.id, 2024).

The 3T regions face issues of social exclusion caused by geographical conditions and the digital access gap. This condition creates limited access to information, public services, and spaces for political participation. Social exclusion is a term used to describe the condition when individuals or regions do not obtain access to essential services or various aspects of life (Ziyauddin & Kasi, 2009). Ra'is (2017) states that the social exclusion of indigenous peoples and those living in remote areas leads to discrimination in obtaining their political rights. AuBuchon et al. (2025) found that political exclusion is experienced as painful, threatens basic psychological needs, and directly gives rise to negative affect, such as anger.

In the electoral context, social exclusion in 3T regions affects the community's ability to access and use information about public services, including campaign finance sources. The manifestation of social exclusion takes three main forms: first, limited geographic access and digital infrastructure that prevent the community from accessing information about campaign finance flows; second, the gap in political literacy and understanding of participatory oversight mechanisms; and third, a hierarchical and patrimonial socio-political structure, which restricts the space for citizens to oversee and critique the use of campaign finance, resulting in their experiencing political deprivation (Lawang, 2014).

KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 concerning campaign finance explicitly stipulates that the determination of campaign finance expenditure limits must take into account regional coverage, geographical conditions, logistics, and regional cost standards. The regulation states that different geographical characteristics—especially in archipelagic and remote mountainous areas—require a non-uniform approach to campaign finance governance. The gap between regulatory mandates and implementation becomes a significant structural challenge in the field. Gaps in political literacy and reliance on limited information sources affect public access to transparent campaign finance information and may give rise to transactional practices in elections. The public not only faces difficulties in accessing information about campaign finance but also lacks the capacity to understand and oversee its use. This condition creates layered vulnerability to social exclusion. According to Giddens (as cited in Warsilah, 2017, p. 40), social exclusion indicates a condition in which individuals or groups lack access to economic, social, and political resources.

Social exclusion in campaign finance policy not only limits public participation but also creates space for transactional political practices that threaten election integrity. Vulnerable groups in the 3T regions experience structural barriers that limit access to political rights, including the right to comprehensive information about campaign finance. Efficiency and openness without appropriately targeted innovation will create space for low political awareness and declining public trust. Irawan and Nurmanto (2022, pp. 103–105) interpret elections for vulnerable (socially excluded) groups as a platform for inclusive political participation.

Geographical factors shape the relationship between social exclusion and the integrity of campaign finance by increasing costs, heightening the need for oversight, and placing additional pressure on campaign fund management systems (Pratama, 2026, p. 9). In response, this study aims to develop strategies to reduce social exclusion and strengthen campaign finance policy in 3T regions. These strategies are designed through participatory approaches to support inclusive, transparent, and fair campaign fund governance. Rather than relying solely on information disclosure, they take into account the social, cultural, and geographical conditions of each 3T region. Strengthening cross-sector collaboration and involving local communities as active stakeholders are key to safeguarding the integrity of campaign finance.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach and a legal-phenomenological design to examine experiences, perceptions, and socio-legal realities of social exclusion in strengthening campaign finance integrity in the 3T regions. The design was chosen because the study examines legal norms and seeks to understand how campaign finance regulations are understood and implemented, as well as the obstacles that communities with specific geographic, social, and political characteristics encounter (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The qualitative approach enables researchers to understand social phenomena holistically, contextually, and deeply by interpreting experiences and meanings in legal practice (Moleong, 2019).

The study identifies gaps between regulations and campaign finance implementation in the 3T regions. It traces relevant written sources and analyzes how law provisions apply in social reality. Legal phenomenology explains the relationship between law as norm and social practice, especially in transparency, access to information, and public participation in overseeing campaign funds (Irianto & Shidarta, 2017).

This study specifically focuses on campaign finance governance in regional elections, particularly the implementation of General Elections Commission Regulation Number 14 of 2024 concerning Campaign Funds for Candidates in the Election of Governors, Regents, and Mayors. The analysis

examines how campaign finance reporting, information disclosure, and oversight mechanisms operate in 3T regions with geographical, infrastructural, and socio-cultural limitations. General Elections Commission Regulation Number 18 of 2023 concerning General Election Campaign Funds is not the primary legal framework; it is referred to only for comparative purposes where relevant. Accordingly, the study focuses on identifying social exclusion in implementing regional election campaign finance policies and formulating mitigation strategies to strengthen campaign finance integrity in 3T regions.

The study's data sources were: (1) KPU regulations and policies on campaign finance, including KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 on Regional Election Campaign Finance and its derivative regulations on fund sources, use restrictions, and reporting obligations; and (2) literature in books, scientific journals, articles, and policy documents on campaign finance governance and social exclusion in 3T regions. The study also used a conceptual approach to analyze legal concepts related to election integrity and campaign finance transparency. The conceptual framework draws on three related but distinct bodies of literature: electoral integrity (Norris, 2014, 2017), campaign finance transparency and disclosure (Falguera et al., 2014), and regulatory design and implementation (Baldwin et al., 2012). Building on these perspectives and the applicable KPU regulations, the study adopts a disclosure-based regulatory approach, developed by the author, to link the literature directly to the analysis of whether campaign finance information is disclosed, accessible, understandable, and usable for public oversight, particularly in 3T regions.

The empirical data were collected through two methods: (1) non-participant observation at the General Elections Commission of Nduga Regency, focusing on campaign finance reporting procedures, connectivity conditions, and available technical assistance; and (2) a semi-structured interview with the Coordinator of the Technical Division for Election Implementation at the General Elections Commission of North Maluku Province, conducted via WhatsApp on September 15, 2026. The observation and interview data were used to complement the regulatory and literature analysis.

The observation focuses on the service and reporting workflow, not on evaluating an individual official's performance. The observation sheet records: (a) the reporting stage being reviewed; (b) the connectivity condition described or directly observed; (c) the task that cannot be completed through the online system; (d) the assistance channel available, including the helpdesk; (e) the documents or information required from the campaign team; and (f) the follow-up and documentation of assistance.

The interview is semi-structured and focuses on the operational experience of the General Elections Commission Provincial Technical

Division in assisting campaign teams from areas with blank-spot or unstable-network conditions. The main topics are: the types and locations of connectivity constraints; the reporting steps most affected; the circumstances in which campaign teams contact or are referred to the helpdesk; the forms of technical assistance provided; the procedure for checking, documenting, and following up assistance; and safeguards to ensure that assistance does not alter the substance of campaign finance reports or reduce accountability.

The researcher analyzes the observation and interview data thematically. The researcher first organizes field notes and interview records, then codes statements and observations relating to network access, reporting barriers, helpdesk accessibility, assistance procedures, and accountability. The researcher compares these themes with the requirements and principles in the relevant KPU regulations and the literature. Triangulation is conducted by comparing the observation record, interview information, and documentary sources. Where the sources differ, or a detail cannot be verified, the manuscript reports the limitation rather than presenting an assumption as a finding.

Regulatory analysis uses a statutory approach to identify discrepancies between legal norms and implementation. It examines how campaign finance regulations address the needs of communities in 3T regions with limited geographic access, digital infrastructure, and political literacy. From a legal-phenomenological perspective, the analysis links these findings to the social experiences of community and election-organizing actors facing obstacles in implementing regulations (Soekanto & Mamudji, 2015).

Problem mapping identifies factors causing social exclusion, including geographical barriers, gaps in digital infrastructure, low political literacy, and limited access to campaign finance information. These factors are analyzed to understand how social conditions affect the effectiveness of transparency and accountability in implementing elections (Norris, 2014).

The collected data were analyzed using the legal-phenomenological method, which includes systematic interpretation (interpretation based on relationships among regulations), grammatical interpretation (interpretation based on the text), and teleological interpretation (interpretation based on the purpose of regulation formation). Legal-phenomenological analysis examines the meaning, experience, and social construction that emerge from implementing campaign finance regulations in the context of 3T regions. The data analysis results identify regulatory gaps so that KPU strategies to mitigate social exclusion can be formulated in ways that are inclusive, transparent, and participatory.

The validity of the study's findings is established by verifying legal materials and ensuring consistent legal-phenomenological interpretation.

This process examines the authority, relevance, and validity of the regulations and supporting documents used in the study. The interpretation uses grammatical, systematic, and teleological approaches to ensure consistency among the textual provisions, the legal framework, and the regulations' objectives. Furthermore, the interpreted legal norms are examined in relation to the socio-legal contexts described in relevant academic literature and supporting policy documents. This process ensures that the identification of social exclusion and the formulation of campaign finance integrity mitigation strategies are grounded in traceable legal arguments, consistent interpretations, and relevant contextual analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Campaign Finance Integrity From a Good Election Perspective

A good election is understood as the role of general election organizers in upholding the principles of honesty, fairness, openness, accountability, and meaningful participation. Every stage of an election demands funding to guarantee the process is conducted transparently, accurately, and reliably (Risal et al., 2022). These principles serve as the basis for building campaign finance integrity from a good election perspective. Campaign finance management regulations are crucial because they reflect the KPU's institutional credibility.

This section explains that campaign finance integrity is especially important in 3T regions. First, clear, firm, and comprehensive campaign finance regulations will create space for 3T regions to participate meaningfully. Regulations should therefore be designed with the existing field conditions in 3T regions in mind. An adaptive mechanism will anticipate risks that threaten campaign finance integrity.

Second, campaign finance regulation serves as an instrument to restore public trust in the conduct of elections. Public trust is a very valuable asset for the sustainability and existence of the KPU. To increase public trust in 3T regions, the KPU should invite heads of indigenous communities, social groups, and trusted traditional figures. Collaboration among citizens plays a central role in the KPU maintaining the integrity of campaign finance.

Third, managing campaign finance through political literacy education for local communities in 3T regions can encourage and ensure campaign finance integrity in an accountable manner. The KPU provides space for political literacy using a local wisdom approach tailored to the characteristics of each 3T region. Political literacy learning will maintain the KPU's credibility as a critical and decisive factor in building integrity in campaign finance management.

From this good-election perspective, the aim is substantive equality in maintaining the integrity of campaign finance. Democratic inclusion in the

KPU can be realized by providing rights and regulations with specific mechanisms to create equal social conditions in 3T regions. Therefore, affirmative mechanisms can achieve equality while upholding campaign finance integrity standards.

Implementation of Disclosure-Based Regulation in Campaign Finance Integrity

Campaign finance control not only examines election participants' financial reports but also encompasses the entire risk management process. This process can uphold election integrity values through a structured risk management approach that covers planning, program implementation, performance measurement, monitoring, evaluation, and campaign finance control in 3T regions.

Strengthening campaign finance management, especially in 3T regions, can be achieved through risk management implementation using Disclosure-Based Regulation. This approach makes information disclosure the primary instrument for promoting campaign finance integrity. The principle of Disclosure-Based Regulation is reflected in KPU Regulation Number 18 of 2023, which positions evaluation infrastructure as a strategic function and provides direction for regulatory renewal.

The risk analysis covers identifying, analyzing, and monitoring risks under Disclosure-Based Regulation. Strengthening occurred based on empirical findings from the 2024 Election. The findings are listed in the KPU Strategic Plan, including risk management for areas affected by unstable networks, difficulty reaching strategic groups in remote areas, and irregularities in campaign finance reports (KPU, 2026, p. 15).

The main focus of the problem is to formulate strategic goals and policy directions using a Disclosure-Based Regulation approach that maps the interconnections among election organizers' inputs, outputs, and outcomes. The objectives support the national development direction by strengthening election organizers that are qualified, integrated, and inclusive.

The input conceptual framework in the Disclosure-Based Regulation approach includes resources, policy instruments, and institutional capacity that create campaign finance integrity. This includes ready human resources with risk management capabilities, adaptive service systems, and public information services that incorporate local wisdom. Policy instruments can take strategic steps by coordinating community participation through approaches involving traditional and religious leaders who can support the sustainability of campaign finance integrity. Institutional capacity is strengthened through mechanisms adaptive to risks emerging in 3T regions. Support from adaptive mechanisms can provide technical assistance in offline data storage, document submission via an assistance service, and hybrid data synchronization.

The output is campaign finance data that are accessible and usable. Information publications are presented in a simple, easy-to-understand format, and are not merely technical documents. In areas with limited internet connectivity, information can be disseminated through Provincial/City/Regency KPU offices, in collaboration with local media, community radio, village head offices, and easily accessible public information service centers. The community needs a space to access transparent public services, with complaint and follow-up mechanisms to support campaign finance integrity. The database should also be adaptive.

Public trust is a crucial outcome for communities in 3T regions. The outcome is campaign finance integrity, achieved when communities in 3T regions receive public services that are transparent, adaptive, and uphold integrity. In 3T regions, the KPU will actively receive, report, and follow up on every aspect of campaign finance management through an adaptive approach. Furthermore, information asymmetry between election participants, organizers, and the public will decrease. Public participation strengthens campaign finance integrity by increasing political literacy. Political awareness significantly influences the quality of campaign finance integrity in 3T regions. Using hybrid data, the community can detect issues early, trace information easily, and report actions that do not comply with regulations.

The relationship between input, output, and outcome in implementing Disclosure-Based Regulation is sustainable. Regulation, human resources, and institutional capacity are essential to build a campaign finance integrity system that adapts to the challenges of 3T regions. This approach positions adaptive information openness as a tool for prevention, early detection, and building campaign finance integrity.

Normative Construction of Campaign Finance Integrity

The normative framework in the regulations indicates that General Elections Commission Regulation Number 14 of 2024 establishes campaign finance integrity on three main elements: transparency of funding sources, accountability for finance use, and supervision of candidate compliance. This series of controls aims to ensure the legality, traceability, accountability, and fairness of all campaign transactions. Normatively, the regulatory structure reflects the principles of openness and accountability as affirmed in Article 2. However, these principles cannot be assessed solely based on procedural uniformity in 3T regions. Procedural uniformity may result in substantive inequality regarding network infrastructure, transportation facilities, and administrative personnel.

Field conditions in 3T regions will create several forms of exclusion in implementing campaign finance policies. Exclusion should not be interpreted as a direct prohibition, but rather as the emergence of factual risks that

reduce the opportunity to fulfill obligations, obtain information, participate, or conduct oversight.

Implementing campaign finance regulations in 3T regions faces not only administrative compliance issues but also the risk of creating direct barriers to participation. These barriers arise from regulations that are not yet differentiated to the geographic conditions, infrastructure, information access, and socio-cultural factors that vary across 3T regions.

Campaign finance needs in North Maluku are confronted by an archipelagic region that makes travel between campaign points dependent on sea transportation, sailing schedules, weather conditions, and local connectivity (Pratama, 2026, p. 1). Such geographical conditions mean that campaign funding needs to be read carefully to reduce dependence on the physical presence of officers (Pratama, 2026, p. 9).

The context of 3T regions indicates that campaign fund governance does not occur in a uniform space. Supervision implementation takes into account the operational characteristics of 3T regions (Pratama, 2026, p. 103). In 2024, the Election Supervisory Body (Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum, Bawaslu) of North Maluku Province explained that local supervision can be built through a network of actors who have access to different social spaces (Pratama, 2026, p. 98). Participatory supervision must also develop digital supervision literacy, including the ability to verify the source, time, location, authenticity of documents, and context of a recording before using it as the basis for a report (Pratama, 2026, p. 100).

Inadequate digital infrastructure development will become one of the main obstacles in network-based campaign fund reporting in the 3T regions. Data from the Ministry of Communication and Informatics in 2023 show that 12,548 villages have not yet received telecommunications services, with 9,113 falling into the 3T region category (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika [Kominfo], 2023). This indicates that 3T regions face a digital connectivity gap that can affect the effectiveness of network-based supervision.

Reporting, publication, and oversight mechanisms designed to strengthen transparency will affect how accessible information is. The context of social exclusion risks includes digital, informational, supervisory, geographic, and socio-cultural exclusion. Digital exclusion arises from dependence on online systems for reporting, document correction, and access to campaign fund information. This becomes a problem when internet networks, electricity supply, technological devices, and access to digital systems remain limited in 3T regions. Implementing digitalization systems without alternative mechanisms creates administrative inequality in 3T regions. Technology fundamentally supports work, but addressing network disparity in 3T regions requires an anticipatory approach. Implementing

anticipatory strategies with adaptive information media can reduce the risk of signal network issues in 3T regions.

Informational exclusion occurs when campaign finance reports are published only on official websites and social media. At the same time, inadequate network infrastructure prevents the public from accessing and understanding the technical information. Therefore, the follow-up to this issue is to provide information in a format that is simple, concise, easy to understand, and accessible through both online and offline media.

Supervisory exclusion affects communities that struggle to submit responses because of transportation constraints, long distances, difficulty obtaining evidence, and concerns about social and political pressure. These obstacles affect public participation in maintaining the integrity of campaign finance. The KPU can address this by providing online and offline complaint mechanisms, easily accessible reporting posts, and active mobile services for people in 3T regions.

Geographic exclusion relates to the conditions of archipelagic regions, state borders, mountains with minimal access, and remote settlements, which limit the reach of services, socialization, verification, and field supervision. Geographical conditions can increase operational costs, extend document distribution time, and hinder direct inspections. The KPU can adapt by using service posts that take distance and road conditions into account and play a central role in serving every campaign finance report.

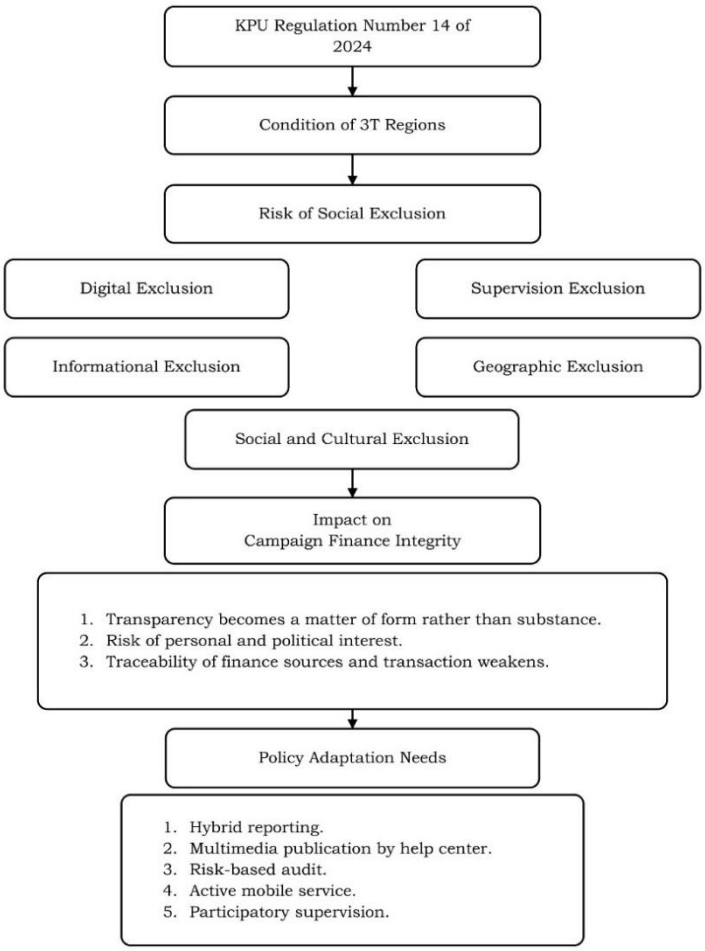
Finally, social and cultural exclusion plays a significant role, as indigenous peoples, marginalized groups, persons with disabilities, local language groups, and women have not yet obtained equal space to understand, access, and oversee the management of campaign finance. Information should be presented in local languages, in disability-friendly formats, and through communication methods suited to the characteristics of 3T regions. The KPU will ensure the integrity of campaign finance through the inclusive and meaningful participation of 3T communities in every open information-receiving process. Information openness can ensure that all groups in 3T communities have an equal opportunity to understand, assess, and oversee campaign finance.

The exclusion risks explained above may affect the integrity of campaign finance. Campaign finance reports may meet administrative formats, but they still cannot explain norms and substance. The public, which should play a vital role, is instead positioned as a spectator not directly involved in building campaign finance integrity. As a result, campaign finance becomes a mere formality (Hermanto, 2020, pp. 18–21), conflicts of interest arise, and the potential traceability of transaction sources weakens.

Therefore, policy adaptation requires hybrid reporting, multi-channel help centers, active mobile services, a risk-based audit mechanism, and participatory supervision, without lowering KPU accountability standards.

Thus, policy adaptation ensures that the accessibility principles underlying campaign finance governance under KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 are not merely normative but also reflected in practical efforts to support inclusive campaign finance integrity in 3T regions.

Figure 1.
Analysis Flow of KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 in the Context of 3T Regions



Source: Author's analysis based on relevant regulations and literature.

Identifying Regulatory Gaps

KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 highlights a gap between procedural uniformity and unequal implementation capacity. KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 sets national standards, applications, and deadlines. Uniformity is necessary to ensure legal certainty, yet uniform norms can create different burdens when applied in regions with inadequate network infrastructure, limited transportation access, limited administrative services, and unequal human resource capacity.

KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 explicitly requires the submission of reports through the Campaign and Campaign Finance Information System

(Sikadeka); however, based on the analyzed regulatory text, no general provisions have been found that detail the mechanisms for offline use, local storage, synchronization after the network returns to normal, recording of system disturbances, or anticipatory procedures when connectivity failure occurs in 3T regions. The campaign finance reporting system urgently needs recommendations for a minimum application or an offline approach when poor connectivity affects the web-based system.

Table 2.
Recapitulation of Internet Network Conditions in Villages and Urban Villages

Regency/City	Recapitulation of Internet Network Availability			
	Number of villages and urban villages	Present	Present (Weak)	Absent
Kepulauan Sula	78	46	26	6
Pulau Taliabu	71	23	36	12

Source: Obtained from the coordination results between the KPU of North Maluku Province and the Communication and Information Office of North Maluku Province for the 2024 Election (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Provinsi Maluku Utara & Dinas Komunikasi dan Informatika Provinsi Maluku Utara, 2024), provided to the author via WhatsApp on September 15, 2026.

Table 3.
Recapitulation of Internet Network Conditions in Nduga Regency

District	Recapitulation of Internet Network Availability		
	Present	Present (Weak)	Absent
Alama		v	
Dal		v	
Embetpen		v	
Gearek		v	
Geselma		v	
Inikgal		v	
Iniye		v	
Kegayem		v	
Kenyam		v	
Klimid		v	
Kora		v	
Koroptak		v	
Krepkuri		v	
Mam		v	
Mampenduma		v	
Mbua Tengah		v	
Mbulmu Yalma		v	
Mbuwa		v	
Mebarok		v	
Moba		v	
Mugi		v	
Nenggeagin		v	
Nirkuri		v	
Paro		v	
Pasir Putih		v	
Pija		v	

District	Recapitulation of Internet Network Availability		
	Present	Present (Weak)	Absent
Wosak		v	
Wusi		v	
Wutpaga		v	
Yal		v	
Yenggelo		v	
Yugi		v	

Source: Obtained from interview results at the General Elections Commission of Nduga Regency.

The internet network data in Table 2 provide a general map of connectivity conditions in North Maluku Province during the 2024 electoral cycle, covering both the General Election and the Regional Election. Therefore, the data serve as contextual evidence of the geographical and digital infrastructure challenges faced by election organizers and communities in the region, and they support analysis of regional election campaign finance policy implementation under KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024, rather than direct measurements of campaign finance reporting barriers in a specific election.

Developing a hybrid reporting system will be challenging, but it creates strategic opportunities for a national reporting system with offline capabilities. A system with offline functionality allows reporting to continue under field conditions. Implementation is important because it provides a structured, organized system for synchronization once the network becomes available. Supporting mechanisms for the system may include:

1. Sikadeka application or module that can store data offline;
2. Draft storage facilities without a connection;
3. KPU mobile service centers in hard-to-reach areas;
4. Special signal network service points in government offices or public facilities;
5. Automatic backup system to prevent data loss.

This strategy shows how web-based systems can adapt in regions where network connectivity is not yet optimal.

Network infrastructure failure protocols are needed to document disruptions, power outages, unpredictable weather, and extreme geographical conditions. The establishment of protocols requires references containing the following elements:

1. Standardization of evidence when network disruptions occur;
2. Recording of time and location of network disruptions;
3. KPU emergency notification procedure;
4. Implementation mechanism for temporary data submission;
5. Establishment of a deadline for synchronization after the network recovers.

Such protocols ensure that errors or negligence can be held accountable and that legal certainty is maintained while upholding substantive justice.

The transparency of campaign finance report publications does not yet fully meet the elements of effectiveness when conducted online. Effective publication requires accessibility, adaptability, and an adequate local linguistic mechanism that is easy to understand—the public needs publications they can understand through a local wisdom approach.

Disclosing campaign finance through local wisdom publications will strengthen oversight by building the community's ability to read and use data wisely. A targeted presentation format, supported by traditional leaders who translate legal language into local languages, ensures information is accessible and easy to understand. The use of various channels, such as information in local languages, printed announcements in public facilities, broadcasts via community radio, the provision of documents at KPU service centers, and public forums, constitutes the application of the accessibility principle. The community can find, understand, compare, and use published data in 3T regions.

Capacity development management for election participants and organizers plays a crucial role by conducting campaign finance reporting clinics before and during the campaign period. These activities are not merely socialization; they involve simulations of filling out Sikadeka, examining donor documents, recording transactions, managing special accounts, and handling upload errors in the system. Mentoring requires facilitators who understand the local language, election organizers, election participants, practitioners suited to the need, and local intellectuals. Community-based participatory oversight and local wisdom will create a more meaningful understanding of campaign fund information.

The disparity in 3T regions shows that transparency standards require different support and fulfillment mechanisms based on regional needs. The principle of procedural affirmation does not reduce the integrity of campaign finance management, but ensures barriers are addressed through adaptive approaches and local wisdom.

Mapping the Forms of Social Exclusion in Campaign Finance Management in 3T Regions

Identifying social exclusion is necessary to understand the issues that may hinder campaign finance management. Social exclusion results from the lack of a differentiated treatment scheme in KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 for geographical conditions, infrastructure, community capacity, and social characteristics in 3T regions. Social exclusion in campaign finance management can be understood as a condition in which community groups

do not have equal ability to access reporting procedures, obtain information, submit responses, and participate in campaign finance oversight.

Mapping social exclusion serves as an entry point for designing justice-oriented policies that provide differential treatment based on the needs of 3T regions (affirmative action). Mapping social exclusion is not merely a matter of technical administration but of procedural justice that directly affects the quality of election administration in 3T regions.

Based on the review of regulations and literature, it is necessary to carry out social exclusion mapping to strengthen the integrity of campaign finance management in 3T regions as follows:

Table 4.
Mapping the Dimensions of Social Exclusion

Dimensions of Exclusion	Form of the Problem	Impact on Campaign Finance Integrity
Geographical	Distance accessibility is limited due to field conditions, such as archipelagic and mountainous areas. Suboptimal conditions include limited transportation, unpredictable weather, and travel costs.	Delays in accessing assistance, complaint, administrative, and legal aid services.
Network Infrastructure	Unstable network connection, limited access to electricity, inadequate devices, and limited ability to use the system.	Delays in uploading reports, data loss, and reliance on operators who can use the system.
Literacy Competence	Understanding of contribution limits, prohibited funding sources, completing reporting forms, and reading reports is not yet optimal.	Reporting errors and the public's limited capacity to oversee campaign finance will undermine the integrity of campaign finance management.
Participation and Monitoring	Limited access for local communities, local media, and public oversight forums. Language barriers, patronage relationships, and a lack of contextually appropriate information.	Collected and published data are not reviewed or used for accountability.
Socio-cultural	Language differences, patronage relationships, and a lack of locally contextualized information.	Conflict of interest and language barriers emerged, making it difficult for the community to report alleged violations.

Source: Author's synthesis based on regulatory review and legal-phenomenological interpretation.

Inclusive Integrity Strengthening Model

An inclusive integrity-strengthening model, based on the overall analysis, must rest on four main principles. First, substantive equality by creating standardized reporting and transparency opportunities, including providing tailored support based on regional characteristics and ensuring fair, sustainable special treatment for regions with geographical, infrastructural, and social limitations. Second, procedural resilience by ensuring that reporting and monitoring systems remain operational during internet outages, power failures, transportation disruptions, or other emergencies. This will ensure that technical obstacles beyond control do not paralyze the campaign finance management process in 3T regions. Third, usable openness by providing campaign finance information in a timely, detailed, searchable manner that is understandable to a community with diverse literacy levels. The available information must apply the principle of local wisdom that prioritizes the characteristics of communities in 3T regions. Fourth, collaborative supervision by systematically linking the roles and authorities of the KPU, Bawaslu, local intellectuals, local media, independent auditors, and local communities as the spearhead of supervision, thereby creating synergistic interinstitutional cooperation to complement each other and close supervision gaps.

The analysis results show that campaign fund governance issues have gaps in the implementation design of KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024, which assumes equal geographic, digital, administrative, and socio-cultural capacity across all regions of Indonesia. This assumption is unrealistic because realities show disparities between regions with adequate network and transportation infrastructure and 3T regions that rely on basic technology and face unpredictable conditions. This gap not only affects the timeliness of report submission but can also lead to differences in the quality, completeness, and traceability of campaign finance information. The 3T regions face network infrastructure issues, limited human resources, and geographical barriers, so applying uniform standards can result in substantive injustice. Treating regions with different capacities as if they have the same standard conditions reflects a substantive injustice that is not well accommodated.

Strengthening the integrity of campaign finance needs to focus on policy designs that are adaptive and responsive to Indonesia's diverse regional capacities. Adaptation is not intended to lower accountability standards, but to provide different ways of fulfilling obligations. The objectives of transparency, traceability, and accountability should still be fully achieved. Possible adaptations include online and offline reporting mechanisms, time extensions under certain circumstances, regional technical assistance centers, administrative assistance, alternative

procedures in the event of network and power disruptions, and adequate transportation in emergencies.

Procedural resilience is highly recommended through contingency protocols with a clear legal basis, emergency indicators, the role of experts authorized to determine special conditions, and auditable recording procedures. Every use of alternative mechanisms requires strict supervision of documentation trails to prevent opportunities for manipulation or deletion. Procedural flexibility helps maintain integrity when the primary system faces constraints or disruptions beyond its control.

Information openness is not merely a supplement to document publication; it must be presented in a form that is easy to find, easy to read using a local-language approach, and relevant to community needs. Digital literacy understanding can be strengthened and expanded through simple local languages, communication based on local wisdom, and community forums. This approach can strengthen digital literacy in 3T regions by helping communities understand and assess information to carry out oversight.

Collaboration needs clear role divisions, information-exchange mechanisms, shared complaint channels, and coordinated follow-ups. The KPU requires cooperation among election organizing institutions, local media, local intellectuals, local figures, and local community organizations. These roles bridge formal regulations and the social reality of communities in 3T regions to encourage public integrity. Collaboration must consider independence, conflict-of-interest prevention, whistleblower protection, and data security.

An inclusive integrity strengthening model requires a periodic evaluation system. Ongoing evaluations should assess indicators such as reporting timeliness, document completeness, public access levels, the effectiveness of grievance mechanisms, and follow-up time. Evaluation results must be used to improve the system, determine the form of assistance, and map areas that require special treatment. Shaping campaign finance integrity is not only about fulfilling administrative procedures, but also about evolving into a well-integrated system that upholds integrity. The goal is to guarantee fairness, transparency, participation, and accountability across Indonesia's diverse regional conditions.

Thus, an inclusive integrity strengthening model can use differences in regional characteristics as the basis for formulating implementation strategies. This is not an excuse to lower accountability standards in campaign finance management. The fundamental need for principles lies in unified goals, with support capacity and mechanisms adjusted to the 3T regions' characteristics. This creates substantive equality, procedural resilience, usable openness, and collaborative supervision. Campaign

finance management is implemented more fairly, adaptively, and sustainably, particularly in 3T regions.

Social Exclusion Mitigation Model

Based on the analysis results, this study developed a social exclusion mitigation model built on four main pillars: accessibility, adaptability, meaningful openness, and active participation. These four pillars are interrelated in forming campaign finance management that is inclusive, transparent, adaptive, and responsive to the diverse conditions of 3T regions. The model aims to address the challenges of 3T regional conditions, which vary in complexity across areas.

The accessibility pillar helps meet the need for adequate access to systems, information, assistants, and complaint channels for the public and every campaign participant. Accessibility is not merely about internet availability; it also includes devices, language, service locations, and service times that address challenges in 3T regions. A system available only digitally may make it difficult for the public to access it because of limited network conditions and a lack of adequate technological skills. Therefore, priority steps include providing alternative mechanisms, such as face-to-face services, help centers, documents in local wisdom formats, and assistance for indigenous groups.

The adaptability pillar focuses on implementing regulations that can adjust to the geographical, socio-cultural, and economic conditions, as well as the risk level of 3T regions. Uniform procedures do not guarantee justice when applied to 3T regions with different infrastructure, human resources, and literacy levels. Adaptations include mobile facilities, special assistance, and local communication media. Every regulatory adjustment must have a clear, measurable, documented basis and be subject to continuous evaluation.

The pillar of meaningful openness explains how information must be available, searchable, comparable, and understandable by the public. Openness is not limited to uploading documents into a system. Information presented in a user-friendly format can be accessed at public facilities. The purpose of meaningful openness is to direct the public to use information to monitor, analyze, and provide objective assessments.

The pillar of active participation recognizes that the community needs real space to examine information, provide responses, submit evidence, and follow up on submitted reports. Adaptive procedures, whistleblower protection, and information on examination results support active participation. The involvement of traditional leaders, the local community, local intellectuals, and local media will provide understanding, monitoring, political education, and policy evaluation. Meaningful, active participation

becomes part of the oversight mechanism to improve governance of campaign finance integrity.

The Relationship Between the Inclusive Integrity Strengthening Model and the Social Exclusion Mitigation Model

The inclusive integrity strengthening model and the social exclusion mitigation model are complementary frameworks, not separate or competing models. The inclusive integrity strengthening model establishes four normative principles: substantive equality, procedural resilience, usable openness, and collaborative supervision. These principles provide the foundational direction for strengthening campaign finance integrity in regions with different geographical, infrastructural, and socio-cultural characteristics.

Meanwhile, the social exclusion mitigation model operationalizes these principles through four pillars: accessibility, adaptability, meaningful openness, and active participation. Accessibility and adaptability implement substantive equality by ensuring that campaign finance services and reporting mechanisms accommodate the diverse conditions of 3T regions. They also support procedural resilience by providing alternative mechanisms when digital infrastructure, electricity, or transportation systems are disrupted. Meaningful openness translates usable openness into accessible, understandable, and useful campaign finance information. Finally, active participation implements collaborative supervision by strengthening the involvement of local communities, traditional leaders, local media, and relevant election institutions in campaign finance oversight.

Therefore, the inclusive integrity strengthening model serves as the normative foundation, while the social exclusion mitigation model serves as its operational framework. The latter is the practical formulation of the study's findings because it directly applies the identified dimensions of social exclusion through concrete policy and institutional strategies in 3T regions.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that social exclusion affects the effectiveness of implementing campaign finance integrity in the 3T regions. Its forms include geographic barriers, gaps in digital infrastructure, limited administrative capacity, low political literacy, and socio-cultural factors. Social exclusion in the 3T regions indicates a gap between national campaign finance regulations and the reality of implementation in regions with different characteristics.

From a legal-phenomenological perspective, strengthening the integrity of regional election campaign finance governance in 3T regions requires a direct link between socio-community experiences and the legal

framework governing regional elections. Therefore, the strategy for mitigating social exclusion is developed through a model based on accessibility, adaptability, meaningful openness, and active participation, grounded in local wisdom. This approach is realized through hybrid reporting, community-based assistance, easily understandable information, and collaboration between election organizers and local communities to create inclusive and sustainable campaign fund governance.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

This study used Grammarly, an AI-assisted writing tool, in a limited capacity for language editing, translation needs, and proofreading assistance. All scholarly interpretation, argumentation, and final manuscript validation remain the responsibility of the author.

REFERENCES

Antaranews.com. (2022, December 15). *Mendes PDTT: IDM status desa mandiri 2022 lampaui target RPJMN 2024* [Minister of Villages: The 2022 Village Development Index count of independent villages exceeds the 2024 RPJMN target]. https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3306883/mendes-pdtt-idm-status-desa-mandiri-2022-lampaui-target-rpjmn-2024

Aspinall, E., & Berenschot, W. (2019). *Democracy for sale: Elections, clientelism, and the state in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.

AuBuchon, K. E., Stock, M. L., Raibley, E., Carter-Sowell, A. R., & Poppen, P. J. (2025). The effects of political exclusion: Threatened needs and decreased affiliation with increased anger and antisocial inclinations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 55*(5), 305–321. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.13092

Baldwin, R., Cave, M., & Lodge, M. (2012). *Understanding regulation: Theory, strategy, and practice* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Chandranegara, I. S., & Bakhri, S. (2023). Dysfunctional design of campaign finance regulatory and post-election corruption. *Journal of Governance & Regulation, 12*(1), 133–146. https://doi.org/10.22495/jgrv12i1art13

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Falguera, E., Jones, S., & Ohman, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Funding of political parties and election campaigns: A handbook on political finance*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

Hermanto, R. (2020). Problematika pelaporan dana kampanye pada pemilu legislatif tahun 2019 [Problems of campaign finance reporting in the 2019 legislative election]. *Electoral Governance: Jurnal Tata Kelola Pemilu Indonesia, 1*(2), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.46874/tkp.v1i2.85

Irawan, D., & Nurmanto, M. A. (2022). Kelompok rentan dan tantangan pemilu inklusif 2024: Studi kasus perilaku pemilih pada komunitas masyarakat Dayak Bumi Segandu Indramayu [Vulnerable groups and the challenge of an inclusive 2024 election: A case study of voter

behavior in the Dayak Bumi Segandu community of Indramayu]. *Electoral Governance: Jurnal Tata Kelola Pemilu Indonesia, 4*(1), 102–120. https://doi.org/10.46874/tkp.v4i1.461

Irianto, S., & Shidarta. (2017). *Metode penelitian hukum: Konstelasi dan refleksi* [Legal research methods: Constellation and reflection]. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Katadata.co.id. (2024, September 17). *Survei: Masyarakat 3T belum terkoneksi internet karena tak punya komputer dan HP* [Survey: 3T communities are not yet connected to the internet because they lack computers and mobile phones]. https://katadata.co.id/digital/fintech/66e97d1a35fec/survei-masyarakat-3t-belum-terkoneksi-internet-karena-tak-punya-komputer-dan-hp

Kementerian Komunikasi dan Digital. (2025, May 5). *Pemerintah optimalkan SATRIA-1 jangkau internet komunitas hingga kampung adat* [Government optimizes SATRIA-1 to bring community internet to customary villages]. https://portal.komdigi.go.id/kanal-publik/berita-kini/9309

Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika. (2023). *Laporan kinerja Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika tahun 2023* [Performance report of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics for 2023]. https://eppid.komdigi.go.id/attachments/5fe1b215a1affc7f5f1f58ede92fc67967b5a6fbffc88bda86536f3d28f80fb4/1_3_laporan-kinerja-lkj-kementerian-komunikasi-dan-informatika-tahun-2023.pdf

Komisi Pemilihan Umum. (2026). *Rencana strategis Komisi Pemilihan Umum tahun 2025–2029* [General Elections Commission strategic plan for 2025–2029]. Sekretariat Jenderal Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia.

Komisi Pemilihan Umum Provinsi Maluku Utara, & Dinas Komunikasi dan Informatika Provinsi Maluku Utara. (2024). *Hasil koordinasi pemetaan ketersediaan internet Pemilu tahun 2024* [Results of coordination on mapping internet availability for the 2024 election] [Unpublished document].

Lawang, R. M. Z. (2014). Beberapa hipotesis tentang eksklusi sosial di Indonesia [Some hypotheses on social exclusion in Indonesia]. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Mamangan, 3*(2), 1–6. https://doi.org/10.22202/mamangan.v3i2.93

Moleong, L. J. (2019). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif* [Qualitative research methodology] (Rev. ed.). PT Remaja Rosdakarya.

Norris, P. (2014). *Why electoral integrity matters*. Cambridge University Press.

Norris, P. (2017). *Strengthening electoral integrity*. Cambridge University Press.

Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 14 Tahun 2024 tentang dana kampanye peserta pemilihan gubernur dan wakil gubernur, bupati dan wakil bupati, serta walikota dan wakil walikota [KPU Regulation Number 14 of 2024 on regional election campaign funds]. (2024). https://jdih.kpu.go.id/data/data_pkpu/2024pkpu014.pdf

Peraturan Komisi Pemilihan Umum Nomor 18 Tahun 2023 tentang dana kampanye pemilihan umum [KPU Regulation Number 18 of 2023 on general election campaign funds]. (2023). Berita Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 2023 Nomor 696. https://jdih.kpu.go.id/peraturan-kpu/detail/8omyyZ0ZU23Cahdut9mbm2o1RW9MWnNaRDRNMGlXMDBRYUxaVFE9PQ

Peraturan Menteri Desa dan Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal Nomor 11 Tahun 2025 tentang rencana strategis Kementerian Desa dan Pembangunan Daerah Tertinggal tahun 2025–2029 [Regulation of the Minister of Villages and Development of Disadvantaged Regions Number 11 of 2025 on the 2025–2029 strategic plan of the Ministry of Villages and Development of Disadvantaged Regions]. (2025). https://jdih.kemendesa.go.id/web/regulations/read/rencana-strategis-kementerian-desa-dan-pembangunan-daerah-tertinggal-tahun-2025-2029-11-2025

Peraturan Presiden Nomor 63 Tahun 2020 tentang penetapan daerah tertinggal tahun 2020–2024 [Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2020 on the designation of disadvantaged regions for 2020–2024]. (2020).

Pratama, R. (2026). *Dana kampanye dan manajemen risiko pemilu di Maluku Utara* [Campaign finance and election risk management in North Maluku]. Deepublish.

Ra'is, D. U. (2017). Peta inklusi sosial dalam regulasi desa [A map of social inclusion in village regulations]. *Reformasi: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, 7*(2), 88–106. https://jurnal.unitri.ac.id/index.php/reformasi/article/view/803

Risal, S., Bajari, A. H., & Hergianasari, P. (2022). Sumber daya alam dalam pusaran pilkada serentak [Natural resources in the vortex of simultaneous regional elections]. *Kemudi: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan, 6*(2), 135–148. https://doi.org/10.31629/kemudi.v6i02.3948

Soekanto, S., & Mamudji, S. (2015). *Penelitian hukum normatif: Suatu tinjauan singkat* [Normative legal research: A brief overview]. Rajawali Pers.

Warsilah, H. (2017). *Pembangunan inklusif dan kebijakan sosial di Kota Solo, Jawa Tengah* [Inclusive development and social policy in the City of Solo, Central Java]. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Ziyauddin, K. M., & Kasi, E. (2009). *Dimensions of social exclusion: Ethnographic explorations*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.