



# POLITICAL CAMPAIGN FOR SOUTH TANGERANG REGIONAL ELECTIONS

# Sa'diyah El Adawiyah<sup>1\*</sup>, Nurhayat<sup>2</sup>, Tria Patrianti<sup>3</sup>, Agus Hermanto<sup>4</sup>,

Master of Communication Science, University of Muhammadiyah Jakarta. Jl. KH. Ahmad Dahlan Cirendeu CIputat South Tangerang. Email: Sadiyah.eladawiyah@umj.ac.id

Master of Communication Science, University of Muhammadiyah Jakarta. Jl. KH. Ahmad Dahlan Cirendeu Ciputat South Tangerang. Email: nurhayathudori@gmail.com

ABSTRACT. Community participation in this direct election as a form of political participation. The election of the Mayor of South Tangerang is an event for the people's democratic party that must take place in an atmosphere of joy, to build a country in diversity. information needs, as well as other matters related to the Regional Head Election, one of which is Political Campaigns. Research objectives, problems, audiences, objectives, selecting media, formulating messages, planning program management, monitoring and evaluation. The research method used is a qualitative method with the subject of informants from regional heads, consultants, success teams, and volunteer teams. The results and discussion of political campaigns must know what are the priorities to be resolved. The audience that will be addressed in a political campaign affects the form of the message that will be packaged. Political actions defined in political campaigns. The right media determines the formation of public opinion carried out in the campaign process. the power of the media to reach large audiences and spread greatly helps campaign success. Messages are constructed and packaged appropriately according to the target audience. Messages are packaged and produced in various forms in mass media, social media, and outdoor media with good management program planning. And carry out continuous monitoring and evaluation.

**KEYWORDS:** Political Campaign, Regional Election

#### Introduction

The general election of regional heads and deputy regional heads, also called regional elections or regional elections (Hkikmat, 2018) is a general election to directly elect regional heads and deputy regional heads in Indonesia by qualified local residents. Regional heads and Deputy regional heads are: Governor and Deputy Governor for the Provincial level, Regents and Deputy Regents for the District level, Mayors and Deputy Mayors for the City level.

The political participation of the people of South Tangerang towards the grand holding of the third regional election is a reflection of the *political attitude* (*political behavior*) of citizens which is tangible in behavior both psychically and physically. Voters in the south Tangerang mayoral and deputy mayoral elections will exercise their agency according to their choice. The involvement of the community or constituents (Sa'diyah El Adawiyah et al., 2019) in this election is directly one of the political participations. Tangsel society needs a leader who cares for all tribes or sub-ethnicities, all religious believers, all political colors of the Tangsel people. The Tangsel Mayoral Election (Siswadijaya, 2017) is a people's democratic party event that must take place in an atmosphere of joy, to build the country in diversity.

In the study of *public relations* (public relations) there is a related to the phenomenon that occurs today, namely about political campaigns, where in public relations has the nature of fostering and developing community participation. Public *relations* campaigns intended to build a positive image of the institution in the eyes of the public so that public trust, acceptance and willingness to cooperate with the institution can even arouse public awareness on certain issues (Venus, 2004: 9).

The effect of mass media in the form of media exposure will be related to how much campaign media has succeeded in reaching the public, how many people know and pay attention to the media used. The

availability of campaign media (Qalbi, 2015) spread over a large area is needed to meet information needs, as well as other matters related to regional elections.

It is hoped that through campaign media and socialization experiences, the community develops beliefs, values, and expectations that are relevant to politics (Hkikmat, 2018; Miaz, 2012; Qalbi, 2015), thus the public can determine its leader candidate and cast its vote in the general election. Elections themselves are a process of maturing people's selves in democracy.

Delivery of messages (Hkikmat, 2018; Communication et al., 2016) in the BD campaign in the three elections he participated in in South Tangerang had similarities. The color of the clothes worn on the photo on the ballot paper or on the props is always wearing toska green clothes. Only in the 2010 elections, Benjamin wore a black suit covering a white shirt that hung a blue tie patterned with white dots. Even so, her partner Airin Rachmi Diany wore a toska green outfit with a matching colored headscarf.

The tagline carried as a campaign message also has similarities. In the 2010 regional elections, BD (Siswadijaya, 2017) who became a candidate for deputy mayor accompanied Airin Rachmi Diany carrying the tagline "Let's Organize Our House Together". The word "Rumah" was also used in the campaign in the 2015 regional elections, the couple Airin Rachmi Diany-BD carried the tagline "Tangsel Rumah dan Kota Kita". In the 2020 regional elections, BD as the mayoral candidate joined forces with Pilar Saga Ichsan as the deputy mayoral candidate to continue using the tagline in the previous period, namely, "Tangsel Rumah Kita, Kota Kita Experience-Profesional, Continue".

This study aims to determine the BD Political Campaign in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Election by looking at problem analysis, audience analysis, goal formulation, media selection, message development, media production planning, program management planning, and monitoring and evaluation.

#### **Literature Review**

#### **Political Communication**

Political communication (Sadiyah El Adawiyah et al., 2020) always uses language and symbols, both to provide information and to convince the audience. Many things can be the content of political communication, one of which is ideology. Firmanzah(Sa'diyah El Adawiyah et al., 2019; Hkikmat, 2018) considers it important for a politician or political party to communicate ideology. Ideology as the core of a particular struggle must be conveyed to its masses. This is important to understand together so that the public can provide a reason why the political stance was taken. Because political communication is a form of communication that wants to convey the meaning, value system, symbols, and philosophy behind the development of political issues and programs. Although this ideology is abstract, it is important for politicians to have and convey this ideology. Thus, the messages hidden behind every event and activity carried out by political parties or anyone else must be able to be captured and understood by the public.

### **Political Imagery**

Political communication aims to build a good political image to the audience (Patomäki, 2011; Prianto, 2016; Sartika et al., 2016). Political imagery is built through political information that is designed, conveyed until it is accepted by the public. The political message can be conveyed directly or using the mass media. Political messages can be conveyed to formal activities as well as non-formal and casual activities, both in serious discussions and light discussions. In the discourse of politics in Indonesia, the communication patterns that occur become unstructured and uncontrolled. Political messages are delivered haphazardly with a wide variety of language forms and terms. The medium is also quite diverse, both directly and through mass media or social media. Thus control over the political message and its effects becomes detached and unconditioned. Messages and language in political communication are actually symbols of the social order of society in a country (Nimmo, 2011). Language in political communication messages is also a benchmark for the dignity and dignity of the nation. So that we always uphold the values inherent in the pattern of political communication in Indonesia.

#### **Public Opinion**

Political communication is closely related to public opinion. Roni Tabroni (2012:28) said this is considered a consequence of an imaging process carried out, especially in a context where this imagery uses mass media as one of its supporting instruments. According to Roni Tabroni, public opinion will be formed

when a political communicator conveys his ideas or messages to the public. The discourse that is built will more or less become part of the public conversation so that a very diverse public opinion is formed.

# **Political Participation**

Roni Tabroni (2012:28) said that political communication, political socialization, political image and public opinion ultimately lead to goals and objectives, namely the creation of political participation and victory of politicians and their political parties in elections. The participation of the public or the people in voting in elections is a very important consequence or effect of communication. Elections are just one form of political participation of the people (Aksi & Eisenberg, n.d.; Arianto, 2016; Gama & Widarwati, 2008; *Brebes Regional Election Winning Strategy.Pdf*, n.d.; Suharmadi, 2016; Suherman, 2019). Still according to Roni Tabroni (2012:28), in political socialization, political participation can be realized in several forms. Voting in voting booths is the simplest form of political participation because everyone can do it. Meanwhile, more than that form of participation can be realized in the form of political education, criticizing the government, becoming a political party administrator, becoming a successful team of candidates, becoming a legislative candidate, to becoming a political policy maker.

# **Political Campaigning**

According to Rice and Paisley quoted by Siti Fatimah (2018:8) said, a campaign is a desire to influence the beliefs and behavior of others with a communicative appeal. Political campaigning(Hkikmat, 2018; Semetko & Scammell, 2012) is a form of political communication carried out by a group of people, a person or a political organization at a certain time with the intention of obtaining political support from society. Meanwhile, Roger and Synder (Siti Fatimah, 2018:8) see the success of each campaign always present sensitive and creative message designers. The General Election Commission (KPU) through decree no. 1096 of 2018 concerning Technical Guidelines for Facilitation of Campaign Methods in the 2019 General Elections stated that campaigning is the activity of election participants or other parties appointed by election participants to convince voters by offering a vision, mii, program or self-image of election participants. Campaign executors are parties appointed by election participants to carry out campaign activities.

Kotler and Roberto in Cangara (2016:152), state that political campaigning is an organized effort carried out by a group (change agent) aimed at persuading the other party (the target) to accept, modify, or reject certain ideas, attitudes, practical actions, and behaviors. Meanwhile, Dan Nimmo is quoted by Umaimah Wahid (2016:152 (Sa'diyah El Adawiyah et al., 2019; Hkikmat, 2018)) says campaigning is an attempt to propagandize potential voters.

Based on these definitions, Umaimah Wahid (2016:152) concluded that political campaigns are: 1) The process of transforming information in various forms of political messages to audiences through certain communication channels and media to influence and create public opinion, 2) An organized effort aimed at influencing the decision-making process of voters. Political campaigning always refers to election campaigns, 3) A form of political communication that a person, group, or political organization conducts within a certain time to gain political support from society. Political campaigns are governed by separate regulations, both time, procedures, supervision, and sanctions in case of violations.

Political campaigning as an organized activity must have a strong management team and understand the needs and strengths in the campaign process. Politics is a strategy to gain power through the greatest possible involvement of audiences, political communicators (politicians, professionals, and activists) (Sa'diyah El Adawiyah et al., 2019), internal and external public. According to French, in Cangara (2011: 232) quoted by Umaimah Wahid (2016:163), there are eight steps of communication planning for the campaign, including:

- 1. Analyze the problem. A clear focus of the problem and in accordance with the needs of the audience is needed so that it is known what problems are the priority to be solved.
- 2. Analyze the audience. The audience to be addressed affects the shape of the message to be packaged. Understanding of the audience is an important part of political campaigning activities. Audiences in the era *of new* media and social media have their own characteristics because they are users as well as message makers. The conformity of the message with the audience of the purpose determines the process of making opinions. For example, if the campaign audience is a novice voter, the message should be packaged according to their language and level of understanding, including the tendency of new trends among teenagers or college students.

- 3. Formulate goals. Political action must have a goal that should have been set in the organization and management of the campaign. Goals must be known, understood, and shared between political actors and audiences because they can increase audience participation in political campaigns.
- 4. Choosing a medium. The right media determines the success of the formation of public opinion carried out in the process of campaigning. The power of the media reaching a large audience and spreading is very helpful to the success of the campaign.
- 5. Develop a message. Political messages are talk in political communication. The message requires proper construction or packaging according to the destination audience. Messages, both verbal and nonverbal, become a means of cultivating thoughts, desires, ideas, images, and others. The audience is expected to understand the message so that it gives rise to a planned effect.
- 6. Planning media production. In order to reach the intended audience, the message will be packaged and produced in any form, whether advertising (mass media, new media, and social media) or outdoor media, anyone involved in the production process (for reasons that support the success of the message). Media production is at the same time related to the ability to finance or funds.
- 7. Planning program management.
- 8. Monitoring and evaluation. All campaign processes that have been carried out require continuous monitoring and evaluation (money). It can be done according to plan whether daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly. Money results can be used as inputs to change media production.

Organized campaign planning reflects that the political campaign is carried out professionally, involves many parties, and is supported by a variety of activities that are expected to bring political actors closer to voters. The organization of the campaign implementation can be identified by good campaign management. Campaign management is an integral process in the campaign process. That is, the campaign is carried out in stages from planning, organizing, implementing, and controlling activities, the parties involved, the messages and media needed, the planned audience and how to be treated. In the new political era, political actors should change their 'mentality and mindset' and the way they treat audiences not just targets to achieve power, but as partners, friends, and comrades-in-arms in politics. The audience will hear the political message conveyed by political actors, the goals that have been set, the political setting that is constructed, and give the expected effect, namely positive opinions to political actors. It asserts that the public is the voter who determines whether or not to be elected and how the public opinion of political actors is.

#### **Research Methods**

The assessment method used in this study is qualitative which is used in this study aims to "uncover" and describe systematically the object of research (the experience of BD political campaigns and their successful team). The subjects in this study were BD who became legislative candidates in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Election, the BD winning team, and the people who were targeted by BD selectors. In qualitative research, the sample size (research subjects) is not just to study places or individuals, but rather to collect extensive details about each place or individual studied. The purpose in qualitative research is not only to generalize information, but to decipher a specific, specific one (Creswell 2014:219).

# **Data Collection Techniques**

In collecting the data and information needed, the author performs the following data collection techniques: In-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were conducted by researchers to research informants, namely BD and the Success Team. In-depth interviews are data collection techniques that are based on intensive conversations with a specific goal. Interviews were conducted to obtain various information regarding the problems raised in the study.

# **Data Validity Test**

Next, a data check is carried out using source triangulation. Fatmawati (2018: 84) assessed that triangulation is used to check the validity of data by utilizing something other outside of that data for checking purposes or as a comparison of the data obtained. The point is to compare the observation results with the data from the interview results, and compare what people say in public (society) with what people say in public through in-depth interviews (*Depth Interviews*) and literature studies.

# **Results of Discovery and Discussion**

Campaigning is an important part of political communication. No political event escapes a political campaign. Political campaigns are packaged in a political professional manner as the objectives of political parties and candidates to reach a broad and rapid political audience, campaigns are carried out through various channels and media of political communication (Sa'diyah El Adawiyah et al., 2019; Hkikmat, 2018). Campaigns can be implemented in the long and short term. Long-term campaigns are carried out by political communicators throughout the future with a softer form of political campaigning. Meanwhile, short-term campaigns are usually carried out in the form of campaigns at election time which are mutually agreed upon by the election organizing body (KPU) and political parties.

As an organized activity, political campaigns must have strong management and understand the needs and strengths in the campaign process. Politics is a strategy to gain power through the greatest possible involvement of audiences, political communicators (politicians, professionals, activists), internal and external public (Wahid 2016:163) (Hkikmat, 2018). There are eight communication planning steps for a campaign, including:

#### **Problem Analysis**

A clear focus of the problem and in accordance with the needs of the audience is needed so that it is known what problems are the priority to be solved. Problems are the difference between expectations and reality or the difference between aspirations and reality. To find a problem requires facts and realities that will usually raise questions. These questions become problems to which the answer must be sought

A survey in May 2019 of BD personal characters known to the public. BD is rated the most prominent personal character. BD is considered smart by 69%, then has the authority as a leader 65%, attention to the people 60%, and 54.8% consider BD to have an honest nature. While the level of satisfaction with BD leadership in the previous period reached 81%, in a survey conducted in October 2019, this figure dropped to 70%.

# **Audience Analysis**

The audience to be addressed affects the shape of the message to be packaged. Understanding of the audience is an important part of political campaigning activities. Audiences in the era of new media and social media have their own characteristics because they are users as well as message makers. The conformity of the message with the audience of the purpose determines the process of making opinions. If the campaign audience is a novice voter, the message should be packaged according to their language and level of understanding, including the tendency of new trends among teenagers or college students.

BD in his political campaign does not distinguish between voter segmentations, they are all considered equal. Descending directly on the community, communicating as a political process during the implementation of Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The material he conveyed to the public was also about psbb. What distinguishes in its delivery between clusters and non-clusters is the style of the language alone.

Political campaigning is one of the efforts to increase the popularity and electability of political actors. Campaigning is not just a commonplace process in political activity, but rather a process in earnest to involve the participation of as many audiences as possible. That is, a campaign is a conscious attempt by political actors to build harmonious and needy relations with the audience. A public is a public that is formed to have a positive opinion of political actors. Audiences are not merely tools or targets for political actors to gain power. Political actors, political parties, and political institutions should build togetherness with the audience as well as possible and continuously. The public is the main *stakeholder* or owner of the political process. Whether or not political actors succeed in gaining power depends on the choice of the audience. In this context, the audience is the determinant of the political process, not just a complement that is needed only at the time of the campaign process once every 5 years, after which it is ignored or discarded and treated arbitrarily. Especially in the midst of the development of communication technology such as new media and social media.

#### **Goal Formulation**

Political action must have a goal that should have been set in the organization and management of the campaign. Goals must be known, understood, and shared between political actors and audiences because they can increase audience participation in political campaigns. By knowing the problem, a campaign planner can set goals. A goal is a desired state or change after the plan is implemented. The goal-setting criterion is to determine what the target is and what kind of change is desired (Wahid, 2016: 165).

As a result of the lack of electability of the BD figure as a candidate for the mayor of South Tangerang, the winning team overhauled the political strategy to win the 2020 South Tangerang regional election. Through various surveys conducted by his institution, VM and his team continue to look for ways that the popularity of BD can continue to increase its electability. In fact, by breaking up the electorate's votes into his camp's final choice to win the five-yearly political contestation. BD was first allowed to participate in the selection of candidates for the mayor of South Tangerang, which is won by each political party that owns the South Tangerang City DPRD seat.

Meanwhile, the figure of Pilar Saga Ichsan was prepared as a candidate for deputy mayor carried by the Golkar Party with the design of being paired with BD. The exclusion of BD candidates running for the nomination of political parties is the strategy of the BD winning team. From there, the winning team can see the popularity interest of their political opponents before determining the candidates who will fight in the South Tangerang regional elections.

This strategy is considered successful, the political party that owns the parliamentary seat is reluctant to co-operate with the BD who has the status of an incumbent. Each of the proposing political parties actually chose a new axis to be used as a candidate in the 2020 South Tangerang regional elections. In fact, these political parties created two new pivots to produce three pairs of candidates who fought in the 2020 South Tangerang regional elections.

### **Media Selection**

The right media determines the success of the formation of public opinion carried out in the process of campaigning. The power of the media reaching a large audience and spreading is very helpful to the success of the campaign. The use of mass media was chosen in implementing BD's political campaign in the 2020 Tangsel regional elections through print, electronic, and social media, as well as outdoor media known as online media. The imaging carried out through the media has begun since the beginning of serving as a leader in Tangsel in the first and second periods. During the campaign, BD was famous for online media and continues to this day, but after the campaign or serving as the regional leader of the media was not as frequent as BD did. Meanwhile, BD uses more conventional media. Conventional media is carried out mainly to communicate directly with the community through activities organized by the winning team and community groups.

BD did not expect the campaign to be hindered by the Covid-19 pandemic. Face-to-face communication with the community should be limited to the number of people it meets. This condition is different from when BD campaigned politically in the 2010 and 2015 regional elections. At that time BD could communicate with thousands or even tens of thousands of people through an open campaign on stage. Campaign time is limited to 50 people. In the 2010 and 2015 local elections that followed earlier, BD was able to meet with 2,000 people in one campaign. BD can freely make orations in his campaign by introducing candidates' spouses, introducing the party that carries it, introducing its program, conveying the vision and mission, conducting questions and answers, and dialogue. In the 2020 regional elections, BD was only allowed to meet 50 people, even if one meeting came only 30 people, sometimes 6 people, at most 40. For this reason, BD tried in one day to visit as many location points as possible. BD did so starting at 9:00 a.m. and only returned to his residence at night.

The following is a list of social media registered by the winning team of the BD-PSI pair to the Tangerang City Election Commission in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Election:

Table 1: BD-PSI Social Media on campaigning in the 2020 Tangsel Regional Election

No	Types of Applications Social Media	Account Name Social Media	Name of Social Media Admin/Manager
1	Facebook	BP	MR
2	Instagram	BP	MR
3	Youtube	B P	MR
4	Twitter	BP	MR

Source: KPU Kota Tangerang Selatan

The air team set a strategy specifically, but what was put forward was how to convince the public of what BD had done through achievements, through his messages in many media banners, billboards, social media, something of a positive nature roughly able to convince the public related to the performance achievements that have been made by BD.

# **Message Development**

Political messages are talk in political communication. The message requires proper construction or packaging according to the destination audience. Messages, both verbal and nonverbal, become a means of cultivating thoughts, desires, ideas, images, and others. The audience is expected to understand the message so that it gives rise to a planned effect. In political campaigns, usually all forms of political communication are developed, such as political agitation, political propaganda, political PR, and political rhetoric. However, in today's democratic era the use of political agitation and propaganda that ignores the values of truth, ethics, and morals has been abandoned (Arifin 2003; Wahid 2016: 154). Various forms of propaganda, black campaigns, and negative campaigns are carried out to bring down opponents through the formation of negative opinions. Black campaigns are carried out without considering ethics, socio-cultural values, as well as moral ethics. Black and negative campaigns are often the main but covert choice because they may be carried out by the candidate in question or carried out by political opponents. Political action should still consider ethics and morals so as not to appear false, subjective messages, accuse statements without data, or commit slander in order to smooth the goal of achieving power. Basically, it must be realized that the political process is not just an attempt to achieve power at a certain time, but must be viewed as a process of social and cultural responsibility to society and the younger generation so that they will consider ethics in every political action in the future.

### **Media Production Planning**

In order to reach the intended audience, the message will be packaged and produced in any form, whether advertising (mass media, new media, and social media) or outdoor media, anyone involved in the production process (for reasons that support the success of the message). Media production is at the same time related to the ability to finance or funds.

BD campaigns use new media more than conventional media. This can be understood, Tangsel is an urban area whose people are already technologically literate. However, it does not abandon conventional media such as newspapers and online media. During the campaign, he used whatsapp media to approach his voters from young people who were tech-savvy, as well as to ward off issues that attacked during the campaign period. Meanwhile, for outdoor media, pins, mugs, stickers, billboards, billboards, posters, banners, and T-shirts are used.

# **Program Management Planning**

Campaign management is an integral process in the campaign process. That is, the campaign is carried out in stages from planning, organizing, implementing, and controlling activities, the parties involved, the messages and media needed, the planned audience and how to be treated. In the new political era, political actors should change their 'mentality and mindset' and the way they treat audiences not just targets to achieve power, but as partners, friends, and comrades-in-arms in politics (Wahid, 2016: 165). The audience will hear the political message conveyed by political actors, the goals that have been set, the political setting that is constructed, and give the expected effect, namely positive opinions to political actors. It asserts that the public is the voter who determines whether or not to be elected and how the public opinion of political actors is.

BD met with figures outside the base in an effort to rally support. The figure of the mass group will certainly influence the choice of the mass group. A figure will be heard his words and speech will be more trusted by the masses than the words and invitations of figures outside the mass group. Yo, volunteers, BD are present in every activity carried out by YO such as recitation and activities that involve crowds. The strategy of building networks is also carried out by highlighting the characteristics of candidates who are carried out repeatedly so as to succeed in building appreciative political icons in their campaigns. Presenting the figure as an apolitical bureaucrat with various achievements that stand out while working in a bureaucrat. An unquestionable image and track record.

### **Monitoring and Evaluation**

All campaign processes that have been carried out require continuous monitoring and evaluation (money). It can be done according to plan whether daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly. Money results can be used as inputs to change media production.

Evaluation of the BD campaign is carried out by the winning team through a survey which is carried out every three months. The goal is to find out the effectiveness of the political work that has been carried out. The survey was chosen because it is considered to be the most objective and scientific measuring tool whose results can be accounted for political work and programs that have been designed and implemented.

Regional elections are not only choosing regional rulers, but rather looking for leaders who are able to serve and serve for the benefit of all the people, therefore the implementation of direct regional elections, should not only be seen as fulfilling the celebration of democracy, but must be interpreted as the best effort of the Indonesian people to choose regional leaders democratically in order to elect qualified, honest, and professional leaders in carrying out their duties.

#### **Conclusion**

Political campaigns in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Elections have gone through Problem Analysis, Audience Analysis, Goal Formulation, Media Selection, Message Development, Program Management Planning, and Monitoring and Evaluation in selecting head candidates areas based on those factors. The Political Campaign for the South Tangerang Regional Head Election succeeded well until the election of the BD regional head for the 2021-2025 period

### Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank the bestari partners who have provided criticism and input for the improvement of this paper.

#### References

- Action, M., & Eisenberg, A. (n.d.). Handbook of Political Participation for Women.
- Arianto, B. (2016). Creative Campaign in the 2014 Presidential Contestation. *Journal of Social Sciences And Political Sciences*. https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.10854
- El Adawiyah, Sa'diyah, Hubeis, A. V., Sumarti, T., & Susanto, D. (2019). WOMEN'S POLITICAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN ACHIEVING REGIONAL LEADERSHIP. *Metacommunication: Journal of Communication Studies*. https://doi.org/10.20527/mc.v4i1.6356
- El Adawiyah, Sadiyah, Hubeis, A. V., Sumarti, T., & Susanto, D. (2020). Political Communication of Indonesian Female Regional Leaders. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, 5(2), 365. https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v5i2.655
- Gama, B., & Widarwati, T. (2008). WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (Study on Housewives in the Implementation of Regional Head Elections in Sukoharjo Regency). *Scriptura*, 2(1), 63–80. https://doi.org/10.9744/scriptura.2.1.63-80
- Hkikmat, M.M. (2018). KAPANYE JITU IN THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS: Perspectives on Political Communication in West Javanese Society. 1–134.
- Communication, J., Broadcasting, D. A. N., Science, F., Dan, D., Communication, I., State, U. I., & Hidayatullah, S. (2016). *AIRIN RACHMI'S COUNTER ISSUE STRATEGY IS DAVNIE'S INTEREST IN LOCAL ELECTIONS*.
- Miaz, Y. (2012). Political Participation: Patterns of Voter Behavior during the New Order and Reformation Period. In *Political Participation: Patterns of Voter Behavior during the New Order and Reformation Period*.
- Patomäki, H. (2011). Towards global political parties. Ethics and Global Politics, 4(2), 81-102.

- https://doi.org/10.3402/egp.v4i2.7334
- Prianto, B. (2016). POLITICAL PARTIES, THE PHENOMENON OF POLITICAL DYNASTIES IN REGIONAL ELECTIONS, AND DECENTRALIZATION. *Publisia: Journal of the Sciences of Public Administration*. https://doi.org/10.26905/pjiap.v1i2.436
- Qalbi, N. (2015). Political Communication Strategy and The Victory of Muhammad Ramdhan Pomanto-Syamsu Rizal's Spouse in the 2013 Makassar Mayoral and Deputy Mayoral Elections. *Critical: Journal of Social And Political Sciences*, 1(2), 231–238. http://journal.unhas.ac.id/index.php/kritis/article/view/13
- Sartika, D. D., Lidya, E., & Susanto, T. A. (2016). Political Communication of Women's Caleg for the Election of Members of the Palembang City Legislature. *USK Journal of Sociology*, *10*(2), 135–154.
- Semetko, H. A., & Scammell, M. (2012). The SAGE handbook of political communication. *The SAGE Handbook of Political Communication*, 1–557. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446201015
- Siswadijaya, R. I. (2017). Bureaucratic Political Power In Benjamin Davnie In The South Tangerang Regional Elections 2010-2011. *Populist*, 2(4), 471–494.
- the strategy of winning elections.pdf. (n.d.).
- Suharmadi. (2016). The Political Winning Strategy of the Idza-Narjo Couple in the Brebes District Elections for the period 2012-2017. *Politika*, *Vol.* 7(No. 2), 91–111.
- Suherman, A. (2019). Political Marketing Strategies women legislators Marketing Policy Strategy for Members of Legislative Women in the 2014 Election in the City of. *MEDIALOG: Journal of Communication Sciences*.
- Tabroni, Roni, (2012). Political Communication in the Multimedia Age. Bandung: Juvenile Rosdakarya
- Wahid, Umaimah, (2016.) *Political Communication: Theories, Concepts, and Applications in the New Media Age.* Bandung: Simbiosa Rekatama Media