

Digital Political Party Campaign in Attracting Young Voters

Diah Ayu Candraningrum
Faculty of Communication Science
Tarumanagara University
Jakarta, Indonesia
diahc@fikom.untar.ac.id

Abstract - General Elections in Indonesia were held on April 17, 2019. At that time, all Indonesian people have given their voting rights in the Presidential Election and Legislative Election. Especially for legislative candidates who are competing to be elected representatives, they do everything they can to increase their electability. Interestingly, a number of political parties and legislative candidates have now adopted communication technology to boost their voices, especially in winning the votes of the millennials. They use big data sourced from social media to compile digital campaigns. This is clear evidence of an innovation supporting industry 4.0, which is growing in the political sphere. The formulation of the problems contained in this study are: "How is the form of digital campaigns carried out by political parties, especially in popularizing and attracting the voices of the millennials?" This study uses a qualitative approach that describes the purpose of the use of the internet as a media campaign in the Legislative Elections. Therefore, the author conducted a study using SOSTAC (Situation, Objectives and Strategy, Tactics, Action and Control) planning framework, which is a plan to help structure and manage its implementation. This concept was developed by PR Smith for marketing communication planning. This study concluded that digital campaigns are very easy to reach young people. Since the beginning of the stage, political parties have targeting young voters and implementing the possible strategy to reach them. The result is Golkar and PSI have reached a milestone in General Elections 2019.

Keywords : digital campaign, legislative candidates, millennial

I. INTRODUCTION

Digitalization in the political field is much done by political parties and politicians, with the aim of increasing its popularity. This can be seen in the democratic general election (Election) event held by the General Election Commission on April 17, 2019. This time, all Indonesian people carry out a vote to elect the president, vice president and their representatives in parliament.

This election is seen as the largest election implementation in the world, seen from the data on the number of voters, the number of polling stations (TPS) and geographical location. The budget for implementing

this election is around Rp. 24.8 trillion. This value increased by around Rp. 700 billion compared to the 2014 election, which was held at a cost of Rp. 24.1 trillion (Merdeka, 2019).

Uniquely, this election was carried out directly, where each voter not only chose his political party but also chose the figure of president and vice president as well as legislative members of DPR, DPD, DPRD I (province), and DPRD II (regency / municipality). According to the Australian study institute, Lowy Institute, the Indonesian 2019 elections are among the most complicated and most amazing in the world because of their large scale and are carried out in just one day. The number of voters as many as 193 million in this election is the largest in the world in terms of directly electing the president. This number increased by 2.4 million people from the 2014 election (BBC, 2019).

The voting itself was held at 809,500 polling stations (TPS), where each polling station would serve around 200 to 300 people on the voting day. In the 2014 election, the number of polling stations was around 500,000 and each polling station served around 400 voters. While the total number of competing legislative candidates is 245,000 people competing for around 20,500 seats in 34 provinces and around 500 municipal districts.

On the same day, elections in Indonesia carried out five concurrent elections, namely the election of president-vice president, DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD and regency and city DPRDs. In the legislative elections, as many as 575 legislative members will be elected from 16 parties participating in the election.

Interestingly, judging by the number of voters. As many as 40% of voters are between 17 and 35 years old. The number of around 80 million people has become a contest for the election contestants, because among them are first time voters or those who have just voted and swing voters or voters who do not have a fixed choice (Ma'ruf, 2018). According to political observers from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Siti Zuhro, young voters became the group that dominated the swing voters. The results of the assessment before the 2019 General Election, of at least five survey institutions placed the electability of Jokowi's incumbent presidential candidate at around 53 percent, while Prabowo's 33 percent. Each

group stated that they were trying to fight the swing voters' vote in an open campaign.

According to Ferdinand Hutahaean, spokesman for the National Winning Body (BPN) Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno, the existence of millennial as the most segment in the swing voters group is very important. It because they are the most critical and most difficult people to be convinced of something rational and irrational, not on the basic of likes or dislikes. While the Spokesperson for the National Campaign Team (TKN) Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin, Arya Sinulingga, considered the vote of swing voters as useful for "thickening" Jokowi's electability (Okezone, 2019).

Political parties considered their existence are important, because the number of those who do not use voting rights or abstention in the general election event always increases every year. According to data from the General Election Commission (KPU), the level of abstentions was 23.30% in the 2004 Presidential Election then followed by 27.45% in 2009, and finally jump to 30.42% in 2014 (BBC, 2019).

On this basis, political parties also compete to be able to attract the voices of young people, through digital campaigns carried out. Because young people are known as savvy technology person, so the approach must also be done through platforms and ways that are familiar to millennials.

Therefore, the research question raised in this study is "how is the form of digital campaigns carried out by political parties, especially in popularizing and attracting the voices of the millennials?" This digital campaign is not only devoted to winning presidential and vice-presidential candidates, but also applies to the legislative candidates they support.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The role of witnesses in the voting process is very important and ensures the smoothness of the voting process. Yogyakarta city is one of the areas that become "pilot project" implementation of IT-based supervision on voting process (Sarofah, 2019).

Over the past decade, the internet has proven itself as a mean of information technology that can contribute to social mobilization. The internet provides a platform for organizational movements to communicate with supporters and the general public (Atton, 2002; Forde, 2011; Hajek & Kabele, 2010; Stein, 2009 in Lee & Chan, 2016), reducing coordination costs and facilitating transnational actions (Juris, 2005), and expand the repertoire of social movement movements (Earl & Kimport, 2011 in Lee & Chan, 2016). The internet also lowers the cost of information and participation for citizens (Coopman, 2011 in Lee & Chan, 2016).

Besides seeing the internet as a resource that strengthens civil power, community actors and mobilization

structures, social media has led to the formation of new movements. Bennett and Segerberg (2013) in Lee & Chan (2016) articulate the concept of bonding to describe the form of protest movements not dependent on central organizations. Based on simple personal actions and digital media serves as a large-scale communication infrastructure.

Not surprisingly, protest movements can emerge quickly with individuals and groups coordinating themselves through digital media networks. These movements are able to attract large numbers of followers because they do not require people to take the same membership, the same identity and engage in the same standard form of action. They are decentralized, with many participants not mobilized by and not recognizing the authority of the central organizers (Anduiza, Cristancho, & Sabucedo, 2014) in (Francis L.F. Lee, 2016).

The existence of the internet itself has long been believed to be the latest stage that can be done, especially in the political field. According to Farrell (1996), Farrell & Webb (2000), Norris (2000) in Farrell (2001), in the campaign process there are three stages undertaken namely the Age of Print Media, the Television Age and the Digital Age (David M Farrell, 2001).

The basic trend that can be concluded is the shift in issues that characterize the implementation of elections. Locality, non-professional issues and part-time workers from party loyalist members carry out a permanent campaign that is now identified with a focus on presentations, the important role of campaign consultants and emphasizes the marketing image and campaign issues that are carried out. Inevitably, there are many reasons that can be argued that modern campaigns are usually very special, and very much depend on how the capacity of the political party to convey it to the public.

When conducting a digital campaign, political parties have two choices, namely to prepare all the candidates' needs so that the institution can change its form or vision-mission (Troy 1996 in Farrell 2001), or rely on party candidates and expect information from them on how they complete their mission.

But in fact, Coleman (2005) in Graham (2013) states that based on the national survey he developed, he stated empirically that politicians in the UK failed to build meaningful relationships with the community.

Therefore, Coleman (2005: 10-12) in Graham (2013) then developed the concept of direct presence which contains 3 conditions, namely communication between representatives of the people and the community must be built in two directions and the content is not consultation but discussion. Second, the conversation must flow and be natural. Third, as a winner, the representatives must carry out its obligations. And elected representatives must act as

part of the community so that they can carry out their duties better.

Research conducted on the British general election campaign from 2001 to 2005 showed that online campaigns duplicate the one-way communication pattern as usual in public campaigns (Coleman 2001; Jackson 2007 in Graham 2013). But along with the growing use of social media, researchers argue that this type of campaign will very likely be a trigger (equalizer) for democracy in the future. They also have an obligation to overcome the gap between political parties and the public (Coleman 2005; Coleman and Blumler 2009 in (Todd Graham & Guidob, 2013).

In this study, the author uses the concept of Digital Marketing Strategy which commonly used in profit-based companies. This concept the author applies in order to find out what processes are carried out by political parties and how effective they are.

Planning for digital marketing activities itself is actually not much different from planning other marketing activities. One difference is the separation between online and offline marketing plans, because it is based on consumer opinion (Bosomworth & Chaffey, 2013).

Therefore, the author conducted a study using SOSTAC planning framework, which is a plan to help structure and manage its implementation. SOSTAC stands for Situation, Objectives and Strategy, Tactics, Action and Control. This concept was developed by PR Smith for marketing communication planning, namely by explaining several stages that must be involved in the marketing strategy, starting from the strategy that will be developed to the implementation of the company.

The stages in the SOSTAC Planning Framework, which will be the basis for identifying problems with marketing in the company, include:

1) **Situation Analysis:** identification of company conditions using the SWOT Analysis method (Strength, Weakness, Opportunities, Threat), Customer insight, Market trends, Competitor analysis, Internal capabilities and resources. 2) **Objectives:** goal setting using the 5s method (Sell, Serve, Speak, Save and Sizzle). 3) **Strategy:** strategy planning will use the STOP and SIT method. STOP (Segment, Target Market, Online Value Proposition (OVP), and Positioning). Online Value Proposition (OVP) uses a 7P approach (Product, Price, Place, Promotion, People, Physical Evidence, and Process) and strategy formation using SIT (or Sequence Stage, Integration and Tools). 4) **Tactics:** in achieving the strategy using the 8P's approach, Communication Mix, Content plan, Contact plan. 5) **Actions:** Analyze in detail about Responsibilities and Structures, Processes and systems, Internal resources and skills, External agencies within the company. 6) **Control:** assess the success of the company by using Key Performance Indicators (KPI) and web analytics, User experience review, frequency of reporting, Process of reporting and actions.

By following the stages in the SOSTAC Planning Framework, this research will have information about the situation and condition of the organization that forms the

basis of the development of the marketing strategy, then leads to its implementation.

III. METHODOLOGY

This research was made using a qualitative research approach, because it was carried out to build knowledge through understanding and discovery. The qualitative research approach is a research process and understanding based on methods that investigate a social phenomenon and human problems. According to Iskandar (2009) in Syahril (2016), in this study, researchers made a complex picture, examined words, detailed reports from respondents' views and conducted studies on natural situations.

In qualitative research, researchers are key instruments. Researchers must be able to interpret data obtained from direct observation, interviews and literature studies. Researchers must also be able to account for the validity of the data by using data triangulation. Through the use of inductive methods, the results of qualitative research emphasize meaning rather than generalization. This study aims to understand and interpret various phenomena that exist or that occur in reality, as a characteristic of qualitative research (Syahril, 2016).

As respondent, researcher took two political parties which in the results of the 2019 general election showed significant votes. Firstly, the Golkar party which is 30 years old but still has a high enough number of voters. In the midst of internal problems, the number of Golkar legislative candidates involved in corruption and the change of the umpteenth general chairperson proved that the party bearing the banyan tree was ranked third in the number of voters in the 2019 Legislative Election. Although the vote in the 2019 Election dropped compared to the 2014 election results (Margareth, 2019).

Second, the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). This party is a new party whose work has start in 2019 Election. Although it is relatively new and does not get a single seat in parliament because the number of votes received does not meet the threshold, the party led by Grace Natalie is able to gain significant votes in many polling stations abroad. This shows that PSI voters abroad, on average, are technologically savvy scholars (Ristianito, 2019).

Based on KPU data on Friday (4/19/2019), there were three political parties that were the favorite of foreign voters, namely PDIP (26.92%); PSI (22.22%) and PKS (18.86%). The data is the result of calculations from 214 polling stations (TPS) abroad or only 6.7% of 3,174 polling stations.

As a new party, PSI is quite favored by voters abroad. Even in some locations, they recorded the highest vote compared to other parties. In Bangkok, PSI won with 334 votes, followed by PDIP 314 votes and PKS 161 votes. Likewise, the Beijing PSI also excelled with 510 votes,

followed by PDIP 499 votes and PKS 153 votes (Basari, 2019).

Based on that, researcher got the opportunity to conduct in-depth interviews with 2 representatives of political parties who responsible for their party's digital campaign activities. First was volunteers who served as digital media consultants for the Golkar party, which was under the auspices of the Alexandria Strategy company. The company which was only established a year ago is a digital marketing consultant. Hosted by five young people, researcher had the opportunity to interview the founder and leader of the company, Guntur Mallarangeng.

He is a young graduate of the Kellogg School of Management, USA and experienced in the field of information technology. Together with his four colleagues, each has different specialties such as videography capabilities, digital marketing, information technology, research and management. Because of his good relations and closeness with Golkar - where his father Rizal Mallarangeng became National Coordinator of Golkar Volunteers - Guntur admitted that this was his first project in organizing political campaign activities in the political field.

As the second speaker, the author had the opportunity to interview the Coordinator of the Social Media Division as well as the Chair of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) Central Board (DPP) Campaign Team, Halimah, as the person in charge of the digital campaign in this new party. The social media division is one of the work units under the auspices of the party that is directly responsible to the party chairman. Her job is to make video content, update social media, etc.

IV. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

1. Situation Analysis

The situation analysis stage is by carrying out the SWOT Analysis method. According to Guntur, the digital campaign concept that he applied in the Golkar digital campaign adopted more digital marketing concepts that had previously been widely applied by companies. One advantage of Golkar is that its leaders want to change their mindset from mainstream campaigns to digital campaigns

The strength of PSI was the ignorance they had. This party is only 5 years old and has not yet experienced the election. The party machines that they have are still very new because the network of organizations they have formed was recently formed. Luckily, the majority of PSI members are young people who have an average intellectual and technological literacy, digital campaigns are the main choice.

As for the PSI, the opportunity gained when it comes to innovating using a digital platform in the form of audio visual that is favoured by women and young people, as

the PSI target. Unlike Golkar, which is a senior party. Golkar precisely focused on the vote in the 2014 election, where the party was ranked in the top 2.

As an old party, Golkar was confident that it would be able to maintain its position. But with the many internal problems of the party that are concerned about creating a negative image that has an effect on the decline in vote acquisition in the 2019 Election, digital campaigns are also encouraged to support the mainstream campaign.

2. Objective

This is a general concept adopted by organizations in developing digital marketing campaigns. With clear and measurable goals, it is expected that the organization can have guidance in carrying out its product sales (Dodson, 2016).

In the campaign to win the president and vice-president, the two parties must unite with other KIK member parties to win the goal of winning the Joko Widodo-Ahmad Ma'ruf Amin pair to become the President of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, another goal is to increase support for the party so that it is able to become a parliamentary ruler. Legislative candidates, each of which is a stretcher party, covers the territory of all regions in Indonesia. Therefore, this is not an easy task because it is closely related to many things, both internal and external to the party itself.

According to Guntur, to achieve this goal, there is a specific strategy that is being implemented, namely to conduct a co-branding between Golkar and Jokowi, through the establishment of Go-Jo volunteers. From Halimah's point of view, PSI did the same thing in communicating its party's goals. Because young people and women are the target, PSI is looking for a communication platform that can be accepted by those aged 24 to 35 years, namely audio visual.

3. Strategy

After the goal can be known, the next is to determine the planning strategy that is carried out. Strategy is the way organizations achieve goals that have been set and known together. In developing this strategy, the targeted and serviced market segments must be clear.

Krawjesky and Ritzman (2002) in Faruq and Usman (2014) define operating strategies as dimensions that must be owned by a company's production system to support market demand for the company. Whereas Flaherty (1996), still in Faruq and Usman (2014), defines operating strategies as a plan of a company or business unit to develop, introduce, and produce products to satisfy customer needs better than competitors. Both definitions include the orientation of the customer and the tools to compete.

Viewed from the profile and objectives to be achieved, these two political parties put forward a content marketing

strategy through their digital campaign programs on social media. Both of these political parties consider that campaigns on social media make them able to cut their budgets and are also considered more effective. The difference is if Golkar prefers to focus on Facebook social media because it is considered closer to the voters. Whereas PSI focuses on several social media platforms, because they assume that the more social media used will be able to reach the audience that is the base of the voters.

4. Tactics

Tactics are detailed derivatives of the strategy. The approach taken is usually Communication Mix, Content Plan, and Contact Plan. Some tactics that are derived from organizational strategies are tactics of Search Engine Optimization (SEO). The goal is that all key words related to the company appear on the first page of the search site. Another tactic that is often used is the Pay Per Click (PPC) campaign, which is advertising based on keywords written by prospective customers.

For Golkar, the tactic to be used to win the battle in the 2019 Election is to approach Communication Mix in offline campaigns or mainstream campaigns and online campaigns. Their digital campaign is indeed carried out to blow up what has become an issue raised offline in the campaign of legislative candidates or presidential campaigns.

PSI choose a different tactic, namely by promoting the Content Plan, where they were very concerned about the content contained in the campaign videos they were viral. Because content is the main selling point, PSI's social media division really thinks carefully and even invites third parties who are considered to have the capacity to provide input.

Evidently the steps taken by the PSI above are useful in controlling their vote acquisition thanks to the outstanding engagement that has occurred with the public. Outstanding engagement is an effort to increase digital interaction in a personal and real time manner between social media managers and the community. With the high level of outstanding engagement that occurs, it can be interpreted that the concept of customer engagement that occurs is even better. Halimah gave an example of a prank video Giring asked his wife for polygamy permission. This video have got 14 million viewers and all of them were women.

5. Actions

To facilitate the reaching objectives, companies should make special scheduling of activities on their social media platforms. This is related to who will make the source of information to be published, who will build engagement with videos that are displayed on Youtube, Facebook, etc. In addition, the factor who produces videos and deadlines is one aspect of this stage (Cowley, 2016).

In relation to what Golkar does, the chosen step is to map the voters in certain electoral districts who have Facebook

accounts. Of the number of Facebook users, correlated with how many votes must be obtained to win the election. Furthermore, from there it will be known how many people can get exposure to advertisements on Facebook and how many do not.

Furthermore, the concrete steps taken by PSI to prepare its campaign video content have even been carefully calculated. Unmitigated, PSI even formed a special team that only deals with digital content for the party's social media needs. It's called the Campaign Team, which is under Halimah's responsibility.

It seems clear that the PSI's concrete activities in disseminating its campaign message strongly follow the processes and structures contained in the organization. Not only during the preparation and production of video production, even after entering the post-production process, you still have to go through the next stage of the process to be published.

6. Control

The final stage is to apply the digital marketing plan framework, which is monitoring and measuring performance based objectives set in phase two. By paying attention to the tactics that have been set and supervising during implementation, it can be called a Key Performing Indicator (KPI). The KPI evaluation activity itself should be carried out routinely both weekly and monthly. The aim is to ensure that all activities are carried out according to the SOSTAC planning that has been carried out.

To get these results, Golkar applied the target to be achieved as much as 0.5 percent of all viewers for each video. Therefore, they really correct the concept of the video they want to display while setting a target for video content to reach 3.2 million viewers or get 3.2 impressions. For this reason, every day even every half hour, the admin must see how the video content is responded to.

Similarly, what was done by PSI. It is their Social Media Team that will intervene to check the travel of their published video content. How much engagement appears with the public, which type of video with the material gets the biggest viral, etc.

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Looking at the above phenomenon, it can be said that what happened within Golkar and PSI parties are new phenomenon in Indonesia's democratic system. What was done and delivered by the two parties that represented the different generations of voters, showed that digitalization had penetrated all fields, including the political sector. The ability to master the fields of technology and information makes political parties demanded to develop their digital concepts so that they can embrace all the militant and new supporters of the period. If technology is

abandoned, it can lead to party unpopularity, especially those that are often hit by negative issues and ignorance of the community about the party's vision and mission.

In the midst of the proliferation of digital campaigns in the political world, the government and the public must be aware of the dangers that occur due to high political competition. Circulation of hoaxes, utterances of hatred and the emergence of buzzers and also digital forces that can be empowered to provide bad influence, must be watched out together.

For this reason, comprehensive supervision from a strict legal umbrella is needed so that public awareness of the vulnerability of political issues is framed in the world of social media to create confusion and trigger hatred among community groups. This is not just the duty of the government, the General Election Commission (KPU) or the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) alone, this is our duty together as part of Indonesian society.

REFERENCES

- Basari, M. T. (2019, April 19). *bisnis.com*. Retrieved from <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20190419/15/913488/hasil-pemilu-2019-pdip-psi-dan-pks-unggul-di-pileg-luar-negeri>
- Bosomworth, D., & Chaffey, D. (2013, January). *academia.edu*. Retrieved from https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/38474146/215472712-Digital-Marketing-Plan-Template_1.pdf?AWSAccessKeyId=AKIAIWOWY YGZ2Y53UL3A&Expires=1559409359&Signature=%2FgTFEpd65laq8BijSeYe922Nc9I%3D&respons e-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3D
- BBC. (2019, April 15). *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-47879833>
- BBC. (2019, Mei 3). Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-48130161>
- CNNIndonesia.com. (2019, Mei 24). *cnnindonesia.com*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190521140658-32-396883/hasil-pahit-bakar-duit-kampanye-perindo-di-televisi>
- Cowley, M. (2016, September). Jellies & Jaffas: Applying PR Smith SOSTAC Model to an Online Confectionary Start-Up. *Innovation & Management Science eJournal*.
- David M Farrell, R. K. (2001). Parties and Campaign Professionals in a Digital Age: Political Consultants in the United States and Their Counterparts Overseas. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 6-11.
- Dodson, I. (2016). *The Art of Digital Marketing: The Definitive Guide to Creating Strategic, Targeted, and Measurable Online Campaigns*. Canada: John Wiley & Sons.
- Faruq, M. A., & Usman, I. (2014, Desember). Penyusunan Strategi Bisnis dan Strategi Operasi Usaha Kecil dan Menengah Pada Perusahaan Konveksi Scissors di Surabaya. *Jurnal Manajemen Teori dan Terapan*, 3.
- Francis L.F. Lee, J. M. (2016). Digital media activities and mode of participation in a protest campaign: a study of the Umbrella Movement. *Information, Communication & Society*, 4-22.
- Kompas, H. (2019). *Tatap Muka Tetap Menjadi Prioritas*. Jakarta: Kompas Gramedia .
- Margareth, R. (2019, Mei 22). *BeriTagar*. Retrieved from <https://www.tagar.id/faktor-ini-membuat-golkar-merosot-di-pemilu-2019>
- Ma'ruf, I. (2018, Oktober 21). *inews.id*. Retrieved from <https://www.inews.id/news/nasional/lipi-swing-voters-pemilu-2019-didominasi-pemilih-muda/288333>
- Nikku, B. R., & Rafique, Z. (2019). Empowering people: Role for political social work in South Asia. *International Social Work*, 62(2), 877-891.
- Rosilawati, Y. (2014). Employee Branding Sebagai Strategi Komunikasi Organisasi Untuk Mengkomunikasikan Citra Merek (Brand-image). *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 6(3).
- Salsabila, L., & Purnomo, E. P. (2018). Establishing and Implementing Good Practices E-Government (A Case Study: Indonesia and South Korea E-Government Implementation 2012-2016). *Journal of Asian Review of Public Affairs and Policy*, 3(3).
- Merdeka. (2019, April 19). *Merdeka*. Diambil kembali dari <https://www.merdeka.com/dunia/pelaksanaan-pemilu-2019-tuai-pujian-dari-dunia-internasional.html>
- Okezone. (2019, Maret 26). *Okezone*. Retrieved from <https://news.okezone.com/read/2019/03/26/605/2034990/siapa-swing-voters-dan-undecided-voters-dalam-pilpres>
- Ristiano, C. (2019, April 25). *Kompas.com*. Retrieved from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/04/25/13204161/raja-juli-pemilih-psi-di-luar-negeri-kaum-urban-terdidik-dan-kelas-menengah>
- Sarofah, R., Purwaningsih, T., & Nurhakim, N. (2019). Analysis of Local Electoral Governance under Electoral Integrity Perspective in Yogyakarta City 2017. *Journal of Government and Civil Society*, 2(2), 107-125.
- Syahril, N. (2016). *uinsu*. Retrieved from http://repository.uinsu.ac.id/590/6/BAB_III.pdf
- Todd Graham, M. B., & Guidob. (2013). Between Broadcasting Political Messages and Interacting With Voters .