

The Failure of the New Legislative Candidates in the 2019 Elections in North Aceh Regency

Zulhilmi^{1*}, Muhammad Bin Abubakar²

1,2Universitas Malikussaleh

**Corresponding author. Email: zulhilmi@unimal.ac.id*

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the failure of the new legislative candidates in the 2019 elections in North Aceh Regency. It focused on the factors that caused the losses of the formers of the Aceh Party in 2019 in North Aceh. It had used a qualitative methods where data was collected through interview, observation and documentation. Among respondents of the study were Aceh Parties members of the North Aceh, from the head of the branches and the head quarter in Banda Aceh, such as Muzakir Manaf, Tengku Ni and so on. In addition, the data were also collected from the district KIP in North Aceh as the agent that carried out the election. Then the data were analyzed by reduction, displayed and verification. It was found that the factors that caused the failure of the new candidates were more to financial aspect, its political costs were very high. In addition, the intensity of the campaign was very limited and not on a large scale. In addition, between the vision-mission with the political orientation of the candidates were not synchronized. These factors are the obstacles to the creation of a quality democratic process. Finally, there is a weakness in the political capacity of the candidates from Parties.

Keywords: *failure, legislative, candidates, election.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Practical beginner behavior provides an overview of the stages of political segmentation in an individual in a group or organization. Of course this provides an opportunity and also an obstacle for someone who will start jumping into the practical political arena. In the general election, of course, many budding politicians managed to win seats in the legislature and executive. The process is instant and some already have qualified integrity. This is the process of success or failure of budding politicians in gaining seats of power in the legislature and executive. The failure of novice legislative candidates is very large in number compared to the success of gaining power in government. This is also inseparable from the strategy in winning the election competition.

Behavioral theory focuses attention on the political actions of individuals who highlight the extent of the role of political knowledge so that it is affected by political behavior (Nasiwan 2010). Behaviorists seek to explain human behavior in political activities. General Systems Theory is believed to also be the root of the emergence of Behaviorist Theory, This theory says that the main motivation of human political action

or behavior is the desire to multiply the usefulness of something of value (Nasiwan 2010).

The Legislative General Election In 2019 is enlivened by many novice legislative candidates from the central to regional levels. These novice Legislative Candidates usually try to convince the public to vote for them. Each novice Legislative Candidate has a different orientation in participating in the general election in 2019. Novice Legislative candidates of course provide a new ideas or *trobosan* during the Legislative election campaign. Every beginner candidate will tend to try to show attitudes and behaviors that are in accordance with their orientation. The goal of the novice Legislative Candidate is to make changes to the constituency that is the constituent of his electorate in running. Every Legislative Candidate who nominates always has the goal of wanting to prosper his community. This makes the campaign process only pseudo and not meaningful for his constituents.

Skinner Talking for a psychologist formulates that behavior is a person's response or reaction to a stimulus (external stimulus), because the behavior occurs through the process of the stimulus to the organism and then the organism responds. The response can be divided into

two. Respondent response or reflexive, which is a response caused by certain stimuli (stimulus). For example, bright light causes the eyes to be closed. This response includes emotional behavior, such as hearing the news of a disaster becoming sad. Both operant response or instrumental response, i.e. a response that arises and develops then followed by a particular stimulus or stimulant. For example, if the health worker performs his duties well and then gets an award from his superior, then the health worker will be better in carrying out his duties (Soekidjo 2007).

The process of gaining sympathy from electoral constituencies is not always successful but many get opportunities even though many legislative candidates are dominated by incumben who run again in legislative elections in 2019. Most of the novice Legislative Candidates whose political parties are still new or do not pass the Treshold Parliament are always oriented towards bringing about the welfare of the community and improving infrastructure by accommodating the interests of the people who will be fought in parliament if elected later as representatives of the People.

The states the factors that affect Behavior According to Lawrance Green, human behavior is influenced by two main factors, namely behavior factors (behaviour causes) and factors outside behavior (non behaviour causes). Furthermore, the behavior itself is determined or formed from 3 factors. First, predisposing factors, which include knowledge, attitudes and so on. Second, enabling factors, which include the physical environment, the availability or unavailability of occupational safety facilities or facilities, such as the availability of PPE, training and so on Third, reinforcement factors, these factors include law, regulations, supervision and so on. So that this becomes a view that is too monotonous and unattractive to the community (Soekidjo 2007). In the Legislative Election in 2019 many Novice Legislative Candidates from the Aceh Regional Party were not elected as Members of the Legislature.

A political process is created or arises when there is a political organ or political machine called a political party. Describes that political parties are a neatly organized group of people united by ideological equations that aim to seek and claim power in elections to implement alternative policies that they have compiled (Ramlan 2010). Another case with Doddy, etc which illustrates that political parties mean that as organizations to bring together various interests of society, its membership consists of political actors and members of ordinary society, organizations formed to gain political power by competing through elections and the appropriate political conditions are in the conditions of the democratic political system (Wihardi, Rusdiyanta, and Syahrial 2011).

The legislative elections provide urgency in determining the representatives of the people through electoral means. Of course, the role of political parties is very dominant in determining the legislative candidates determined rather than its potential cadres. The potential cadres have a political orientation and a strategy to attract public sympathy in order to get vote support in the election. Every year legislative elections are always followed by political parties by nominating their cadres as MPs who will be elected by the public to fight their aspirations in parliament. The cadres have been prepared by political parties to become legislative candidates and compete for support from the public in elections. Aceh is one of the regions that has a local party which is a specialty in accordance with Law No. 11 of 2006 concerning aceh government. Local parties in Aceh there are four consisting of PDA, PNA, PA and SIRA parties.

Campaigning is one of the means used by novice Legislative Candidates to gain sympathy from the public. The orientation of novice Legislative Candidates tends to be displayed at the time they conduct the campaign. The attitudes and actions they take during campaigns and approaches to the community will greatly impact the community to assess. This is an indicator of the community as a determinant to vote or not in the 2019 legislative elections. Various strategies are carried out by Legislative Candidates and budding politicians in winning the contestation of the 2019 Legislative Election. This gives its own assessment by the public in the democratic process in choosing its representatives in parliament.

The process of exercising its power, a political party must be oriented to its function and role (Dwight 2000) states that the main role of political parties is divided into 3 types, namely the first providing an institutional bridge between citizens and governments. Both poke and produce policies offered to the people of the electorate and to be implemented by the government of the election results. The three paths for the process of cadreization and selection of politicians to fill public office. While Syafiie describes that a political party is a group of people who share the same ideology, intend to seize and maintain power with the aim to (in their opinion the most idealistic) fight for the truth, at a level (level) of the state. (Inu,Kencana 2011)

The change in the system in elections that has begun since the 2009 election is with a proportional system where voters choose directly who the candidate will be in parliament and victory is determined by the most votes. So this leads to open opportunities for anyone who wants to be a representative of the people in parliament (Uber, Regar, and Waleleng 2016). So this becomes a process that must be done in carrying out the legitimacy of public power through the stage of elections.

Muchamad explained that political parties are one form of embodiment in the aspect of freedom of association as one of the prerequisites for the running of democracy. Freedom of association is born from the basic human tendency to live in society and organize both formally and informally. (Mochamad 2011) The tendency of this aspect is an inevitability. The tendency of society which in principle is an organized life arises to meet the common needs and interests of individuals and to achieve common goals based on equality of mind and conscience.

This process will form a new power dynamic in the government of the results of elections. Facing Legislative Elections, political parties recruit cadres as Legislative Candidates in the face of the victory of the 2019 election. The Aceh Regional Party has prepared 42 Legislative Candidates in six selected regions in North Aceh Regency. Various groups are expected to synergize in raising local parties in the 2019 elections. In the 2019 election year, several local parties in Aceh have prepared legislative candidates to compete in the 2019 elections. One of them is the Aceh Regional Party party has prepared 42 Legislative Candidates by mapping community support for the implementation of the 2019 elections in North Aceh regency.

Political education is a process in membering understanding in the field of politics so that the emergence of participation in society or Political Participation. There are several views on political education outlined. (Kartini 2012) explains that political education is defined as political forming or Politische Bildung. In this case, political actors must be aware of their political status / position in the community. Then the term "Bildung" means formation, so the term concerns the activity of forming a full awareness and responsibility to become a political actor.

This is done with the aim of raising the party by using a direct communication strategy with the community, in the hope that the Aceh Regional Party Legislative Candidate is able to get more support from the community in selected areas in North Aceh regency. While (Affandi 2012) describes that political education has always been concerned with internalization of values which is said to be the process by which individuals study culture and become part of that culture as an important element of its concept. The process of internalizing these values becomes a strengthening of the capacity of political education which can be interpreted that between education and politics are interrelated.

Political education is also a political socialization, so according to Gatara and said asking as well as the political socialization can be interpreted as a process of forming the attitudes and political orientation of community members. The attitudes and orientations of members of society resulting from this political

socialization in turn have a strong influence on the level of political participation, political recruitment, and political communication of a person or community group in all activities of his life (Asep Sahid and Mohammad Dzulkiah 2011).

Zainal Mukarom ask the political socialization is also a means for generations to inherit their political beliefs to the next generation. Political socialization is a long and complex process that results from mutually influencing efforts between an individual's personality and his or her relevant political experience and giving shape to his or her political behavior. So Political Socialization becomes a mechanism in providing political information for the community so as to give rise to active participation (Zainal 2016).

The Legislative Candidate of the Aceh Regional Party in North Aceh Regency also always uses his image in the political world itself through his own Vision and Mission so that the community wants and also provides voting support to the Aceh Regional Party. By using the attachment strategy, using outdoor media can facilitate self-recognition strategies to be better known to the public and legislative candidates of aceh regional parties in North Aceh also communicate themselves through influential people or groups so that they can get maximum support and can achieve the party's goal of increasing one quota of seats in North Aceh Regency.

2. METHODS

The type of research used in this study is qualitatively generating descriptive data analysis in the form of written or oral words from people and behaviors observed. This type of qualitative research uses qualitative-descriptive analysis methods, as well as qualitative exploratory. (Moleong 2018) The approach is used to analyze the thwarting of novice legislative candidates from local parties in winning legislative elections in 2019 from the Aceh Regional Party in North Aceh district and in view of inhibiting and supporting factors such as available resources, communication between stakeholders, implementor attitudes towards programs and environmental conditions related to social, economic and political conditions. based on facts by presenting social phenomena in the field in full according to the aspects examined.

The analysis is carried out by linking theories that can serve to explain, a symptom so as to obtain conclusions and recommendations about how the Failure of Novice Legislative Candidates from Local Parties in Winning Legislative Elections in 2019 from the Aceh Regional Party in north Aceh regency. The reason for the use of qualitatively described methods is due to the data needed qualitatively, this research design is an implementation evaluation study, due to the Failure of Novice Legislative Candidates from Local

Parties in Winning legislative elections in 2019 from the Aceh Regional Party in North Aceh district in six constituencies.

3. RESULTS

3.1. *The History of the Aceh Regional Party*

The Local Party is a mandate of the Helsinki MoU which dropped on national regulation in Law No. 11 of 2006 on aceh government. This is an opportunity for all elements of Acehnese society in forming a local-based party (regional) devoted to Aceh Province as an election participant in 2009. Aceh regional party has been an election participant since its formation in 2009 and managed to win seats in several districts and cities although insignificant while at the provincial level only one seat. But this party has its ups and downs that make it have to change the name because it does not pass the threshold or elementary threshold in the 2019 election so that in the 2014 election must change the name of the Aceh Daulat Party to the Aceh Peace Party along with its emblem and symbol.

The impact of the defeat of the election, the Aceh Peace Party participated in the 2014 election but the results remained the same and there was no change at the provincial level. While at the district and city level the gain of seats decreased. This is what makes the Aceh Peace Party must lose a second time so that it cannot cross the electoral threshold. This is what makes the PDA must reapply as an election participant party in 2019. In January 2016 it had to change its name to the Aceh Regional Party (PD-Aceh) in order to compete in the 2019 elections. Aceh Regional Party is one of the local parties participating in the election that competed in 2019 in addition to the Aceh Party (PA), SIRA Party, and Nanggroe Aceh Party (PNA). So the Aceh Regional Party is not a new local party and was formed in 2007 as the Aceh Daulat Party initially failed to win elections in 2009 and 2014.

The process of forming the Aceh Regional Party from 2017 has its ups and downs due to a lack of popularity in the community. This is what makes the Aceh Regional Party always experience failure in gaining seats in the DPRA and DPRK at the local level of Aceh. Political strategy is carried out by creating a new name and symbol of PD-Aceh in order to win the contestation of elections in 2019. The name change to PD-Aceh because the election threshold was not reached significantly so this brought a stagnant impact so that in 2016 it was re-formed and there was a refreshment of organizational restructuring in the body of the local political party. However, PD-Aceh continues to strive to socialize itself to the community so that it can seek support in the 2019 election.

This Local Party should have the most support because many cadres are from non-formal elements of

Islamic religious education such as pesantren and dayah. So this should make PD-Aceh strong and win the election contestation. This makes it a picture that the PD-Aceh lacks support from the people of Aceh so that it fails in elections until 2019. Here is the name of the Chairman and the period of their respective terms.

Table 1. Name of the Charirman in the Era

No	Chairman	era
1	Nurkhalis	2008-2012
2	Tgk. Muhibbussabri A. Wahab	2012-2016
3	Jamaluddin	2016-2021

The data figure shows that the Aceh Regional Party provides opportunities for all elements of society to enter the party even though it is Islamic but not for the santri only but all Acehnese people. Although in the second period slightly shifted to the dayah leadership so that it became less desirable by the community. This affects the popularity of PD-Aceh so that this party is always not maximal in winning political contestation in 2009 and 2014. The Aceh Regional Party has a practical political foundation for students or young people who have a strong religious spirit. PD-Aceh is one of the local parties that have the acquisition of seats that have not been maximal. Though many reliable figures are able to provide hope for the community, especially related to scholars.

PD-Aceh is his party formed on the initiative of several scholars, thus encouraging potential Acehnese santri-santri and understanding of politics are encouraged to participate in Politics. The establishment of PD-Aceh in 2007 is to make cadres of Islamic character but this is not an attraction for the community. The process of forming PD-Aceh has changed as the political process progresses from several elections. This gives an idea that theological trends are not very desirable by acehnese people in general because religious affairs smelling of politics are still very ambiguous and tend to be sensitive in acehnese society. This is a picture of a local party formed from the discussion of several scholars in Aceh so that it was formed and changed its name to PD-Aceh until now.

3.2. *The Failure of Beginner Candidates in the 2019 Election from the Aceh Regional Party*

The implementation of the 2019 election has resulted in victories for national and local political parties in Aceh. The process initially went well, but for PD-Aceh the acquisition of seats in the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPRA) and the District/City People's Representative Council (DPRK) was minimal.

This is a correction and evaluation of political strategy in winning the 2019 election. Even though all elements of society have entered the PD - Aceh but have not been so maximal to win election contestation in 2019. Initially progress in 2019 the community has started participating in politics by entering into cadres PD - Aceh. These potential cadres are not only from the dayah from ordinary people, community leaders, activists and entrepreneurs. There are also former core officials in the government bureaucracy.

The main focus used to be among students in both Dayah or Pesantren, but now it is changing by considering potential cadres both among young and senior people. But this is a strategy in getting political support from the public as a legislature and executive. So the researcher understood that the failure of the beginner Caleg in strengthening the capacity of the teltetak polytak at its orientation. This is inseparable from the stronger constituent base of other parties so that the novice candidates from PD - Aceh become difficult in seeking support in the community. This may be the influence of the socialization process that has not been fully maximized and is in the power base of other local and national political parties that are already strong and consistent with their political choices.

The lack of experience in politics makes novice candidates from PD - Aceh lack confidence and minimal cendrung in socializing with the community. The political orientation of the novice candidates from the PD - Aceh that gives a picture that its nature is still monotonous and poorly understood by the people who are constituents in the 2019 election. Some of these novice candidates seem to understand the process of seeking support too dependent on the consistency of the Aceh Regional Party as the political vehicle they use. In addition, the locality political process is less strong so that it cannot compete with other political parties that already have political maturity and contracts with their constituents. Indeed, the task of the legislature has the function of controlling, budgeting and legislating. But this is what makes the novice candidates from PD - Aceh less populist in the community.

The great desire of novice candidates to improve the legislative function in contesting the rights of the people. This is experienced by the novice Caleg PD - Aceh in the North Aceh Regency region. Changes in terms of the development sector also want to be frilled in parliament when discussed and passed into policy by the government. Real changes will indeed be made if they are elected to represent the community. So it is understood by voters that this Novice Candidate is not experienced in politics. Indeed, The Beginner Candidate has the desire to renew the legislative function to focus more in the field by applying functions such as legislating, budgeting and controlling that are maximal

and pro to the interests of the community in North Aceh regency.

The Beginner Candidates also want to make a real change in fighting for the aspirations of the people of North Aceh in accordance with the vision and mission of the Aceh Regional Party. But because of the lack of political experience, people judge with different things. In the view of the beginner candidate community especially from political parties that are not yet popular, it is difficult to get support from the public. Novice candidates must participate in bringing about a real change in North Aceh. Novice candidates are very overwhelmed in convincing the public that what will be done after being elected really fights for the aspirations of the people of North Aceh in general. So it is clear that the failure of novice candidates from the Aceh Regional party is very monotonous in socializing in general with the community in introducing themselves. This is what makes the candidates of the PD - Aceh can not reach the target of electing seats in parliament.

The Various reasons because PD - Aceh is one of the parties formed from the dayah or santri. It is then understood that novice candidates from the Aceh Regional Party are minimally actualized and very eager to expect so that it becomes difficult to find community support. Some people in North Aceh have entered into a strong political support base such as the Aceh Party (Parlok) and Gerindra Party (Parnas). The problem of beginner candidates that make fail only in the field of economics because of the limitations of political costs so that novice candidates always lag far behind the candidates who have long been political. The financial condition that makes novice candidates lag because so that what is done is always never achieved during the 2019 election competition.

The novice candidates want to offer new things or they will provide business capital to the community. But the public has begun to no longer believe in the candidates because the public learned from the experience in previous elections because of political promises during the campaign. The Obstacles that many beginner candidates get such as the views of many disappointed people so what is argued is difficult to accept. The public is already disappointed with the politicians who are now the DPR both at the city, provincial and even the level in the Dpr Ri. This is an aspect of the failure of the novice candidates from the Aceh Regional party.

the failure of the novice candidates for lack of political capacity. Therefore, if the public is disappointed they no longer trust the candidates who run in the future. So the political strategy carried out by novice candidates has not had much effect on the people in North Aceh. But in line with the growth journey of this PDA party is not in accordance with the initial agreement of this party was established by the founders

of this party because this party became one party that does not have a clear consensus segmentation so it is less desirable by the public.

3.3. The Analyzing Failure of Factors the PD – Aceh Candidates in the 2019 election

The defeat in the 2019 election is the third time for the PD - Aceh both at the DPRA and DPRK levels. This is a problem faced by the Party with the strength of the dayah and santri in Aceh. Whereas PD - Aceh is a party that is equally formed with other local parties so that it can appear in elections from 2009, 2014 to 2019 but always suffer defeat. Of course this becomes a weak aspect of political strategy in seeking support from the people in North Aceh so that it can be considered as a region close to scholars. The dominance of dayah power is very large in this region called Aceh Pase but cendrung has different views related to politics and involvement among dayah in political parties.

The prevailing political process gives an idea that the Aceh Regional Party has various shortcomings that need to be analyzed more deeply to answer the factors of failure to win seats in the Dprk North Aceh. There are several factors that make the failure of the novice candidate PD - Aceh in gaining political support from the community. Such as the lack of socialization and self-introduction of pd – Aceh beginner candidates with the community in North Aceh Regency. The political cost is too high. Both of these aspects are factors that affect the political capacity of the pd - Aceh beginner candidates so that the chances of getting votes are very minimal.

The People in North Aceh consider that the dayah is only focused on religious affairs and consider apabia has been contaminated in politics to be impure anymore in the nuances of purely religious thought. According to the people of Aceh, the santri didayah should get a more in-depth education related to religion. This is the first factor of PD - Aceh does not have too much support from the people of North Aceh regency. Further to the weak factor of consolidation between the dayah elements in North Aceh so that political support is in other political vehicles or other political parties both locally and nationally.

Novice candidates are also not fully able to map the basis of the movement of opponents in the 2019 election competition. It is also still not so clearly found so there needs to be further analysis in the process of conducting elections in 2019 as well as the results obtained by the novice candidates of PD - Aceh. There are important points found at a later stage that need to be analyzed. The point is that beginner candidates want to join the PD - Aceh because without a political dowry this factor is believed to be lysed so as to give an idea of the opportunities that belun achieved by novice candidates. The most important point is that novice candidates have

a political strategy that does not have the establishment so that the emergence of failure in winning the DPRK north Aceh seat. In the picture of hasis chapter that has achieved almost all the factors of failure because the capacity of PD politicians - Aceh lacks integrity.

The dominance of the local party whose existence is related to former combatants makes the party very desirable by the community in North Aceh Regency. The main focus is the contribution and popularity that became support in the community in the 2009 election. This factor can be summarized in several political processes carried out by novice candidates pd - Aceh so it is very difficult to win political support in the 2019 election. In addition, the identity of the novice candidates of PD - Aceh is also not so popular that they are very difficult to win the contestation of legislative elections in 2019.

The failure factor is an important note for novice candidates in order to prepare all ammunition in winning the DPRK North Aceh seat. So these factors that make the beginner caleg less support from the community in North Aceh regency. This is what makes the candidates of the pd - Aceh get obstacles in their respective constituencies. This is what makes the candidates of the pd - Aceh do not get political support in the 2019 election.

4. CONCLUSION

The failure of novice candidates from the Aceh Regional Party is also related to political orientation. The presentation of the Party's vision and mission is sometimes not in the same way as the political orientation brought by novice legislative candidates. The political process that runs feels burdensome for the candidates of the Aceh Regional Party because in various aspects that need to be done so that this process gives a picture of weak self-capacity. Efforts to convince the public are also still not able to be done by prospective novice legislatf. This is inseparable from the public's view of politicians who are only limited to arguing but there is no realization. Because the campaign period of argumentation of the candidates is considered fictitious so it is difficult for the public to trust the candidates.

Perceptions that tend to be the same towards politicians make the public unconcerned and consider the political cost of a prevalence in following elections. So it is very difficult for novice candidates from PD - Aceh in facing voter constituencies. The most important aspect of failure is that the constituents of the electorate are partly the voting base of other parties. So when they do mapping the strength of support is less adaptive so that cendrung influenced by political costs that are too high. In addition, the political orientation of prospective novice legislative members of the Aceh Regional Party

if elected later wants to improve the function of the council, they must also be able to offer new ideas for the community so that the community provides opportunities to novice legislative candidates who are newly advanced in the political world of the Aceh Regional party. This is what makes the failure felt by the novice candidates from the Aceh Regional Party.

The factor that makes novice candidates fail to win seats is more to the lack of self-socialization in the community. Less strengthening the capacity and integrity of the novice candidates themselves. This makes people's views the same on politicians especially in the run-up to elections. So that the public is very understanding of the conditions at the time of the election and assesses that politicians argue yes the realization is not. This is what makes the public view politicians as a crisis of capacity and integrity. The obstacles they get on the ground are when they campaign many people who do not believe. This tends to make the novice candidate rarely active in community social activities before he joined and ran as a representative of the DPRK North Aceh yat dui shelf. And financially also not so well established so many of the novice candidates feel inferior and not confident. The actors who made the novice candidates from PD - Aceh failed to get the DPRK seat of North Aceh.

REFERENCES

- Affandi. 2012. *Pendidikan Politik*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Gatara, Asep Sahid and Dzulkiah , Said Mohammad. 2011. *Sosiologi Politik : Konsep Dan Dinamika Perkembangan Kajian*. 3rd ed. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Dwight, King. 2000. *Interpreting Indonesian Politics. Indonesia's New Order as a Bureaucratic Polity, a Neopatrimonial Regime or Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regime: What Difference Does It Make?* 2nd ed. Itacha: Cornell University Press.
- Syafeii, Inu,Kencana. 2011. *Sistem Pemerintahan Indonesia*. I. Jakarta: PT Rineka Cipta.
- Kartini, Kartono. 2012. *Pendidikan Politik: Sebagai Bagian Dari Pendidikan Orang Dewasa*. Bandung: Mandar Maju.
- Safa'at, Mochamad Ali. 2011. *Pembubaran Partai Politik : Pengaturan Dan Praktik Pembubaran Partai Politik Dalam Pergulatan Politik*. I. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Moleong, Lexy J. 2018. *38 Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. 38th ed. Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nasiwan. 2010. *Teori-Teori Politik Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: UNY Press.
- Surbakti, Ramlan. 2010. *Memahami Ilmu Politik*. Revisi. Jakarta: Grasindo.
- Soekidjo, Notoatmodjo. 2007. *Pendidikan Dan Perilaku Kesehatan*. kedua. Jakarta: PT Rineka Cipta.
- Uber, Fahri, H. P. Regar, and G. J. Waleleng. 2016. "Strategi Kampanye Calon Legislatif Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (Pkb) Dapil Satu Kabupaten Minahasa Utara Tahun 2014." *Acta Diurna Komunikasi* 5(2): 1–7.
- Wihardi, Doddy, Rusdiyanta, and Syarbaini Syahril. 2011. *Pengetahuan Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Bandung: Ghalia.
- Mukarom, Zainal, Mukarom. 2016. *Komunikasi Politik*. 1st ed. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.