

The Crisis of the Aceh Local Party's Hegemony Post Election 2019

Alfian^{1,*}, Zikri Muhammad², Jumadil Saputra³

¹Department of Economics and Social Development, Faculty of Business Universiti Malaysia Terengganu, Terengganu, Malaysia

¹Department of Political Science Department, Faculty of Sosial and Political Sciences, University of Malikussaleh, Aceh, Indonesia

^{2,3}Economics and Social Development, Faculty of Business Universiti Malaysia Terengganu 21030 Kuala Nerus, Terengganu, Malaysia

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

ABSTRACT

This study examines the existence of the Aceh Party as a local party that dominated the election results for three decades starting from the 2009 election, 2014 to the 2019 election. The purpose of this study is to analyze the causes of the decline in the hegemony of the Aceh Party in the 2019 election, using Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. This study uses a qualitative approach with data collection techniques through in-depth interviews, observation and documentation. Data analysis was carried out qualitatively with an interactive analysis model. This study analyzes the hegemony crisis of the Aceh Party in the political arena in Aceh. The data obtained shows that the Aceh Party no longer dominates and plays a major role in hegemonizing political interests in the legislative and executive institutions. This study concludes that the Acehnese people's trust in these local parties has at least reduced their support, this can be seen in the 2019 general election where seat gains in the legislative body have decreased significantly. Whereas the Aceh Party is believed to be one of the shields in maintaining peace as well as a bridge for the strategic aspirations of the Acehnese people in channeling political aspirations. This article provides an illustration that the Aceh Party's hegemony that has been happening has shifted into a hegemonic crisis. This study is expected to be a study to add to the scientific literature, especially political science.

Keywords: *Hegemony Crisis, Aceh Local Party, General Election*

I. INTRODUCTION

Local political parties were introduced and recognized for their existence in the Aceh region in line with the enactment of Law Number 11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh (UUPA). The UUPA has comprehensively regulated local political parties in terms of understanding, formation, principles, objectives, functions, rights and obligations, prohibitions, membership and member sovereignty, finances, sanctions, and supervision of parties. The journey of local political parties in Aceh is a new chapter in the

development of democracy in Indonesia. The implementation relates to local political parties, Article 75 paragraph (1) of Law No. 11/2006 concerning the Government of Aceh in lieu of Law no. 18/2001 on special autonomy states that residents in Aceh can form local political parties [1]. This guarantee is reinforced by Government Regulation No. 20 of 2007 concerning local parties in Aceh. In line with that, the Aceh Government has prepared regulations related to local political parties, including Aceh Qanun Number 8 of 2007 concerning Financial Assistance to Political Parties and Local Political Parties and Aceh Qanun Number 3 of 2008 concerning Local Political Parties participating in the

general election for members of the House of Representatives. Aceh and the Regency/City House of Representatives [2].

What has been done by several officials of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) who have succeeded in creating a political platform for the local Acehnese community is as a form of articulation of the type of expansive hegemony. Gramsci has explained that expansive hegemony is a type of hegemony or movement with a passive anti-revolutionary character. Strategy and counter to the efforts of the bourgeoisie to maintain its leadership by regrouping and recomposing the power of the hegemonic bloc. Expansive hegemony is also an offensive strategy to build active consensus, in mobilizing the masses for a revolution that includes changes in political and ideological superstructures. [3]. The Aceh Party has

become the main force in local politics, because this party is fully supported by former GAM combatants who transformed themselves from armed struggle to political struggle where the arena of struggle is the parliament and local government [4].

The existence of the Aceh Party is a marker for the continuation of peace in Aceh, after the suspension of the road to violence turned into a constitution. Local political parties will also be an important element in maintaining security and peace in Aceh because they can accommodate the interests of the Acehnese people [5] In the 2009 election, there were six local parties and three local parties in the 2014 election registered with the KPU to participate in the democratic party, as shown in the following table:

Table 1. List of Names of Local Political Parties in Aceh (2009-2014)

Year	Party Name
2009	Partai Aceh Aman Sejahtera (PAAS), Partai Daulat Aceh (PDA), Partai Suara Independen Rakyat Aceh (SIRA), Partai Rakyat Aceh (PRA), Partai Aceh (PA), Partai Bersatu Aceh (PBA)
2014	Partai Aceh (PA), Partai Nasional Aceh (PNA), Partai Daulat Aceh (PDA)

Source: Research data, 2014

Furthermore, in the 2019 general election, there were only four local parties that took part in the general election in the Aceh rankings, namely: Partai Aceh (PA), Partai SIRA, Partai Daerah Aceh and Partai Nanggroe Aceh

(PNA) (kip.acehprov.go.id/), but the object of the author's research is the Aceh Party. The four local parties are listed in the order of the parties in the following figure:



Figure 1. Numbers and Flags of the Four Aceh Local Parties

Source: Research data, 2019.

A review of the socio-historical analysis of Aceh's politics, starting with the 2017

Aceh gubernatorial election, the map of the political arena in Aceh underwent significant

changes [6], because many analysts and political parties believe that the Aceh Party will easily defeat its political rivals. On the other hand, nowadays, we believe that the Aceh Party will find it difficult to continue to dominate the political map in Aceh. The reason is that the Aceh Party's track record of participation in legislative and executive elections shows a decline. Simultaneous regional head elections in 2017 signaled the weakening of the Aceh Party's hegemony, half of the 20 legislative election participants nominated and supported by the Aceh Party experienced defeat, this figure includes the gubernatorial election (Hajad, 2016).

In the 2009 legislative elections, the party which was founded from the womb of peace between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian government, succeeded in becoming a retainer in the local parliament. No less, 33 of Aceh's 69 legislative seats were won. The dominant Acehese support for local politics has begun to decline over time. This phenomenon does not only occur at the provincial level, but also occurs at the district and city levels in Aceh. This can be seen from the legislative elections on April 8, 2014 where the vote acquisition of local parties decreased drastically compared to 2009. of the 81 seats available in the Aceh DPR, PA was only able to get 29 seats (36%), Aceh Sovereign Party 1 seat (1.2%) Aceh National Party and Seats 3 Seats (3.7%) (dialeksis.com, 2018). But surprisingly, in the legislative election contestation on April 17, 2019, the Aceh Party's seat acquisition declined and decreased, from the 81 seats being contested at the Aceh legislative level, the Aceh Party (PA) was only able to get 18 seats. [8]. Based on the description above, then it becomes a study material in the author's research to analyze what factors influence the Aceh Party hegemony crisis in the 2019 election?

After the conflict and tsunami, the Aceh Party played a very dominant political role. Getting full support from ex-combatants of GAM has made the Aceh Party's influence so great among the people, both in the province and in the regions [9]. The Aceh Party as one of the dominant local parties makes it so

different from other local political parties because it continues to dominate for ten years showing the Aceh Party's hegemony in politics in Aceh. In one of his writings Antonio Gramsci mentions that the supremacy of social groups manifests itself in two ways, as domination and as intellectual and moral leadership, a social group can or must win the power of government (Siswati, 2018).

Gramsci's picture of hegemony is also seen in the Aceh Party after the Aceh conflict and tsunami, the Aceh Party continues to dominate and win every general election. Usually, Gramsci's hegemony analysis is used more on the dominant power leadership dimension or in economic studies to see the market-oriented hegemony of the economy. However, in this study, Gramsci's hegemony is used to see the crisis of Aceh's party hegemony in the 2019 election.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Based on the existing literature, many theories are discussed regarding political parties, the role and function of political parties, political systems and their types [11], (What is a political party). Donald L. Morowitz (1998), [12], Bull and Milner (1997) defines that a local party is a political party characterized by identity. Identity politics is defined as the politics of difference. Ahmad Tarmizi Talib, Sarjit S. Gill, and Mohd Rahimi Ramli (2015) in his article Geertz and Ethnic Issues states: "Political Identity is usually used by leaders as rhetoric with our terms for "indigenous people" who want power and them for "migrants" who must give up power. The Acehese people's movement, which was driven by the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), created the hegemony of the people who were able to cause extraordinary political turmoil in the national sphere. As a result, the formation of a new identity as a political subject in Acehese society has been successfully carried out (Rahim, 2018).

The reality that occurred in Aceh is one of the hegemonic forms of the Acehese people in responding to the uneven national development. This can be seen from several demands for independence that were submitted

and signed in the Helsinki agreement on August 15, 2005. If seen in the discussion of hegemony [16] The form of the Acehese political movement is the result of a political dislocation caused by the Indonesian government being unable to become a forum or shelter for the sovereignty of the Acehese people as a state political entity. Therefore, if we look at the efforts of the Acehese people, this is actually also in line with the concept of hegemony, but the hegemony that occurs later can turn into a crisis.

The most important problem in hegemony according to [3] is how civil society builds its political power in the face of a regime that harms its group or community. The type of expansive hegemony shown by the Aceh Party can also be seen in their very massive strategy and movement in building political power to the regions. According to [17] hegemony is the most powerful way to maintain the order of power. Therefore, in order to maintain order, the government is not only capable of controlling society by domination through coercive means, it must also hegemonize society through ideological instruments. Hegemony is built on the basic premise of the importance of ideas and the insufficient dominance of physical power in establishing control over socio-political dynamics. When Gramsci explained that in order for the ruled to obey the ruler, the ruled did not only internalize the values and norms of the ruler, they also had to give consent to their subordination. In short, the domination of the ruling class is exercised through physical action, while hegemony is propagated through ideological instruments [18].

Categorizes three objectives of the existence of local political parties, namely minority rights, local political parties that fight for and protect and advance the rights of their citizens to the economy, social, culture, and language as happened in Finland, local political parties Svenska folkpartiet I Finland (SFP) (Swedish People's Party of Finland) fighting for the ethnic Swedes in Finland as an ethnic minority [19]. Second, local political parties that want regional autonomy or increase the economic rights already owned by a region as a general reason for the existence

of local political parties and third, the goal of achieving independence as is the case in Spain. United Kingdom (Scotland and Wales), or *the parti Quebecois* which has an agenda for the independence of the Quebec region from the Union of Canada [20].

Said that local political parties are the backbone of the political system. Because local political parties are the drivers and fighters for the aspirations of the people at the local level [21]. This party shows commitment and is on the side of the community, so that local political parties can compete with national political parties at the local level. Local political parties participating in the elections in Aceh can be considered as a success [22]. The legal umbrella that allows local political parties to compete in elections in Aceh has facilitated the peaceful integration of and supporters of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) into the democratic political system. Participation Local political parties in elections provide more options for Acehese voters and will encourage national parties to work harder to win future elections [23].

3. METHOD

Analyzing the existence of the Aceh Party as a local party that dominated the election results for three decades after the peace in Aceh. This study also wants to analyze the crisis of hegemony and the role of the Aceh Party in the local political arena, both in the legislative and executive institutions. Although there have been many studies on the Aceh Party, a study on the hegemonic crisis of a special analysis review of the Aceh Party, as far as the author is concerned, has never existed. so that this study will be able to provide great benefits both theoretically and practically.

The method used in this study uses a qualitative approach with Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis model (Hashimov, 2015) which includes: Data collection, data reduction, and conclusion drawing/verification stages. Primary data, in the form of interviews and direct observations and secondary data, in the form of election

documents taken from print media, journals, election administration committees, namely the Independent Election Commission (KIP) and other social media in the three decades of elections that have been carried out as the author described above. also obtained from informants. The observations were made to review, study the situation and condition of the Aceh Party after the election which they had participated in to be a reference material in continuing the interview stage to parties related to the objectives and core problems studied. Documents from observations became the study material to find conditions and problems with the Aceh Party.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The victory of local parties in the 2009 elections in Aceh was not only at the

provincial level, but also at the district and city levels (Decree of the Independent Election Commission for Aceh Elections, Number 8 of 2011). The results of the election in Aceh, the Aceh Party was able to get support with a very dominant vote from the Acehnese people, this can be seen from the Aceh Party's votes in the Aceh People's Representative Council (DPR Aceh), of the 69 seats available, PA obtained 33 seats (47%) plus the Aceh Sovereign Party 1 seat (1.4%). However, the dominant support of the Acehnese people towards local politics, especially the Aceh Party, following the election began to decline. The vote gains increased and the vote gains decreased for the district and city Aceh parties for the legislative elections in Aceh in 2009-2014-2019 as follows:

Table 2. Data for Partai Aceh vote General Election Data of 2009

electoral district	PARTAI ACEH		
	VOICE	%	SEATS
ACEH 1	78,104	31.4%	3
ACEH 2	201,807	31.4%	6
ACEH 3	69,157	31.4%	3
ACEH 4	164,855	31.4%	5
ACEH 5	226,174	31.4%	7
ACEH 6	170,508	31.4%	5
ACEH 7	17,399	31.4%	1
ACEH 8	79,169	31.4%	3
AMOUNT	1,007,173	31.4%	33

General Election Data of 2014

electoral district	PARTAI ACEH		
	VOICE	%	SEATS
ACEH 1	66,418	22.3%	2
ACEH 2	155,682	52.4%	5
ACEH 3	74,938	37.0%	3
ACEH 4	21,019	12.0%	1
ACEH 5	217,998	59.9%	7
ACEH 6	98,284	56.1%	4
ACEH 7	45,287	23.9%	2
ACEH 8	39,046	24.7%	1
ACEH 9	57,686	21.6%	2
ACEH 10	71,598	31.1%	2
AMOUNT	847,956	45.6%	29





General Election Data of 2019

electoral district	PARTAI ACEH		
	VOICE	%	SEATS
ACEH 1	65,677	19.0%	2
ACEH 2	75,816	24.9%	2
ACEH 3	45,894	20.5%	2
ACEH 4			
ACEH 5	132,353	33.9%	4
ACEH 6	79,558	41.2%	3
ACEH 7	35,649	16.4%	1
ACEH 8	19,951	11.4%	1
ACEH 9	40,054	12.8%	1
ACEH 10	60,467	24.3%	2
AMOUNT	555,419	27.2%	18

Source: KIP Aceh data on the 2009 2014 and 2019 elections was processed by the author

Furthermore, the composition of the number of seats for all local parties in the Aceh People's Representative Council (*Parlimen Aceh*) in the last three periods:

Figure 2. Composition of the Number of Local Party Seats

Local Political Parties	Number of Seats in Period		
	2009-2014	2014-2019	2019-2024
 Partai Aceh	33	29	18
 Partai SIRA	0	0	1
 Partai Daerah Aceh	1	1	3
 Partai Nanggroe Aceh	There is not any yet	3	6
Number of Members of Parliament	69	81	81

Source: acehprov.go.id. KIP Aceh, 2019 processed by the author

This phenomenon does not only occur at the provincial level, but also occurs at the district and city levels in Aceh. Legislative elections on April 8, 2014, the Aceh party's vote share decreased drastically compared to 2009, as well as in the elections in 2019 [25] and (Merdeka.com, 2019).

In line with what (Nisa and Handayani, 2019) said, they used Gramsci's pattern of hegemonic theory. Hegemony becomes a reference material in building a political unity from the bottom of the society, of course the influence of this hegemony appears in the tendency of the people to choose the Aceh party as their political representation. In the discussion of the theoretical review above, it has been explained how hegemony entered as a theory which later became a crisis and the

hegemony crisis of the Aceh party in the 2019 elections was caused, among others:

1. Implementation of Political Promises Does Not Run to the Maximum

In this case, the Aceh Party actually did not provide concrete things for what they had promised to the community. Their expectations for the promise were so high that the Aceh Party was unable to carry it out to the people who voted for them. The thing that is easiest to judge by the community is that every activity and behavior carried out by a political party is often a barometer to measure the quality of the political party. As a result, the 2019 election for Aceh Party votes in districts and cities for the Aceh legislative elections decreased.

2. Political and Policy Conditions

The crisis of support was also caused by the political and policy conditions in Aceh in terms of law and economics, which the Aceh party could not afford to fight for in the community's view. If we reread the history of reconciliation between the Indonesian government and GAM in 2005, there is a clause on political implementation in the signing of the MoU in Helsinki which was later regulated in Law no. 11 of 2006 concerning the Aceh Government which has not been appropriate, even accommodated in accordance with the political promises of the Aceh party, even though Aceh's political existence for two periods was dominated by the Aceh Party.

3. Weak Political Marketing

The marketing carried out by the Aceh Party is not optimal and does not offer a definite offer to the public. In general, the initial victory of the Aceh party hegemony is a form of political expression of the Acehnese people's disappointment with the political conditions and national policies. Gramsci said that, the subject of political action cannot be identified with social classes, when they reach the form of "collective will" that creates political expression from the hegemonic system constructed through ideology, the crisis of hegemony can only lead to action if the consciousness of the hegemonic people has been formed, and ready to take action. The development of this hegemonic awareness is believed to result in changes so that it affects political movements such as what happened to the Aceh Party. The hegemony of the people's awareness begins with a political expression of disillusionment, which reverses direction, thus affecting the people's support for the Aceh party.

4. Internal Conflict and the Emptiness of the Figure

The negative trend of declining support in the general election is also caused by internal

conflicts, the existence of the Aceh Party outside the executive ranks since 2017 has also weakened the space for this party's participation in the realm of policy making. Figure in political recruitment. In this function, the Aceh Party does not carry out recruitment optimally, and tends to rush in recruiting candidates to participate in legislative elections.

5. CONCLUSION

As a form of political subject that is still relatively new in the area of democracy, the local partypolitical movement (Partai Aceh) must further strengthen its support base. Because in the 2014 and 2019 elections, the number of votes tends to and continues to decline. Thus, a healthy and creative marketing pattern of political hegemony is needed to further strengthen the Acehnese people's confidence in the local Aceh political parties. That is, the process of ideological political education must be more massively given to the community. The hegemonic process carried out by the party elite must be more massive by using more humanist methods. as Gramsci's thesis that hegemony is not an eternal position, it is a process that requires constant struggle to maintain control over a particular class. This condition includes effective control at the substructure and superstructure levels to provide rationality and logical reasons to the public regarding what the party will and is currently making, so that the people understand the political reality that is happening and not be lulled into false consciousness.

Politically, it seems that local parties will find it difficult to stem the expansion of national parties which have de facto succeeded in regaining control of Aceh. This is an 'alarm' sign of danger for the interests of Aceh as a whole. The signs began to appear from the defeat of a number of candidates promoted by the Aceh party. This phenomenon reminds us of the phrase 'winter is coming' from the Game of Thrones series which is intended as a warning of impending danger. political elites in Aceh do not realize that the 'winter' is coming soon, it will crush the prestige and

local political order. Before it's too late, a coalition of local parties needs to be initiated immediately. Local parties are no longer allowed to fight and reduce each other. Because a greater danger lurks.

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