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NAHDLIYIN CANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMUNICATION CONSTRUCTION IN CONTEST PILKADA IN EAST JAVA INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This research departed from the phenomenon of the 2018 regional elections, which were dominated by candidates with Nahdhiyin backgrounds. The most interesting thing about the 2018 East Java regional election political contestation is that the political narrative has been started by the mass media played by political actors with various propaganda and persuasive messages which will be the main goal of each candidate. Currently there are two santri on the political stage for the 2018 East Java (Jatim) Pilkada. They are the cagub supported by the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), namely Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul). The second student is Khofifah Indar Parawansah who is supported by the Democratic, Nasdem and Golkar parties.

This research uses qualitative research methods, and data collection through in-depth interviews, and data analysis is based on researchers' interpretations. The approach used is a case study, with the aim of focusing on the object under study in depth. To understand the phenomena constructed by political actors or election candidates the paradigm used is constructivist, the constructivism paradigm explains how the event or reality is constructed, in what way the construction is formed. To be able to understand the roles and messages of the candidates, the dramaturgy concept is very relevant to be used as an analysis in the role of imaging ahead of the 2018 post-conflict local election in East Java.

1. INTRODUCTION

The presence of NU cadres who acted as the main candidates in the 2018 East Java regional election politics made the Jawatimur community very dilemma. Communication strategies are needed in the contestation of candidates who are able to explicitly construct diverse public meanings, because the two main candidates were raised by NU and have santri backgrounds. So that the competition between the two candidates is really head to head. This happened because the dynamics of the political stage in East Java were very high, even the level of heterogeneity was higher than in other regions.

East Java remains a barometer of national political development, giving rise to the adage that to win the national political contestation, East Java must first win. Regional head elections (Pemilukada) in East Java will be held simultaneously in 2018, involving 18 cities and regencies to elect the mayor / regent, and one Pilkada to elect the provincial head (governor).

In the context of political communication, this contestation will be uphoric for the people of East Java, because the phenomenon of the 2018 East Java regional election will be dominated by two phenomenal candidates and both Nahdhiyin or Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Saifullah Yusuf and Khofifah Indar Prawansah cadres will fight to fight over the same seat. Both of them are genuine NU candidates and understand all the risks of this battle, which will have an impact on the harmony and division of NU residents in East Java, because East Java is a very dominant Nahdhiyin base.

This phenomenon demands the candidate's efforts to be careful in constructing the reality of East Java society that is dominant in NU, this can be interpreted as an effort to show strength, it can also be interpreted as an affirmation of the political attribute that when the kiai supports the candidate, the kiai's followers will support the candidate they carry, even in reality this is not always the case, the students may have different choices. NU provides democratic freedom for Nahdhiyin residents and the people of East Java to choose the cagub who will advance in the 2018 East Java Pilgub. On the other hand, NU's votes can be split if Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) and Khofifah Indar Parawansa advance together. As a mature organization, NU gives a positive signal to the democratic election process through the political stage of each candidate.

1.1. identification of the problem

From the explanation above, the common thread to be the focus of research as a problem formulation, namely: "What is the Construction of Political Communication for Nahdliyin Candidates in the 2018 East Java Regional Election Contest"?

1.2 Research purposes

To find out the construction of political communication in the contestation of political communication with a Nahdliyin background to gain support, kyai, students and the community through the 2018 regional elections for democracy in East Java

1.3 Usefulness of Research

Theoretical Benefits

- As a new reference and study for future researchers at the doctoral level to obtain new models in contemporary political communication research design through the constructivist paradigm approach of Fr. Berger & Lukmann and Erving Goffman's dramaturgy theory.

Practical Benefits

- To be used as a reference by observers and political actors in analyzing political communication by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), especially in the 2018 East Java regional election contest.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

Research Paradigm (Constructivist)

This research uses a constructivist paradigm, with the reason that the object to be examined is a reality full of political engineering. The constructivism paradigm views the reality of social life as not a natural reality, but is formed from the results of construction. In the political communication event of the pilkada democracy stage, the two candidates both constructed the political stage by utilizing the background of each

candidate who came from the Nahdhiyin extended family, who certainly dominated the voter level of voters in East Java.

Social Construction (Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman)

The East Java pilkada contest provides an overview of the candidates' actions in constructing reality to gain support from Nahdhiyin and efforts to gain significant votes, because the two candidates also have a genuine NU background, namely Saifullah Yusuf and Khofifah Indar Parawansa. In this event, to face Gus Ipul's strong rivals - Puti, and the Khofifah Indar Parawansa pair who are paired with Emil Elestianto Dardak, need to construct political communication to the people of East Java (the Nahdhiyin) in offering ideas, development concepts, different from when the pair of Gus Ipul and Abdullah Azwar Anas previously.

From the explanation above, the researcher will use the social construction theory approach developed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman as an analytical tool. In general, the concept of Berger and Luckmann's thought regarding social reality in society is that community institutions are created and maintained or changed through human actions and interactions. Even though society and social institutions appear objectively real, in reality everything is built into a subjective definition through a process of interaction. New objectivity can occur through repeated affirmations given by others who have the same subjective definition.

At the highest level of generality, humans create the world in a universal symbolic meaning, namely a comprehensive view of life, which legitimizes and regulates social forms and gives meaning to various spheres of life. For Berger and Luckmann, society is an objective reality, and at the same time a subjective reality. As an objective reality, the individual is outside the human being and face to face with him; whereas as a subjective reality, the individual exists in society as an inseparable part. Individuals constitute society; and society is the shaping of the individual. Therefore, social reality is dual and not single, namely objective and subjective reality (Bungin 2014: 15).

f. Method / Type of Study (Qualitative)

This research is a type of qualitative research on the grounds that qualitative research aims to explain the phenomenon in its depth. Qualitative research emphasizes the problem (quality) of data not on the amount of data / quantity. (Kryantono 2012: 57).

In qualitative research, the researcher is the key instrument. Therefore, researchers must understand broad theories and insights so that they can ask, analyze, and construct the objects under study. This research emphasizes more on meaning and value. (Wahid 2016: 232).

The reason for this study using a qualitative method, because the researcher will reveal, clarify, and explore the meaning in depth about the phenomenon behind the contestation of the 2018 East Java regional election candidates who are both large in the NU pesantren. This contestation is known as the santri political stage.

f. Theoretical basis

— "Erving Goffman" Dramaturgy Theory

Politics cannot be separated from the role of imaging, role play is an important asset in political contestation. To win the East Java regional election contest, candidates are required to have special skills playing roles on the political stage, candidates must be able to represent themselves as true actors to attract the attention of the masses and voter support. In the East Java Pilkada contestation, Khofifah and Gus Ipul cannot

become the full role of politicians, the two candidates must be able to play various roles according to the required conditions, including playing a role as a santri, acting as a figure / kyai, and acting as an ordinary citizen. This role play in the perspective of communication science theory is usually called the dramaturgy approach.

Dramaturgic theory, explains that social interaction is interpreted as a theater performance. Humans are actors who try to incorporate personal characteristics and goals into others through their "own drama performances". In achieving these goals, according to the dramaturgical concept, humans will develop behaviors that support their role. By Goffman, the above actions are referred to in the term "impression management". Goffman also saw that there was a big difference in acting when the actor was on stage ("front stage") and backstage ("back stage") in a life drama. The acting condition on the front stage was that there was an audience (who saw us) and we were be in the show section. (Arrianie 2010: 35)

Likewise, the political stage performances of the 2018 regional elections are increasingly significant. The show of self-image of a figure who is fighting in political contestation has a big impact on their electability. A popular figure can be overturned if he is just a little wrong in his image. This also proves that the voting society is increasingly observing the behavior of popular people who are called future leaders. Not only individuals, imaging politics also has a big impact on parties, imaging also has a negative impact. Especially if it is done excessively in order to accumulate as many positive images as possible from the community.

3. DISCUSSION

NU's political contestation greatly determines the map of the 2018 East Java Pilgub competition, candidate competition arises to bring together candidates who have long been the byword and often adorn the news in the mass media. However, it cannot be concluded that the 2018 East Java Pilgub event will only be attended by two pairs of candidates. This phenomenon raises the issue that a coalition party will come up with a surprise name as the central axis. Garindra, PAN, PKS are rumored to be bringing in new candidates to color the candidates for the upcoming 2018 East Java regional election.

The 2018 East Java (Jatim) Simultaneous Regional Election to elect the governor and deputy governor was felt. This is because the prospective candidates (balloons) are well-known people who become national figures and also have the background of residents of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or Nahdliyin, which is the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, which is very influential in East Java, and it is predicted that the implementation of the East Java Pilkada will be very interesting.

NU, which is under the auspices of PKB in this East Java regional election, carrying out Gus Ipul, who is now the deputy governor of East Java, cannot be separated from the pressure of a number of NU kiai. Meanwhile, PPP, which is also based on Nahdliyin, for the 2018 East Java Pilkada tends to support Khofifah. However, this does not mean that this trend cannot be separated from the differences at the grassroots of NU. There are also those who want Gus Ipul, but when talking about NU-based areas like Madura, preferring Khofifah, this must be considered. Khofifah asked for support from PPP because after all in East Java PPP was also the Nahdliyin party, the khofifah also wanted to show that he was supported by a Nahdliyin-based party. Gus Ipul-Azwar Anas, who had already declared progress and Khofifah at that time were still in process, both of them were fighting for support for NU influence, both kiai and Nahdliyin residents.

The East Java NU Village Kiai Communication Forum (FK3JT) supports Gus Ipul-Azwar Anas in order to win the 2018 East Java Regional Head Election. from the Kiai

Communication forum in East Java Kampung KH Islahul Hidayat in Pasuruan. In addition, as many as 4,444 boarding school caretakers, mubalighahs, activists and women activists pledged to support Gus Ipul. Nyai NU Juwariyah Fawaid from PP Salafiyah Syafii Sukorejo said they were committed and preparing to win Gus Ipul as well as driving him as governor.

NU must maintain togetherness and cohesiveness for the benefit of the people. They agreed with the Islamic boarding school kiai and caregivers that NU cadres must be able to share roles in political positions, both in the legislative, executive, and strategic positions in the central and regional government. This decision was in line with the kiai and caregivers of Islamic boarding schools in East Java to support and entrust fully to Gus Ipul and Khofifah to become candidates for governor in the 2018 Pilkada.

Seeking the support of NU residents, is indeed a must if you want to participate in political contestation in East Java. For the 2018 Pilgub this time, it is more interesting because NU residents will be led to choose candidates who are both figures from NU itself, namely Syaifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) and Khafifah Indar Parawansa. Both are clearly top NU figures, this basis both have a strong nahdliyyin mass base. Khofifah, has even participated in political contestation twice in the East Java Regional Head Election (2008 and 2013) which in fact always failed to get a ticket to the seat of East Java governor.

The bet of obtaining a ticket to the 2018 East Java governor seat still leaves Khofifah's curiosity, after the two governorship elections have never materialized. In terms of popularity, the names Khofifah Indar Parawansa, Saifullah Yusuf and Tri Rismaharini (PDIP) and Abdullah Azwar Anas are the top four candidates who have the highest level of popularity among other candidates, while Tri Rismaharani is still in the process of issue.

Regarding the acceptability of the NU candidates, Saifullah Yusuf and Khofifah Indar Parawansa are the candidates most favored by the public. Reading the signal of NU's support in the East Java Pilgub always seems divided, especially if there are several candidates, each of whom is a representation of NU's own political power.

Seeing a phenomenon like this, the party machine of each bearer must work extra hard, especially to convince NU leaders in the East Java region to garner support for only one candidate. East Java (East Java) has been the strongest base for nahdliyyin residents since ancient times. because Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) was actually born and raised in the East Java region. For this reason, NU's charisma must be attached to someone who wants to pursue a career in the peak of power, such as regents, mayors, especially if they want to run as a candidate for governor.

The background of political parties (partol) is sometimes less affected by candidate candidates, but rather their proximity or affiliation to the largest Islamic mass organizations / NU. The two candidates cannot possibly be a pair, because each of them is eyeing the seat of power to become governor, not deputy governor. Even though in fact, if the two are paired, the choice of the nahdliyyin residents will be more unanimous and the chances of both of them winning over the other pair tend to be greater, even though they are supported by different parties.

This is in accordance with the mechanism for participating in political contestation through the support of political parties, because it is certain that the candidates who come from the independent path are too heavy to participate in the political contestation arena. As was done by the two candidates, representing NU politics, Gus Ipul and Khofifah will officially register through the political parties that have close

ties to NU. To map the strength of Nahdliyin for competing candidates, we must first look at the voter culture in East Java.

The contestation of NU as a mass organization is very interesting, because the bonds of social solidarity within it can be culturally very strong, even though politically, they can have affiliations with any political party. PKB is a reflection of NU's political vehicle, not necessarily the real representation of the nahdliyyin circles. This is proven, the strength of PKB in East Java carrying Khofifah twice failed to bring this NU Muslimat Chairperson to be number one in East Java.

This factor made Khofifah no longer use PKB as his political vehicle, but instead moved to the Democrat Party, which had previously been the political party that succeeded Soekarwo as governor. It is possible that Khofifah gave up after two failures to be promoted by PKB, so she sought luck through other political parties, or it is a characteristic of NU that is accommodating to many political affiliations.

To fight against the strongest candidate pair in NU circles, the discourse of a number of influential people in East Java is predicted to become the center axis including Yenny Wahid, La nyala mataliti, Tri Risma and Mahfud MD. These names are considered to be able to balance the political arena in East Java. The existence of the central axis issue reflects the level of political maturity of the East Java regional elections.

East Java's political contestation took a very surprising turn, when it was rumored that Anas as Gus Ipul's partner resigned because he was caught in a hot photo case. This incident made the PDI even more panicked to look for anas replacement. In order to obtain candidates who can represent parties, democratic policies and systems within the party must be implemented based on agreement. Meanwhile, the very short time for registration of candidate pairs demanded that the PDI immediately find a replacement for Anas. Garindra, PAN, PKS failed to carry the center axis, arguing that the situation was too short to make it impossible.

In order to map the candidate groups and supporters, beforehand, we must first look at the backgrounds of the competing candidates. If you look at the backgrounds of the two candidates who have declared themselves to be the 2018 East Java Cagub, both are NU students. Both are important figures in the elite ranks of Nahdlatul Ulama. Gus Ipul currently serves as deputy chairman of the NU board, while Khofifah is the general chairman of the Muslimat NU.

Pilkada is a democratic party event that must be participated by all people without exception and has met the requirements. Based on Law Number (UU) 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections (Pemilu). This law emphasizes that elections are carried out based on the principles of direct, general, free, secret, honest and fair, and comply with the principles; independent, honest, legal certainty, orderly, open, proportional, professional, accountable, effective and efficient.

East Java is the second largest province in Indonesia after West Java, so it is only natural that this province is always referred to as the national political barometer which always plays a very important role in influencing the national political map. Pilkada aims to create a mature atmosphere and democratic system in electing regional leaders. The synergy of representation between the community and the regional head is expected to improve the quality of being responsible and create a regional government that has real credibility and accountability as people's representatives. (Law on Regional Elections, Number 7 of 2017)

The simultaneous 2018 Pilkada political communication democracy stage will be coming soon, as well as a means to strengthen the consolidation of local / regional

democracy. The battle for the 2018 Pilkada political stage needs to be supported by a political machine and the popularity of figures. What will be a factor and is believed to determine the success or failure of candidates in gaining the seat of power is the political machine. So far, the popularity of figures has far more to determine political victory than the work of the political machine, although it is not absolutely applicable to every election.

Because if the popularity of strong figures, the political machine can be built easily. The 2018 Pilkada democracy stage has started to become a hot issue, the political puppeteers have prepared their respective actors behind the scenes, who have already been screened to become the main players in the political election stage, like *gatot koko* who are ready to fight to beat their opponents, and the puppeteers have already ready to wait for the drum to be beaten by the KPU.

To gain a significant vote, it can be created by the popularity of figures supported by political market structures and public policies, allows it to bring in more popular figures, and can be analogized as a political seller or market in offering a vision, mission and programs according to the needs of society. The voters as buyers will determine politics on pro-people policy offerings. In a democracy scenario with a one-man one vote election system, it cannot be denied that the popularity of figures becomes a powerful weapon for election victory with the support of policy politics as the tempting glue.

Political engineering through a simple program by a smart actor can be something very special, if it is conveyed heroically through narrative and political language style by an attractive figure, so that it can suck up the people's political appetite. No matter how great the political mask through the policies offered to the public with the right political marketing scenario, but if the candidate form does not have the appeal, charm, popularity and charisma that can appeal to the people's political tastes, then everything will feel bland, because it will be difficult to get the hearts of buyers or political viewers (voters). Through the 2018 simultaneous regional head elections, the public is again tested to elect regional heads who can bring change.

Behind various contradictions, hubbub and excitement, the pilkada has become a forum for learning public democracy. The political temperature in the country is getting warmer ahead of simultaneous regional elections throughout Indonesia. If learning from the 2017 DKI Pilkada as a democratic party has been injured by various colors of identity politics, the issue created has spread various false news that divide people's unity not only in Jakarta but also in throughout Indonesia.

4. CONCLUSION

The 2018 East Java regional election political contestation is increasingly interesting because the political narrative has been started by the mass media played by political actors with various actions and persuasive messages will be the main goal of each candidate. Currently there are three santri on the political stage for the 2018 East Java (Jatim) Pilkada. They are the candidate pair for cagub and cawagub supported by the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), namely Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul). The second student is Khofifah Indar Parawansah. Both of them grew up in the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) environment which incidentally is the santri. This has become its own color for the East Java regional election as Islamic boarding school politics. Khofifah was a student at the Tambak Beras Ponpes Jombang, while Gus Ipul was noted to have attended a boarding school in Denanyar, Jombang. Both of them will fight to win votes in the East Java Pilkada, which is known as the warehouse of Islamic boarding schools.

Democracy in the constellation of political communication has a very important meaning, especially in the current reform era. The climate of openness and democratization that we have built, decentralization and regional autonomy as well as direct regional head elections will further increase the importance of political communication in Indonesia. Political communication in post-conflict local elections is a process of delivering messages, a process where relevant political information is forwarded from one part of the political system on the other and between social systems and political systems. This process takes place at all levels of society in every place which allows the exchange of information between individuals and various groups.

On the political stage, persuasion messages have begun to tempt voters, both directly and through the media. It is undeniable that democratic life has made political elites take the political vehicle of popularity as the main way to win and win people's votes. The popularity of figures is more influential than political machines, but the role of political machines cannot be ignored. In a democratic country, all campaign themes, along with political issues that touch the political masses, are more successful if they are carried out by a well-organized political machine. This means that through the political stage, actors are able to build political narratives with a vision, mission and work program that can persuade the conscience of the people.

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