



Research Paper

Exploring Political Communication Dynamics During the 2020 Local Elections in Bangli Regency Amid the Challenges of the COVID-19 Pandemic

I Wayan Sedia¹, I Putu Gede Suwita², I Nyoman Weda Kusuma³,
I Nengah Punia⁴

¹ A doctoral student in the Cultural Studies Program, Universitas Udayana, Bali, Indonesia

^{2,3,4} Cultural Studies Program, Fakultas Ilmu Budaya, Universitas Udayana, Bali, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: wayansedia11@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: This research examines political communication strategies employed by the KPU and coalition political parties in Bangli Regency during the simultaneous regional elections in 2020 amidst the challenges of the Covid-19 pandemic. Despite having the smallest budget in Bali province, the KPU, political parties, and success teams exert influence on voters, leading to a complex power-knowledge relationship. The success team's proximity to candidates often results in greater public trust compared to the KPU. The study focuses on three main issues: forms of political communication, the underlying ideology, and the implications for the 2020 regional elections. Utilizing a qualitative approach with in-depth interviews and documentation studies, the research reveals challenges such as limited information, outdated voter data, and health protocol violations. The ideological dominance of public figures and power-knowledge relations shape the communication process, contributing to transactional political practices and the marginalization of certain voter groups. The findings emphasize the limitations of online socialization, the impact of ideological influences on election outcomes, and the unique dynamics that challenge theoretical frameworks in specific social conditions.

KEYWORDS: Political Communication, Participation, Regional Elections

Received 12 Jan., 2024; Revised 25 Jan., 2024; Accepted 28 Jan., 2024 © The author(s) 2024.

Published with open access at www.questjournals.org

I. INTRODUCTION

Regional autonomy has granted significant autonomy to local governments and communities in determining the direction and objectives of development based on their needs, regional capabilities, and governing regulations. Local governments hold extensive responsibilities and powers in planning regional development. The success of implementing planned development programs relies on the ability of local governments to generate regional revenue and advocate for budgets from the central government. Hence, the community's role is pivotal in electing leaders who comprehend the region's potential and conditions.

The initiation of political culture development begins with the socialization of regional elections (pilkada), which provides eligible voters with a deeper understanding. Utilizing persuasive techniques, the Regional Election Commission (KPU), coalition political parties, and traditional elites inform the public about the stages and procedures involved in participating in regional elections. However, executing socialization faces challenges such as limitations in KPU infrastructure, the identification of double voters, individuals excluded from the Permanent Voters List (DPT), and the dominance, ideology, and power-knowledge relations of various actors in regional elections.

Consequently, this research concentrates on three main inquiries: (1) What are the various forms of political communication employed to enhance voter participation during the 2020 regional elections amidst the Covid-19 pandemic in Bangli Regency? (2) What ideologies underlie political communication efforts to increase voter participation during the 2020 regional elections amidst the Covid-19 pandemic in Bangli Regency? (3) What are the consequences of political communication efforts to boost voter participation during the 2020 regional elections amidst the Covid-19 pandemic in Bangli Regency?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Wisnumurti's dissertation (2005), titled "Local Political Dynamics in the 2005 Direct Regional Head Elections in Badung Regency," employs cultural studies to analyze the fluid dynamics among political party institutions and the ideology of the community in Badung Regency. The study reveals that knowledge and power are not confined to political elites but also operate within the community based on communicative actions. The hegemony of the dominant political party, PDIP, is challenged by the presence of coalition political parties, influencing institutional configurations, power differentiation, and local sedimentation. The research explores power-knowledge relations among candidates, success teams, traditional elites, and the hegemony of political institutions.

Ray Misno's thesis, "Political Participation of Denpasar City Residents in the 2020 Regional Elections: A Cultural Studies Perspective," delves into voter participation and challenges faced during the 2005 elections in Denpasar. The study also addresses election issues from a cultural studies perspective during the Covid-19 pandemic. Ray focuses on various forms of political participation, factors influencing it, and the impact of Denpasar City residents' political participation in the 2020 elections. The thesis emphasizes the significance of voter registration maintained by the civil registry office and the socio-economic impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on political participation.

Artha's research (2007) in the thesis "The Role of Media in the Election Campaign in Badung Regency" discusses how election coverage is manipulated to influence voter perceptions and act as priming, agenda-setting, and image-building tools for a specific candidate in Badung Regency. While Artha's study shares similarities with Wisnumurti and Ray Misno's research in examining election dynamics and hegemonic practices, it primarily focuses on the media's role in framing issues related to a particular candidate. In contrast, this study critically analyzes the forms, ideologies, and implications of election socialization during Covid-19 by the KPU in Bangli Regency.

These three studies share a common perspective that elections are expressions of popular sovereignty. However, they differ in their emphasis, with Wisnumurti highlighting the dynamics, collaboration, interactions, and clustering of voters based on economic, social, and cultural statuses. Ray Misno emphasizes the importance of voter participation, factors influencing participation, and the analysis of participation implications. Artha concentrates on the dominant role of media in framing election issues related to a specific candidate. Despite their differences, all three studies recognize the challenges and complexities of the political landscape during elections.

The research draws on four theories to analyze the issues: persuasive communication theory, critical theory, social practice theory, and power-knowledge relations theory. Persuasive communication theory helps understand the various political communication forms during the 2020 elections in Bangli Regency amid Covid-19. Critical theory is employed to dissect the ideologies embedded in actors' behaviors in political communication. Social practice theory is used to analyze the role of capital in determining the success of political communication and candidate victories. Power-knowledge relations theory is applied to assess the influence of individuals and groups outside formal institutions, conditioning and controlling those within power structures. In conclusion, this research explores the internal and external factors influencing and interacting in political communication during the 2020 elections in Bangli Regency. It reveals power relations among actors, generating ideologies and implications related to persuasive communication, hegemony, power relations, and actor ideologies. Findings from the study provide insights into the behind-the-scenes aspects of election socialization in Bangli Regency, leading to research conclusions and recommendations for political communication during the 2020 elections.

III. METHOD

The type of data used in this research is qualitative, which refers to information in the form of words and sentences documented in in-depth interview recordings with informants, as well as descriptions such as narratives or explanations regarding the research topic obtained through interviews, observations, and relevant documents. Quantitative data, in the form of numbers, is also utilized to support the qualitative data. The qualitative data mentioned above can be obtained from both primary and secondary data sources.

Primary data sources for this research include interviews with the chairman of the Regional Election Commission (KPU), KPU staff, the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu), community leaders, political party representatives supporting election candidates, voters, and the general public in Bangli Regency. Secondary data, on the other hand, is derived from documentation such as socialization guidelines, socialization activity reports, electoral laws, archives, and online media information. Online data refers to discussions within voter communities and responses from practitioners and community figures related to the election on social media.

The selection of informants in this study employs purposive sampling, a technique for selecting informants or sources with a specific purpose based on personal considerations relevant to the research topic. The author chooses informants who possess in-depth knowledge of political communication issues during the

2020 Regional Elections amidst the Covid-19 pandemic in Bangli Regency and can provide valuable and expandable information. Additionally, the study utilizes the snowball technique, a method for identifying, selecting, and sampling within a continuous network or chain of relationships. In this research, the heads of the KPU and Bawaslu in Bangli Regency are chosen as key informants, while politicians and their campaign teams serve as primary informants. Complementary informants include community leaders. The information obtained then expands to include lower-level units and other related institutions involved in the election socialization.

The data acquired regarding political communication during the 2020 Regional Elections in Bangli are not merely described based on classifications; rather, the data requires interpretation. This interpretation ensures a comprehensive and holistic understanding of the information available, addressing the research questions and drawing conclusions.

The results of the data analysis in the research on the socialization of the 2020 Regional Elections in Bangli are presented descriptively. This involves providing an exposition or detailed description of the data presented in tables and diagrams. The presentation of research results includes interpretations to answer research questions regarding the forms, ideologies, and implications of the election conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic.

IV. FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

The socialization of the regional election (pilkada) is a form of political communication aimed at providing understanding to the public about the stages, voting procedures, and aspects to be avoided when choosing local leaders. Socialization serves as the state's effort to inform communities in a region about the technicalities and the process of recruiting leaders that align with the developmental needs of the area. Socialization often employs persuasive communication efforts to alter the mindset and behavior of the public. Nimmo (2011:119) defines persuasive communication as the act of changing the attitudes and behaviors of others through oral and written words, instilling new opinions, and consciously attempting to change people's attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors through message transmission.

The autonomy of the public is crucial in selecting leaders in accordance with the mandate of Law Number 23 of 2014 on Regional Governance. This law grants elected leaders the authority and responsibility to plan and execute development programs in line with the potential and capabilities of the region.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, political communication, including socialization, was organized by the Bangli Regency KPU (Election Commission), coalition political parties, and traditional elites. Various strategies were employed, such as the use of social media, limited face-to-face interactions, loudspeakers, banners, and billboards. Middleton, as cited in Cangara (2013:61), defines communication strategy as the optimal combination of communication elements, encompassing communicators, messages, channels, receivers, and influence designed to achieve optimal communication goals. Socialization used social media to target smartphone users, while limited face-to-face interactions (maximum 25 people) were aimed at voters unfamiliar with the internet, especially those in rural and mountainous areas of Kintamani District. Billboards, banners, and loudspeakers were means of socialization for road users and voters untouched by online and face-to-face efforts.

However, limitations in resources were a dominant problem in organizing socialization. Budget disbursement processes and amounts not aligning with the plan, as well as the distant residences of voters in the mountainous Kintamani region, posed challenges to organizers. Socialization heavily relying on social media during the pandemic faced obstacles due to voters lacking smartphones and experiencing poor internet connectivity.

Ideologies behind political communication efforts to enhance voter participation during the 2020 regional election amidst the COVID-19 pandemic in Bangli Regency involve various actors with explicit and hidden ideologies. Hidden ideologies represent concealed agendas that can both facilitate and disrupt political communication implementation. Political actors engage in communication using various forms of capital, as per Bourdieu quoted by Lubis (2014:123), where social capital is an asset utilized by an elite group, particularly those with limited financial and cultural capital. Economic capital involves asset ownership, social capital concerns social relations, cultural capital is related to skills, knowledge, and education, while symbolic capital includes positions and ranks.

The KPU's ideology aligns with executing socialization in accordance with constitutional provisions. The success of socialization implementation in the regional election serves as an additional value for their future career evaluations. The KPU's success in organizing the election also strengthens the recommendations of the Regional Representative Council (DPRD) in determining the budget for each KPU program.

The ideology of coalition political parties is prominently heard in society, serving as a benchmark for the party's popularity and electability. The victory of qualified candidate pairs opens avenues for cooperation between the executive and legislative branches to empower the community. Party officials, as individuals, find it easier to obtain facilities, business opportunities, and careers. The ideology of candidate pairs revolves around

achieving victory with dominant votes. Through socialization, candidate pairs introduce themselves and their programs to the public. Besides mastering the programs to be implemented while in office, adequate funding is also required for financing socialization, covering operational costs, and incentives during socialization. Winning is the goal to attain power, and with that power, they can realize their ideas for building the region, including accumulating personal wealth. Simon (2004: 21-22), Fakhri (2002: 64), state that the ruling class always seeks to maintain power through domination or hegemony, expanding power through higher positions.

The ideologies of winning teams, voters, and traditional villages dominantly influence the implementation of socialization and the general election. Winning teams have both idealistic goals of contributing to regional development through political democracy and hidden objectives such as obtaining smoothness and other benefits for personal gain. Voter participation at the ideal level aims to elect leaders capable of bringing about change and improvement in their lives. However, voting motivations influenced by narrow and instant pragmatism, especially for voters struggling to meet basic needs, often lead to apathy. Poor and unemployed individuals become vulnerable targets for garnering votes with money or other material incentives. In traditional village areas, voting motivations align with the needs and desires of the village, dictated by safety, comfort, and the physical development needs of the traditional village area. Consequently, voter independence is constrained by traditional interests, and voters in the respective traditional villages submit to the guidance of traditional elites. The interests of traditional elites also subtly infiltrate into customary needs, often absent in public observations and challenging to prove.

Implications of political communication in efforts to increase voter participation during the 2020 regional election amid the COVID-19 pandemic in Bangli Regency result in various consequences affecting the quality of democracy-building efforts. Democratic spaces, as mandated by the law, are often influenced by subjective factors from political elites. The implementation of democracy in Bangli Regency is still marked by various issues, impacting the community and the development of democracy. The issues in the socialization of the 2020 regional election, particularly the constraints in resources, both in terms of facilities and organizer staff, and the inadequacy of the political culture of the community, contribute to these problems. Gaffar (2006:99) states that political culture is the psychological orientation towards social objects, in this case, the political system, which undergoes internalization into cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations. Cognitive orientation involves individuals' understanding and beliefs about the political system and its attributes. Affective orientation concerns the emotional bonds individuals have towards the political system. Evaluative orientation involves an individual's capacity to assess the ongoing political system and their role within it.

The high budget for the stages of the regional election and the expenses incurred by candidate pairs are recurring problems in direct elections, especially in the 2020 regional election during the COVID-19 pandemic. Political communication conducted by elites is often not well understood by the voting public, resulting in different understandings, perceptions, and actions on the ground. The limitations in owning and accessing social media drive apathy among the public towards the socialization efforts.

Political culture is influenced by the low literacy of some people regarding elections. Public interest in politics is still not balanced with interest in other sectors, such as the economy and tourism. Many people perceive politics as belonging solely to politicians and full of competition, intimidation, and turmoil, fostering fear and avoidance of anything related to politics.

The political democracy event in the community tends to be formalistic, based on constitutional requirements. The substance of democracy is not apparent because political culture is low, coupled with external factors. Thus, substantial political and financial resources are not balanced by the expected constitutional output.

When the substance of democracy is not realized in every democratic event, it is closely related to participation in democracy. Participation is not only measured by the high participation rate but also by the motivations that underlie voter participation, influencing the quality of democracy. Based on interviews, high participation in the 2020 regional election in Bangli Regency is more due to the pragmatism of voter needs than choosing based on references to figures. Gun-Gun (2018:293) states that democratic results are not accompanied by the formation of a democratic ethos in society. Democracy should not only be measured by the successful change of regime through democratic elections. Strengthening civic society is essential to create a democratic ethos.

Power-knowledge relations often appear in every activity involving the community, including the socialization of the 2020 regional election. The position held by someone in the structure of an institution or community organization does not guarantee their ability to control subordinates or members of the institution or organization they lead. Knowledge power spreads among individuals beyond social structure capabilities. In the socialization of the regional election, a traditional leader can control the coalition political parties and candidate pairs who have more capital than other community members. When and where to conduct socialization is determined only by traditional leaders after a customary deliberation. To achieve the victory of candidate pairs, only voters have the power after receiving guidance from traditional elites in certain regions.

Dominance and hegemony are two similar but different terms in their application. Dominance tends to relate to structure and capital, while hegemony refers more to influencing methods, with those influenced doing so consciously due to needs and shortcomings, adhering to the will of the influencer due to fame and capital. In the 2020 regional election in Bangli Regency, voters from political party members, due to party structure factors, mostly support candidate pairs nominated by their party. Similarly, hegemonized voting communities are willing to choose one candidate pair because they are given something by the campaign team, either personally or as a group or for customary purposes.

In conclusion, the socialization of the regional election in Bangli Regency during the COVID-19 pandemic faced challenges and had implications for the quality of democracy-building efforts. Issues such as resource limitations, both in terms of facilities and staff, and the insufficient political culture of the community contributed to these challenges. The dominance of hidden ideologies, power-knowledge relations, and the prevalence of pragmatism over democratic values also influenced the democratic process. Efforts should be made to address these challenges and promote a more informed, engaged, and democratic electorate.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Adam, Ian. 2004. *Idiologi Politik Mutakhir; Konsep, Ragam, Kritik, dan Masa Depan*, Yogyakarta: CV. Qalam.
- [2]. Aini Noryamin. 2019. *Pilkada Langsung Demokrasi, Korupsi, dan Stabilitas Keamanan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Masyarakat Setara.
- [3]. Aly, B. 2010. *Komunikasi Pembangunan dengan Aksentuasi Komunikasi Politik*, Jurnal Komunikasi Pembangunan volume 8 Nomor 2 Tahun.
- [4]. Artayasa, I Made (2023) "Pergulatan Politik Kuasa di Balik Partisipasi Masyarakat dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Kabupaten Gianyar, di Era Reformasi". Disertasi. Denpasar. Program Studi Kajian Budaya, UNUD.
- [5]. Cangara, Hafied. (2013). *Perencanaan dan Strategi Komunikasi*. Jakarta : Raja Grafindo.
- [6]. Darmawan, D. (2020). *Sosialisasi Pilkada di Tengah Pandemi COVID-19: Analisis*
- [7]. Efrizal, (2012). *Political Explore: sebuah kajian ilmu politik*. Bandung: CV. Alfabeta.
- [8]. Evi Novida Ginting, (2019). *Serial Evaluasi Penyelenggaraan Pemilu Serentak 2019, Perihal Para Penyelenggara Pemilu, Penguatan Kelembagaan Menuju KPU yang Lebih Profesional*. BAWASLU.
- [9]. Fajar Nur`Aini Df. 2020. *Teknik Analisis SWOT*. Yogyakarta: ANAK HEBAT INDONESIA.
- [10]. Fakhri, M. 2002. *Jalan Lain Manifesto Intelektual Organik*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar
- [11]. Faisal, Sanafiah. 2005. *Format Penelitian Sosial*, Jakarta: PT. Raya Grafindo Persada.
- [12]. Fausi Fashri. 2007. *Penyikapan Kuasa Simbul*. Yogyakarta; Juxtapose
- [13]. Foucault, Michel, (1978) . *The History Of Sexuality Vol. 1*. New York; Pantheon Books, Inc.
- [14]. Gaffar, Afan. 2006. *Politik Indonesia Transisi Menuju Demokrasi*. Yogyakarta; Pustaka Pelajar.
- [15]. Hararap, Hasrul. 2016. "Evaluasi Pelaksanaan Pilkada Serentak Tahun 2015." *Jurnal Renaissance*. 1(01):18.
- [16]. Haryanto. 2018. *Sosialisasi Politik: Suatu Pemahaman Awal*. Jl. Sosio Yustisia, Bulaksumur, Yogyakarta 55281: Polgov.
- [17]. Hertanto, Warganegara Arizka, dan Kurniawan Robi Cahyadi (eds). 2021. *Pilkada Di Masa Pandemi: Tantangan dan Harapan Dari Beragam Perspektif*. Gedongmeneng Bandar Lampung: Aura CV Anugrah Utama Raharja.
- [18]. Heryanto, Gun-Gun. 2018. *Media Komunikasi Politik. Relasi Kuasa Media di Panggung Politik*. Jl. Wonosari, Baturetno, Banguntapan, Yogyakarta. IRCiSoD
- [19]. Hikam, Muhammad AS. 1996. *Demokrasi dan Civil Society*. Jakarta. Pustala LP3ES
- [20]. Hikmat, Mahi M. 2019. *Komunikasi Politik dalam Pilkada Langsung, Teori dan Praktek*. Bandung; Simbiosis Rekatama Media
- [21]. Hikmat, Mahi M. 2014. *Pemetaan Masalah dan Solusi Konflik Lokal dalam pilkada Langsung di Indonesia*. *Ejurnal*, Vol. 30 No.. Bandung; Simbiosis Rekatama Media
- [22]. Huda Miftakhul, 2010, *Pola Pelanggaran Pemilu dan Perluasan Keadilan Substantif*, *Jurnal Konstitusi* Vol.8 No. 2, ISSN 1829-7706.
- [23]. Jannah, Via Nur. 2014. "Penanaman Nilai-Nilai Pancasila Khususnya Nilai Persatuan Indonesia Pada Eknis Thionghoa". *Studi Kasus Perkumpulan Masyarakat Surakarta Tahun 2014*". (thesis.S2), Universitas Muhammadiyah, Surakarta.
- [24]. J. Severin, Werner-W. Tankard, Jr James, 2005, *Teori Komunikasi; Sejarah, Metode, & Terapan di dalam Media Massa*. Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- [25]. Joko J. Prihatmoko. 2003. *Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Langsung*. Pustaka. Pelajar. Yogyakarta.
- [26]. Kartono, Kartini, 1980. *Metodologi Research Sosial*. Bandung; Alumni.
- [27]. Kalinda. 2011. *Metode Dalam Komunikasi Persuasif*. Jakarta: Media Baru.
- [28]. Kumbara, Anom. 2021. *Paradigma Teori-Teori Kajian Budaya*. Penerbit Swasta Nulus.
- [29]. Kushendrawati, Selu Margaretha. 2011. *Hiperrealitas dan Ruang Publik*. Jakarta; Penaku.
- [30]. Ladqi, Suyatno dan Wekke, Ismail Suardi. 2018. *Gambaran Demokrasi: Demografi, dan Perkembangan*. Yogyakarta: Gawe Buku.
- [31]. Lestari, N. P. M., & Yuniarsih, S. (2021). *Sosialisasi Pilkada Serentak Tahun 2020 di Era Pandemi COVID-19 di Kabupaten Bangli*. *Jurnal E-Jurnal Matra Pemilu*, 6(2).
- [32]. Lubis, Akhyar Yusuf, 2004. *Masih Adakah Tempat Berpijak Bagi Ilmuwan*. Bogor; Akademika.
- [33]. Lubis, Akhyar Yusuf, 2014. *Teori dan Metodologi Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial Budaya Komtemporer*. Jakarta; PT. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- [34]. Marijan, Kacung. 2015. *Sistem Politik Indonesia*, Jakarta; Prenanda Media Group.
- [35]. Miles, B. Matthew dan A. Michael Huberman. 1992. *Analisis Data Kualitatif (terjemahan)*. Jakarta; Universitas Indonesia (UI-Press)
- [36]. Muri Yusuf. 2017. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Penelitian Gabungan*.
- [37]. Pawito. 2009. *Penelitian Komunikasi Kualitatif*. Yogyakarta: LkiS.
- [38]. Sugiyono. 2007. *Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif, Dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta, Cv.
- [39]. Sutrisno Hadi. 1987. *Metodologi Riset*. Yogyakarta; Fakultas Psikologi, Universitas Gajah Mada.
- [40]. Surbakti, Ramlan. 2010. *Memahami Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia.
- [41]. Suwito, A., & Arifianto, A. (2020). *Pandemi COVID-19 dan Pilkada Serentak 2020: Peluang atau Tantangan bagi Demokrasi Indonesia*. *Jurnal Komunikasi*, 12(2).
- [42]. Simon, Roger. 2004. *Gagasa-Gagasan Politik Gramsci*. Yogyakarta; Pustaka Pelajar.

- [43]. Tjipta Lesmana. Artikel dalam harian Antara, Selasa 16 Juni 2020
- [44]. Utomo, Wahyu Wiji “ Kebijakan Penyelenggaraan Pilkada (Menghadapi Pilkada 2020 Di Tengah Covid-19 dan New Normal.” Jurnal Al-Harakah 3.01 (2020).
- [45]. Wallace, W.L. 1990. Metode Logika Ilmu Sosial. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- [46]. Widiartati, Theresia Rifeni. 2010. “Keberadaan Organisasi Kemasyarakatan Berdasarkan Asas Pancasila Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hak Asasi Manusia” Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.
- [47]. Wijaya Williams. 2018. “Pilkada Langsung dan Implikasinya Terhadap Budaya dan Praktek Politik Uang di Indonesia”.
- [48]. Wirdasari.(2015).Proses Rekrutmen Bakal Calon Walikota dan Wakil Walikota Bandar Lampung Periode 2015-2020 jurnal DPC PDIP Kota Bandar Lampung. Bandar Lampung: Universitas Lampung.
- [49]. Wisnumurti (2005) “Dinamika Politik Lokal dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Langsung 2005 di Kabupaten Badung”.Disertasi. Denpasar. Program Studi Kajian Budaya, UNUD.
- [50]. Zainal Arifin Hoesein Jurnal Konstitusi, Volume 7, Nomor 6, Desember 2010. “Pemilu Kepala Daerah Dalam Transisi Demokrasi”.
- [51]. Zuhro, Siti R. Dkk. 2012. Demokrasi Lokal. Jakarta : Penerbit Ombak.