

Marketing Politik Aliran oleh Kandidat melalui Facebook dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Jawa Timur Tahun 2018

Political Marketing of Stream by Candidates through Facebook in the 2018 Regional Election of East Java

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ABSTRAK

Berangkat dari riset-riset sebelumnya tentang marketing politik terdapat beberapa kekosongan baik dari segi konten maupun esensinya sebagai proses pertukaran dan interaksi politik. Berangkat dari permasalahan ini, maka peneliti bermaksud untuk mengaktualisasikan esensi dari teori atau konsep dasar marketing politik ke dalam kontestasi Pilkada Jawa Timur tahun 2018 melalui pemanfaatan media sosial sebagai media interaktif. Di sisi lain, berkenaan dengan konten yang diangkat, peneliti memilih politik aliran sebagai sistem budaya masyarakat, karena aspek ini menjadi salah satu faktor penentu preferensi pemilih, khususnya di Jawa Timur. Dalam mengeksplor hal itu, peneliti menggunakan metode analisis isi kualitatif dengan teori marketing politik beserta orientasinya, konsep politik aliran dari Clifford Geertz maupun peran FB dan fitur-fitur di dalamnya. Temuan yang didapat menunjukkan bahwa politik aliran juga bergulir di kalangan elit politik. Masing-masing kandidat berusaha menampilkan beberapa karakteristik aliran yang dianggap familiar oleh publik untuk meningkatkan *redundancy* atau kepastian pesan. Dalam hal ini, Gus Ipul-Puti dinilai lebih kuat dan variatif dibandingkan Khofifah-Emil. Namun melalui reaksi publik, politik aliran yang disampaikan tidak semuanya dapat ditangkap secara jelas oleh pengguna karena ada kecenderungan perbedaan budaya antara pengirim dan penerima pesan. Meski begitu, implikasi dari penelitian ini bisa sebagai tolok ukur bagaimana memanfaatkan politik aliran secara efektif agar mendapat respon positif dari khalayak serta menjadi media literasi dalam mengenali simbol-simbol budaya yang diangkat dalam kontestasi politik di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Facebook, marketing politik, politik aliran, reaksi elektorat

ABSTRACT

Previous researches on political marketing found several gaps in terms of content and essence as a process of political exchange and interaction. Based on this, the researcher aims to actualize the essence of the basic theory or concept of political marketing into the 2018 regional election of East Java through the use of social media as an interactive media. For the content aspect, researcher selected political stream as a society cultural system. It considered as one of the determining aspects for voter preferences, especially in East Java. Qualitative approach with the content analysis method conducted for this research by applying political marketing theories and the political stream concepts from Clifford Geertz. The result of this research revealed that political stream also revolves around the political elite. Each candidate tries to display some stream characteristics that are considered familiar by the public to increase redundancy or message certainty. In this case, Gus Ipul-Puti is considered to be stronger and more varied than Khofifah-Emil. However, from public reaction, not all of the political streams conveyed can be clearly captured by the users. This occurred because there are some cultural differences between the message sender and its receiver. Nevertheless, the implications of this research can be used as a benchmark of how to utilize political stream effectively in order to get a positive response from the public. Then, it also can be literacy medium to recognize the cultural symbols raised in political contestation in Indonesia.

Keywords: Facebook, political marketing, political stream, electoral reaction

INTRODUCTION

Regional elections or simultaneous regional elections will be held on June 27, 2018. In a democratic party, it has become the right of every candidate to campaign or known as political marketing. According to Ormrod, et al (2013), political marketing has a narrow and broad meaning. Its narrow meaning is how commercial marketing tools are used to achieve the strategic and tactical objectives of political actors. Whereas broadly, political marketing is defined as the role of marketing or marketing in political organizations that focuses on facilitating value exchange and building relationships with various stakeholders such as voters, opposing parties or candidates, and the media. Furthermore, Ormrod, et al (2013) emphasized value exchange as a fundamental concept in political marketing studies. According to Brennan and Henneber (2008), this exchange is understood as a sister interaction between

two actors who have agency or voters and candidates who enter the exchange freely (in Ormrod, et al, 2013). Meanwhile, Henneber and Ormrod (2013) argue that political exchange requires three interactions and not only dyadic interactions (buyer / seller). The three interactions in question are political actors and voters, parliamentary interaction, interaction among political actors who have a mandate in parliament and governmental interactions between the government and citizens (in Ormrod, et al, 2013). When talking about the exchange and interaction processes referred to in the definition of political marketing above, there are several components that need to be considered, namely the communicator in this case is the political actor itself, the message, the media and the communicant or the voter. In today's digital era, demands in the marketing process are not limited to door-to-door or through traditional media such as television, radio, pamphlets, billboards and others. But it is more about the use of digital media, one of which is social media as interactive media. The increase in social media users is a very important entry point for political actors to reach out to their voters. So, there are many researchers in Indonesia who study about it like Pranawa and Humsona (2017) that applied case study methods and content analysis to political marketing from Teman Ahok organization which utilized several social media such as Twitter, blogs, Youtube, websites, Instagram and WhatsApp on the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada. The results showed that political marketing strategies through social media were conducted by Teman Ahok which included the determination of the electoral segment, organizing strategies, setting the position of candidates, monitoring and evaluation.

Apart from Indonesia, in a global context, much of the research points to how Barack Obama revolutionized political marketing using social media. The presidential campaigns of the United States in 2008 and 2012 have become a fundamental reference for researchers to further explore the media side. As for the research in question, one of them is Karlsen & Enjolras (2016) which examines the campaign style through social media and the influence of

the hybrid political communication system in Norway. By using survey methods and Twitter data, this study resulted in findings that social media is used to increase activities such as showing the personal side of each candidate. But on the other hand, to increase the influence of each candidate, they need to carry out a hybrid campaign that is combined with traditional media such as television. In other words, in this case the role of social media is limited to increasing awareness of the profile of each candidate, but not the main determinant of increasing voter preferences.

In addition, there is also research from Vladimir (2018) with the literature review method which draws conclusions about the role of social media as a political marketing tool, namely that there are positive and negative impacts. Among the positive impacts that can be seen are bringing candidates and voters closer together, facilitating the exchange of ideas among the community, inviting the younger generation to vote and not being apathetic, providing opportunities for the emergence of new candidates who are less well-known and the breakdown of big party bias. Meanwhile, the negative impact is enabling campaigns with unethical or illegal profiles, uncensored messages, the spread of fake news and hate speech.

Apart from the demands of the use of media by political actors, the message which is the main object of political marketing must also be considered. Especially in Indonesia with its cultural diversity, local wisdom is one of the products that candidates can communicate to voters. Of the several products that are important to consider, political stream is one of them. Because in terms of history and reality in the field, the religion or belief held by a society can have an impact on their political behavior. Panggabean (2017) explained, in Indonesia, religion in politics has a long history of influence. Previous studies have found that religion has played an important role in politics since 1955 (Liddle and Mujani, 2007). Geertz shows that political orientation in Indonesia is influenced by religious schools, which also represent classes (Liddle and Mujani, 2007). It must be admitted that the

political stream did experience dynamics in Indonesia. At the beginning of its emergence, political stream played a strong role in the political system in Indonesia. But over time in the new order era until the 2004 elections, for example, the political stream tended to not get a place. Until in 2014 and the DKI Jakarta elections in 2017, many issues of stream returned to strength. Therefore, this is where the urgency of a theme about political stream is to be lifted. While research on the political stream in general elections, especially elections, was reviewed by Panggabean (2017). He discussed the factors influencing voting behavior and how the public made decisions in the DKI Jakarta Election 2017. Through the survey method of 228 respondents in Jakarta, the results found were priming with religious cues substantially provoking emotions, in line with previous research. Evidence shows that religiously motivated voting behavior stands out and is stronger than economic status anxiety. Provoking people with religious cues effectively stimulates emotions that lead to bias in groups. Findings in various religious groups report that Muslim respondents are more likely to support a leader with the same religion and tend to disagree with non-Muslim leaders. It should be noted that the term priming means using certain signals (images, texts, smells) to influence the human brain (long-term retention), which affects future behavior (Cassino and Erisen, 2008 in Panggabean, 2017).

When in terms of candidates and their use of media and marketing content that have been mentioned, the next component that also needs to be considered in the process of exchanging and interacting with political marketing is the communicant or the voter. Political marketing is not merely about how candidates market their vision and mission, policies and other political products, but also must see how the public reacts. Especially by using social media as interactive media. There are many features and features that allow candidates to control the public's reaction to the content submitted. For example, there is research from Lappas, *et al* (2014) said that social networking sites like Facebook are used by politicians to

increase *awareness* and support of voters. By giving *likes*, *shares* and *comments* it can be said to represent how the public responds to the content of political stream, whether characteristics that tries to raise related to it can be interpreted equally by candidates or not and what kind of political stream gets a positive response. So that the scope of this research is not only in the realm of communicators and communication messages, but also the implications of using FB as a marketing tool for political stream for the communicant itself.

From some of the studies previously mentioned, there is a visible gap. First, for research on political marketing through social media in Indonesia, the weakness that is possessed is that candidates do not use Facebook. Even though according to Facebook Indonesia Country Director, Sri Widowati, in March 2016, there were 82 million *users* per month in Indonesia. Whereas in 2017 there were 115 million *users*, so the growth was almost 40 percent in one year (Wardani, 2017). In addition, the discussion raised is still limited to the marketing strategy and has not described the content in detail. Especially those relating to political stream. In his findings, the researchers said that content that was highlighted was more directed at forming candidate figures or images such as nationalistic, honest and hard-working. The impact of Ahok's identity as a non-Muslim on content marketing delivered and *feedback* from the public was not conveyed in this study. Not only is the use of social media less optimal and content that has not been varied, political marketing research has also not explored deeper into the public response. Research from Pranawa and Humsona is still limited to the realm of communicators.

As for research in the global realm, the advantage is that they can focus on discussing in terms of the effectiveness of using social media, so that the findings appear that social media has less significant impact when it is not maximized through traditional media. But on the other hand, just like the research from Pranawa and Humsona above, the weaknesses of political

marketing research have not been comprehensive, not only from the point of view of the communicator but also the communicant or the public response. Considering the important point in the concept of political marketing is the process of exchange and interaction. There is a two-way communication here that should be examined from two aspects at once.

While the next research is about the political stream in general elections, Panggabean has explained the impact of religious identity in the elections. But unfortunately, it does not list the media used. Even if it refers to the concept of priming itself, the cues put forward in the form of text, memes and all kinds of things, require communication media. Moreover, according to Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007), priming is an extension of the agenda setting (in Panggabean, 2017). Based on the agenda setting concept, what is considered important by the media will also be considered important by the public. So that when the two concepts are interrelated, they should also involve and emphasize the role of the media in shaping cues or influencing users.

And lastly is the weakness of the research on the public reaction conducted by Lappas, et al (2014). In this study, they tried to show the effectiveness of using Facebook in political marketing. They even stated that the number of likes and comments received by candidates had an impact on the choice results. Giving likes and comments on social media reflects the real-world support you get during the election. Although we have discussed in depth about the public's reaction, the problem is that there is no marketing content discussed. There has been no discussion about giving the highest likes and comments for what kind of content.

So that from some of the studies above, the weaknesses that are owned become a reference for the author to discuss them comprehensively or in other words emphasize the concept of political marketing as a process of exchange and interaction which has only been studied from one side. The efforts made by the author are to see how candidates are marketing stream politics (content

marketing that is not widely discussed by researchers) through social media Facebook as the media with the most number of users in Indonesia, as well as the public's response to the content. For the selection of regions to be studied, East Java Pilkada is the right region. Because in this region, the political stream was first discovered by Geertz, precisely in Modjokuto, another name from Pare District. In addition, according to the Indonesian Political Indicator researcher, Burhanudin Muhtadi, the heat of the contestation in the 2018 East Java Pilgub because the East Java region has been used as a barometer of the presidential election since 2014 . He added, whoever is a political party that will win the East Java regional election, nationally will generally win the 2019 presidential election (Saka, 2017). On the other hand, because the political stream departs from the cultural system of society, then in East Java there are several local political cultures which according to Ayu Sutarto include Javanese Mataraman culture , Jawa Panaragan, Arek, Samin (Sedulur Sikep), Tengger, Osing (Using), Pandalungan (often also called Mendalungan), Madura Pulau, Madura Bawean, and Madura Kangean (Leni, 2012).

RESEARCH METHOD

The researcher here applies a qualitative approach through qualitative content analysis methods. Qualitative content analysis is a method that uses an inductive approach. In Elo & Kyngas (2007) explained that according to Chinn & Kramer (1999), an approach based on inductive data moves from specific to general, so certain examples are observed and then combined into a whole or general statement. The inductive approach was chosen based on several considerations that this study does not intend to test the concept or theory of political stream (such as a deductive approach), but rather to see, identify and describe how the theory was applied as an object of political marketing through FB.

With several stages from Elo & Kyngas (2007), namely selecting or selecting unit analysis, understanding the overall data, open coding, coding sheets, grouping, categorizing, and finally making abstractions, researchers

will analyze each candidate's official account, @sedulurgusipul and @KhofifahdanEmil during the campaign period 15 February - 23 June 2018.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

During the 2018 Regional Election of West Java used political marketing stream by candidates to get the support from the voters. The political stream are directed at the abangan community and the santri community as well as a combination of the two. The characteristics used are text, photos and videos. This can be seen in table 1 below.

Table 1. Similarities and Differences Symbolizing the Political Marketing Stream of Gus Ipul-Puti and Khofifah-Emil through FB

No	Political Stream	Characteristics Used						Abstraction
		Gus Ipul-Puti			Khofifah-Emil			
		Text	Photo	Video	Text	Photo	Video	
1	Abangan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Eemphasis on the figure of Sukarno as a nationalist figure Demonstrate the doctrine of the marhaen group by upholding the spirit of nationalism and caring for the fate of the poor Explain the approach to nationalist organizations and the presentation of the Pancasila ideology 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The use of attributes associated with nationalist groups, the most prominent aspect is the selection of red-white and red-black colors and hooded style that does not cover the entire head Shows an approach to the organization and related figures. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Highlights the figure of Bung Karno Demonstrate an approach to small people The use of attributes that characterize these things such as choosing colors and style of dress 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Demonstrate the doctrine of marriages through the spirit of nationalism and the use of diction which shows partiality to the poor. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Use of attributes that lead to nationalist groups 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Discussion that leads to the spirit of nationalism Use of dominant nationalist attributes 	<p>Difference: Gus Ipul-Puti has a variety of content in marketing nationalist identity. The variation lies in the description of the figure of Bung Karno, the approach to related organizations and other nationalist figures and the emphasis on red attributes. These components were not found in the Khofifah-Emil campaign. This pair is only limited to showing the spirit of nationalism, the approach to small groups and the attributes that are imposed also do not accentuate red as a nationalist symbol. Aside from color, if Gus Ipul-Puti emphasized the nationalist identity they were carrying out, they also went through a style of dress like Gus Ipul who wore a hat like Sukarno even though there was a load of santri in it and Puti who wore a headscarf without covering his head, Khofifah-Emil, through Emil's figure more often using shirts and jeans without caps.</p>

2	Santri	<p>1.Establishing good relations or mutual relations with the kiai, ibu nyai, lora, santri and alumni of the santri, always upholds the advice of the kiai</p> <p>2.Describe consolidation activities or embrace nahdliyin organizations</p> <p>3.Explain some activities that are leaning on the santri class</p>	<p>1.Use of dominant santri attributes such as dress style and color selection</p> <p>2.Showing central figures in the group of santri namely kiai, ibu nyai, lora (kiai children), santri and santri alumni</p> <p>3.Present in the activities carried out by the santri group</p> <p>4.Showing the approach to the nahdliyin organization</p>	<p>1.Uphold the figure of the kiai</p> <p>2.Contains declarations and support from lora and neng in Madura and santri alumni</p> <p>3.Following the activities carried out by the santri group</p>	<p>1.A description of the support of the clerics as well</p> <p>2.Support from one of the nahdliyin organizations namely Muslimat NU</p>	<p>3. Visualize the style of dressing</p> <p>4. Displays kiai and ibu nyai figures</p> <p>5. Showing the approach to the nahdliyin organization</p>	<p>Equation: Both carry out the doctrine of marhaenism which includes the spirit of nationalism and the approach to small groups</p>
							<p>Difference:</p> <p>◆ In terms of content, just like the previous abangan stream, the pair Gus Ipul-Puti was more powerful in marketing the identity of the santri than Khoffifah-Emil. Gus Ipul-Puti, both in terms of text, photos and videos, is able to present a variety of variations including following the activities of the santri and how their efforts uphold the kiai's figure and all his advice. Whereas Khoffifah-Emil is not so. They only contain support from the kiai without showing the obedience and obedience of a santri and are limited to explaining the approach to the relevant organization. Activities such as istighatsah, prayer and tadarus together, etc. tend to be less explored. In addition, other santri elements such as alumni, lora, gus and neng were less involved. Khoffifah-Emil only focuses on kiai figures and ibu nyai</p> <p>◆ In terms of the format of the post, it can be seen that in exploring this santri school, Khoffifah-Emil tends to be</p>

							less strong. This is because in the video post there is no santri identity that is highlighted. In contrast to Gus Ipul-Puti who posted the contents of santri in each format.
							Equation: Both establish good relations with the kiai and ibu nyai, the nahdliyin organization and wear attributes that characterize this group
3	Combination	<p>1. Said the importance of the combination of Santri-Abangan</p> <p>2. Pairing figures from the two streams</p>	<p>1. Using attributes that become the identities of the two groups</p> <p>2. Displays characters representing both groups.</p>	<p>1. Linking the importance of education institution of santri group by planting the Pancasila ideology which had been emphasized by the nationalists</p> <p>2. Link characters from two streams</p> <p>3. Use of attributes that reflect the union of two identities</p> <p>4. Combining the dominant context in a particular identity with the use of attributes that lead to other identities</p>	-	<p>1. Use of attributes that reflect two streams</p> <p>1. In one video frame there is a nationalist identity that is highlighted, but on the other hand there are the contents of the santri who are also trying to be shown</p>	<p>Difference: In terms of content, Gus Ipul-Puti was able to affirm the alliance of Santri-Abangan they built through text, photos and videos. Starting from the explanation of the second figure of the stream, the mention of the word Santri-Abangan straightforwardly, to the insertion of nationalist content in the context of the identity of the santri and vice versa. On the other hand, Khofifah-Emil is still limited to the use of attributes and integrating nationalist and santri identities in one frame at a time. Two characteristics that can be observed from the Khofifah-Emil pair have also been carried out by Gus Ipul-Puti. So that it can be said, the pair is less varied in marketing the combination of stream</p> <p>As for the post format, Khofifah-Emil is also considered lacking in marketing this combination of streams. In fact, in text posts they tend to focus on each stream without trying to associate them. This is different from Gus Ipul-Puti who is consistently always maximal</p>

in the political marketing stream.

Equation:
It has been mentioned above that Khofifah-Emil and Gus Ipul-Puti have the same political marketing content in the combination of two streams, which are both using attributes that characterize it and displaying or loading two identities in one post frame

Source: Processed by Researchers (2020)

Electoral Reaction to the Political Marketing of Each Candidate through FB

There are several points which can be concluded from the user's reaction to the political marketing stream through FB. First, the acquisition of the highest number of likes of each candidate is a combination of santri-abangan. But the difference between the two is the surrounding context. Gus Ipul-Puti is in a context that refers to the santri group, while Khofifah-Emil is in the nationalist realm. While the lowest acquisition of each candidate is dominated by a nationalist context. Second, the posts with the highest comments are both leading to the load of santri. And in the lowest position, FB posts emphasize on the nationalist context, the identity of the santri is only inserted through the use of attributes. Third, the acquisition of the largest number of shares of each candidate is occupied by the santri school while in the lowest position is also dominated by the nationalist context. The identity of the santri is only seen in the use of attributes.

Fourth, from a number of user comments indicating that political stream posts tend to have an impact on public views or perceptions. One comment was written by Lala Chyg, a member of PDI-P. He stated, Do not forget to choose Gus Ipul-Mbak Puti number 2 for the good ... *kabeh sedulur kabeh makmur* (Posted in 2018). The comment was replied by Dadali Arjuna who said, Yes boss but I got the cassette from gus ipul ... *seduluran prosperous* (Posted in 2018). On the other hand, Moh Syaffak revealed that he preferred

Gus Ipul personally and not PDI. So he decided to give support to Khofifah-Emil. I am happy with GUS IPUL. But I don't want PDI. Want to choose another ... (Posted in 2018).

The comment above shows that there is an important point, from Moh Syaffak's comments on Lala Chyg's statement indicating that political stream has an impact on voter preferences both at the party and candidate levels. That was proven when Moh Syaffak liked the figure of Gus Ipul from the nahdliyin circle. He boldly changed his choice because behind Gus Ipul there was a PDI-P as a secular nationalist party. Although in terms of candidates having the same stream as him, when the party carrying the abangan ideology, he changed to choosing Khofifah who was also a santri. Although behind Khofifah there were several nationalist parties, but not as strong as the identity pinned to PDI-P. For nationalist posts the impact can be seen during a visit to Sidoarjo. The content that was published was nationalist in nuance and the responses that appeared outline were also the same. Like Mila Savia who is domiciled in Malang, the East Java flagship product is ready to dominate the national market and even globally (Posted in 2018)

Before discussing the discussion between data findings and theory, it is necessary to first know some related concepts such as the conceptualization of political marketing, political marketing in terms of communication theory (because there are points of similarity between the two, namely both emphasize the process of exchanging messages and the existence of interaction.), political stream as content marketing and finally the electorate's reaction through interactive features like share, commen and like.

Conceptualization of Political Marketing

The use of the term marketing in the political field is inseparable from the interest to obtain or maintain power. Politicians who are involved in it will definitely try to 'sell' something both the product in the form of vision and mission, figures, achievements that have been achieved and all kinds of things in order to get the maximum support and participation. This process is not far from the marketing strategy. Therefore, Giasson, *et al* (2011) calls political

marketing an application of the concept of business marketing into the practice and study of politics and government. As the marketing concept of the business itself, there are also sellers and buyers in politics. Sellers here are politicians who have interests while buyers or in other words are the target market targeting the people. Giasson, *et al* (2011) emphasizes that tangible marketing such as policy platforms, parties and leader image, and organizational mindset are an integral part of overall management involving all party members in the process of getting product offerings to the election market .

From the brief explanation, it appears that some experts associate the concept of political marketing with interaction and political exchange (*political exchange and interaction*). Political marketing uses the conceptual foundation of marketing theory (Henneberg, 2013) which is fundamentally an 'exchange' theory derived from social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961, in Henneberg 2013). According to Ormrod (2012), exchange of values is understood in the same way as in the commercial marketing literature, namely as an academic interaction between two actors who both have agency and enter into exchange freely. The exchanges and interactions that are key in the political marketing concept are actualized by Lees-Marshment (2005) into three orientations consisting of *product-oriented party* (POP), *sales-oriented party* (SOP), and *market-oriented party* (MOP). POP leads to a strategy in which *voters* will recognize normative values from party ideas and thus choose them (in Giasson, *et al* , 2011). It can be said , this strategy does not require too much communication with the market in offering its products. It is different from the SOP which is actually very active in developing communication strategies to promote the products they have. The parties incorporated here will communicate to see market conditions and then determine what strategies are suitable so they want to 'buy' their products. While MOP, a strategy that is actively involved in efforts to identify voters' priorities and concerns and combine them into the design of their product offerings

(Giasson, *et al*, 2011).

In addition to this categorization, Lees-Marshment, *et al* (2014) also formulated 4 areas of political marketing activity which as a whole led to the process of knowing market desires and then channeling those desires into a political product. The activities include *researching*, *strategizing*, *organizing* and *communicating*. *Researching* is the stage of market research and analysis, followed by *organizing* or internal party *organizing* processes. *Strategizing* the determination of marketing strategies whether *market-orientation* or *sales orientation* and finally, all stages will be realized in a process of communication, the use of conventional mass media and *e-marketing*, direct communication and others.

On the other hand, political marketing strategies are also formulated by Newman (1994). If Lees-Marshment sees the process from the side of a political party, then Newman studies it from the realm of candidates. The process of political marketing according to Lees-Marshment immediately entered the stage of measuring market needs, while Newman started by determining candidate figures first. Is the candidate carried only based on party leader policy (*party concept*), agreement of all members (*product concept*) or trying to meet market needs (*marketing concept*). When the candidate has been decided, just enter the marketing stage. Starting from market segmentation, assessing market needs, voter profiles to identify voter segments. Continues to the *candidate positioning*, a stage where candidates position themselves based on market conditions that have been analyzed first. After all the processes have been passed, the last step is to determine the communication strategy that includes the campaign platform, the media used, direct communication with the public or developing supporting organizations.

From the two models mentioned above, Ahmad & Popa (2014) tried to combine the two in the 2012 Jakarta Governor Election contestation. They made a separate model called *The Integrated Participatory Political Marketing* (IPPM). This model as a whole refers to the marketing strategy from

Newman starting from the market segmentation stage to the *candidate positioning*. It's just for the strategy formulation and implementation, if Newman calls 4P consisting of *products (campaign platform)*, *push marketing*, *pull marketing* and *polling*, then Ahmad & Popa only integrate *push marketing* and *pull marketing* to form a campaign platform. They do not involve polling in them. The IPPM model also sees that there are parallelism and complementary functions between the marketing of party politics and candidates, which generally occur during national and local elections (Ahmad & Popa, 2014). According to them, this parallelism is caused by a lack of voter partiality towards the party so that the political marketing of the candidates seems to be dominant over party political marketing (Ahmad & Popa, 2014). Due to the complementary function and parallelism between the two concepts of party-based Lees-Marshment and the Newman model that leads to candidates, Ahmad & Popa (2014) also assume that the candidate's position is a political actor on par with the party.

Based on the above concepts, the points that need to be underlined refer to the conceptual foundation of political marketing as a process of political exchange and interaction. In addition to the actors, the electoral position or what Ahmad (2017) calls one of the arenas of political markets becomes important here. Ahmad (2017) interpreted the electorate as the arena of choice where voters, as actors in this arena, were handled by parties and party leaders, activists and politicians during and between elections. It can also be articulated that when the context adopted is the presidential election, the so-called electorates are all Indonesians who have the right to vote. Likewise with the East Java regional election, the electoral arena in question includes all citizens who are domiciled in this province and are eligible to vote.

The process of political exchange has a component of sellers and buyers. In offering their products, sellers or candidates can determine their position whether holding *product-oriented*, *sales-oriented* or *market-*

oriented. On the other hand, the characteristics of the buyer or the arena of the targeted electorate cannot be ignored (Ahmad, 2017). Based on Ahmad's previous statement that the electorate is the arena of elections, then in the context of East Java Pilkada, social, economic aspects and no exception to local cultural issues must also be considered. One form of culture that has historically had a significant impact on election contestation is the political stream. This is where the research position will be explored more.

In the previous section, some political marketing research in Indonesia and globally focused more on political exchanges and interactions on the part of candidates, especially self-image that did not prioritize political stream. Personalization of politics where political figures or candidates become more important than political parties. Ideology and *cleavages* are no longer sufficient to explain voting behavior (Utomo, 2013). Meanwhile, in the global realm, the majority of research raised is about the effectiveness of the use of social media in the political marketing process. Some of the research that has been previously mentioned does not explore deeper the essence of political marketing exchanges and interactions in terms of audience response. So according to Ahmad (2012), political marketing as a new field of science, still tends to not get a strong place in the social group. Political marketing still tends to be seen in the practical dimension, namely the use of marketing methods and techniques in the political arena. Departing from these weaknesses, it can be said that this study seeks to provide novelty in terms of content and exposure holistically about the essence of exchange and interaction in a political marketing process.

Political Stream

In the process of exchanging and interacting, the content being exchanged can be in the form of political stream, a cultural aspect that can have an impact on voter preferences in Indonesia. It should be noted that political stream was first introduced by Clifford Geertz through trichotomy of *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi*. He put forward the concept after conducting research

starting in May 1953 - September 1954 in Modjokuto, another name from Pare District, Kediri Regency. As an anthropologist, Geertz views religion as closely related to culture. The definition of religion according to Geertz was explained by Fitria (2012) that religion as a cultural system originated from a single sentence that defines religion as: 1) a system of symbols that aims; 2) building a strong mood and motivation, easily spread and not easily lost in a person by means of; 3) formulate a general conception of life; 4) attach the conception to factual emanations; 5) which in the end the conception will be seen as a unique reality.

What needs to be emphasized in this connection is that explicitly religion is a symbol system that can be the basis for one's actions in all aspects of life. This is relevant to the concept of the cultural system itself presented by Parsons that a cultural system is objective, a collection of symbols, signs, signals, words, and events that shape attitudes and guide actions (Fitria, 2012). Thus, *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi* trichotomy proposed by Geertz are indeed rooted in the cultural system of society and are used in formulating the order of conception of life, including political issues. According to Nurjaman (2013), Geertz gave an explicit understanding of the political stream patterns as a form of translating *socio*- religious flaws namely: *santri-abangan-priyayi* into the form of political institutions in the form of Islamic and Nationalist political parties. The purpose of this statement can be seen from several existing political parties such as PPP and PKB (Islamic party), PDIP, Gerindra, Democrats, and others (nationalist parties).

Nurjaman (2013) also added that if a political party wants itself to be socially relevant, and thus can build its social base, the party must associate itself with existing cleavages. In general, cleavages can be sourced from religion, ethnicity, language, culture or geography. In Indonesia, unlike in the West, where class-based cleavage is not very influential, it is precisely the religious cleavage (stream) that is the most dominant compared to other cleavages. This is the reason why Geertz made the Javanese trichotomy based

on how each group applied the teachings they believed in. The following is a complete explanation regarding the three groups:

Abangan

Geertz (1960) mentions that the abangan group is indifferent to doctrine, but is interested in the details of ritual. Whereas in relation to the political aspect as the focus of this study, Geertz (1960) explained that in abangan groups a religious-political sect emerged in which "authentic" Javanese religious beliefs merged with nationalistic Marxism which enabled followers to support Communist political policies in Indonesia and to purifying abangan rituals even the remnants of Islam are still contained in it.

One organization or social group that can be a representation of the abangan group is Permai. This game can be more accurately referred to as a political party that represents three things, namely a strong purification cult, a set of esoteric beliefs (teachings that can only be understood by certain groups) and highly anti-Islamic social organizations which consist mainly of city workers, workers or unemployment, rural radicals who miskind plantation workers.

In the Permai organization, there are books that appear to consist of a mix of modern nationalist ideologies, especially those contained in Pancasila, "Five Points" (President's Monotheism, Nationalism, Humanism, Social Justice and Democracy), which is the official philosophical basis to bind the new Republic of Indonesia, traditional Javanese religious patterns such as calendar forecasts, food symbolism, and methods of spiritual discipline, plus new records of explicit moralism designed for Muslim moralism on the one hand and to link traditional farmer values such as rukun ("cooperation "In the construction of houses, irrigation, etc.) with Marxist ethics on the other side (Geertz, 1960)

Santri

According to Geertz (1960), despite their extraordinary interest in doctrine, Modjokuto Muslims have never seen their religion as a mere set of beliefs, as a kind of abstract philosophy, or even as a general system of

values. Instead, they always consider it institutionalized in several social groups: groups of santri in their environment, Indonesian Muslim groups or in other words they form "the Islamic world". When they talk about Islam, it is almost always in their minds, a social organization in which Islamic beliefs are the decisive element. For example charity organizations, women's clubs, village mosque committees, religious schools, local offices of religious bureaucracies, or political parties at local, regional or national levels. The gathering of santri in social groups or organizations or political parties with the same belief is described by Nurjaman (2013) that to santri in the 1950s, being obedient to religion meant striving for Islam to become the foundation or principle for political groupings, such as political parties and countries. Therefore, they established an Islamic political party, and in the 1950s they also tried to make Indonesia based on Islam.

Priyayi

Geertz (1960) acknowledges that both abangan and priyayi groups have similarities in their religious beliefs and practices. The practice of religion in question is realized through mystical practices which are interpreted as an intensive arrangement of life of thoughts and feelings, regulating the individual's spiritual resources for attacks on the highest enlightenment. The difference between the two is ethics and social class. Because priyayi groups come from bureaucrats, the ethics that are applied are more alus than the abangan groups who work as farmers or from the middle to lower classes.

Abangan trichotomy, santri and priyayi, invited some criticism from experts, one of them is Burhani (2017). He questioned the boundaries made so clearly between abangan, santri and priyayi. The Geertz concept seems to show no flexibility in the conditions of different societies. For example, an abangan seems anti-Islamic and does not practice religious law at all. In addition, a santri was assessed as those who only worked in Islamic boarding schools and came from traders, but did not consider that in other areas a santri might also be a priyayi. On the other hand, there are also criticisms that discuss the position between each group. Abangan and santri are viewed in terms of

religion, but for the priyayi group it is more discussed in terms of their profession. So in this context, each candidate can be said to be a priyaji. Each of them has a certain position or position in the government seat. And once again, this also confirms that not only the priyaji group is always identical to abangan. In fact, some of the candidates like Gus Ipul and Khofifah came from santri-based nahdliyin.

Political Marketing in Terms of Communication Theory

Political exchange and interaction as the essence of political marketing theory can be seen from the point of view of communication theory that has been developed by several experts, one of which is John Fiske (2012). This reflection is considered important to see the extent of the relevance of the use of political marketing theory in communication studies. The two concepts can be said to intersect with each other which together emphasizes the process of exchanging messages. Moreover, John Fiske tried to see on both sides, not only the communicator but also the communicant. This function is to see the extent to which political marketing efforts undertaken by each candidate are reviewed from the theory of communication and also how communication theory sees the reactions given by users to the message.

John Fiske (2012) formulates that basically the communication process as a process of exchanging messages between communicators and communicants can be reduced to two main schools. First, groups that see communication as a message transmission. This group focuses on how the sender and recipient, send and receive (message). This group is also very concerned with things like efficiency and accuracy. This view sees communication as a process by which a person influences the behavior or way of thinking of others. If the effects appear different or less than desired, these schools tend to talk with terms about communication failure, and see the various stages in the communication process to find out where the failure occurred.

The second school saw communication as a production and exchange of meanings. This group focuses on how messages, or texts, interact with

humans in order to produce meaning; that is, this view is very concerned about the role of the text in our culture. This group uses terms such as significance (meaning), and does not consider misunderstandings as important evidence of the failure of communication-misunderstandings may be the result of cultural differences between the sender and the recipient. The theory can be interpreted that the first school is more looking at the efforts of the sender or communicator in creating a message so that it can influence or affect a person's behavior or way of thinking.

Even Fiske (2012) emphasizes how these two schools interpret a message. The first school believes that intentionality is an important factor in determining something that is a message or not. He gave an example, pulling the earlobe would not be a message unless I deliberately did it as a signal that had been agreed with an auction participant. The intention of the sender can be stated clearly or not, consciously or unconsciously, but must be visible through analysis. Message is what was sent intentionally by the sender through any tool.

These two schools are considered important to be associated with the findings of research data. At the same time answering the relevance between political exchange and interaction in political marketing theory and communication theory is that political exchanges and interactions have not considered several aspects that can influence the process, how communicators convey their messages and how communicants capture or respond to those messages. The disturbances referred to by Fiske (2012) as cultural factors that can influence one's thinking about a message have not been explored in political marketing theory. Therefore, the researcher intends to make the process of exchange and political interaction referred to in political marketing theory as a preliminary perspective and communication theory from John Fiske (2012) as material to examine more deeply the findings of the data obtained.

Electoral Reaction through Facebook

Several concepts related to this research have been mentioned. Apart

from raising the political stream as the core of the problem, what makes it interesting here is to bring the context to social media, especially Facebook. One of the media with the highest number of users in Indonesia has a strong role in triggering public reactions during the general election. The reaction was explained by Bene (2016) through the process of interaction that occurred on Facebook. Facebook allows each individual to create a network with closest friends, who then can reach other friends, and so on. In this ongoing communication process, it is open widely to anyone in it, whether close friends or not, giving a reaction to each post. The reaction in question can be realized through 3 features, namely like, share and comment. By relying on these 3 features, other users (not individuals who upload posts) can spread to their friends via their own Facebook account.

It can be said that the main function of the user's reaction is to find out what kind of posts are attracting their attention to finally lead to motivation to spread that information to other users. Therefore, if in the level of content analysis of the contents of each candidate's post, researching the user's reaction becomes something important. Because at least through this reaction, it can be seen that the contents of the post that are considered important and when the post is shared massively is likely to affect user preferences.

The concept of each feature, namely likes is the simplest form of reaction on Facebook, because it only requires one click. It is not known what "like" exactly means, but it may not be far from the truth if people understand it as a type of agreement with the contents of posts (Bene, 2016). He also revealed that basically this is a one-off interaction mode and does not open up new channels of interaction but broadens existing ones by expanding visibility and reactability to non-followers (Bene, 2016).

As for the comment feature, according to Bene (2016), below posts, users can express their opinions about content or author posts and interact with other users. These comments can be seen by network members who comment on their News Feed or Ticker, which makes the original posts visible

and 'reactive' for non-followers. Comments do not open new interaction channels outside the original post, but do so in the post: comments below the post can be commented on and 'liked' by the user they have reached, including the user's own friends. From the aspect of information dissemination, the main function of the comment function is that it can happen repeatedly. Every single comment increases visibility, so intense debate between users under posts can be useful in terms of information dissemination.

Finally, for the share feature, Bene (2016) states that content sharing opens a new channel of interaction for posts on the user's own network. The content shared can be liked, commented on and shared by new viewers in 'new space'. In addition, by separating posts from their original context, which cannot be seen by a wide and unknown audience, network members can express their opinions in a more familiar context when interacting with shared posts, because this is only seen by themselves and their network. Sharing is an important tool for virality. By opening up new channels of interaction, messages can reach not only the private networks of users who directly react to posts, but may also have the potential to gain a much wider scope through chain sharing. The concept of user reactions through 3 features in Facebook will be used by researchers in assessing a post. When for example the post has a lot of likes compared to comments and shares, what does it mean. And so on.

Relationship between Concepts and Data Findings

The Exchange Process and Political Marketing Interaction of Stream in terms of Candidates

Political Marketing Orientation

Based on the conceptualization of political marketing which is based on the exchange and interaction process, it can be seen first from the point of view of the candidate's efforts, especially regarding political marketing orientation. Political marketing orientation here is a form of placing the marketing position of the communicator, whether based on product-oriented (maintaining all components that exist in the candidate himself), sales-oriented (candidate figures and political policies are not influenced by the market, only how to sell

them or market it using market research) or market-oriented (the image of the candidate and the marketing process carried out all refers to the market). The results obtained are overall each candidate has similarities, namely both implementing product-oriented, sales-oriented and market-oriented. First, market-oriented can be seen through the alliances built by them namely santri-nationalis. It could be that they choose a partner who has a family or has the same identity. But because of considering the typology of the East Java community which consists of these two variants, it indirectly requires them to choose a different stream in order to embrace all of them.

When taken to a smaller scope based on the categorization of local political culture, there are several trends that show that each candidate applies product-oriented. This is clearly seen when visiting the local culture which is dominant in certain schools. Mataraman and Madura for example. In both arenas, both Gus Ipul-Puti and Khofifah-Emil were considered to maintain the alliance they built. Not when they are in the dominant abangan area, they do not approach the santri group. Vice versa.

On the other hand, the Khofifah-Emil pair also showed the same results. During the campaign in several Mataraman areas, Emil focused on the Magetan area while Khofifah visited Nganjuk and Blitar. When there was a discussion in Magetan that was raised more towards nationalists, but there were inserts on the contents of the students through the use of peci and prayer activities in congregation with the local residents. The contents of the santri were emphasized again by Khofifah who established a relationship with several kiai there. And finally, when in Blitar, Khofifah raised the issue of nationalism by embracing small communities. He will improve infrastructure in traditional markets to improve their standard of living. In his visit, Khofifah maintained her santri identity through the use of a more closed veil.

Although product-oriented seems to stand out, if it is taken to a smaller scope, especially from the personal candidates themselves, there is a sales-oriented impression that is also actualized here. Puti as a nationalist does not

only approach the same group. He also actively visited Islamic boarding schools and participated in activities carried out by the majority of santri such as the pilgrimage of the grave, tadarus, prayer together and all kinds. But in most of these activities, he did not leave his identity while wearing a red veil and did not cover his entire head. There is also the use of diction which states the importance of national values and the ideology of the Pancasila when he visits Islamic boarding schools. Likewise with Gus Ipul. As a santri, he also visited the GMNI organization. There he looked like Soekarno, but with his cap and koko shirt he still emphasized his identity. Switch to the Khofifah-Emil pair. Khofifah with his santri identity did not always approach the clerics. He also actively discussed general issues that showed the spirit of nationalism in them. Emil too. Departing from a nationalist, in several posts he also tried to approach the santri group by performing congregational prayers and wearing caps. But he did not replace the damage with a sarong.

From these examples, it indicates that the approach to groups that have different s is one form of marketing to introduce candidate identities. Not changing the identity based on the wishes of this group. Stromback, et al (2012) states that when political parties implement sales-oriented, they believe in their ideas and policies, but they are aware that the product must be sold to the public; without having to change behavior or policies to adjust to the wishes of the community, but try to make them want or get to know the party's offer itself.

Actualization of the Political Concept of Stream Applied by the Candidates

For abangan stream, the majority findings indicate that the politics of abangan stream are not necessarily straightforwardly mentioned by the term. But it is disguised through the use of the nationalist word. This refers to the statement of Geertz (1983), different from the general tendency of the santri, abangan and priyayi to be the main supporters of nationalist, secular and communist parties (in Mulkhan & Singh, 2011). The tendency of the abangan

group's attitude closer to the nationalist group resulted in this group often using the attributes or characteristics that lead to it. This was done by the couple Gus Ipul-Puti through strengthening the figure of Soekarno as Chairman of the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) and several other nationalist figures such as Megawati (the son of Soekarno), using red nuanced attributes as the dominant color and approach to related organizations. Not only the attributes and approaches taken, nationalist definitions or concepts themselves are also interpreted by Anderdson (1983) that nationalism serves to connect citizens with broad national stories and birth myths. In the case of Indonesia, the birth myth focuses on the struggle against Dutch colonialism. Therefore, contemporary nationalism, at the beginning of its period, focused on the terminology and symbols of anti-colonial struggle (Aspinall, 2015). Therefore, in a text statement, Gus Ipul-Puti also included or showed their nationalist attitude several times in the form of strengthening local products or favoring the fate of the poor.

On the other hand, in contrast to Gus Ipul-Puti whose symbolization of the stream is more varied, Khofifah-Emil actually shows the majority of this attitude through text statements. Many of them focus on strengthening local products and taking part in the fate of the poor. For attributes and approaches to related parties, this pair does not reveal the dominant colors in the abangan sect or cooperates with nationalist figures. In addition to the abangan sect, Gus Ipul-Puti and Khofifah-Emil also actualize the political concept of the santri school. Conceptually, Geertz (1960) did provide reinforcement to the group of santri as a more religious group. Uphold the religious doctrine and not be indifferent like the abangan group. Therefore, Geertz (1960) said that among the several groups included in the santri group, Nahdlatul Ulama was one of them, which in the East Java Pilkada contestation became a strong base for voting polarization. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is synonymous with important figures such as kiai and ibu nyai, educational institutions in the form of Islamic boarding schools, madrasa education to the use of green as the main color. In

its actualization, the two candidates used almost the same methods, together approaching the kiai and other santri elements and wearing typical clothing of this group. But for the activities and use of colors, Gus Ipul-Puti is considered more prominent than Khofifah-Emil. They straightforwardly showed a combination of green and white while Khofifah-Emil was only white. Not only that, the activities of the santri group carried out by Gus Ipul-Puti were also often explored unlike Khofifah-Emil who showed less similar activities.

Data Findings Viewed from Their Relation to Communication Theory

Based on the findings of political marketing data about political stream carried out by the candidates, how they communicate the symbols of abangan, santri and priyayi through social media can be viewed from John Fiske's (2012) communication theory, especially the first point of view. According to this point of view, Gus Ipul-Puti and Khofifah-Emil made a political message intentionally with a number of symbols that enabled the public to know about it. For the contents of the santri for example. The characteristics that were raised were quite identical to the santri santri group, for example, the use of attributes such as sarongs, koko and peci clothes, skirts, more closed veils, related activities, approaches to to the kiai and other santri elements. As for nationalist content, the characteristics raised can also be captured by the public, such as including the PDI-P party symbols as a secular nationalist party and showing an attitude of nationalism by recognizing the superiority of local products. Even so, using the term Fiske (2012), Gus Ipul-Puti provides a stronger message redundancy. The use of symbols or artifacts either leads to a more varied and straightforward making this couple more able to be caught in the stream message in the political marketing process.

The Exchange Process and Political Marketing Interaction of Political Stream in Terms of Audience Response

On the other hand, for the audience response, the relevant theory in seeing the data findings is the second school of Fiske (2012), where there are those who can capture the political content of the stream and some who do

not. With them being able to capture the content, indirectly political stream can have an impact on public perceptions or views and even preferences in choosing. The difference in catching the characteristics of the political stream according to the second school of thought from Fiske (2012) could be due to cultural factors which include a lack of experience or individual references to it.

Suggestions for Future Research

This research is still limited to seeing public reactions through interactive features on FB. And not yet optimally conducted interviews directly related to the relationship between the reactions given and real support through voting. Is it when one user supports a particular partner by giving likes, positive comments or even sharing a post to another user implicating the voting of the couple.

In addition, more in-depth studies are needed to find out the reasons for the candidates and their success teams about using political patterns of stream and placement. This research still sees political marketing based on political stream on its surface only or which appears in their posts. From these shortcomings, further research is needed on this matter as an effort to find out the dynamics and the extent of the political stream movements among actors and electorates. Because it must be acknowledged that the issue is one of the crucial aspects in general election contestation that can have a significant impact on voter preferences.

CONCLUSION

The process of exchange and interaction that occurs in political marketing gives an interesting picture of several things, first, positioning made by each candidate is more dominant in product-oriented. Although there are efforts to adjust to market needs in forming political alliances and implementing sales-oriented, data findings indicate that each figure retains its identity. Secondly, it relates to the political stream which is only examined at the ideological level and issues that arise in the supporting mass base without

knowing how to represent all three when taken in the context of elections, the results of the study show that Gus Ipul-Puti was more dominant in terms of variations in the pattern and format of uploaded posts. Each candidate also tries to provide characteristics of stream that are known to the public so that they can increase certainty (redundancy) in the process of sending messages. With some of these characteristics, the stream of charges conveyed through FB tends to be captured by the public, some who do not. The public who can catch it will give relevant comments and vice versa. The reasons behind this difference can be based on cultural factors which include, among other things, a lack of reference or user experience regarding the characteristics of political stream.

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