Using Political Marketing Strategy to Achieve Parliament Chair: Theoretical Studies in Indonesia’s Parliament

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ABSTRACT

Reform has brought a change in Indonesia’s electoral system. Parliament is elected directly by citizen. New strategy is needed to support the candidates success to get votes, one of them is a political marketing strategy. The theoretical study of political marketing strategy in Indonesia parliament is still not much studied. Therefore, this article objective is to examine theoretical concepts in marketing strategy of political candidates for DPR. Based on theory and field conditions, it can be concluded that constituent recognition process to improve the success of Parliament member can be done by increasing the socialization intensity to introduce themselves and using nickname that easy to remember by public. In addition, they should demonstrate a commitment to maintain credibility and provide reassurance to public. Lastly, provide figure by giving a good example to community and strives to be a good example.

INTRODUCTION

Direct elections implementation has described a condition to show that democratic process in Indonesia state has been going, because people has given right to choose their own leader. Every citizen has the right to participate and elect representatives in legislature. Public can directly choose and determine their representatives in Parliament of Indonesia Republic (DPR RI). However, this condition is not accompanied by optimal parliament performance, in terms of budget and supervision performance (Salang, 2014). This can erode the good reputation of Parliament.

Building a good reputation requires public trust. Bad reputation will erode public trust and need a long time to recover. One activity to get the good reputation of community is marketing. Marketing science has been growing rapidly along with times, especially for economy and education in Indonesia (Firman, 2008). Marketing science is not only used by economics, but it will be more attractive when used in political activities with aim to get public sympathy in winning the general election competition (Efendy et al., 2003).

Implementation of General Election year 2009 is different than before. Constitutional Court decision No. 22-4/PUU-VI/2008 explains that prospective members of Parliament are elected candidates who get the most votes. Referring to decision of Constitutional Court, it becomes a good opportunity for citizens who want to become members of parliament should be able to use political marketing to public or the constituent (Wasesa, 2011).

Henneberg (2004) said that currently political marketing has a place as one sub-disciplines of science and produced many high quality articles each year. However, the articles generally still discuss the characteristics of a good political marketing, identifying the location of a quality market, political ethical considerations to prevent social conflict and making structural political marketing.

Most common theory for political marketing is the Three-Stage Model from Robert Keith (1960). First is to identify public demand, accuracy in implementing the vision and mission as well as adaptation to environment. Second is to disseminate the program to public. Third is implementation of program with aim to change the voter’s behavior. The model has been widely accepted and discussed in academic literature with aim to achieve a market orientation and success of election by candidate (Savigny, 2010). Three-Stage Model of political marketing was originally built by Robert Keith in 1960. It was followed by Dominic Wring in 1997.
and Egan in 1999, Lees-Marshemen in 2001, and O’Cass in 2001. The model application is suitable to
direct the activities of public opinion to make people satisfied with development programs that ultimately
gives victory in general elections (Reid, 1988; Shama, 1976).

Three-phase model of political marketing has
provided the basic framework for political market
success by promoting communication between
political candidates, voters, and media. Political
marketing has been dominated by marketing
management theory to lay down the foundations
essential for candidates to follow election process.
Although marketing management theory does not
recognize the existence of media, and as a
communication channel between candidates and
voters, but the media itself is capable to create
political message to voters (Savigny, 2010).

Media role to deliver the message to public
through advertising is very positive. Media is a
public broadcaster to serves candidates interests to
show political vision and mission as well as various
media entities plays an important role to distribute
the candidates message (Kuhn, 2007). Political
marketing was born twenty years ago by focusing
and analyzing the political marketing (Mauser, 1983;
Newman and Sheth, 1985; Farrell and Wortmann,
1987; Reid, 1988; Harrop, 1990; O’Shaughnessy,

Research on political marketing has new
momentum, especially the development of marketing
applications changes by candidates to participate in
election to gain a majority vote (Newman, 1994a;
Newman, 1994b). Weakening politics of a party is
caused by inconsistency of elite politic to implement
the vision and mission. Consequently, they get small
vote in next general election (Palmer, 2002;
Henneberg, 2002). In addition to pressure from
voters, competitor in political market also exploits
these weaknesses (Lees-Marshment, 2001).

More theoretical and empirical study of political
marketing becomes strong reason to separate this
scientific discipline (O’Cass, 2001). During its
development, definition of political marketing is
dynamic and there is a difference over time. Some
claimed that political marketing implementation
should use the marketing mix (O’Leary and Iredale
1976). Research on political marketing has been
done by some previous researchers as Lees
Marshment, (2001); Squeeze, (2002). Along with the
times, political marketing is often applied through
electronic media with aim to enable public to know
the vision and mission of parliament’s candidates
(O’Shaughnessy, 2003; Harris, 2001).

Studies by previous researchers show various
results. Although the method of marketing strategies
are different, but each strategy equally successful.
This shows the modern and traditional marketing
promotional are important for prospective
parliament’s members. Therefore, this study purpose
is to examine the theoretical concepts of marketing
strategy of parliament political candidates to get
sympathy from public in legislative elections. The
uniqueness of this research is the marketing concept
is examined from a political perspective, how
parliament candidate markets himself to get trust
from community to become a Member of Parliament.
This study novelty is to develop a political marketing
strategy model in Indonesia.

Theoretical Examination:
Definition of Political Marketing:

Sugiono (2013) explains that basically political
marketing is a method based on general concepts of
marketing to be applied in leaving the characteristics
and substance of politics itself. Nursal in Sugiono
(2013) said that the concept of political marketing
depart from the concept of meaning. Political
marketing basically is a series of planned activities,
strategic but also the tactical dimension of short term
and long term, to spread political meaning to voters.
To establish and embed expectations, attitudes,
beliefs, orientation, and voting behavior. Expected
voter behavior is a support expression with various
dimensions, especially for a particular party or
candidate.

Butler and Collins in Firmansyah (2012)
revealed that permanent political marketing is a
concept that should be done continuously by a
political party or candidate in building trust and
public image. Further Harris in Firmansyah (2012)
provide a more comprehensive understanding of
political marketing.

a. Political marketing is more than political
communication.

b. Political marketing is applied in whole
process of political parties organization. It is only
about political campaigns but also how to formulate
a political product through the development of
symbols, images, platforms, and programs offered.

c. Political marketing uses marketing concepts
widely, not only limited to marketing techniques, but
also to marketing strategies. It ranges from technical
publications, offering ideas and programs, and
products design up to market as well as the
intelligent information processing.

d. Political Marketing involves many
disciplines, such as sociology and psychology. For
example, a political product is a function of
sociological understanding of symbols and identity,
while the psychological factor is emotional intimacy
and character of a leader to all rationality aspects of
party platform.

e. Political marketing can be applied in various
political situations, ranging from elections to lobby
in parliament.

Political marketing originally was intended as a
medium to introduce political candidates in
community. It is eventually used also when they have
been in parliament office. Indeed, political marketing
should not only be done to get sympathy from the public but also political marketing should be continued until the candidate is a Member of Parliament.

**Concept Marketing Mix In Politics:**
Jobber and Landcaster (2003) states that instrument of political marketing theory is 4Ps. They are marketing product, price, place, and promotion. It also called "marketing mix" in marketing theory. Marketing mix discussion in political marketing context has peculiarities with general marketing mix. Despite the marketing mix is a force in political marketing, there are political marketing nuances that should be considered for the different objectives of political and business. Concept of marketing mix used can be explained below.

a. **Product of Political:**
Sugiono (2013) stated that products offered by a political party or a candidate is a policy that will be applied when a political party or candidate wins the election. According to Firmanzah Niffenegger (2012), political product is a political identity offered to participants. These consists of political party platform (platform for political parties, either individually or together, including the concept), ideology and program identity, past record and personnel characteristic. Furthermore, Henneberg (2004) said that political product is suitability.

Quality of a political product can be viewed from various sides, including the image of party candidates as ideology, vision, mission and track record of party candidates. The candidate track record refers to leadership experience and lawfulness. Personal characteristics of candidate refers to educational background, vision-mission, ethnic, religious and honesty.

b. **Price of Politics:**
Niffenegger in Firmansyah (2012) stated that the political price is the participants comfort to price perception, because price in political marketing involves a lot of things, from an economic to psychological price. Economic price includes all expenses incurred during the campaign period. The cost also includes advertising, publicity, grand meeting to administrative of campaign team. Psychological price refers to price of psychological perception, such as whether voters feel comfortable with ethnic background, religion or education of a candidate.

Image price refers to whether voters feel that the candidate is able to give a positive image and can be proud or not. Firmansyah (2012) explains that the concept of a political price will search to decrease their political price of product and increase the products price of political opponents. Making product prices more expensive for political opponents is a strategy of political actors to get public support, because voters will vote to party or candidate with least risk or a relatively small price.

Political price may include economic costs, psychological costs and effects of regional image. The economic costs are calculated from all nominal of campaign expenses, campaign attributes and practice of money politics. Psychological price refers to background of candidates such as, education, ethnicity and religion, while the regional image effect refers to candidate's home and public confidence to candidates.

c. **Promotion of Political:**
Promotional activities relate to business activity to disseminate information to all members and sympathizers. Promotions of political marketing consists of various communication activities. Tools that can be used in a political campaign are advertising in print and electronic media as well as banners and posters of candidates. Public relations include holding social events and rallies with a successful team and sympathizers of candidates. Grand events include candidates participation in debates held and electoral commission held by electronic media.

d. **Place of Politics Distribution:**
Firmanzah (2012) stated that in politics world, political product distribution is closely related to mechanism of product range and politics penetration up to stricken and remote areas. Media such as newspapers, television, radio, internet, magazines, brochures, pamphlet and posters are distributed to regions as a physical form of distribution in context of political marketing. Niffenegger in Firmansyah (2012) explains that place of politics is closely related to distribution of an institution political and ability to communicate with voters or potential voters. Furthermore, according to O'Shaughnessy in Firmansyah (2012), distribution system is defined as a network that contains people and institutions in associated with politics product flow to general society.

Distribution in political context can be interpreted as a means for participants to get information services. Therefore, political party’s offices always try to be built until remote area. Distribution to smallest geographic unit of society is expected to get information and services easily. Political distribution may include the presence and candidate contribution to region, dialogue with public, dissemination of success team and supporters as well as all of candidates visit religious and social organizations.

**Marketing Concept In Political Domain:**
Firmanzah (2012) explains marketing concept in political domain as follows.

a. **Market Orientation:**
In a competitive climate, the compete entities should face the fact that they compete for voters. To win political competition, party must be able to satisfy the needs of wider community. It is a political needs. Society needs the political products such as work programs, ideology, expectations and leading figure to provide certainty in future. In addition, a political product must also be able to convince the public that this is the way to solve problems in today's society.

b. Orientation Competition:
Multiparty conditions and higher awareness of health competition, free of collusion and government intervention make the political parties meet the fact that they have to compete directly with opponent or competitor. Competition is needed by political parties for several reasons. First, political parties can evaluate objectively whether they act correctly or not. The truth can be seen through the vote acquisition when compared with their main rivals. If their votes higher than major competitors, it means that voters see the party has more value than others. Secondly, competition is needed to motivate political parties to strive better and not easily satisfied the achievement.

c. Customer Orientation:
Ability to assess and evaluate who their voters are is important to be owned by a political party. Voters would vote for the party or candidate with closest of ideology and policy (Popkin in Firmanzah, 2013). Party or candidate must have a strong relationship with community for related activities. Consumers in this case are the people who must be accommodated aspirations and translated in work program or party platforms. Society is a source of inspiration and ideas to develop a work program. Work program should be drawn up based on community needs.

d. Competitor’s Orientation:
Political parties also need to pay attention to what has been done, is doing and will be done by a competitor. Not all of the success factors are determined by party's internal conditions. External factors can also affect on success and failure of political parties to win vote in general election. One external factor is competitor’s behavior. It is defined as all work of a political party that can potentially reduce the partisanship of society and vote of a certain political party.
Political party or contestants increasingly required to produce a political product with higher advantage than competitors. Competitors must be regarded as a permanent threat that must be evaluated at all times. In a market orientation, a political market must constantly analyze the products offered by competitors. This analysis is important in order to avoid lower level attractiveness of work programs offered by party in voters eyes. When a competitor raises a political issue, a party is expected to offer other political issues or at least participate in a discussion or debate on the issues. This is done to avoid the domination of a political issue by a certain political party.

Relationship of Political Marketing on political campaign strategy:
Campaign is done in various stages. It ranges from public interest; prepare the community participation until to make real action. Campaign also dramatize the ideas to public and invite them to involve symbolically and practically to achieve the campaign goal. Based on above reasoning, persuasion is an important issue in political marketing. It is persuasion communication actions to make a communicant adopt the communicator view about something or perform a particular action.

According to Johnson’s perspective (Venus, 2009), persuasion is a transactional process between two or more people where there is a reconstruction of reality through the exchange of symbolic significance to produce changes in beliefs, attitudes or behavior voluntarily. Principally, persuasion communication actions are intended to change or reinforce attitudes, beliefs and behavior of audience voluntarily in according with communicator expectation. The success of political communications persuasion is based on various things, including the communication style of candidates in political campaigns.

Kuswarno (2008) states that communication style is typical way used by humans to communicate in certain situations. Communication styles of each individual are different. Each individual has a communication characteristic. Communication style is also not permanent, stiff, must follow certain rules of normative, flexible communication style tends to be tailored to situation and environmental conditions at same conditions and circumstances speaker itself.

A political communicator is synonymous with a clever orator who performs political rhetoric. Rhetoric is the art of speaking and influencing techniques. Rhetoric could go well if communicators understand the society background. These aspects should be used by communicators to provide proper persuasion to people, in accordance with culture and characteristics of local community. A style used in campaign is should be understood by community. It should be accompanied by regional dialect to make people feel comfortable to hear speeches of parliament candidates (Perloff 1993).

Rhetoric usage as a way to persuade the audience is increasingly used by candidates. Each voter will determine the choice if they believe in candidate. It needs sensitivity and ability of candidate to get voters trust. This method can be done through a various ways, but one principle that
must be held by candidate is the truth in words and actions for each activity.

Widodo (2005) said that successful business should can be trusted, but candidate to win voters must take into account and consider more things, namely ability to speak in public and consistently holds a truth said.

According to Gary Genard in Widodo (2005), in speech someone sends 55% of messages through body language, facial expressions, and other clues were clear, 38% from voice quality and only 7% from content of message. It means voter received 93% through how the appearance of speech and speaker's voice. The speakers/candidates must expert in physical situation of speech (podium, lectern, TV studio and so on) while assuring the audiences hear something value/worth. Successful speaker encourages his audience to hear through adequate physical appearance and sound energy that is unlikely to be rejected in process to send the message. It was rather difficult to implement because the speakers must convince many people in public. At campaign, many people will be more interested in how candidates to talk or speech, but there are other things that must be considered. It is how candidates speak as much as possible about the issues that audience wants to hear. A good way to do is to speak the truth. Candidate commit fully to truth, and then at that moment the audience will listen. Candidates should try to convince them. Candidate also can use the talk/speech as a form of personal wishes to know how life experiences, successes and weaknesses of candidates. This is also needed because people love to hear stories and anecdotes/humor in political activities (Gary Genard, in Widodo 2005).

Grigsby (1996) stated that techniques of political campaigns are almost always follow commercial marketing. Politicians and political activists quickly adapt to effective marketing techniques in economic field. Political campaigns have evolved from business concept to marketing concept in politics. Voter mobilization is the most important factor for the campaign success. Modern campaigns use marketing concepts with popular techniques and tactics from business marketers. The marketing concept focuses on voter’s wants and needs. Politicians find part of campaign platform that fits with voters needs. Table 1 below show equality between political marketing and business marketing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Political marketing</th>
<th>Business marketing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selling</td>
<td>Efforts to anticipate and create a good impression from legislative candidates.</td>
<td>High quality products distribution to consumers or public.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>Establish marketing experts who able to convey the party's message to make people determine their preferences for the party</td>
<td>Identify customer needs and then develop products to meet customer needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>Activities to socialize vision and mission to society.</td>
<td>Company creates a market for new products, using image-based ads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Product</td>
<td>Party seek and need the best cadres.</td>
<td>Selling products quality through brands.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Grigsby, 1996

Product component of services marketing as concept of variability, intangibility and heterogeneity commonly have been applied in politics (Baines et al. 2003). Grönroos' (1984) revealed that concept of technical quality and functional affect on customer satisfaction. According to Baines et al. (2003), political core service features comprised of constituents with lawmakers at local level. The real political service features can be seen from the policies, values and a statement supported by party, party manifesto and party's ability to meet them.

In business marketing, seller sends the goods, services, and communications (eg advertising) to market with return of money (consumer purchase), information, and customer loyalty. In political campaigns, candidates send appointments, policy preferences, personality and behavior, voluntary efforts or contributions (Kotler, 2001).

Party marketers must understand the basic elements of marketing. Success can be achieved not only in short term, but also in long term. Marketing is process on how to use a more effective and efficient method to design and carry out political campaigns. Marketing offers political party capability to overcome problems and desire of various electorate through marketing analysis, planning, implementation and control of political campaigns and elections (O'Cass, 1996).

Political marketing facilitate the political processes of social exchange. Political marketing management describes the art and science of successful management in process of political implementation to prioritizes learning about a better political (Kotler, 2003). Therefore, political marketing and application of managerial and political marketing management, can be interpreted as the research object (Henneberg, 2000). O'Cass (2000) suggested the further research should be directed towards a better understanding of political party's workings and how they apply marketing theory and good marketing techniques, not only in election campaigns but also in their daily lives.

**Political Marketing Developments In Indonesia:**

Political marketing studies has been developed rapidly in America, Europe and Australia. Political marketing was initially studied by marketing science. It now has been studied by political and
communication science at several leading universities in world and create experts in their field. In developing countries, particularly in Indonesia and Malaysia, political marketing has not been widely recognized both in realm of political practice and scholarly study. While most countries in these two continents have practiced democracy and multiparty system in competitive elections Nursal (2004). However, although research and publications on political marketing in both countries is still relatively low, this does not mean that political parties in past did not use political marketing. Political parties in two countries have conducted a series of these activities. In Indonesia for example, Parties collect the mass (appointment of cadres, Tabligh Akbar and declarations), use print media coverage (TV, newspapers, magazines, radio) and send representatives of political parties to visit a particular community and community constituents (Firman, 2007).

Political marketing is not only seen during the election campaign period, but must continue to pay attention to, accommodate and channel the aspirations of people at any time. The campaign models have two types namely short time and long time. Short term are usually carried out before of general election campaign and long term campaign was done continuous (Butler & Collins, 2001). This opinion is supported by Fritz and Plasser (2002) who claimed to have been seen a shift of campaign these days from a modern campaign model to post-modern campaign. Modern campaigns use "media logic" and puts voters as audience, while the post-modern campaigns apply marketing logic that puts voters as consumers.

Political marketing is applied appropriately in model of political campaigns through marketing logic. Proximity of political parties and constituency and mass is maintained at all times. Political education for community is done by placing the community as a political subject. Not just as a political object election campaign alone, after that the bad relationship between society and political parties could lead public antipathy towards politics

In developing countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia are undergoing a transition to democracy. Implementation of political marketing by political parties is a recent phenomenon and still partially implemented, and often without realizing political parties have carried out political marketing practices to communicate with constituent and general public. This is partly due to two things. First, interaction intensity of political parties and public often only occur at elections through campaign. At this time the parties compete to offer products in form of politics ideological, ideas, policies and track record. It serve society to hear, see and choose their products. Outside this period, political party communication with public is disconnected.

On one side, political parties are busy with their respective agendas that often far from public, and on other hand people are often forgotten and apathetic to know whether campaigned programs have been implemented or not. Society loses its critical power to control political parties. Political parties put political marketing only in election campaign alone. Secondly, politics in developing countries are often wrong to interpret the word marketing. Marketing narrowly is interpreted as selling. Political marketing means selling or marketing of political products. For political parties, the right time to sell and market products only in political election campaign. Meaning of marketing is much more complex than selling. Marketing also implies product innovation, new product research, decision-making and resources (Firman, 2007)

Political party should campaigns in all time by processing ideas, new ideas and innovative programs, research aspirations, rational policies that benefit the community, and create superior human resources and leadership to run the government and state policies for progress and public interests. As new scientific studies, political marketing was first started in United States and continue to develop a diverse and changing definitions Baines et al (1999), cite the definitions Kotler (1982) who emphasis on transactions that occur between voters and candidate. O'Leary & Iradela (1976) emphasizes the use of marketing-mix to promote political parties. Lock & Harris (1996) propose that political marketing should concern to positioning. Wring (1997) uses opinion of research and environmental analysis.

Political marketing is a series of planned activities, strategic and tactical dimension of short term and long term, to spread political significance to voters. Political marketing aims to create and instill hope, attitudes, beliefs, orientation and voting behavior. Expected voter behavior is generally supported by various dimensions, especially settled on a particular party or candidate (Nursal, 2004)

Building Models And Propositions Of Political Marketing Strategy In Indonesia:

Phenomenological approach assumption is individuals interact each other to actually shape reality of revealed action. Phenomenology attempts to understand meaning of events, symptoms, and or interaction for individuals in certain circumstances in everyday life. Study of conceptual meaning within individual then expressed in form of phenomenon and attempt answer the question of how the structure and nature of experience of individual against to symptom (Oetomo, 1995; in Fatchan, 2013). The model generated from this study can describes that a good political marketing is done as below.

Increase the intensity of socialization between the marketer and community:
Socialization is a move to impose themselves for a legislative candidate. Much can be done in socialization, but there are two things important namely introducing themselves and using familiar nickname. Self-introduction is intended to bring candidates to voters so that a choice will be set correctly when he knew the candidates well. To obtain and familiarize themselves with candidates, voters need to be introduced to nickname in order socialization can be embedded in minds of each voter (society).

A commitment to build a constituency:
Commitment is a promise that must be fulfilled by a candidate. Specifically, commitment relates to certainty and credibility. Certainty is form of programs that are rational for voters to increase voter confidence. Credibility cannot be separated from the trust a candidate, whether someone is trustworthy and have sufficient maturity in fight for a program that will be implemented when the successful candidates designated as members of Parliament.

Provide exemplary to community:
Maintaining trust is not easy to do by a candidate. Effort should be done to get the trust. It will be achieved by showing that party carries the hopes of candidate for voters. Public confidence to prospective party will create trust. Demonstrated experience and examples that have been carried out by candidate will give a good color for a legislative candidate. Therefore, example of a candidate in order to maintain trust through experiences/examples of good will largely determine the success of a candidate to be chosen. From the above description to facilitate understanding in political marketing strategy can be presented in Figure 1.

![Fig. 1: Heriyanto’s Model about political marketing strategy](image)

Based on model Heriyanto about political marketing strategies above, the proposition are as follows:

The success of political marketing strategy is reflected by exemplary, intensity of socialization and commitment of individual legislative”

Studies on political marketing strategy as the struggle to get parliament chair in Senayan Jakarta contribute to development of marketing management science, especially political marketing for Parliament in Senayan Jakarta to get chair will require commitment, intensity of socialization and exemplary. This theoretical findings have support the opinion of O'Shaughnessy (2003); Harris, (2001); Marshment (2001), Poerwadi, (2011) Poerwosusanto (2011) which states that in order to become a member of legislative, achieving the necessary political marketing can be done through by print and electronic media ads.

Conclusion:
Based on theoretical examination and field conditions, it can be concluded that process of constituent’s recognition to improve the success of a Parliament member can be done by increasing the intensity of socialization to introduce themselves and using the nickname that is easy to remember. In addition they should demonstrate a commitment to maintain credibility and provide reassurance to public. Lastly, providing exemplary by giving a good example to community and strives to become good example.

This study is a theory examination to open the door for further research on political marketing strategy in reform era. Model and propositions put forward a synthesis of theory and phenomena that occur in Indonesia. Therefore, researchers were able to use the theories and propositions as a basis for future empirical studies.

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