

The Interest Pattern of Ethnic Groups as Supporters: A Case Study of *Pilkada* of Medan City in 2015

Humaizi*

Muhammad Yusuf**

Rudi Salam Sinaga***

Abstract: Democracy gives people the same right to vote and to be voted in a political position. High citizen participation in leader election is utilized as an indicator of the quality of democracy. On the other hand, citizen participation in the election in some cases in some districts of Indonesia did not run smoothly and peacefully but in the case of Medan city, the periodical election of regional heads (*pilkada*) did not show the social upheaval of different options as well as in the segmentation of ethnic groups as supporters of candidates competing in it. This study is aimed at discovering the interest pattern of *PASTI* and *Joko Tingkir* as ethnic groups and political compensation, which was gained by them in *Pilkada* of Medan city in 2015. This study employed qualitative research with case study type. The research data were obtained through in-depth interviews, library study, documentation, and focus group discussion. It is found that there is a similarity pattern of ethnic group involvement in constructing political communication with contestant but there is difference of orientation of post-election compensation expectation.

Keywords: Interest pattern, Ethnic group, *Pilkada*, and Medan city.

*Senior Lecturer, Department of Communication Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Sumatera Utara. E-mail: humaizi_fisipusu@yahoo.com. Corresponding Author.

**Lecturer, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Sumatera Utara. E-mail: yusuf_my@usu.ac.id

***Lecturer, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Medan Area. E-mail: rudi_fisipusu@yahoo.com

Abstrak: Demokrasi memberi orang hak yang sama untuk mengundi dan diundi dalam kedudukan Demokrasi memberi orang hak yang sama untuk mengundi dan diundi dalam kedudukan politik. Penyertaan warga negara yang tinggi dalam pemilihan pemimpin digunakan sebagai penunjuk kualiti demokrasi. Sebaliknya, penyertaan warga dalam pemilihan dalam beberapa kasus di beberapa daerah di Indonesia tidak berjalan dengan lancar dan aman tetapi dalam hal kota Medan, pemilihan raya kepala daerah (pilkada) secara berkala tidak menunjukkan pergolakan sosial dari berbagai pilihan serta dalam segmentasi kumpulan etnik sebagai penyokong calon yang bersaing di dalamnya. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui pola minat *PASTI* dan *Joko Tingkir* sebagai kumpulan etnik dan pampasan politik yang diperoleh oleh mereka di Pilkada Kota Medan pada tahun 2015. Kajian ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif dengan jenis studi kasus. Data penyelidikan diperoleh melalui temu bual mendalam, kajian perpustakaan, dokumentasi dan perbincangan kumpulan fokus. Difahamkan terdapat pola kesamaan penglibatan kumpulan etnik dalam membina komunikasi politik dengan peserta tetapi ada perbezaan orientasi harapan pampasan pasca pilihan raya.

Kata kunci: Corak minat, Kumpulan etnik, Pilkada, Kota Medan

Introduction

In 2015, Indonesia held elections of regional heads or *pemilihan kepala daerah* (henceforth *pilkada*) in various regions at the provincial, district, and city levels. The execution of it in 2015 is slightly different from the previous ones. The difference is only about the time of the elections which are conducted simultaneously in all areas of Indonesia. North Sumatra Province is one of the autonomous regions that did not hold *pilkada* for provincial level (choosing the governor) in 2015, but it was held simultaneously in its 23 regencies and cities. There are regulations in order to adjust the stages of the simultaneous *pilkada* with regard to the tenure of the regional head so that the elections are held simultaneously in seven batches, namely in 2015, 2017, 2018, 2020, 2022, 2023 and 2027. Specifically, in 2027, it is predicted that *pilkada* can nationally be performed simultaneously (Setiawanto, 2015).

One of the areas that held *Pilkada* in 2015 is, Medan city. It is the capital city of North Sumatra Province with heterogeneous demographic population and led by a mayor. Shukri (2017) argues that most Asian countries comprises of multiple ethnicities or religious groups. In that *pilkada*, it was followed by two pairs of mayor candidates namely,

Dzulmi Eldin-Akhyar Nasution (also known as **Eldin-Akhyar**), and Ramadhan Pohan-Edi Kusuma (also known as **REDI**). Since it is the capital region of North Sumatra, *Pilkada* in Medan city is always interesting to be observed. Then, the political situation during *Pilkada* cannot be separated from the involvement of interest group. In that situation, realized or not, the existence of these groups definitely have different interest such as criticizing voters' data, criticizing performance of general election executors, supporting groups of candidates and others. Panagopoulos (2006) states that the influence of the involvement of interest group definitely affect the election results.

Eldin-Akhyar in fulfilling the requirement as the candidate was supported by some parties namely Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP), Nasional Demokrat (Nasdem), Golongan Karya (Golkar), Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP), Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB), Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN), and Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI). Those parties formed coalition that had 30 members of regional house of representative (60%) from total 50 members (Kabar Medan, 2015). The minimum requirement to be a mayor and vice mayor candidate is that at least the candidate should have 20% vote in regional house of representative. On the other hand, the other candidate, REDI, was supported by the rest of the parties namely Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat, Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra), and Demokrat.

An interesting phenomenon to be traced in the contestation of *pilkada* in Medan city in 2015 is not only the struggle of the political party to catch the candidate's victory, but also the involvement of various ethnic-based community organizations in support activities to support the candidates. In 2013, it recorded that Medan has population comprising of many ethnics such as Bataknese (5.785.719 people), Javanese (4.319.719 people), Malay (771.668 people) and Chinese (340.320 people) (Bangun, 2015). Statistically, the percentage of ethnic population of Medan city is Tapanuli (19.21%), Chinese (10.65%), Mandailingnese (9.36%), Minangnese (8.60%), Malay (6.59%), Karonese (4.10%), and Acehnese (2.78%). This phenomenon shows that the process of democratization in this place is in progress. Then, the participation of the group society has materialized even touching the involvement of the identity symbols inherent in their values which in practice is not a problem in social life and security in the pre- and post-*pilkada*.

This study is based on electoral politics which always involves interest groups in the election activities, whether or not the existence of interest groups has different interests in the electoral situation such as criticizing voter data, criticizing the performance of election organizers, supporting candidate pairs and so forth. This study also shows concerns on the supporting groups of candidates, as the interest group, those who have strategic role in giving influence to attract public reliance in supporting their candidates. In details, the existence of supporting group is highly awaited and required by every candidate to confront pilkada activities, such as the routine of the political parties which is to perform the various readiness needed to participate in the election. The preparatory routine of the party ahead of the elections is to organize the selection of candidates for regional heads, to form party coalitions and to form support groups from various sectors of society and others.

This study took focus on two ethnic-based organizations which participated in electoral politics by providing institutional political support to the candidates in Pilkada of Medan city in 2015; they were 1) *Paguyuban Suku Tionghoa Indonesia (PASTI)* (Indonesian Chinese ethnic association) and *Joko Tingkir*. *PASTI* was declared on 10th November 2015 by Goh Kiat Tie, Sukiwi Tjong, and some other managers (Hutahaeon, 2013). This organization has mission to devote for the sake of Indonesia. Meanwhile, *Joko Tingkir* was declared on 9th February 2006 and it has mission to work for society. The members are dominated by Javanese people living in North Sumatra (Rama, 2017).

The two organizations stated in advance were chosen based on some considerations such as 1) in terms of institutional goals, these groups positioned themselves as the medium in protecting and preserving the cultural value and ethnicity kinship, 2) Based on the history of Medan city formation, these organizations are known as non-native ethnic in Medan, 3) these organizations had different choice in supporting to mayor and vice-mayor candidates in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015. and 4) different options of political support between ethnic groups did not cause ethnic conflicts in the history of Pilkada in Medan city. Furthermore, Medan city, during the history of elections (presidential, legislatives, or mayor) has no ethnic conflict record. The Participation of ethnic group in every *pilkada* was very high and the security condition from time to time until 2015 seems to be safe and no potential ethnic

conflict as well as conflict among supporters in *Pilkada*. In relation to their support to candidates in *pilkada* of Medan city 2015, *PASTI* voted Eldin-Akhyar (Talib, 2015) and on the other hand *Joko Tingkir* voted REDI (Waspada, 2015).

There are some studies dealing with the involvement of community groups in political activities such as the correlation between parliamentarians and interest group by Celis, Schouteden, & Wauters (2016) and Rasmussen (2012). Meanwhile, an empirical study discussing the involvement of community group in political activities such as general election can be observed through several empirical studies such as Baradei & Wafa (2013) clarifying the involvement of community groups in legislative elections, the study which investigates about minority ethnic in candidacy process such as Cinalli & Giugni (2013), Juenke & Shah (2016), and Huffmon, Knotts, & Mckee (2016). Additionally, researches conducted by Shukri (2017) and Vellymalay & Ponniah (2018) discuss the ethnic role in politic in Malaysia.

In the scope of Indonesia, Munawwarah (2011) conducted the study of the role of ethnic immigrants in the election of members of Parliament of Palopo (one of the regions in Celebes island). Then, Adrian (2013) observes about the use of ethnic and religious sentiments in the Jakarta regional elections of 2012. Firmansyah (2010) also puts his focus on the role of ethnic politics in the elections in Bengkulu province in 2005, and the last is La Ode (2011) explores the involvement of Chinese ethnic groups in politics in two cities in West Kalimantan Province.

This study is, of course, different from previous ones since it deals specifically with investigating the pattern of ethnic group interest in electoral politics. The previous studies investigated the ethnic group's political choice in electoral politics and the political participation of ethnic groups as contestants in the context of the election of legislatives for the house of representative (national and regional levels). On the other hand, this research investigates investigate the involvement of supporting ethnic group specifically in Medan city *pilkada*.

Research questions

In line to the background of the study, the formulation of the research questions are as the followings:

1. How is the interest pattern of *PASTI* and *Joko Tingkir* in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015?
2. What political compensation was gained by ethnic groups?

The history of *pilkada* in Indonesia

It was undeniable that reformation movement in Indonesia in 1998 had changed every aspect in the field of state-life including politics where the system of *pemilihan umum* henceforth *pemilu*) or general election in the post-reformation era adopts the direct principle in the election of leader at national and regional levels. In 1999, it was the beginning of a direct *pemilu* since every citizen was able to vote the candidates directly through some principles called as *LUBER* namely *langsung* (direct), *umum* (public), *bebas* (free), and *rahasia* (confidential).

From time to time, *pemilu* is continuously held in every five years at the national level and direct election is also conducted to vote the candidates at regional level through *pilkada*. The first direct *pilkada* was done in June 2005 to choose the regional head at the district or city level. The interesting phenomenon of *pemilu* in various regions stimulates great political participation in the level of voters until the use of identity symbols becomes inevitable as the effort of each candidate to gain vote and sympathy from voters such as in the campaign (Hasbullah, 2011). This phenomenon is commonly found in new democracy. According to Horowitz & Long (2016) in African and Asian countries, ethnic identity is able to influence voters' preferences. In other words, voters are more interested in selecting candidates from the same ethnicity or candidates recommended by most ethnic voters. Majority and minority ethnics share a strategic role in influencing candidates' votes in a contestation with a direct election system. Like the empirical experience of Teney, Jacobs, Rea, & Delwit (2010) in Belgium claim that ethnic minorities cannot be ignored in the electoral arena. Although democracy emphasizes on the quality of candidates, it is unavoidable that ethnic sentiments are so fertile in pluralist-characterized areas until Kapidžić (2014) considers that democracy in plural societies is difficult to achieve, easy to dismiss, and difficult to be maintained.

Ethnicity: its role and the involvement in *pilkada*

The study of local ethnic activities in politics also evolves the realization of authority decentralization in Indonesia through the execution of direct *pilkada*.. The empirical study attempts to define the presence of ethnic activities in *pilkada* that could be read in Hasbullah (2011) relating to ethnic identity and religion symbols as the power in predisposing the

result of *pilkada*. The phenomenon of ethnic group interests in *pilkada* could be read from the review of Faraidiany (2016) who investigated the identity politics of Chinese in Medan city.

The change of the political system in Indonesia which shifts from the centralization to the decentralization of power in the post-reformation era has obviously embodied the widespread of political participation of citizens at the local level. The political participation of citizens tends to materialize as a result of mobilization by the political elites at the local level. Moreover, Hasbullah (2011) asserts that local political actors are actually getting the arena to channel their political talents freely. This indicates that before the participation of citizens in politics is based on self-awareness, the influence of elites at the local level determines the result of institutionalization of democratization at the local level.

To gain high number of vote in election in democratic country that practices *one man one vote*, then each candidate would visit the voters from every community elements. Moufahim & Lim (2009) stated that in an effort to build voters, the marketing communication political platform should go through the segmentation of race, ethnic, gender, and class. The mobilization of votes from the segmentation among voters should be absolutely constructed, regarding to mobilization of ethnic groups in general election.

The current understanding of ethnicity in the modern era has evolved to a wider definition and not merely limited to the explanation of the existence of a cultural custom in a community but now the definition of ethnicity has developed and is positioned in interpreting an identity that includes nationality, religion, skin color and so forth. Weber as cited in Strijbis & Kotnarowski (2015) defines that ethnic groups as human groups believe that they are the same descendants on physical or customary or both, or have the same reminiscences about colonization and migration. Ethnic groups have position in society yet the position is not only limited to ethnic areas (culture and custom) but also can move to further role such as participating in the formation of the environment Macias (2016), in the job sector until in their involvement in political activities.

The role of ethnic groups could be seen in various activities in the field of life. The role of ethnic groups is the role in social classification social such as government, region, ethnic groups, ethnic elite, ethnic mass and contingency that have variations from case to case, without

any specific consistent criterion or standard (Yang, 2009). If the role of classification has different variation based on case to case, it will apply the same thing about the orientation of objective from the played role particularly in the different case by case. The study about the involvement of ethnic in politic is not a new study, in addition, ethnic groups are the part of citizens who have the same obligations and rights in every field of life since ethnic groups are the part of stakeholder on state policy.

The involvement of interest groups in campaign activity is used to manipulate general election results because their role is very essential in election campaign (Panagopoulos, 2006). In addition, it is very relevant particularly in political system of democratic country that refers to authority decentralization in which each level of authority structure is open to hold leader election and provide large access for every citizen to get the same right to vote and to be voted in general election. These rights awarded by democratic country to the citizens could be done personally or representative of a group such as ethnic group depending on the model of electoral system.

Method

This study utilized qualitative research with case study type. It is relevant to this study because this research deals with investigating subject relating to the process, interaction, and activity in a particular environment. The primary data were obtained through in-depth interview while the secondary data were obtained through library research and documentations that were relevant to this study. The informants of this study were 2 people from each coordinator in *Paguyuban Suku Tionghoa Indonesia (PASTI)* and *Joko Tingkir* community organization which were located in Medan. The triangulation technique was chosen as the data validity tool. Through this technique, the obtained data from each informant could be confronted to the competent informants regarding the validity of data. Through this triangulation technique, it could be obtained balance information so that the data had been confirmed from one side to side.

The interest pattern of *paguyuban suku tionghoa indonesia (PASTI)* in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015

The empirical study of the interest of Chinese in Indonesian politics has been the focus of some sociologist and political experts which one of the most prominent empirical studies conducted by Coppel (2005). He gives

a typology of Chinese political behavior in six shades of integration (the totality of joining Indonesia by maintaining cultural culture), traditional (discriminatory treatment by the ruling regime), supernatural (regime forcing to become unconditional Indonesian citizens) nationalist (orientation to Chinese nationalism) (see also Lan (1952) and Williams (1960)) on the overseas Chinese response against the arbitrary action of the Ching dynasty and western intervention against China in the past), *cukong* (orientation to work in the business sector to gain access to power), and assimilation (totally fused into culture of Indonesia).

Most of Chinese distributed in various regions of Indonesia are known for their profession as a businessman or also known as *cukong* (Coppel, 1976). Chinese in Medan is also known as a businessman or *cukong* that has economic power in this city so that they are regarded as local elite because they have the ability to gain access to power through their economic power. A wave of strong democracy in Indonesia in post 1999 election has not yet had implications for a strong political awareness in Chinese communities in Medan. In this phase, *paguyuban* or group of Chinese community established based on the basis of their internal social interests and the desire of their political interests which just appeared in *pemilu* in 2004 which there are several Chinese representatives who enrolled as a member candidate of Medan City House of Representative (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Kota Medan*).

The interest of Chinese in *pilkada* of Medan is no longer merely to vote at polling stations (*Tempat Pemungutan Suara/TPS*) but it is more than that. They have played a powerful role in influencing the votes of candidates for mayor and vice mayor in *pilkada* of Medan city. The strong influence comes from the communities of the Chinese community who are consciously established by them as social vessels for those who are then institutionalized into a social-based community organization with a large number of memberships such as one of the Chinese ethnic communities in Medan namely *Paguyuban Suku Tionghoa Indonesia (PASTI)* (Hutahaean, 2013).

There were many community organizations of Chinese ethnic in Medan city such as PASTI, PITI (*Paguyuban Islam Tionghoa Indonesia*), and PSMTI (*Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia*).

This diversity indicates the heterogeneity of Chinese in distributing their public social activities. The heterogeneity indicates that there was no concentration of Chinese which penetrates in only one mass organization. Their attitude of heterogeneity in political activity can apparently be seen in their political choices in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015.

The different political choice is obvious and fair such as political choices of *PASTI* and *PSMTI* which gave political vote to Eldin-Akhyar (Talib, 2015), while *PITI* gave the political vote to REDI (Maulana, 2015). Goh Kiat Tie, the chief of regional board representative of *PASTI* of North Sumatra, explained that *PASTI* as community organization had interest in social issues and had no interest in politics (Interview with Goh Kiat Tie, 2017). This clarification was not only contradicting to the news about *PASTI*'s interest in electoral politics in Medan in the form of providing support to one of the candidates in *pilkada* but also contradicting to Rianty's statement, the vice-secretary of regional board representative of *PASTI* of North Sumatra. Rianty clarified that there are some members of *PASTI* were active as part of political parties, and then at the same moment. Goh Kiat Tie gave an example such as *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)* and many more (Interview with Goh Kiat Tie, 2017).

The interest of *PASTI* as mass organization in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015, it was found that the willingness of *PASTI* is to support, to vote, and to help Eldin-Akhyar get the victory in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015. Concerning to the political choice of *PASTI* mass organization, the members gave votes to Eldin and Akhyar in *Pilkada* of Medan due to high trust toward the candidate as what Goh Kiat Tie explained that Eldin as a figure leader was a friendly and responsible leader. For Chinese, trust is an important indicator to establish the interaction or cooperation that they usually apply in business activities, like Chinese proverbs say that "trust" is called "*Sin yung*" which means to use faith in the best way.

Every human, apart from ethnic and religion, always puts trust in front to start a deeper interaction with other humans, besides that, in more essential matters such as the trust of choosing a leader in *pilkada*, the belief also could not emerge suddenly without any references behind it so that the trust is undoubtedly, the references in the form of

experience in interacting each other directly or indirectly could make someone got a judgment of trust with a certain level from another one who had known about it, therefore could be assumed that the trust of *PASTI* to the candidate Eldin-Akhyar had been examined based on the experiences from previous days.

The Interest pattern of *Joko Tingkir* in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015

Based on the information obtained from the interview with Mulyono Ahmad (2017), in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015, *Joko Tingkir* gave political votes to the candidate REDI. The decision of *Joko Tingkir*'s political choice depends on the authority of founding board and general chief after having discussion at the level of administrators. The main reason of *Joko Tingkir* to vote REDI was a commitment to give attention to Javanese community in Medan city.

Joko Tingkir, as supporting ethnic group to REDI, hopes that if REDI win, the candidate could give more attention to Javanese community in Medan city. *Joko Tingkir*'s political attitude gave new perspectives for the study of ethnic-based society groups that is always oriented to social-culture activities but at this time *Joko Tingkir* is able to occupy social-culture activities in political activities arena without eliminating the existing social-culture values. This condition defines that ethnic group have strategic value in a political "commodity" or as a container of votes for the candidates competing in *pilkada*.

In addition, to mobilize the votes in *Pilkada* of Medan city in 2017, the calculation used was the approach of the number of administrative structures in each level of sub-district and district plus the number of votes from families of the administrators and also the effort to campaign to support the candidate in surroundings so that the maximum number of votes could be achieved (interview with Mulyono Ahmad, 2017).

Supiyono, as the administrators of *Joko Tingkir* in Medan Perjuangan sub-district, stated that in doing social and political activities, *Joko Tingkir* pays attention to the balance between both of them and moreover, they also pay attention on choosing leader as citizen's responsibility. It always maintained the sense of strong brotherhood as well as solidarity so this could be a social and political foundation and also all activities could be done easily with "*Gotong Royong* or mutual cooperation"

principle. To preserve the harmony in the internal of them, then every individual member always keeps their roles (interview with Supiyono, 2017).

Then, the conclusion can be drawn from the interest of *Joko Tingkir* in supporting the candidate REDI in *pilkada* in Medan city in 2015 that it was patterned in some behaviors namely 1) well-established political awareness in the internal of it to participate in choosing the leader in *Pilkada* of Medan city in 2015 is through the communication in its internal administrators, 2) The dialogue of political commitment between *Joko Tingkir* and the candidate about the progress of Javanese community specifically *Joko Tingkir*, 3) *Joko Tingkir* mobilized the political support in the form or votes which is distributed to the candidate from the highest administrator level until the lowest administrator level.

Conclusion

The interest of *PASTI* and *Joko Tingkir* in *pilkada* of Medan city in 2015 had similar pattern between them in involving “themselves” to vote and support the candidates was determined by the decision of the highest management in the internal of *PASTI* and *Joko Tingkir* after doing political communication with the candidates who were supported. But, there was a different orientation of compensation expectation to be obtained between *PASTI* and *Joko Tingkir* after *pilkada*. *PASTI* oriented toward a future of increasing economic development in Medan city. This orientation was in line with most occupations of Chinese in Medan which were in business sector while *Joko Tingkir* oriented to abstract and universal object in the form of desired attention to Javanese community in the internal of *Joko Tingkir*.

Acknowledgement

The writers would like to address their thankfulness to the research institute of Universitas Sumatera Utara for TALENTA grant 2017. Then, they would like to thank to the informants from *PASTI* and *Joko Tingkir* organization for the kindness, help, and information during the accomplishment of this research.

References

- Adrian, F. (2013). *Identitas Etnis Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah: Studi Pemilihan Gubernur DKI Jakarta Tahun 2012* (Bachelor Thesis). Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta.
- Baradei, L. E., & Wafa, D. (2013). Parliamentary Elections Egypt 2011: A Multi-Stakeholder Groups Assessment. *Journal of US-China Public Administration*, 10(9), 860–885.
- Celis, K., Schouteden, A., & Wauters, B. (2016). Cleavage, Ideology and Identity. Explaining the Linkage between Representatives and Interest Groups. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 69(2), 348–365. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsv040>
- Cinalli, M., & Giugni, M. (2013). Political Opportunities, Citizenship Models and Political Claim-making over Islam. *Ethnicities*, 13(2), 147–164.
- Coppel, C. A. (1976). Patterns of Chinese Political Activity in Indonesia. In J. A. C. Mackie (Ed.), *The Chinese in Indonesia Five Essays*. Sydney: Thomas Nelson Ltd.
- Coppel, C. A. (2005). Introduction, Researching the Margins. In Lindsey & H. Pausacker (Eds.), *Chinese Indonesians, Remembering, Distorting, Forgetting*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Faraidiany, M. (2016). Politik Identitas Etnis Tionghoa di Kota Medan. *Jurnal POLITEIA*, 8(2), 74–82.
- Firmansyah, D. (2010). *Peran Politik Etnis Dalam Pilkada; Studi Atas Pilgub Provinsi Bengkulu Tahun 2005* (Bachelor Thesis). Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta.
- Hasbullah. (2011). Agama dan Etnisitas di Pentas Politik Lokal. *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, XVII(32), 170–182.
- Horowitz, J., & Long, J. (2016). Strategic voting, information, and ethnicity in emerging democracies: Evidence from Kenya. *Electoral Studies*, 44(1), 351–361. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.08.009>
- Huffmon, S. H., Knotts, H. G., & Mckee, S. C. (2016). Similarities and Differences in Support of Minority and White Republican Candidates College of Charleston. *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, 1(1), 91–116. <https://doi.org/10.1017/rep.2015.5>
- Hutahaean, M. (2013, November 13). Paguyuban Suku Tionghoa Dideklarasikan [Online]. Retrieved April 22, 2019, from Waspada Online website: http://medanbisnisdaily.com/news/read/2013/11/13/61570/paguyuban_suku_tionghoa_dideklarasikan
- Juenke, E. G., & Shah, P. (2016). Demand and supply: Racial and ethnic minority candidates in White districts. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics*, 1(1), 60–90.

- Kabar Medan. (2015, July 27). Didukung Koalisi 8 Partai, Eldin – Akhyar Resmi Mendaftar ke KPU Medan [Online]. Retrieved April 22, 2019, from <https://kabarmedan.com/didukung-koalisi-8-partai-eldin-akhyar-resmi-mendaftar-ke-kpu-medan/>
- Kapidžić, D. (2014). Ethnic practice in electoral politics: Bosnia and Herzegovina's 1990 Presidency elections. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 14(4), 556–584.
- La Ode, M. D. (2011). *Etnis Cina Indonesia Dalam Politik di Era Reformasi; Studi Kasus Keterlibatan Kelompok Etnis Cina Indonesia Dalam Politik di Kota Pontianak dan Kota Singkawang, Kalimantan Barat 1998-2008* (Phd Dissertation). Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.
- Lan, F. Y. (1952). *History of Chinese Philosophy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Macias, T. (2016). Environmental risk perception among race and ethnic groups in the United States. *Ethnicities*, 16(1), 111–129. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796815575382>
- Maulana. (2015, September 14). PITI Medan Dukung Gerakan Perubahan [Online]. Retrieved April 22, 2019, from Waspada Online website: <http://waspada.co.id/pemilu/piti-medan-dukung-gerakan-perubahan/>
- Moufahim, M., & Lim, M. (2009). Towards a critical political marketing agenda? *Journal of Marketing Management*, 25(7–8), 763–776. <https://doi.org/10.1362/026725709X471613>
- Munauwarah. (2011). *Politik Etnis Masyarakat Pendatang di Kota Palopo* (Bachelor Thesis). Universitas Hasanuddin, Makassar.
- Panagopoulos, C. (2006). Vested Interests : Interest Group Resource Allocation in Presidential Campaigns. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 5(1–2), 59–78.
- Rama. (2017, February 11). Kebersamaan Wujudkan Organisasi Profesional dan Mandiri [Online]. Retrieved April 22, 2019, from Berita Analisisdaily website: <http://harian.analisisdaily.com/kota/news/kebersamaan-wujudkan-organisasi-profesional-dan-mandiri/317390/2017/02/11>
- Rasmussen, A. (2012). Interest Group-Party Interaction in EU Politics. *Party Politics*, 18, 81–98.
- Setiawanto, B. (2015, February 17). Tujuh gelombang pilkada serentak 2015 hingga 2027 [Online]. Retrieved April 20, 2019, from <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/480618/tujuh-gelombang-pilkada-serentak-2015-hingga-2027>
- Shukri, S. F. M. (2017). The Role of Ethnic Politics in Promoting Democratic Governance: A Case Study of Malaysia. *Intellectual Discourse*, 25(2), 321–339.

- Talib, H. (2015, October 23). PASTI Medan Deklarasikan Dukungan untuk Eldin-Akhyar [Online]. Retrieved April 22, 2019, from Berita Dukungan | MEDANSATU.COM website: <https://medansatu.com/berita/tag/dukungan/url/pasti-medan-deklarasikan-dukungan-untuk-eldin-akhyar>
- Teney, C., Jacobs, D., Rea, A., & Delwit, P. (2010). Ethnic voting in Brussels: Voting patterns among ethnic minorities in Brussels (Belgium) during the 2006 local elections. *Acta Politica*, 45(3), 273–297. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2009.25>
- Vellymalay, S. K., & Ponniah, S. (2018). Tsunami India dalam Pilihan Raya Umum ke-14: Peralihan Sokongan Politik Etnik kepada Politik Multietnik. *Jebat: Malaysian Journal of History, Politics & Strategic Studies*, 45(2), 206–231.
- Waspada. (2015, September 10). Ormas Joko Tingkir Tegas Dukung Ramadan dan Edi [Online]. Retrieved April 22, 2019, from <http://waspada.co.id/pemilu/ormas-joko-tingkir-tegas-dukung-ramadan-dan-edi/>
- Williams, L. E. (1960). *Overseas Chinese Nationalism: The Genesis of The Pan Chinese Movement in Indonesia 1900-1916*. Illinois: The Free Press.
- Yang, B. (2009). entral State, Local Governments, Ethnic Groups and the Minzu Identification in Yunnan (1950s–1980s). *Modern Asian Studies*, 43(3), 741–755.

Interviews

- Goh Kiat Tie, The Head of DPW *PASTI* Provinsi Sumatera Utara, on Tuesday, 8th August 2017.
- Rianty, S.H., deputy of general secretary of DPW *PASTI* provinsi Sumatera Utara, on Tuesday, 8th August 2017.
- Mulyono Ahmad, head of *Joko Tingkir* kota Medan, on Tuesday, 25th July 2017.
- Supiyono, head of *Joko Tingkir* kota Medan, on Tuesday, 25th July 2017.