



Community Political Culture in the 2024 Regent and Deputy Regent Re-Election in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet, North Gorontalo Regency

Desri Natalia Tomayahu,^{1*} Udin Hamim,² Saleh Al Hamid,³

^{1,2,3}. PPKn Study Program, Faculty of Social Sciences, Gorontalo State University, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: desrinataliatomayahu@gmail.com,¹

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Abstract : *The implementation of re-voting (PSU) is intended to uphold electoral integrity; however, limited attention has been given to how political culture and voting behavior shape community participation during the re-voting process at the local level. This study aims to analyze the dynamics of political culture and voting behavior in the re-voting process in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet, North Gorontalo Regency, and to identify the factors influencing voting decisions. A descriptive qualitative approach was employed, with data collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation involving community members and relevant stakeholders. The findings reveal that the community demonstrates a transitional political culture, predominantly characterized by a subject political orientation with emerging participatory tendencies. Voting behavior is influenced by social, psychological, and informational factors, with family and kinship networks constituting the most dominant determinants of electoral choice. Furthermore, money politics and patronage practices continue to influence voting preferences, indicating that democratic participation remains largely procedural rather than substantive. The study concludes that the re-voting process serves not only as a mechanism for correcting electoral irregularities but also as an indicator of the quality of local democracy, highlighting the need to strengthen political literacy and promote more meaningful citizen participation in electoral processes.*

Keywords : *Political Culture; Voting Behavior; Re-voting; Local Democracy; Political Participation.*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia as an archipelagic country with ethnic, cultural, and social structure diversity presents its own complexities in democratic practices (Rahmawati & Dhewantoro, 2025). This heterogeneity not only enriches national identity, but also influences the pattern of people's political participation in the democratic system.

Democracy in Indonesia is not carried out directly, but through a representative mechanism that places elections as the main instrument in articulating people's sovereignty (Mustajib, 2025).

General elections are not just a political procedure, but a substantial indicator in measuring the quality of democracy, especially when they are held openly, freely, and

guarantee freedom of expression and association.

As a state of law based on the constitution, the implementation of democracy in Indonesia is based on the principle that sovereignty is in the hands of the people and is carried out in accordance with the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Aprillia et al., 2021). Elections are a means of legitimacy of power that allows citizens to directly determine the direction of political leadership (Sari & Maulia, 2024). Public participation in elections reflects the level of political awareness as well as a reflection of the quality of political culture that develops in a community.

However, in practice, the democratic process does not always take place ideally. One of the phenomena that shows that there are problems in the implementation of elections is the emergence of Re-Voting (PSU), the occurrence of PSU indicates that there is a gap in the process of holding elections (Dwiastuti, 2025). PSU is a corrective mechanism that is taken when violations or procedural defects are found that have the potential to affect election results. Normatively, PSUs are regulated within the legal framework to ensure the integrity and fairness of elections. The PSU mechanism is an important instrument in ensuring the integrity and legitimacy of the electoral democratic process in Indonesia (Yatazakka & Yudhanti, 2025).

However, in empirical reality, PSU not only functions as an instrument of

improvement, but also often becomes a new arena for political contestation that is full of interests.

The PSU phenomenon in the 2024 North Gorontalo Regency Regent and Deputy Regent elections shows that political dynamics are not simple. The lawsuit against the results of the previous election is not only related to the dispute over the results of the vote, but also questions basic aspects such as the legality of candidacy, the validity of administrative documents, and the process of determining candidate pairs that are considered not in accordance with the principles of constitutionality and political morality.

This condition indicates that there are structural problems in the implementation of elections that have implications for the delegitimization of election results. The implications of this conflict led to the implementation of the Re-Vote which then became an important momentum to review the political behavior of the community. PSU is no longer just a technical iteration, but a reflective space for the public to determine their political stance (Ridhanie & Rahmiati, 2025). The change in election results between the initial stage and the PSU is an important indicator to assess the dynamics of the community's political culture.

Political culture, as argued by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, is an individual's psychological orientation towards a political system that includes cognitive, affective, and evaluative dimensions (Fadhilurrahman et al., 2025). Cognitive orientation is related to the

level of knowledge and understanding of the public towards the political system, affective orientation reflects feelings or emotional attachment to political actors and institutions, while evaluative orientation is related to normative assessments of the performance of the political system. These three dimensions interact in shaping the political behavior patterns of the community which ultimately determine the quality of democracy at the local level (Fadhurrahman et al., 2025).

In the people of Hutakalo Village, especially Mokonou Hamlet, the developing political culture cannot be separated from the social, economic, and cultural factors that surround it. The social structure of the community, education level, and economic conditions are important variables that affect the pattern of political orientation of the community (Purnama et al., 2020). People with relatively high levels of education tend to show more rational political behavior, while people with limited access to education and information tend to be more vulnerable to external influences such as political mobilization and patronage (Sidabutar & Pinem, 2025).

Furthermore, the results of the Re-Vote in Mokonou Hamlet show a significant shift in political preferences. From the total registered voters, the level of participation and vote distribution show a change in the tendency of people's political choices. This phenomenon indicates the dynamics of people's political orientation that deserve to be studied in depth.

On the other hand, local political realities are often inseparable from practices that deviate from ideal democratic values, such as money politics, negative campaigns, and mobilizations based on social closeness (Hawing & Hartaman, 2021). This condition shows that the political culture of the community is still on the transitional spectrum. As a result, emerging political participation does not necessarily reflect political rationality, but rather is driven by emotional factors and interests.

In a broader perspective, PSU also has implications for the level of public trust in the democratic system (Cicilia et al., 2025). When PSU is perceived as a form of failure to hold elections, this has the potential to reduce the legitimacy of political institutions. On the other hand, if the PSU is understood as a corrective mechanism that guarantees justice, then it can strengthen public trust in democracy.

Based on this description, the case of re-voting in Hutakalo Village, North Mokonou Hamlet, North Gorontalo, not only reflects the technical problems of the election, but also represents the complex political cultural dynamics of the community. Therefore, this research is important to examine in depth how the political culture of the community is formed and transformed in the context of PSU and its implications for the quality of local democracy.

METHODS

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach that aims to understand the meaning

of social phenomena that occur in society, especially related to the dynamics of political culture in the Re-Election (PSU) in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet, North Gorontalo Regency. This approach was chosen because it is able to reveal social reality in depth based on the perspective of the research subject (Scott, 2013).

This type of descriptive research is used to systematically describe the characteristics, behavior patterns, and factors that affect the community in the PSU process that show differences in results from previous elections.

The main instrument in this study is the researcher as a *The Human Instrument* who are directly involved in the process of data collection, processing, and analysis. This is in line with the view (Scott, 2016). That in qualitative research, researchers function as key instruments that determine the quality of research data. To support the accuracy of the data, auxiliary instruments in the form of in-depth interview guidelines (*In Depth Interview Guide*), observation sheets, as well as documentation that includes data on election organizers such as PPS and KPPS, as well as documents related to election results.

Data collection was carried out through three main techniques, namely observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observations were carried out to directly observe social conditions and community behavior in the context of PSU. Interviews were conducted with the public, as well as election organizers such as PPS and KPPS to obtain

complete information related to the factors that affect the change in election results. Meanwhile, documentation is used to complete and verify data through official documents such as the results of KPU decisions and PSU-related archives. This technique refers to the principle of triangulation to increase the credibility and validity of research data (Moleong, 2013).

The data analysis in this study uses an interactive analysis model from (Miles & Huberman, 1992) which includes three main stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. Data reduction is carried out by selecting, summarizing, and focusing data that is relevant to the research objectives. The presentation of data is carried out in the form of a systematic descriptive description so as to facilitate the understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Furthermore, conclusions are drawn continuously through a verification process to produce findings that are valid, accurate, and scientifically accountable.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Community Political Culture in the 2024 Regent and Deputy Regent Re-Election in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet, North Gorontalo Regency

The results of the study show that the dynamics of Re-Voting (PSU) in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet, North Gorontalo Regency in 2024 not only reflect the electoral process, but also reveal the structure of political culture, voter preference patterns, and factors

that affect people's political behavior. These findings were obtained through the analysis of quantitative data (DPT, vote acquisition, and participation) and qualitative data (interviews and observations) which showed a consistent pattern in the political behavior of local communities.

1. Voter Structure and Participation Representation

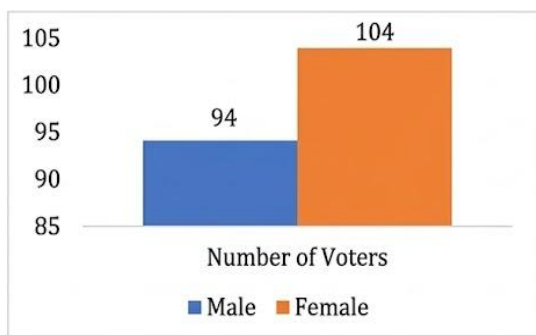


Figure 1: List of Permanent Voters in the 2024 Anniversary Election in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet TPS 01

Data Source : KPU North Gorontalo Province

The results of the study showed that the number of voters at the polling station at TPS 01 Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet was 198 people, consisting of 94 men and 104 women. These findings show that women's participation is more dominant than that of men, although the difference is relatively small.

Analytically, this condition reflects the relatively even political inclusion in the context of local elections. Women are no longer in a marginal position in the democratic process, but have become active actors in the exercise of their political rights. These findings indicate that structurally, procedural democracy has been running quite inclusive at the village level.

2. Vote Acquisition Pattern

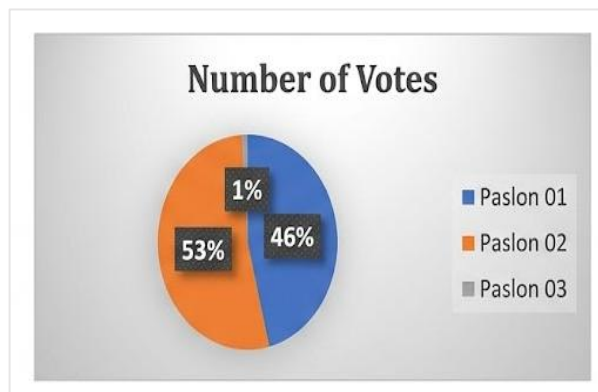


Figure 2: Votes Obtained in the 2024 Anniversary Vote Election in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet TPS

Data Source : KPU North Gorontalo Province

The results of the study showed that the votes obtained in the PSU were dominated by two pairs of candidates, namely Paslon 2 with 97 votes and Paslon 1 with 84 votes, while Paslon 3 only got 1 vote. These findings show a political polarization focused on the two main candidates, with a relatively narrow vote difference. This condition reflects the existence of electoral competition that is quite tight, but not completely competitive.

3. Dynamics of Voter Participation

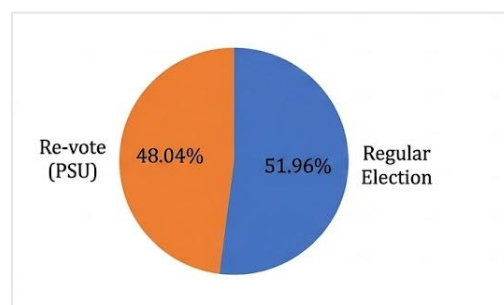


Figure 3: Voter Participation in the 2024 Anniversary Vote Election in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet TPS 01

Data Source: KPU North Gorontalo Province

The results of the study showed that the voter participation rate in the regular election was 89.24%, while in PSU it decreased to 82.51%. This decrease of 6.73% shows a change in community participation behavior. Analytically, this decline indicates a phenomenon of political saturation (*voter fatigue*), where people who had previously participated did not fully return to exercise their voting rights in PSUs. This condition shows that PSUs are not always able to maintain the same level of participation as the initial elections.

However, the participation rate that is still above 80% shows that the community still has a commitment to the democratic process, even though the participation tends to be procedural.

4. Political Culture of the Hutakalo Village Community, North Mokonou Hamlet Gorontalo

The results of the study show that the political culture of the people of Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet is mixed, which includes parochial elements, subjects, and participants.

a. Parochial Political Culture

The results of the study show that the political culture of the community in the implementation of the Re-Voting (PSU) in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet does not fully reflect the parochial political culture. These findings were obtained through interviews, observations, and documentation that show that some people still view PSU as a

matter of political elite and have not felt direct benefits, but on the other hand people still have a basic understanding of PSU and participate in the election process.

The findings show that the community is not in a state of political apathy. Although there is a perception that PSU is more beneficial to certain parties, the public still shows involvement in the form of the use of voting rights. This shows an early awareness of the political system, although the orientation of participation is still limited to procedural aspects.

Conceptually, this condition confirms that the character of parochial political culture appears only partially. (Almond & Verba, 1963) Parochial political culture is characterized by low knowledge, attention, and public involvement in the political system and the absence of orientation towards modern political institutions (in Sucipto, 2014). However, the findings of this study show that there is a change, where the public already has an understanding of the legal and procedural aspects of PSU.

This shift shows that society is no longer completely isolated from the political system, but has entered a transition phase towards a more advanced political culture. In this perspective, the political culture of society is more appropriately categorized as a shift from parochial to subject, that is, a condition when society is familiar with the political system but its involvement is still limited to compliance

with the decisions produced Almond & Verba, 1963 (in Sucipto, 2014).

Furthermore, these findings show that people's political participation is still procedural to normative, namely participation carried out out of obligations as citizens, not because of critical awareness to influence the political process. This condition is in line with the finding that political participation of the Indonesian people is high formally, but low substantively (Dotutinggi et al., 2023).

In addition, public perceptions that PSU have not provided direct benefits show a gap between the normative goals of democracy and the empirical experience of society. PSUs are understood as a legal mechanism to maintain political legitimacy, but have not fully increased public trust. This is in line with studies that state that formal mechanisms such as PSU do not automatically increase public trust in the political process. The success of PSU in balancing political stability with substantive justice will determine how strong public trust in the electoral system in Indonesia is (Ridhanie & Rahmiati, 2025).

Parochial political culture in this study is not dominant, but only appears in the form of limited orientation to political benefits. Overall, the political culture of the people of Hutakalo Village in Mokonou Hamlet is in a transitional phase, where political consciousness is beginning to develop, but it has not been accompanied by critical and autonomous participation.

b. Political Culture of the Subject

The results of the study show that the political culture of the community in the implementation of Re-Voting (PSU) in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet, North Gorontalo is dominated by the political culture of the subject. These findings were obtained through interviews and observations that showed that the public had awareness of the political system and continued to participate in elections, but their involvement was still limited and tended to be procedural.

These findings can be seen from the variety of forms of community participation. Informants who act as election organizers (KPPS), such as Aswin Usman and Mhinangsih Mangopa, continue to exercise their right to vote while carrying out their duties professionally by maintaining neutrality. They consciously limit themselves from practical political activities, such as campaigns and political discussions oriented towards candidate support. This attitude shows compliance with the rules and orientation to the integrity of the democratic process.

On the other hand, there are people who show more active participation, such as involvement in campaigns, but their political preferences are still influenced by the family environment. This shows that people's political participation is not single, but multi-layered, ranging from procedural-normative to expressive based on social relations.

These findings show that people are already familiar with the political system and participate in the democratic process, but do

not yet have an autonomous and rational involvement in influencing political decisions. The political orientation of the community still emphasizes more on acceptance of results (output) than involvement in the process (input).

This condition is in accordance with the characteristics of the subject's political culture expressed by Almond & Verba, namely when the public has an awareness of the political system and government authority, but their involvement is still limited and tends to be passive in the decision-making process (Windarsih & Wardhani, 2025). In this type, citizens are more oriented towards policy outcomes rather than actively participating in the political process.

Public involvement in politics is carried out as a form of compliance with the system, not as an effort to actively influence policy. This condition is in line with the finding that the political behavior of Indonesian society is not entirely rational individually, but is influenced by social and institutional factors (Natural, 2022).

In addition, the strong influence of the family environment in shaping political preferences shows that political mobilization at the local level is still based on social networks and kinship (Setiawan et al., 2026). This is in line with the finding that local political dynamics in Indonesia are strongly influenced by personal relationships and informal social networks. In fact, in many cases, actors with institutional positions tend to exhibit more

normative political behavior than the general public (Setiawan et al., 2026).

The findings of this study show the existence of dualism in political culture, namely on the one hand there are actors who show normative compliance and institutional rationality, while on the other hand there are people who actively participate but are still influenced by primary social relations.

Strengthening local democracy is not enough only through the enforcement of rules and the professionalism of election organizers, but also requires increasing people's political literacy. Thus, political participation is not only procedural, but can evolve into more critical, independent, and oriented participation towards strengthening substantive democracy

c. Political Culture of Participants

The results of the study show that there are indications of the development of political culture of participants in the implementation of Re-Voting (PSU) in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet, although it is not yet dominant. These findings were obtained from interviews and observations that showed that some people have been actively involved in political activities, such as participating in campaigns, attending political activities, and expressing support for candidate pairs.

The findings indicate that PSU is not only understood as an administrative procedure, but also begins to become a space for community political participation at the local level. This involvement shows an increase in political awareness and the desire of some

people to be involved in political dynamics. However, this participation does not fully reflect political independence, because voting preferences are still strongly influenced by family environment and social relations.

On the other hand, the findings of the study also show that there is a difference in participation patterns between the general public and election organizers. KPPS members continue to participate in elections and carry out their duties, but limit their involvement in practical political activities in order to maintain neutrality. This shows that political participation in the context of PSU is multi-layered, namely between active community participation and normative-institutional participation by organizers.

The political culture of the participants is characterized by high political awareness, active involvement of citizens, and the belief that individuals are able to influence the political process (Haliim & Fatkhurrohman, 2024). However, the findings of this study show that this character has not been fully realized, because community participation is still influenced by social relations and is not yet fully autonomous.

This condition suggests that the political culture of the society is in a phase of transition from subject to participant, where political involvement begins to increase, but is not yet entirely based on rationality and individual independence. This is also reinforced by the finding that in the context of local politics, voting behavior is still influenced by social

networks, kinship, and patronage (Natural, 2022).

Furthermore, the findings of the study show that the practice of money politics is still perceived to affect the course of elections, especially in rural areas. This condition indicates that political participation is not completely free, but is in a patronage relationship between the political elite and the public. This phenomenon is in line with studies that state that money politics and clientelism are still the main mechanisms of political mobilization at the local level.

In addition, the public tends to position themselves as policy recipients, not as actors who have strong political bargaining power. This shows that the participation that occurs is still limited to electoral involvement, not to participation in the decision-making process or policy supervision.

Other findings also show that there is an inequality of development after the regional elections, where the benefits of development are more felt in certain regions than in other regions. This condition strengthens the public's perception that political results have not fully brought social justice. This is in line with the findings of Hadiz (2011) which shows that in local democracies, the distribution of development is often influenced by political interests and relations (Hadiz, 2011).

The political culture of the participants in the context of this study is still in its early stages and has not developed maturely. Overall, the political participation of the community is

still within a procedural framework with a strong influence of social relations and patronage, so it does not fully reflect critical and substantive participation.

5. Factors Influencing the Behavior of the People of Hutakalo Village, North Mokonou Hamlet, Gorontalo in the Re-Election

The results of the study show that the behavior of voting people in the Re-Voting (PSU) in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet is influenced by three main factors, namely social, psychological, and informational. These findings were obtained through interviews and observations that show that people's political decisions are not singular, but are the result of interactions between social relations, individual psychological conditions, and access and trust to political information.

The findings of the study show that social factors are the most dominant determinants, especially through the influence of family and the immediate environment. Parental direction, spouse invitations, and kinship relationships with candidates are important considerations in determining political choices. This shows that the behavior of choosing society is not entirely individual, but is formed through strong social interactions in the family and community environment. This condition is in line with the theory that individual political choices are strongly influenced by social groups and interpersonal networks (Setiawan et al., 2026). and

strengthened by the findings that local political mobilization in Indonesia takes place mostly through social relations and kinship (Lamabelawa, 2020).

On the other hand, psychological factors also play an important role in shaping political decisions. The findings show that there is a duality of orientation, where some people emphasize rationality in choosing based on the candidate's vision, mission, and capacity, while others are still influenced by emotional closeness, family loyalty, and trust in the immediate environment. This shows that the behavior of choosing is the result of an interaction between rational and emotional considerations. This condition is in line with the study of political psychology which confirms that political decisions are not entirely rational, but are also influenced by emotions, social identity, and psychological closeness (Gumiandari, 2020).

Furthermore, the information factor showed a varied influence. Some people make information the main basis for making choices by actively accessing the media and assessing candidate programs. However, some others do not fully trust the information circulating due to differences of opinion and the potential for inaccurate information, so they rely more on the social environment as the main reference. This shows that political information does not always work directly, but through social processes. These findings are in line with the concept *two-step flow of communication* which

states that political information is influenced by social intermediaries.

Furthermore, the findings of the study also show that there are external factors such as the practice of money politics that are still perceived to affect voter choices. This condition shows that in the local context, voting behavior is not completely free, but is in a patronage relationship between the community and the political elite. This is in line with studies that state that money politics and clientelism are still the main mechanisms in electoral mobilization at the local level (Muhtadi, 2013).

Thus, it can be concluded that the behavior of choosing people in PSUs is the result of a complex interaction between social, psychological, and information factors that do not stand separately, but rather influence each other. Overall, people's political behavior is still dominated by the influence of social and emotional relations, while information-based political rationality has not fully developed. This condition shows that local democracy is still at the procedural stage, so it is necessary to strengthen political literacy, increase trust in information, and reduce patronage practices so that community participation can develop towards a more rational and substantive form.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that the dynamics of Re-Voting (PSU) in Hutakalo Village, Mokonou Hamlet reflect the character of local democracy which is still in the transition phase from procedural democracy to more substantive

democracy. The findings of the study reveal that the political culture of the community is dominated by the orientation of the subject which is reflected in compliance with the political system and acceptance of institutional decisions, but it is not fully accompanied by the capacity for independent, critical, and public-interest-oriented participation. Although there are indications of the development of the political culture of the participants, the process is still influenced by the strong social relations, kinship networks, and patronage patterns that shape the political preferences of the people. The scientific contribution of this research lies in its ability to explain that the implementation of PSU not only functions as an instrument of procedural correction in the implementation of elections, but also as an arena that shows the dynamics of political culture, voter behavior patterns, and the quality of local democracy that develops in the social context of rural communities.

Theoretically, the results of the study strengthen the perspective of political culture and voting behavior that places social factors as the main determinants in the formation of people's political choices. The findings show that families and kinship networks have a more dominant influence than psychological factors and rational considerations based on programs and policies. However, this study also shows that access to political information and people's political experiences are starting to play a role in shaping more reflective political attitudes. Thus, the results of the study not only

strengthen the theory of political culture and voting behavior, but also show a gradual transformation process from traditional political orientation to more conscious and rational political participation.

Practically, this study implies that strengthening the quality of local democracy requires more systematic efforts in improving people's political literacy, expanding access to objective political information, and strengthening democracy education that encourages the birth of critical and participatory citizens. Election organizers, local governments, and various elements of society need to build effective oversight mechanisms to minimize the practice of money politics, political patronage, and various forms of mobilization that have the potential to reduce the quality of democracy. In addition, equitable distribution of development benefits and strengthening public trust in political institutions are also important prerequisites in realizing a more substantive democracy. The next research is suggested to examine the dynamics of political culture and voting behavior in the context of PSUs in other regions, using comparative and mixed methods approaches, and explore the influence of digital media, political education levels, and economic factors on the transformation of people's political participation in local democracy.

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