



Political Motives of Islamic Parties in Nominating Celebrities as Legislative Candidates for the 2024 Elections

Dimas Subekti ^{1)*}, Ridho Al-Hamdi ²⁾

¹ Department of Government Science, Universitas Jambi, Jambi, Indonesia

² Department of Government Affairs and Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

^{1*} Corresponden Author. E-mail: dsubekti05@gmail.com

Abstrak: Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) merupakan partai Islam terbesar yang mendukung calon anggota legislatif dari kalangan artis. Oleh karena itu, tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menjelaskan motif politik PAN dalam mendukung calon anggota legislatif dari kalangan artis untuk Pemilu 2024. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Temuan penelitian ini menjelaskan bahwa motif politik insentif material dan solidaritas mendominasi rekrutmen politik PAN. Motif insentif material, caleg artis digunakan sebagai strategi voter getter, berdasarkan kekuatan finansial dan popularitasnya. Kemudian, motif politik insentif solidaritas cenderung berkaitan dengan hubungan emosional dan moral. Dari sisi emosional, PAN kembali percaya untuk mendukung caleg dari kalangan artis karena berkaca dari pencalegan pemilu yang menunjukkan kontribusi yang signifikan, baik untuk internal partai maupun di parlemen. Sementara itu, dari sisi moral, PAN memiliki tujuan khusus untuk menyampaikan pesan kepada publik bahwa partai memiliki prinsip inklusif untuk semua golongan. Hal ini kontradiktif dengan identitas agama islam yang melekat pada PAN, yang pada kenyataannya tidak secara spesifik ditunjukkan dalam hal pengusungan calon anggota legislatif untuk Pemilu 2024.

Kata Kunci: Motif Politik, Partai Politik Islam, Artis, Pemilihan Legislatif 2024.

Abstract: The National Mandate Party (PAN) is the largest Islamic party that supports legislative candidates from among artists. Therefore, this study aims to explain PAN's political motives in supporting legislative candidates from among artists for the 2024 elections. This research used a qualitative method with a case study approach. The findings explained that the political motives of material incentives and solidarity dominated PAN's political recruitment. The material incentive motive is that artist candidates are used as a voter-getter strategy based on their financial strength and popularity. Then, the solidarity incentive political motive tends to be related to emotional and moral relationships. On the emotional side, PAN believes in supporting artist candidates again because it reflects their significant contribution to the party's internal and parliamentary elections. Meanwhile, from the moral side, PAN has a specific goal to convey to the public that the party has an inclusive principle for all groups. It contradicts the Islamic religious identity attached to PAN, which is not specifically shown in nominating legislative candidates for the 2024 elections.

Keywords: Political Motive, Islamic Political Parties, Artist, 2024 Legislative Election.

Article History:

Received : 2023-05-30

Revised : 2023-06-06

Accepted : 2023-06-15

INTRODUCTION

During the 2024 General Election, Indonesians will hold Legislative Elections (Pileg) and Presidential Elections (Pilpres) along with Regional Head Elections (Pilkada). The 2024 Pileg and Presidential Election schedule will be held simultaneously on February 14, 2024. Meanwhile, the 2024 Pilkada schedule will be held simultaneously on November 27, 2024,

which is based on the decision of Commission II of the House of Representatives (DPR) under the agreement between the government and the General Elections Commission (KPU) contained in KPU Regulation (PKPU) Number 3 of 2022 concerning Stages and Schedules for Organizing the 2024 Elections (Wibawana, 2023).

In the 2024 elections, the participants consist of 17 national political parties. These political parties are the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Star Moon Party (PBB), the Labor Party, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the Democratic Party, the Indonesian Change Guard Party (Garuda), the Indonesian People’s Wave Party (Gelora), the Gerindra Party, the Golkar Party, the People’s Conscience Party (Hanura), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the National Awakening Party (PKB), the Nusantara Awakening Party (PKN), the NasDem Party, the Indonesian Unity Party (Perindo), the United Development Party (PPP), and the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). The General Elections Commission (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia has determined that seventeen (17) political parties have met the requirements to pass the factual verification stage, so they are entitled to become participants in the 2024 General Elections (KPU RI, 2022).

Political parties participating in elections have an important role, one of which is in the contestation of legislative elections, because someone who wants to run for the legislature must go through a political party. PKPU Number 10 of 2023 concerning the Nomination of Members of the DPR, Provincial People’s Representative Council (DPRD), and Regency / City DPRD states that a prospective legislative candidate (*Bacaleg*) must meet the administrative requirements, one of which is to become a member of a political party participating in the election. Then, political parties must register legislative candidates (*Bacaleg*) no later than nine months before the vote, as contained in Article 5 PKPU number 10 of 2023. Registration for *Bacaleg* DPR, DPD, Provincial DPRD, and Regency / City DPRD for the 2024 Election started on May 1, 2023, to May 14, 2023 (Detiknews.com, 2023).

In the 2024 legislative elections, there is a phenomenon that several political parties are carrying legislative candidates from among artists. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), artist means art expert; artist, artist (such as singers, film players, painters, dramatists) (Tysara, 2022). Artists becoming legislative candidates is not a new phenomenon in the dynamics of Indonesian elections. This phenomenon has started to appear since the 2004 elections (38 people), 2009 (61 people), 2014 (77 people), and 2019 (91 people) (Subandi & Ubaid, 2020). Meanwhile, in 2024 there will be 62 legislative candidates from among artists, with details from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) as many as 14 people, Gerindra Party 6 people, National Awakening Party 6 people, Nasdem Party 8 people, Prosperous Justice Party 1 person, Democratic Party 5 people, National Mandate Party (PAN) 17 people, Perindo Party 8 people and Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) 4 people (Dirgantara, 2023). Table 1 shows Islamic political parties that endorse celebrity candidates for the 2024 elections.

Table 1. Data on celebrities as candidates from Islamic parties for the 2024 election

No.	General Election (Pemilu)	PAN	PKB	PPP	PKS
1	2024	Adelia Wilhelmina Astrid Kuya Bebizie Desy Ratnasari Eko Patrio Eksanti Ely Sugigi Haji Faisal	Arzeti Bilbina Camella Panduwinata Lubis Norman Kamaru Tommy Kurniawan Zora Vidyanata	-	Narji Cagur

Table 1. Data on celebrities as candidates from Islamic parties for the 2024 election (cont')

No.	General Election (Pemilu)	PAN	PKB	PPP	PKS
		Lula Kamal			
		Opie Kumis			
		Primus Yustisio			
		Selvi Kitty			
		Pasha Ungu			
		Tom Liwafa			
		Uya Kuya			
		Verrel Bramasta			
		Virnie Syafitri Ismail			

Source: (Ahdia, 2023)

RESEARCH METHODS

This research used a qualitative method with a case study approach. This research case study is the National Mandate Party (PAN) in carrying out artist legislative candidates for the 2024 election. This research data collection technique is a literature study. So, the data source of this research comes from credible online news such as *kompas.com* and *detiknews.com*. *liputan6*, *tempo.co*, *cnindonesia* and others and relevant journal articles. The data analysis technique in this research is descriptive. The data analysis stages are collection and processing, data selection, inter-variable analysis and verification, and interpretation and conclusion drawing. Furthermore, this research also used NVIVO 12 plus tools in analyzing data. NVIVO 12 plus software in scientific research aims to streamline data analysis, which is then displayed as attractive images to be interpreted easily by the author and read interestingly by the reader (Edhlund & McDougall, 2018). The feature used in NVIVO 12 plus is project maps and crosstab queries. The data analyzed used NVIVO 12 Plus with project maps and crosstab query features and came from 20 online news directly related to the research topic. Project maps were used to analyze and display data on the reasons for political motives, while crosstab queries would display data on the dominance of the political motive indicators.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Political motives are closely related to the efforts of a person or group to realize all their interests to achieve certain goals. Furthermore, political motives can be studied through three indicators: material incentive motives, solidarity-intensive motives, and idealism incentive motives (Sorauf & Beck, 1988) dalam (Saputra & Al-Hamdi, 2020). Thus, this study uses these three indicators to explain the political motives of the National Mandate Party (PAN) in nominating artist legislative candidates.

Materials Incentive Motive

The material incentive motive can be seen through an action to gain rewards, position, and power. In this case, the Central Leadership Council of the National Mandate Party (PAN) registered 580 legislative candidates for the 2024 General Election at the KPU RI Office. PAN has nominated candidates from various backgrounds, including artists, to achieve its target of 100 seats in the House of Representatives. Candidates from among artists in PAN are filled with several incumbents and new names (Putra, 2023). Candidates from among the artists registered by PAN for the 2024 elections are the largest portion compared to other parties: Adelia Wilhelmina, Astrid Kuya, Bebizie, Desy Ratnasari, Eko Patrio, Eksanti, Ely Sugigi, Haji Faisal, Lula Kamal, Opie Kumis, Primus Yustisio, Selvi Kitty, Pasha Ungu, Tom Liwafa, Uya Kuya, Verrel Bramasta and Virnie Syafitri Ismail (Dirgantara, 2023).

The actions taken by PAN in recruiting and endorsing artists to become legislative

candidates in the 2024 elections are clearly to get rewards for the increase in votes obtained by the party because these artists, in principle, have popularity capital. If they are promoted to legislative candidates, they will get maximum votes. As stated by PAN Deputy Chairman Viva Yoga, the popularity of these artists can turn into electability (Ryandi, 2023). Therefore, it can be said that the important purpose of PAN in endorsing many artists is to boost the electability of the party or what is often called a voter-getter (Alfirdaus & Nugroho, 2019). Moreover, artists also have great financial capital. This component is critical because participation in elections requires much financial capital, so the financial strength of celebrities makes political parties tempted to carry them (Sihidi, Khanifah, & Romadhan, 2019).

In addition, PAN is plagued by the problem of its divided support base. The mass base of the Muhammadiyah, the main supporter, is no longer a strength. The data from the 2014 elections proved that PAN's vote share was 7.55%, which fell in the 2019 elections to only 6.84% (Kusnandar, 2022). Moreover, in the 2024 elections, PAN's votes will be divided by the UMMAT party founded by Amin Rais, a former PAN elite. Ummat Party is considered to have a mass of voters who overlap with PAN (Anggrainy, 2023). Therefore, the agenda to increase PAN's marketability to the public becomes urgent. Recruiting and carrying legislative candidates among artists is one of PAN's strategic steps in boosting the vote.

The popularity of artists does not guarantee their high electability in elections. According to the Al-Azhar University of Indonesia political analyst Ujang Komarudin, popular artists fail to become DPR members because they have low electability and are reluctant to spend money. Popularity is insufficient because elections in Indonesia are still full of money politics. Money politics is an effort to mobilize voters by giving money, gifts, or goods so that they vote for the 'gift' giver in the election. This tactic has become a way of vote buying or dawn attacks. Based on post-election surveys in 2014 and 2019, Indikator Executive Director Burhanuddin Muhtadi estimates that 19.4% and 33.1% of voters are exposed to money politics. This range is classified as "very high" by international standards. Ujang said elected artists are expected to succeed because they balance their popularity with financial strength. It matches the approach of political parties, which is considered "pragmatic" (Rahman, 2023). The victory of artists in legislative elections is also related to their fan base and political party strategies in determining electoral districts (Nabilah, Izomiddin, & Harahap, 2022; Sakti, Al-Hamdi, & Kurniawan, 2020). Figure 1 displays a mapping of the material incentive motives of PAN in endorsing legislative candidates from among artists in the 2024 elections.

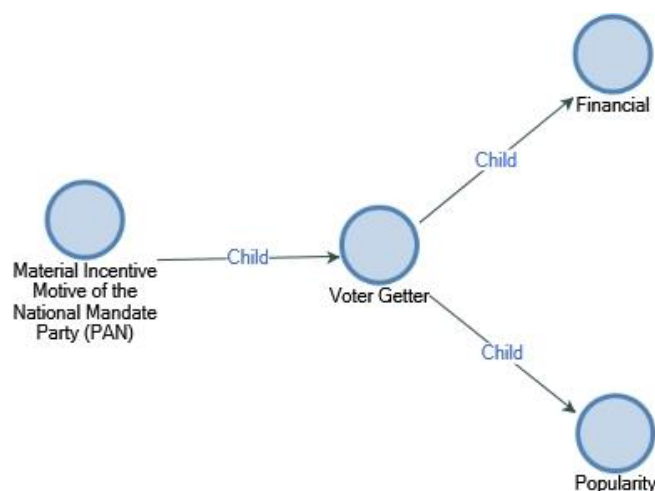


Figure 1. Material Incentive Motive of the National Mandate Party (PAN)

Source: NVIVO 12 Plus NVIVO 12 Plus with project maps feature

Figure 1 shows that the political motive of material incentives from PAN in endorsing candidates from among artists for the 2024 election is more about being a voter-getter based on two important reasons: the artists' financial capital and popularity. Due to the high cost of elections in Indonesia, financial capital is important for political parties and legislative candidates. Likewise, with popularity, PAN considers this component to be very strategic to be used as a way to get as many votes from the public as possible. Although popularity is not guaranteed or directly proportional to electability, at least PAN uses this component as one of its strategies to get maximum votes in the 2024 elections.

Solidarity Incentive Motive

Solidarity incentive motives are related to efforts to gain association with new groups related to emotional and moral relationships. In the two weeks from May 1 to 14, 2024, the KPU RI office will be enlivened by celebrities often appearing on television screens. Almost all parties, especially from the top circles in parliament, invite actors, actresses, singers and celebrities to register as legislative candidates (*Bacaleg*) in the 2024 elections. PDIP, the 2014 and 2019 election winners, also invited celebrities to run in the elections. In addition to nationalist parties, parties with Islamic identities do the same thing by attracting artists. For example, PAN, a party with an Islamic identity, has the most candidates, which are 17 celebrities (Amin, 2023).

Deputy Chairman of the PAN DPP, Viva Yoga Mauladi, even admitted that his party had been labeled as the party of artists. The acronym PAN is also often shortened to National Artist Party. As a party accommodating many artists, PAN gives them flashy positions in parliament and party management, such as Desy Ratnasari, the West Java PAN Regional Leadership Council (DPW) Chairperson. Then Eko Hendro Purnomo, known as Eko Patrio, was appointed Chairman of the Jakarta Regional Leadership Council (DPW). He claimed that during his tenure holding the Jakarta DPW area, the number of seats in Senayan from his electoral district increased. So he believes that his dedication as a legislator and party cadre is qualified even though he has just entered as a politician (viva.co.id, 2023).

The National Mandate Party (PAN) is still considering artists or celebrities in its list of legislative candidates for the 2014 elections. According to PAN Secretary General Taufik Kurniawan, his party does not discriminate against people based on profession. As an open party, PAN accommodates all people, including celebrities, to become members of the House of Representatives. Celebrities are welcome as long as they meet the requirements and criteria set. PAN sets a recruitment pattern in preparing candidates through cadre and non-cadre channels, aka figures outside PAN. The cadre route is filled with cadres who have started their political career in the party led by Hatta Rajasa. The other route is recruitment based on the prominence of someone outside PAN. According to Taufik, the latter route is filled with artists, although some are professionals. However, from among artists, figures outside PAN or even cadres will later pass strict selection and stages. The selection must meet the requirements of integrity, morality, and intellect under the party's ideology, platform, vision-mission and program. All of these elements are included in the stages: preparing prospective candidates, determining candidates, and entering the list of temporary candidates (DCS), to the list of permanent candidates (DCT) (viva.co.id, 2023).

According to Viva Yoga Muladi, the deputy chairman of PAN, the reasons for the high interest among artists in joining the party are first. PAN is an open or inclusive, modern party respecting human values and pluralism. Secondly, the PAN leadership is egalitarian, not bureaucratic, so there is no elitist barrier within the party. Third, PAN's culture prioritizes the value of equality so that anyone who wants to become a cadre feels comfortable (Ayu, 2023). It is an interesting finding that PAN has experienced a very significant shift or change in terms

of the characteristics of its struggle. At the beginning of its establishment, the party was thick with religious identity, in this case Islam and was exclusive. Over time, PAN has become an inclusive party to all groups and does not adhere to one particular group. However, on the one hand, it positively impacts PAN. However, on the other hand, it can cause serious problems, in this case, the direction of the party's struggle following the party's ideology. Figure 2 maps PAN's solidarity incentive motives in supporting candidates from among artists in the 2024 elections.

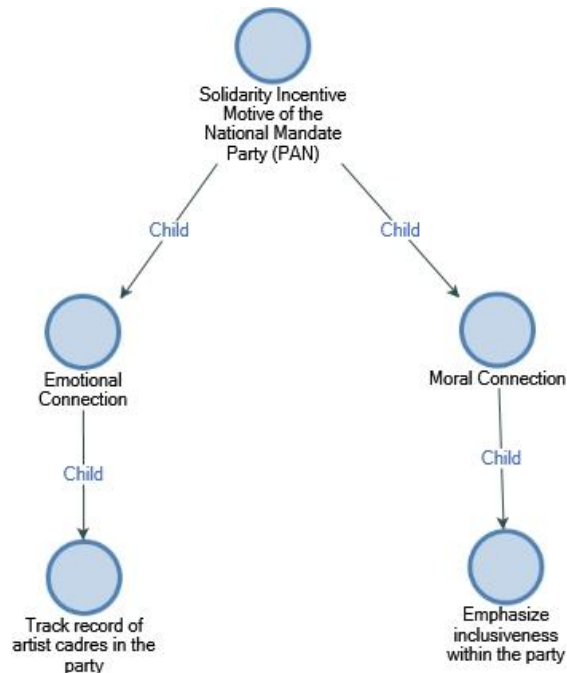


Figure 2. Solidarity incentive motive of the National Mandate Party (PAN)

Source: NVIVO 12 Plus NVIVO 12 Plus with project maps feature

Figure 2 maps that PAN's solidarity motives in endorsing artist candidates in the 2024 elections are dominant towards emotional and moral relationships. The political motives for solidarity incentives from the emotional side, PAN looks more at the track record of its cadres from among artists who have contributed, both in parliament and within the party. Then, from the moral side, PAN also wants to give the impression that this party is more inclusive for all groups. However, the advancement of artists to become legislative members is characterized by pros and cons. Apart from having minimal experience in politics, some dark records have also colored the journey of legislative members in Senayan. For example, a legislator from the Gerindra Party faction, Mulan Jameela, was appointed as a member of the House of Representatives even though her votes were only 24,192, through many Inter-Time Replacement (PAW) mechanisms that seemed forced. Seeing this phenomenon, the Executive Director of the Center for Political Studies (Puskapol) at the University of Indonesia, Hurriyah, said there was political pragmatism in recruiting artists to become candidates. In addition to the two cases above, Hurriyah highlighted the number of celebrities elected as legislative members but are still active on television stations. She said these artists seem to make parliamentary positions just a side job, not a dedication. Hurriyah emphasized the importance of party cadre education so that the phenomenon of recruiting artists only as vote gatherers no longer occurs. If parties are still pragmatic, every election will only be oriented toward the number of votes won and not the people's aspirations (Amin, 2023).

Moreover, celebrity involvement in post-New Order elections has tended to increase.

Their role is not only a vote-getter in the context of a celebrity endorser but has shifted to a vote-getter in the context of a celebrity politician. There are three reasons why celebrity involvement in elections has increased. First, there is a change in the legislative election system from closed proportional to open proportional majority vote. Second, due to changes in the voting behavior of Indonesian voters from flow-based to individual figure-based. Third, the increasingly pragmatic nature of most political parties in Indonesia (Ikhsan, 2014).

Idealism Incentive Motive

The idealism incentive motive is to realize or prioritize public interests over individual ones. PAN is known as the political party that is most open to artists' entry. Putri Zulya Savitri, Deputy Chairperson of the DPP Perempuan Amanat Nasional (PUAN), assessed that cadres who come from a public figure background already have advantages over ordinary cadres. According to her, the popularity of public figures can be turned into an influence in the political world. Putri ensured that PAN continues providing political education and direction to cadres from entertainment backgrounds. It aims to spread the influence of the cadres and benefit others. Furthermore, the deputy chairman of PAN, Viva Yoga, ensured that the candidates from among the artists were ready to fight in the 2024 elections by bringing a vision and mission to advance their respective electoral districts, not just showing off their popularity (Dewi, 2023).

Then, in terms of ability, Eko Hendro Purnomo, who is familiarly called Eko Patrio, who was given the position as Chairman of DPW PAN DKI Jakarta and legislative member, claims and believes that his dedication as a legislator and party cadre is qualified even though he has just entered as a politician. Eko also defended several of his colleagues who are now active in parliament. He said celebrities could voice issues more loudly than politicians with different backgrounds. He hoped that the ability of celebrities to voice issues would become an attraction that is highlighted rather than just being a vote gatherer in every election (Amin, 2023).

On the contrary, according to a political observer from the Forum of People Concerned with Parliament (Formappi), Lucius Karus, nominating artists as legislative members is an easy way for political parties to boost votes or seats in parliament. This trend has continued since 2004 or when direct elections were introduced. More seats are up for grabs in the House of Representatives, while competition has become tighter with increased political parties. Popular consideration becomes the main capital for candidates to be elected to gain more seats or votes. It is where the demand for celebrities is getting higher. According to Lucius' assessment, celebrity legislators in the DPR have "not been prominent enough in expressing their ideas in parliament". Overall monitoring of the DPR's performance throughout 2019-2023 is concerning. In 2022, for example, the DPR only passed three laws out of a target of 40 bills included in the DPR's 2022 priority legislation. Then in Session IV in 2022-2023, the DPR only completed one priority law, namely the RU. The public is disadvantaged by celebrity candidates because their abilities as politicians or those related to legislative work are called "inadequate" (bbcnewsindonesia.com, 2023). Furthermore, becoming a legislature member requires special thinking and expertise to carry out tasks, such as making laws, preparing budgets, and conducting supervision. Artists elected because they are famous will only be passive and merely become accessories in the DPR building (Choiriyati & Wiendijarti, 2020; Jati, 2014).

Political parties nominate artists for reasons of urgent pragmatism. Artists have the requirements to be accepted quickly by voters. Artists have social and financial capital so that the winning work will be easier for artists to do than cadres who may need to work extra hard. So, artists are chosen because of their strategic position to become vote gatherers for the party during intense election competition. Candidates from among artists cannot always guarantee to be an effective means of boosting votes. Another factor is that the public is also aware and

politically literate. They are more selective and use their common sense in choosing representatives. So that most of the artists who are elected, besides having popularity capital, also have social, financial and intellectual capital. Artists like this will usually be re-elected as members of the council. Even the level of electability can beat experienced political figures (Nabilah et al., 2022).

The popularity factor of the artist must be followed by competence, so the public does not question why the artist can enter politics. If they are later elected as members of parliament but do not understand what the legislative function is like. Not understanding the legislative, supervisory, and budget functions is horrible (Adriadi & Kadir, 2020). There should be written rules and codes of ethics that regulate them to leave their profession as artists. Especially for those who are newly elected and do not have a political background, there is a lot to learn, so if, while working in other professions, they are not focused or divided, they will lag behind their knowledge with people who have longer political experience (Jamil, Briandana, Marta, Fotaleno, & Sofian, 2022).

Therefore, the political motives of PAN's idealistic incentives for supporting artists to become candidates for the 2024 elections tend to be personal interests. The strong reason for this is that PAN has a pragmatic goal to increase vote acquisition by utilizing the popularity of these artists. This policy is weak in the public interest because these artists do not have a good track record in their performance in parliament. Likewise, for artists newcomers to politics, their ability or performance is doubtful in carrying out parliamentary functions. Therefore, PAN's idealism incentive motive is very weak in the context of nominating artists to become legislative candidates in 2024.

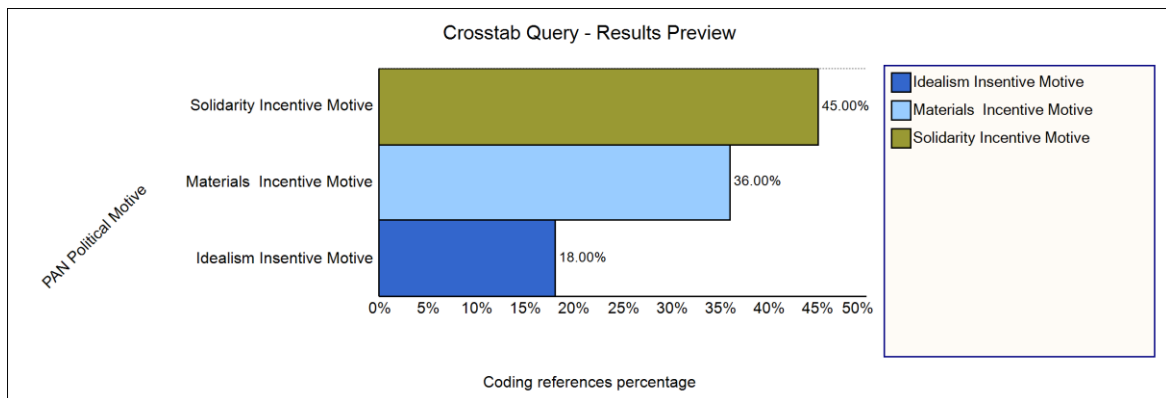


Figure 3. The dominance of 3 indicators of PAN's political motives

Source: NVIVO 12 Plus with crosstab query feature

Based on Figure 3, the solidarity incentive motive is dominant in PAN supporting candidates from among artists for the 2024 elections. This data analysis reinforces the discussion that the solidarity incentive motive has two reasons: moral and emotional. Meanwhile, the material incentive political motive is the second dominant one because, in this indicator, the underlying reason is one voter-getter with two components: financial capital and popularity. Then, the idealism incentive motive is the lowest because PAN in supporting candidates from among artists is more dominant for the benefit of the group rather than the interests of the wider community.

CONCLUSION

This study concluded that the National Mandate Party (PAN) is more dominant in solidarity incentive political motive by bringing up the moral and emotional side in supporting

legislative candidates from among artists for the 2024 elections. From the emotional side, PAN again believes in supporting candidates from among artists because it reflects on the previous election candidacies whose results have a track record and significant contribution, both for the internal party and in parliament. Meanwhile, from the moral side, PAN has a special purpose to convey to the public that the party has an inclusive principle for all circles. More than that, PAN also has a political motive of material incentives. PAN's action in endorsing candidates from among artists is more to get rewards for increasing party votes. PAN uses these artists as a voter-getter strategy based on their financial strength and popularity.

The findings are fundamental because they can strengthen the analysis that PAN has begun to dare to break away from Muhammadiyah as an Islamic religious-based community organization that has been its mass identity. Moreover, it contradicts PAN's identity as an Islamic ideology. However, as an Islamic party, PAN does not specifically show its identity in nominating legislative candidates for the 2024 elections, implicating the unclear direction of PAN's struggle for its Islamic ideology and identity. Pragmatism becomes the main dominance of this Islamic party in navigating the 2024 elections by not prioritizing the values embedded in the party's identity.

REFERENCES

- Adriadi, R., & Kadir, A. (2020). Women's Power and Electability in Southeast Sulawesi: A Case Study for Provincial and National Legislative Candidate. *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review*, 5(1), 156–171. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v5i1.21658>
- Ahdiat, A. (2023). Ini Partai Pengusung Caleg Artis Terbanyak di Pemilu 2024. June 5, 2023. Retrieved from <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2023/05/22/ini-partai-pengusung-caleg-artis-terbanyak-di-pemilu-2024>
- Alfirdaus, L. K., & Nugroho, R. W. (2019). Needed but neglected: Women activists are vote-getters in local elections. *Jurnal Politik*, 5(1), 3. <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v5i1.246>
- Amin, I. (2023). Pemilu Serentak 2024 Saat Parpol Andalkan Caleg Artis: antara Suara & Krisis Kader. Retrieved from <https://tirto.id/saat-parpol-andalkan-caleg-artis-antara-suara-krisis-kader-gGLt>
- Anggrainy, F. C. (2023). Bakal Seketat Apa Rebutan Suara PAN vs Partai Ummat? Ini Kata Pakar. Retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-6494340/bakal-seketat-apa-rebutan-suara-pan-vs-partai-ummat-ini-kata-pakar>
- Ayu, T. (2023). Beranda Nasional PAN Diminati Kalangan Artis, Waketum: Banyak Juga dari Purnawirawan TNI. Retrieved from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1690328/pan-diminati-kalangan-artis-waketum-banyak-juga-dari-purnawirawan-tni>
- bbcnewsindonesia.com. (2023). Pemilu 2024 bertabur caleg artis, pengamat: “Kemampuan mereka nyanyi, main film, ngelawak, baik. Tapi kapasitas sebagai legislator kurang.” Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c511qn7ndllo>
- bbcnewsindonesia. (2023). Pemilu 2024 bertabur caleg artis, pengamat: “Kemampuan mereka nyanyi, main film, ngelawak, baik. Tapi kapasitas sebagai legislator kurang.” Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c511qn7ndllo>
- Choiriyati, W., & Wiendijarti, I. (2020). Popularitas Selebriti sebagai Komoditas Politik. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 9(2), 128–142.
- Detiknews.com. (2023). Pendaftaran Bacaleg 2024: Jadwal dan Syarat Pendaftaran. Retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-6717114/pendaftaran-bacaleg-2024-jadwal-dan-syarat-pendaftaran>
- Dewi, S. (2023). Rekrut Artis Jadi Kader, PAN: Itu Bukan Strategi Naikan Elektabilitas. Retrieved from <https://www.idntimes.com/news/indonesia/santi-dewi/rekrut-artis->

- jadi-kader-pan-itu-bukan-strategi-naikan-elektabilitas?page=all
- Dirgantara, A. (2023). Bakal Caleg Artis yang Daftar Pemilu 2024: Krisdayanti, Denny Cagur, Arumi Bachsin, hingga Ahmad Dhani. Retrieved from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/05/16/10353511/bakal-caleg-artis-yang-daftar-pemilu-2024-krisdayanti-denny-cagur-arumi>
- Edhlund, B., & McDougall, A. (2018). *NVivo 12 essentials*. Lulu. com.
- Herdiansah, A. G. (2017). Pragmatisme Partai Islam Di Indonesia: Pendekatan Tindakan Sosial. *SosioGlobal: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Penelitian Sosiologi*, 1(2), 152–167.
- Ikhsan, D. (2014). Keterlibatan Selebriti Dalam Pemilu Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru. *Sosiohumaniora*, 18(3), 236–242. Retrieved from <http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/sosiohumaniora/article/view/8341/6615>
- Jamil, A., Briandana, R., Marta, R. F., Fotaleno, F., & Sofian, M. R. M. (2022). Metamorphosis from Music to Politics: Study on Celebrity Giring Ganesha in Indonesian Legislative Election. *Profetik: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 15(1), 5–18. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14421/pjk.v15i1.2155>
- Jati, W. R. (2014). Politik Selebritas Elaborasi Teoritik Terhadap Model Kampanye Baru. *Jurnal Kawistara*, 4(2).
- KPU RI. (2022). Berikut 24 Partai Politik Peserta Pemilu 2024. Retrieved from <https://www.kpu.go.id/berita/baca/11315/berikut-24-partai-politik-peserta-pemilu-2024>
- Kusnandar, V. B. (2022). Ini Perolehan Suara Partai Amanat Nasional Pemilu 1999-2019. Retrieved from <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2022/06/22/ini-perolehan-suara-partai-amanat-nasional-pemilu-1999-2019>
- Mustika, R., & Arifianto, S. (2018). Komodifikasi “Popularitas Selebritis” untuk Mendulang Suara Pemilu Legislatif 2019. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi Dan Media*, 22(2), 139. <https://doi.org/10.31445/jskm.2018.220204>
- Nabilah, R., Izomiddin, I., & Harahap, R. (2022). Fenomena Rekrutmen Artis Anggota Legislatif Ditinjau dari Perspektif Teori Partai Politik. *Jurnal Prodi Ilmu Politik*, 1(2), 81–92. <https://doi.org/10.19109/jsipol.v1i2.13710>
- Putra, E. P. (2023). PAN Daftarkan Total 580 Caleg DPR, Banyak yang Berprofesi Artis. Retrieved from <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/rujg484/pan-daftarkan-total-580-caleg-dpr-banyak-yang-berprofesi-artis>
- Rahman, D. F. (2023). Gemerlap Caleg Artis, Popularitas Belum Tentu Berbuah Elektabilitas. Retrieved from <https://katadata.co.id/sortatobing/indepth/6464a17f01693/gemerlap-caleg-artis-popularitas-belum-tentu-berbuah-elektabilitas>
- Ryandi, D. (2023). Gandeng Sejumlah Artis, Besok PAN Daftarkan Ratusan Caleg ke KPU. Retrieved from <https://www.jawapos.com/nasional/01615164/gandeng-sejumlah-artis-besok-pan-daftarkan-ratusan-caleg-ke-kpu>
- Sakti, A. M. S., Al-Hamdi, R., & Kurniawan, B. D. (2020). Strategi Kampanye Partai Nasionalis: Pengalaman Partai Nasdem Pada Pemilu 2019. *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 8(1), 155–185.
- Saputra, A. A., & Al-Hamdi, R. (2020). Motif Politik dalam Kelahiran dan Pembentukan Gerakan Arah Baru Indonesia (Garbi). *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 11(2), 163–182. <https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.11.2.2020.163-182>
- Sihidi, I. T., Khanifah, L. N., & Romadhan, A. A. (2019). Relasi Politik Uang Dan Party-Id di Indonesia. *Cosmogov; Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 5(2), 204–220.
- Sorauf, F. J., & Beck, P. A. (1988). *Party politics in America*. Pearson Scott Foresman.
- Subandi, H. H., & Ubaid, A. H. (2020). Selebritis Menjadi Politisi: Studi tentang Bagaimana Selebritis Menang atau Kalah dalam Pemilu Legislatif. *JHIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu*

Pemerintahan, 5(1), 21–45. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jiip.v5i1.7311>

- Tysara, L. (2022). Artis Artinya Seseorang yang Menciptakan Seni, Seniman dan Aktor. Retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/hot/read/4914928/artis-artinya-seseorang-yang-menciptakan-seni-seniman-dan-aktor>
- viva.co.id. (2023). PAN Tetap Rekrut Artis Jadi Caleg. Retrieved from <https://www.viva.co.id/berita/politik/383556-pan-tetap-rekrut-artis-jadi-caleg>
- Wibawana, W. A. (2023). Jadwal dan Tahapan Pileg, Pilpres dan Pilkada 2024. Retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-6556051/jadwal-dan-tahapan-pileg-pilpres-dan-pilkada-2024>