

## How The Role of Celebrity Cadres in The Digital Political Campaign of The National Mandate Party in 2024 Election

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**Keyword:**  
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**Abstract:** This research explains the role of celebrities in the digital political campaign conducted by the National Mandate Party in the 2024 election. This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. Furthermore, this research also used NVIVO 12 plus tools in analyzing data. The findings in this study explain that the National Mandate Party celebrity cadres have two dominant roles in digital political campaigns, namely creating creative content and also mobilizing fan bases. These celebrities use their personal social media capital to conduct political campaigns, both by creating short videos and memes. Likewise, in gathering the support of their fans in the form of building an active online community. Furthermore, Instagram is the most dominant social media used for political campaigns by these celebrities. Then, TikTok social media is also the second dominant one used for political campaigns. Then, there are YouTube and Facebook which are also used for political campaigns. The implications of this research explain that today's digital power can be used effectively in political campaign strategies that have a positive impact on party votes in elections.

**Kata Kunci:**  
Partai Politik;  
Partai Amanat  
Nasional (PAN);  
Kampanye Politik  
Digital;  
Kader Selebritis;

**Abstrak:** Penelitian ini menjelaskan peran dari para selebritis dalam kampanye politik digital yang dilakukan Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) dalam pemilu 2024. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Furthermore, this research also used NVIVO 12 plus tools in analyzing data. Temuan dalam penelitian ini menjelaskan bahwa kader selebritis PAN memiliki dua peran yang dominan dalam kampanye politik digital yaitu membuat konten kreative dan juga menggalang basis penggemar. Para selebritis ini menggunakan modal sosial media pribadinya untuk melakukan kampanye politik, baik itu dengan membuat Video pendek dan meme. Begitu juga dalam mengumpulkan dukungan penggemarnya dalam bentuk membangun komunitas online yang aktif. Lebih lanjut, Instagram menjadi social media yang paling dominan digunakan untuk kampanye politik para selebritis tersebut. Kemudian, social media TikTok juga menjadi yang dominan kedua digunakan untuk kampanye politik. Kemudian, ada youtube dan facebook yang juga digunakan untuk kampanye politiknya. Implikasi penelitian ini menjelaskan bahwa kekuatan digital hari ini dapat digunakan secara efektif dalam strategi kampanye politik yang berdampak positif bagi perolehan suara partai dalam pemilu.

### INTRODUCTION

The 2024 simultaneous elections were held on February 14 to elect candidates for president and vice president, the House of Representatives (DPR), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), the Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD) and the Regency People's Representative Council (DPRD). Voters are spread across 38 provinces, 514 districts/cities, 7,277 sub-districts, and 83,771 villages (Adliyah, 2024). This election involved 18 national political

parties and 6 local Acehese parties. The General Elections Commission (KPU) on December 14, 2022 has determined 17 national political parties and 6 local Acehese parties as participants in the 2024 elections. The determination was made through a plenary meeting of the national recapitulation of verification results and the determination of political parties participating in the 2024 elections. The 17 national political parties consist of nine parliamentary parties, namely the United Development Party (PPP), National Awakening Party (PKB), Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Nasdem Party, Democratic Party, National Mandate Party (PAN), Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), Golkar Party, and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). The remaining eight are non-parliamentary parties and new parties. Non-parliamentary parties or parties participating in the 2019 elections that did not pass the parliamentary threshold and are now participating in the 2024 elections include the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), the Indonesian Unity Party, the Moon Star Party (PBB), the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), and the Garuda Party. The new political parties are Partai Kebangkitan Nusantara (PKN), Gelora Indonesia Party, and Labor Party (Kpu.go.id, 2022b).

The KPU then stipulated changes in political parties participating in the 2024 elections for the House of Representatives and the Regional House of Representatives, namely adding the Ummat Party as a political party participant in the General Election of Members of the House of Representatives and the Regional House of Representatives in 2024 so that there would be 18 political parties. Meanwhile, the six local Acehese parties participating in the elections are Partai Aceh, Aceh Fair Prosperity Party, Atjeh Beusaboh Generation Party Tha'at and Taqwa, Daruh Aceh Party, Aceh Nanggroe Party, and Aceh People's Independent Solidity Party (SIRA) (Kpu.go.id, 2022a).

However, there is one thing that is interesting in organizing the 2024 elections, namely the flocking of celebrities to become party cadres and contest the legislative elections (Subekti & Al-hamdi, 2024). In 2024 there will be 62 legislative candidates from among celebrities, 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 (Adhyasta Dirgantara, 2023).

Of these parties, the National Mandate Party (PAN) has the most celebrity candidates. In fact, with so many celebrities becoming PAN cadres, the public has dubbed it the party of artists. The phenomenon of celebrities entering politics is a result of Indonesia's democracy, so their presence in some aspects can be considered as a political strategy to gain votes in elections (Subekti & Al-hamdi, 2024). This is actually proven by the increase in votes obtained by PAN in the 2024 election compared to the 2019 election. In the 2024 election. The National Mandate Party (PAN) received 10,984,003 votes (7.24 percent) and 48 seats in parliament. Meanwhile, in the 2019 elections it only received 9,572,623 votes (6.84 percent) or 44 seats in parliament (Farisa, 2024). Furthermore, the celebrities recruited by PAN have their own social media strengths. Social media influencers or celebrities have become an important force in the modern political landscape. With a large and loyal following base, they have the ability to influence public opinion. Through their well-crafted posts, these influencers not only convey information but also express personal opinions that can influence voters' thinking and behavior (Mishra & Mishra, 2014).

Moreover, the position of this research is more to perfect the research conducted by Subekti & Al-hamdi, (2024) which focuses only on the political motives of PAN in endorsing celebrities as legislative candidates. Thus, the research tries to continue with a focus on the role of celebrities in the digital political campaign carried out by the National Mandate Party (PAN) in the 2024 elections. These days it seems that PAN is more open and even tends to be too moderate, characterized by celebrities entering the party. Therefore, it is interesting to take a closer look at the role of these celebrities in PAN's digital political campaign for the 2024 elections. This is

because these celebrities have social media capital with a very large number of followers. Moreover, these celebrities also have a strong influence in the public with their popularity.

### **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The case study in this research is artist cadres in the PAN digital political campaign in the 2024 election. This research data collection technique uses library studies. Therefore, the data sources of this research come from credible online news such as Kompas.com, cnnindonesia, liputan6.com, detiknews.com, tempo.co.id, and relevant journal articles. The reason for using some of these online news as the main source of data in this study is because the five are reputable and credible sites marked by all of them being in the top 30 rankings issued by the Similar Web site (a ranking site for news portals). Kompas is ranked 8th in the ranking, as well as Detiknews.com which is ranked 11th, Cnnindonesia is ranked 17th, liputan6.com is ranked 27th and Tempo.co is ranked 30th. In addition, this research also uses NVIVO 12 plus software in analyzing data. NVIVO 12 plus software in scientific research aims to streamline data analysis, which is then displayed in the form of attractive images to be interpreted easily by the author and read interestingly by the reader (Edhlund & McDougall, 2018). The features used in NVIVO 12 plus are project maps and crosstab queries. Crosstab queries are used to analyze and display data on the role of celebrities in digital campaigns. Meanwhile, project maps will display data about actor networks in digital campaigns. The flow of using Nvivo 12 plus is that first the news that is the data source is downloaded using the Ncapture feature on Google Chrome. The second step, after the data is downloaded, it is uploaded to the Nvivo 12 plus software. third step, the data is analyzed using the features in Nvivo 12 plus according to its needs, namely Crosstab Query and project maps.

### **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

#### ***The Role of Celebrity Cadres In Digital Political Campaigns***

The use of celebrities as a tool to increase party appeal and visibility is nothing new in politics in the country. Some of these maneuvers may be based on strategic considerations that involve using the popularity and influence of artists to sway voter opinions and choices. With famous artists joining PAN, it may capitalize on the artists' social media reach and their popularity to gain more attention from the public. These artists may also have a strong influence on voters' opinions and decisions, especially their fans who may be more likely to follow the political views espoused by their idol artists. In addition, the presence of famous artists in the party can help improve the party's appeal and image among the younger generation and millennials. These artists often symbolize popular lifestyles and trends, which can be linked to the party's identity and image. As such, PAN can create an emotional bond with young and potential voters, who may be more interested in supporting a party represented by figures they know and admire (Muhammad, 2023).

How candidates utilize social media to gain support, some strategies are effective (Chester & Montgomery, 2017). First, Fundraising: Candidates can use platforms like Instagram and Twitter to encourage supporters to donate. Crowdfunding campaigns are increasingly popular through social media. Second, Cultivating a Fan Base: By building an active online community, candidates can extend the reach of their message. Facebook groups, custom hashtags and live streaming are useful tools. Third, Creative Content: Short videos, memes, and infographics can grab voters' attention. Candidates who master the art of creative content have an advantage. These three strategies are used as indicators to measure the role of PAN celebrity cadres in digital political campaigns in the 2024 elections (Herna et al., 2019).

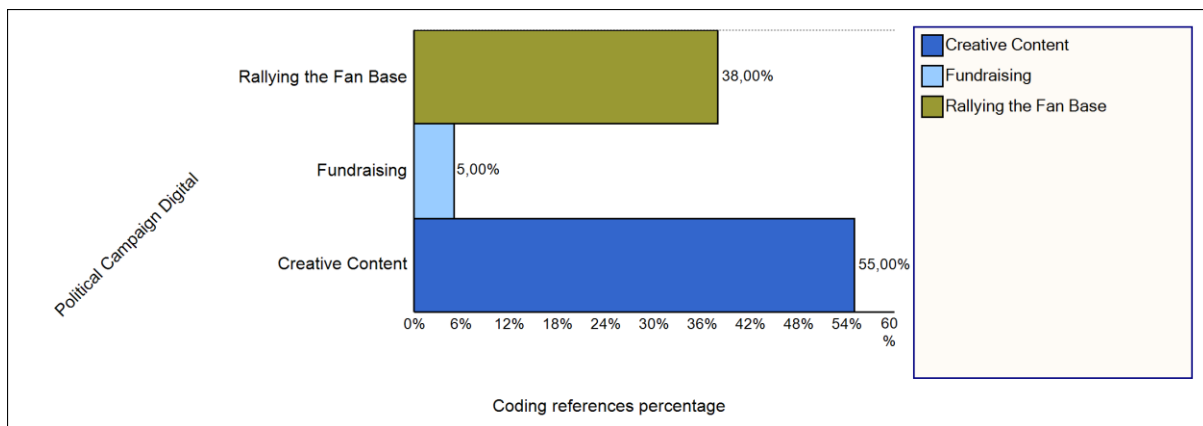


Figure 1  
The role of celebrity cadres in digital political campaigns  
Source: Nvivo 12 plus, (2024)

Data analysis using Nvivo 12 plus in figure 1 shows several roles of celebrities in digital political campaigns in PAN, namely creating creative content, gathering a support base and fundraising. The data shows that the most dominant role of celebrities is the creation of creative content on social media with a figure of 55.00%, followed by gathering a support base with a figure of 38.00%. This shows that these celebrities use their social media capital to conduct political campaigns, be it by creating short videos, memes, and infographics on their respective personal social media. Likewise, in gathering support by building active online communities, candidates can expand the reach of their messages. Facebook groups, custom hashtags and live streaming are useful tools. This is in line with research findings from Subekti et al., (2024) which explain that politicians use social media as a means and facility for political communication with many people. In addition, the top three social media used by politicians are Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram.

In political socialization that has been held on social media and television, IPI survey results show that PAN is able to penetrate the top three parties that conduct the highest socialization (Wiwid, 2024). PAN actively implements campaign strategies and political socialization through social media, including Instagram, TikTok, and X platforms. In this process, PAN adopts a distinctive communication style for Generation Z, with the aim of attracting attention and establishing more open communication between political parties and young people (CNNIndonesia.com, 2023). PAN also promotes itself on television and social media by displaying creative content in the form of a massive 'PAN PAN PAN' jingle. In the advertising video, Zulhas is shown with a number of famous artists (Suryakusumah, 2023). The video features celebrities and influencers including Uya Kuya, Eko Patrio, Pasha 'Ungu', Desy Ratnasari, Opie Kumis, Verrel Bramasta, Primus Yustisio, Selvie Kitty, and others. The video contains a PAN jingle that has changed the lyrics from "PAN PAN PAN, always ahead" to "PAN PAN PAN, when did you meet?", "PAN PAN PAN, am I tamPAN?", and other sentences that end with the word -PAN (Haris & Azwar, 2024).

PAN through its celebrity cadres did sonic branding by making the jingle "PAN PAN PAN". Sonic branding is a marketing strategy that uses sound to create a strong and memorable brand identity for consumers. The goal is to make a deep impression and differentiate the brand from its competitors. Sonic branding can include elements such as jingles, melodies, signature sounds, or even the entire audio identity associated with the brand. Sonic branding can be the use of distinctive, brand-related sounds in advertisements, promotional videos, or apps. This can increase brand awareness, make it easier to remember, and create a stronger emotional connection between brands and consumers (Mauludin et al., 2024). According to Muhammad Aidrus Asyabani, Director of Polinsight Indonesia, in the context of modern politics, campaign

strategy has an increasingly important role. In addition to vision and program, the success of a party or candidate is also determined by how they build an image and convey messages to the public. One of the strategies used is the use of songs as part of branding and campaign efforts, which is often referred to as sonic branding (Haris & Azwar, 2024).

Through sonic branding, PAN has reflected the party's creativity and openness to the party's young voters in seeking and developing qualified young seeds. The party is strengthened by experienced politicians who are relatively young and widely recognized. The pro-people policies championed by PAN have consolidated its position as the most influential political force in Indonesia. Evidence of the results of PAN's sonic branding is when many people respond to the jingle video, various public responses adorn social media because in the video there are many Indonesian celebrities involved and wearing blue shirts with the words "Blue Squad" which symbolizes the color of PAN Dedi Kurnia Syah, a political observer from Indonesia Political Opinion, success in recruiting young cadres by PAN Chairman, Zulkifli Hasan, has strengthened the party's position. PAN has demonstrated the ability to emerge with cadres who are widely recognized by the public, as well as making contributions (Parameswari et al., 2024).

There are several advantages to using sonic branding in the song "PAN PAN PAN" including: First, Strengthening Party Identity. Sonic branding helps strengthen PAN's identity as a party that is energetic, modern, and follows the trends of society. This identity reflects the spirit of togetherness and fun reflected in the song. second, Improving Memorability. The catchy and memorable song "PAN PAN PAN" helps increase voters' recall of the party and PAN candidates. When voters hear or see this audio element, they will be reminded of the party and its message. Third, Creating an Emotional Bond Music has the unique ability to create an emotional bond with its listeners. By using the upbeat and optimistic "PAN PAN PAN" song, PAN sought to create a positive bond with voters, inspiring enthusiasm and support. Fourth, Reaching Young Voters. The song can also be a strategy to reach out to young voters, who tend to interact more with music and social media trends. This sonic branding reflects the party's creativity and openness to young voters (Alhasbi et al., 2023).

Not only that, PAN is also very clever in reaching out to the younger generation, especially millennials and Generation Z. In a political world that is increasingly dominated by young voters, this initiative has proven to be very effective. The celebrity cadres as PAN's political marketing team consistently create a positive image of their party. They present popular artists in their campaigns to attract the attention and interest of the younger segments of society (Evita, 2023). In addition to its entertainment presence, PAN has also mastered the role of social media very well. In an era where information spreads very quickly through online platforms, PAN is able to utilize social media to reach a wider audience. With interesting, informative and relevant content, they manage to build a modern and relevant image of the party in the eyes of the public. The main message built by PAN through their political marketing strategy is to create an image as a party that is modern, relevant, and a hope for the people. By focusing on actual issues that are relevant to the needs of society. PAN has succeeded in building an identity that is attractive and fun for voters, especially the younger generation (AkmalTaqi, 2024).

Moreover, the PAN celebrity cadres also created a group called the Blue Squad. The Blue Squad are candidates of the National Mandate Party (PAN) who come from among artists such as Eko Patrio, Desy Ratnasari, Pasha Ungu, Uya Kuya, and others. Their presence is considered to be a breath of fresh air for the party. The Squad is often seen going down to the electoral districts or greeting the community. Uya Kuya, for example, can visit a number of campaign points and greet residents in a day. In fact, he also enlivened Princess Zulkifli Hasan's campaign in Bandar Lampung, on Monday, December 25, 2023. In one of the videos, a woman was seen excitedly supporting Uya Kuya. Another candidate, Eko Patrio, is often seen accompanying PAN's DPP Chairperson, Zita Anjani, on the electoral district agenda. Eko's skill in hosting the event made the gathering more lively. Moreover, Zita and Eko often make jokes that entertain the residents (Fitriana, 2023).

**Actor Networks and Social Media Used In Digital Political Campaigns**

The implementation of a direct open proportional electoral system, which relies on the majority vote as it is now, opens up a very wide opportunity for political parties to attract public figures, especially artists to run as legislative candidates. With popularity, it is not difficult for an artist to get a lot of votes. The phenomenon of artist candidates has actually occurred since the 2004 elections and the number has always been large in subsequent elections. The open proportional electoral system that directly elects members of the council is indeed an opportunity for political parties and artists. For political parties, the number of votes entrusted to artists can boost their votes towards Senayan. The nomination of artists is used as a vote getter for political parties. This means that people are more likely to vote for candidates they know among the many candidates they don't know at all. The appearance of the artist's face on the election ballot paper is an alternative for the public from their confusion in choosing candidates. The question of capability is considered later (Bahruddin, 2024). This phenomenon is referred to as asymmetric information, which takes advantage of consumers' ignorance about a product that they will buy. This means that with limited information about a product, people will choose as they wish. At this point, the artist they previously knew becomes an alternative choice due to limited information about products (Tanjung et al., 2024).

With social capital in the form of popularity like that of Komeng and other public figures, there is no need for more capital to attract public sympathy. The social capital that has been built for years through the entertainment stage is the main capital for an artist to seek as much public support as possible. In fact, Komeng admitted that he did not conduct a political campaign when he became a candidate, even on social media. The amount of social capital a person has depends on how far the network of relationships he builds (Casey, 2008). Social capital will become economic capital when someone is able to utilize it for a goal they want to achieve, such as becoming a legislative member. Although not all artists have commercial goals in running for the legislature, the number of artists who have 'switched sides' after a long absence from the entertainment world shows that becoming a legislator is a lucrative profession to replace the artist profession. By relying solely on social capital in the form of popularity, the concern of some members of the public is that artists do not have enough knowledge about politics and are unable to voice social issues in society. So far, only a handful of artists have the political capability to truly channel the people's voice (Syahra, 2003).

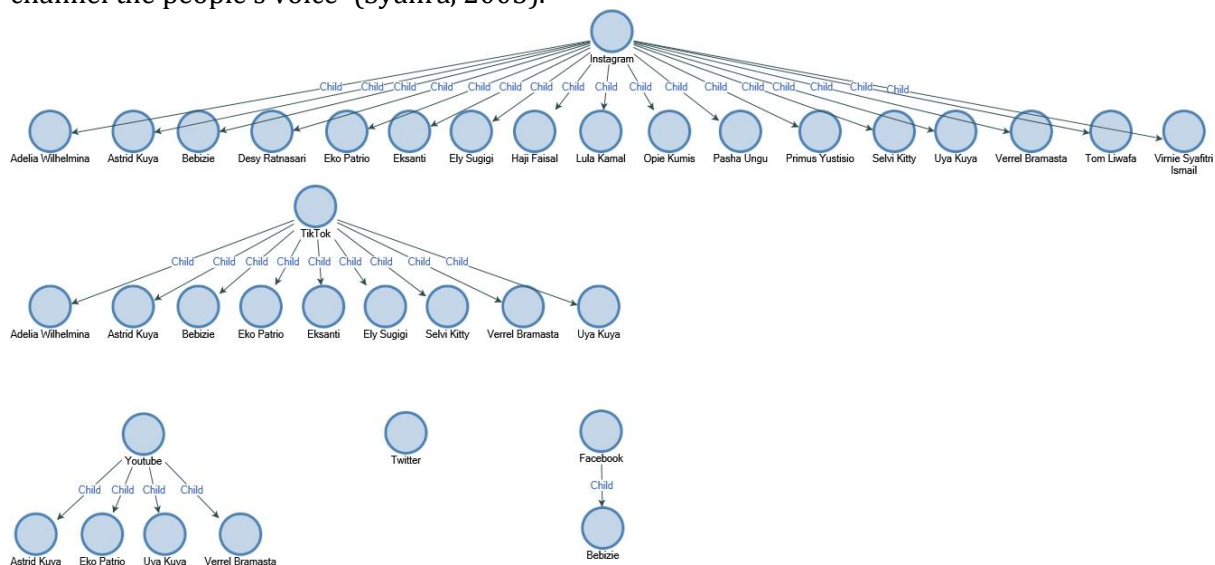


Figure.2  
 Celebrity cadre networks use social media in political campaigns  
 Source: Nvivo 12 Plus, (2024)

PAN in the 2024 elections carries 18 legislative candidates from among celebrities. The names are 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, Virnie Syafitri Ismail, and Jeje Govinda. All of these celebrities certainly have their own popularity and fans. This is evidenced by the number of followers these celebrities have on their respective social media channels. The data in figure 2 shows the network of celebrities promoted by PAN in the 2024 elections and the social media used to conduct political campaigns. The data shows that Instagram is the most dominant social media used for the celebrities' political campaigns. This finding is in line with research from Subekti et al., (2022) which explains that Instagram has become the most widely used social media in political party campaigns. Likewise, research from Subekti et al., (2024) explains that there is a new trend for Instagram used by politicians. This is a new form of personalization where the visuals of politicians are displayed. Instagram is used to display the content of politicians' arguments and ideas and to frame politicians' personal lives so that people feel close to them. Then, TikTok social media is also the second dominant one used for political campaigns. Then, there are YouTube and Facebook which are also used for political campaigns. Interestingly, Twitter/X social media is not used at all by the eighteen celebrities. Even though Twitter users are still quite massive and the conversations in it are also very diverse to be used as a niche for voters. However, these celebrities are not active or don't even have Twitter/X.

In Indonesia, the internet penetration rate in 2022 reached 70 percent of the total population or around 204 million people. Meanwhile, the results of the Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2023 research show that trust in mainstream media in Indonesia stagnated at 39 percent in 2021-2023. This is what drives the rise of content creation on social media which is produced as an alternative news source. The most important thing then is that, among the content produced on social media, it already resembles a lively campaign on various topics of life. Such activities strengthen the political machine, where five-year elections are one of the major agendas of the political world in Indonesia. Furthermore, the characteristics of content distribution on social media are micro-targeting. However, its effectiveness is more powerful than conventional mass media. This is because, even before placing advertising content, the advertiser can determine who the target is, which age group, and the desired political preferences. This is what these PAN cadre celebrities use to target their fans who follow them on their social media to campaign, both for themselves in terms of becoming legislative candidates and also for the party and the presidential and vice presidential candidates that their party is promoting in the 2024 elections (Mediana, 2023).

According to Gil-Garcia & Flores-Zúñiga, (2020) social media is the “king” of the digital age. Everyone can enjoy its positive impact. The economy and people's welfare have increased since social media has become a promotional platform. The political world is also affected by social media. Now social media has become one of the political infrastructures. Social media has become an effective campaign vehicle for individual politicians or political parties to introduce themselves and their activities to the public. The power of social media in politics can be seen in the ease of campaigning on social media, promoting political activities, and even changing the political landscape. Those (politicians or political parties) who are active on social media tend to be “winners”. People see them exposing their political activities. Those who do not expose political activities will be considered unemployed and unpopular. In the end, the term post-trust emerged, the public became more trusting of those (politicians) who were active and intensive in introducing themselves on social media (political branding) (Zhu & Kindarto, 2016).

## CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this research explains that PAN celebrity cadres have two dominant roles in digital political campaigns, namely creating creative content and also mobilizing fan bases. These celebrities use their personal social media capital to conduct political campaigns, both by creating short videos and memes. Likewise, in gathering the support of their fans in the

form of building an active online community. Then, Instagram is the most dominant social media used for political campaigns by these celebrities. Then, TikTok social media is also the second dominant one used for political campaigns. Then, there are YouTube and Facebook which are also used for political campaigns. Interestingly, Twitter/X social media is not used at all by the eighteen celebrities. Even though Twitter users are still quite massive and the conversations in it are also very diverse to be used as a niche for voters. However, these celebrities are not active or do not even have Twitter/X. Then, the implications of this research explain that today's digital power can be used effectively in political campaign strategies that have a positive impact on party votes in elections. Therefore, recommendations for future research can use quantitative research methods to see more objectively with a focus on discussing the influence of celebrity social media power on political party vote acquisition.

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