

## Measuring the Strength of Presidential Campaign Funding, Political Party Advertising Shopping 2024

Junaedi

Government Study, Muhammadiyah University of Makassar

Corresponding Author: Junaedi [junaedi@unismuh.ac.id](mailto:junaedi@unismuh.ac.id)

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### ABSTRACT

The General Election Commission has released a report on the campaign funds of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates for the 2024 election. Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming Raka was recorded as the largest, far surpassing Ganjar Pranowo - Mahfud MD and Anies Baswedan - Muhaimin Iskandar. The advertisements were created to get the audience to increase the party's popularity. Golkar is the political party with the highest advertising spending on social media over the last three months, disbursing funds amounting to IDR 3.74 billion. This figure is quite far apart when compared to the advertising costs of other political parties. I am following in second place with a nominal advertising expenditure of IDR 785.6 million. National Awakening Party and Gerindra with advertising costs on social media amounting to IDR 195.7 million and IDR 49.18 million respectively. PSI is in first place with the most advertisements, namely 1,277 advertisements on television amounting to IDR 42.84 billion, Perindo is in second place for the party with the most advertisements on TV, IDR. 82.73 billion and 1,220 advertisements. The electability of the political parties PDIP and Gerindra compete closely in the female voter group, these two parties were both chosen by 18.8% of female voter respondents. Gerindra's electability reached 19.5%, slightly ahead of PDIP which obtained 19.3%. In the election of 5 major political parties, namely Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, PKB and PKS, Gerindra was the party most chosen by young people under 30 years of age, with a vote share of 24.6%.

## INTRODUCTION

Along with the development of the political landscape, campaign funding and the role of political advertising are increasingly crucial in determining the outcome of elections. In modern political campaigns, financial power often affects the reach and effectiveness of a candidate's message, as well as a political party's ability to attract voter support through the right advertising strategy. The 2024 presidential election is an important moment to analyze the dynamics of campaign funding and political advertising, especially in the context of digital platforms and the increasing use of data-driven decisions.

The research focuses on measuring the funding power of presidential campaigns in the 2024 election and how political parties allocate their resources to advertising. This study aims to examine the relationship between the amount of funds collected and the effectiveness of political messages in various media channels, including television, social media, and traditional print media. Through this approach, this research will provide a comprehensive understanding of how financial power affects political outcomes in a highly competitive electoral environment. In addition to exploring general trends in campaign funding and political advertising, the study will also analyze the strategies used by various political parties in selecting advertising opportunities, especially in states that are considered political battlegrounds. This research will also highlight the impact of these strategies on voter perception and election results.

## THEORITICAL REVIEW

### *Measuring the Strength of Presidential Campaign Funds*

Domestic political dynamics are increasingly heating up ahead of the start of the general election campaign (election) (Research, 2023) including the 2024 presidential election (pilpres), which is planned to start today, Tuesday (28/11/2023) until 10 February 2024. Several aspects are the focus of attention, one of which is data related to the winning party from each Electoral District (Dapil) or province.

The election of the President and Vice President is based on Article 6 A of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, nominations can only be carried by political parties or combinations of political parties, thus independents cannot nominate. Based on Law No. 42 of 2008 as amended in Law No. 2 of 2011 concerning Political Parties refers to political parties that have fulfilled administrative verification and factual verification and have passed as election participants. (Mahfud MD, 2010:137).

For information, the General Election Commission (KPU) recorded the Permanent Voter List (DPT) in the 2024 Election as many as 204,807,222 voters. Provinces with the largest DPT include West Java with 35.7 million, East Java with 31.4 million, Central Java with 28.2 million votes, North Sumatra with 10.8 million and Banten with 8.8 million voters.

In every election, the role of political parties (political parties) is the main key to achieving victory. However, interestingly, the party with the largest vote cannot necessarily ensure the victory of the leader candidate it supports.

Political parties that succeed in nominating certain candidates are often able to increase the support and votes they receive.

The importance of sound maps is illustrated in the categorization of electoral districts or certain areas. Control of votes in strategic areas is the key to determining the victory of a political party. Tulisem (Association for Elections and Democracy) expressed an expert opinion which stated that a party's vote share which is higher than that of legislative candidates gives absolute power to the party to determine the number of seats.

The voting power of a political party can also be strengthened by the strategy of nominating presidential and vice-presidential candidates who have historical ties to certain regions. That way, votes in the Electoral District of origin of the candidate pair (paslon) can be more easily raised.

The next requirement is that a political party or combination of political parties must obtain 20% of the seats in the House of Representatives or 25% of the national vote. This provision is produced in the legislative elections held before the Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections, usually referred to as the presidential threshold.

These requirements meet the qualifications for the President and Vice President to be elected directly through elections, other qualifications are also fulfilled in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In general, the qualifications for a presidential system are:

1. The President and Vice President are directly elected.
2. The president is the head of state and head of government.
3. Ministers of state are responsible to the President.
4. The president cannot be overthrown by parliament. (Assiddiqie, 2024:107).

The presidential system holds that the holder of power is the President who is separate from the institution of Parliament. This separation is strengthened by the same political legitimacy between the President and Parliament, namely that they are both elected by the voting people. (M Goffar, 2012: 121)

Democratically direct election according to Mahfud M.D:

1. Open the door to the appearance of the President and Vice President according to the will of the majority of the people themselves.
2. There is a need for direct election of the President and Vice President to maintain government stability so that they are not easily overthrown midway. (Mahfud MD, 2010:94).

### ***The Power of Campaign Funds***

The success of a political party or candidate pair is not only determined by the number of voters' votes but no less interesting is the amount of large financial power possessed by Presidential/Vice Presidential Candidates and prospective members of the DPR RI, DPD RI, Provincial/Regency/City DPRD, political advertising spending capital. In the media, especially TV.

From the results of the report released by the General Election Commission (KPU), the campaign funds for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 2024 elections, Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka, were recorded as the largest. The transaction value of political party advertisements on social media reached IDR 4.8 billion. Golkar is the political party with the highest advertising expenditure on social media over the last three months, having disbursed funds amounting to IDR 3.74 billion.

Then the Indonesian Solidarity Party followed in second place with a nominal advertising expenditure of IDR 785.6 million. The total advertising expenditure for PSI's open campaign on television was IDR 42.84 billion, while Perindo was in second place for advertising expenditure of IDR 82.73 billion and 1,220 advertisements. The electability of the political parties PDIP and Gerindra compete closely in the female voter group, these two parties were both chosen by 18.8%. Gerindra's electability reached 19.5%, slightly ahead of PDIP which obtained 19.3%.

It should be noted that the 2019 election results data cannot guarantee the victory of a party or candidate in the 2024 election considering that there is a possibility of changes in choices, especially these changes are very much determined by the logistics available, the strategy of the President/Vice President and prospective members of the DPR RI, DPD RI, Provincial DPRD /Regency/City, so that it contains a very strong magnet for the victory of presidential candidates and legislative members in the upcoming 2024 elections.

### ***2024 Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidate Campaign Funds***

The General Election Commission (KPU) has released a report on the campaign finances of the presidential candidates (capres) and vice-presidential candidates (cawapres) for the 2024 Election (Cindy Mutia Annur, 2023).

For the period 16-26 November 2023, the initial campaign funds for the Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka campaign were recorded as the largest, far surpassing Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD and Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar.

Provisions regarding reporting campaign funds have been regulated in KPU Regulation (PKPU) Number 18 of 2023 which was issued on September 1 2023. Referring to these provisions, campaign funds for the 2024 Election can be obtained from donations from individuals, companies and/or non-governmental business entities. However, the nominal contribution is limited.

The maximum amount of individual donations for presidential-vice presidential candidate pairs is IDR 2.5 billion, while donations from companies and non-governmental organizations are a maximum of IDR 25 billion, here are details of the initial campaign funds for the three presidential-vice presidential candidate pairs for the 2024 election, as reported by Katadata:

### ***Prabowo-Gibran***

- 1) Money from candidate pairs: Rp. 2 billion
  - 2) Goods from political parties or combinations of political parties: Rp. 600 million
  - 3) Services from political parties or combinations of political parties: Rp. 28.83 billion
- = Total: IDR 31.43 billion

This pair number 2 is supported by the Advanced Indonesia Coalition which consists of Gerindra, Golkar, PAN, PBB, Demokrat, PSI and Garuda.

### ***Ganjar-Mahfud***

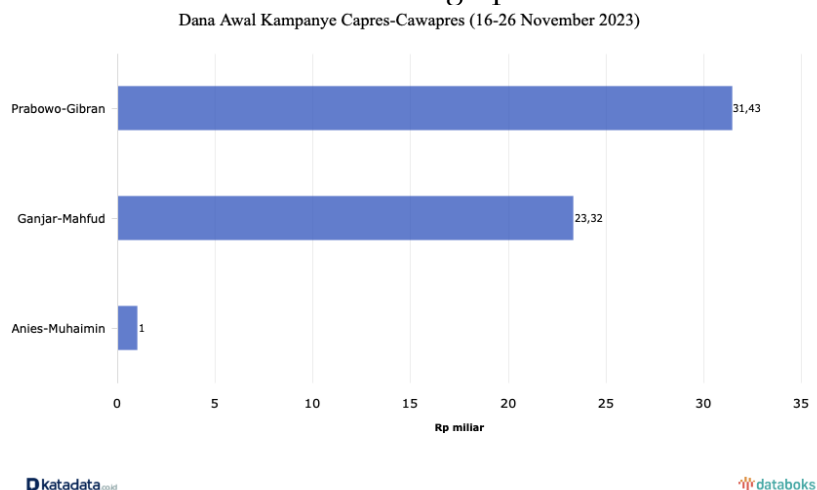
- 1) Money from candidate pairs: Rp. 100 million
  - 2) Money from political parties or combinations of political parties: Rp. 2.95 billion
  - 3) Money from donations from other individuals: Rp. 1.67 million
  - 4) Money from donations from other parties, companies and/or non-governmental business entities: Rp. 20.32 billion
- =Total: IDR 23.32 billion

This pair number 3 is supported by PDIP, PPP, Hanura and Perindo.

### ***Anies-Muhaimin***

- Money from candidate pairs: Rp. 1 billion
- =Total: IDR 1 billion

Pair number 1 was promoted by the Coalition for Change consisting of Nasdem, PKB and PKS. is attached to the graph in Indonesian.



## **METHODOLOGY**

Based on the background above, the problem formulation in this paper is: "Measuring the Strength of Presidential Campaign Funds, Political Party Advertising Expenditures 2024"?

This collection technique uses online data search / Internet searching, browsing, surfing or downloading data, books, magazines, journals, theses, theses, dissertations, online news, media, websites and sources from experts

related to matters which relate to "Measuring the Strength of Presidential Campaign Funds, Political Party Advertising Spending 2024".

## RESULTS

### *Golkar and PSI Political Parties with Advertising Spending*

The Golongan Karya Party (Golkar Party), previously named Golongan Karya (Golkar), the Golkar Party is one of the oldest political parties in Indonesia. The Golkar Party was founded on 20 October 1964 by Suharto and Suhardiman (Golkar, 2023).

Based on records from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), during the 1959-2019 period, Golkar has won a majority of votes in national elections 7 times, with the following details (Adi Ahdiat, 2023):

- 1) 1971 Election: Golkar won 62.80% of the valid national vote
- 2) 1977 Election: Golkar won 66.11%
- 3) 1982 Election: Golkar won 64.34%
- 4) 1987 Election: Golkar won 73.11%
- 5) 1992 Election: Golkar won 65.05%
- 6) 1997 Election: Golkar won 75.17%
- 7) 2004 Election: Golkar won 21.57%

Of these 7 wins, 6 were achieved by Golkar during the New Order era. Meanwhile, since the Reformation, Golkar has only won once, in 2004.

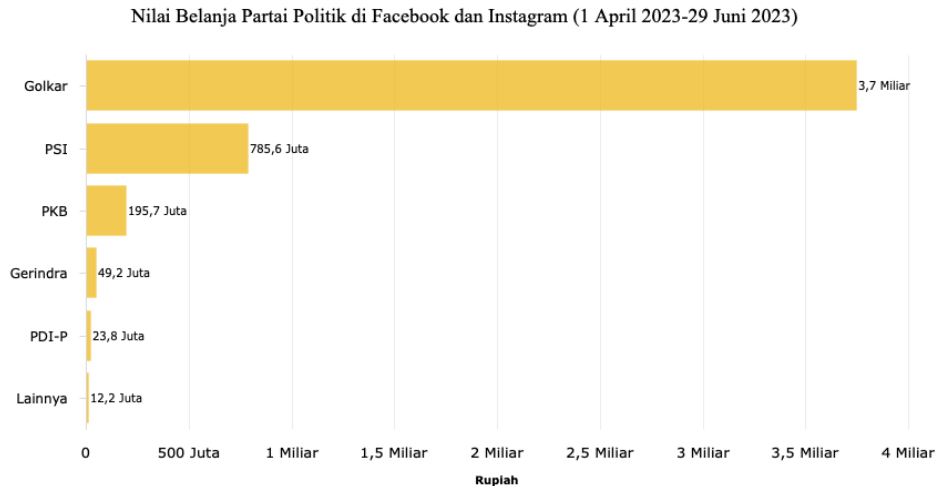
Meta Platforms data collected by Kompas Research and Development shows the value of political party (political party) advertising transactions on social media. The advertisement was created to reach the audience so as to increase the party's popularity (Nabilah Muhamad, 2023).

Kompas Research and Development said that the total transaction value of political party advertisements on Meta's social media, namely Facebook and Instagram, reached IDR 4.8 billion on April 1-June 29 2023.

Golkar is the political party with the highest advertising spending on social media over the last three months, disbursing funds amounting to IDR 3.74 billion. This figure is quite far apart when compared to the advertising costs of other political parties.

Almost all of the funding sources come from the Golkar Institute Foundation, a party cadre development institution which was founded on September 8 2020. The efforts made by Golkar show that the use of the information ecosystem on digital platforms, especially social media, is an important spearhead for increasing popularity and winning political competition (Kompas, 06/07/2023).

Then the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) followed in second place with a nominal advertising expenditure of IDR 785.6 million. PSI's advertising expenditure is financed by the party itself. Then followed by the National Awakening Party (PKB) and Gerindra with nominal advertising costs on social media of IDR 195.7 million and IDR 49.18 million respectively. The rest is attached to the graph in Indonesian.

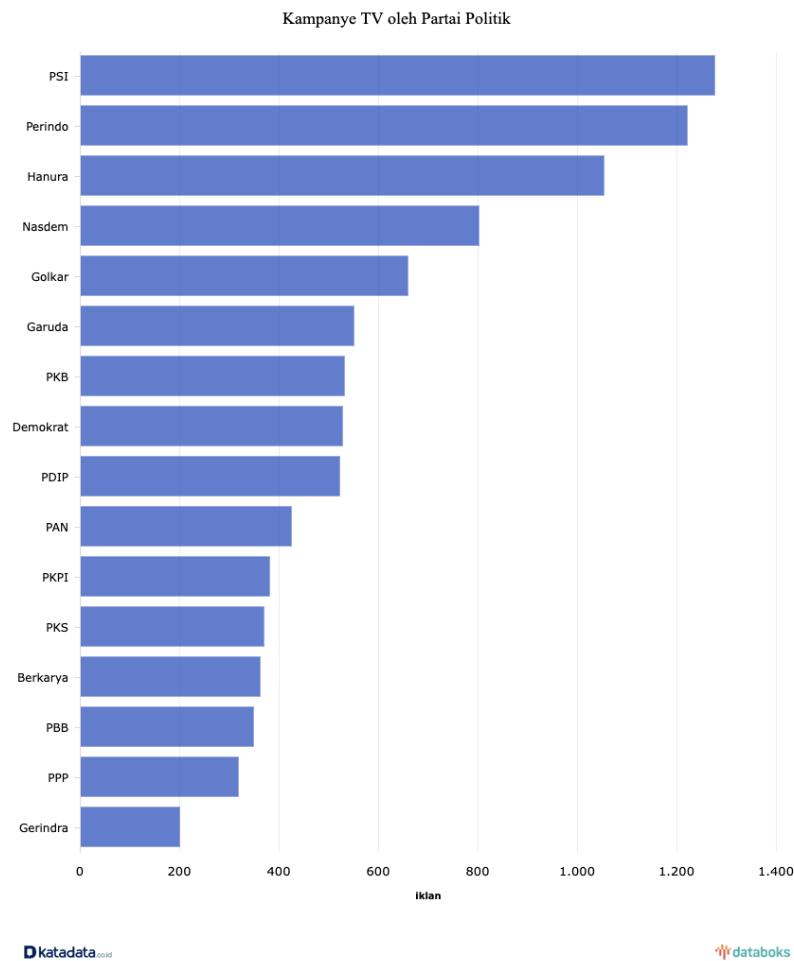


### *Top Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) Campaign on TV, Gerindra*

The results of monitoring Adstensity television advertisements in the period 24 March-13 April 2019 show that total advertising expenditure on 13 national TV stations in the 2019 election open campaign reached IDR 602.98 billion with a total of 14,234 television advertisements. The Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) is in first place with the most advertisements, namely 1,277 advertisements. The total advertising expenditure for PSI's open campaign on television was IDR 42.84 billion (Dwi Hadya Jayani, 2023).

Perindo is in second place for the party that advertises the most on television, with advertising spending of IDR 82.73 billion and 1,220 advertisements. The general chairman of Perindo, Hary Tanoesoedibjo, is the owner of the Nusantara Citra Media Group (MNC) and owns three national TV stations, namely RCTI, MNC TV and Global TV.

The next position is occupied by the Hanura Party with 1,053 advertisements and advertising expenditure of Rp. 40.16 billion. The Nasdem Party followed in fourth position with 800 advertisements and advertising expenditure of Rp. 30.20 billion. The Golkar Party is in fifth position with 659 advertisements and advertising expenditure of Rp. 35.46 billion. Meanwhile, the party that advertises the least on TV is the Gerindra Party in 16th place. The Gerindra Party only appeared with 200 advertisements and advertising costs of Rp. 7.71 billion. is attached to the graph in Indonesian.



### ***Electability of Political Parties in the 2024 General Election***

*Gerindra's electability is slightly superior to PDIP*

Denny JA's Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) released the latest political party (political party) electability survey report towards the end of 2023. As a result, Gerindra won first place. The party led by presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto has outperformed the PDIP, which has been the party that won the election for two terms.

According to Hanggoro, LSI researcher Denny JA, in an online press conference on his official YouTube account, Tuesday (19/12/2023). Stating that currently, Gerindra's electability has reached 19.5%, slightly ahead of PDIP which obtained 19.3% (Cindy Mutia Annur, 2023). For the first time since 2014, PDIP was surpassed by Gerindra. This is an interesting finding from late November to early December 2023.

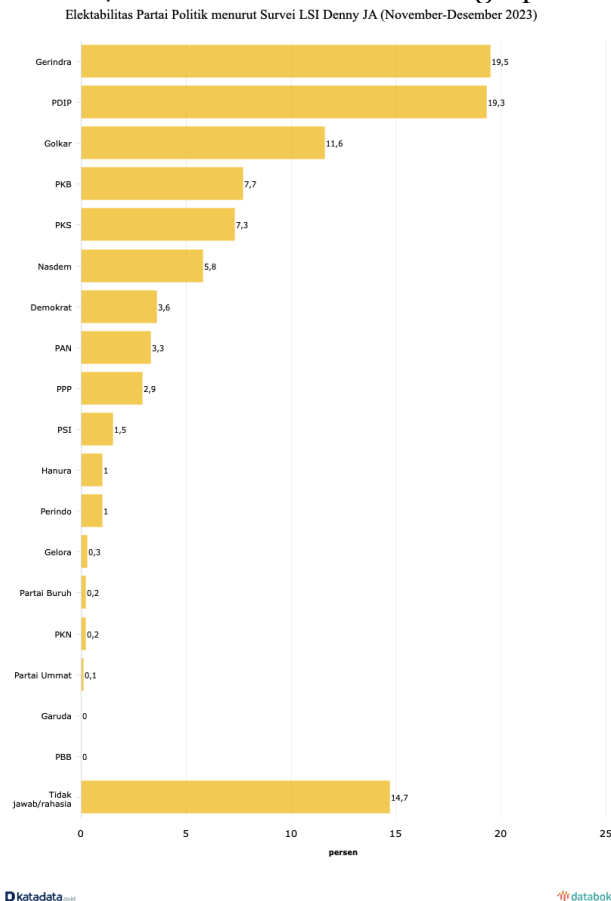
According to Hanggoro, the decline in PDIP's electability in this survey occurred due to three things, namely the blunder of PDIP's attack on President Jokowi, the polemic about rejecting the U-20 World Cup, and the issue of the president being a party official. If this trend continues, PDIP support could return to the era before Jokowi became president.



The PDIP's vote share since Jokowi became president has always dominated. In the 2014 election, they won 18.95% of the vote, and in the 2019 election, it rose to 19.33%. Different from before Jokowi took office. In the 2009 elections, PDIP only won 14.03% of the vote, below the Democratic Party's position.

According to Hanggoro, if PDIP cannot restore its position to the top, then the party's era of dominance will end. Will the PDIP's 10 years of domination result in a failed hat trick, winning three legislative elections in a row next year, or is it the other way around? We'll see next February.

The LSI Denny JA survey involved 1,200 respondents from various regions in Indonesia. The sample was selected using the multistage random sampling method. Data collection was carried out on 20 November-3 December 2023 using the face-to-face interview method with a questionnaire. This survey has a margin of error of +/- 2.9%. is attached to the graph in Indonesian.



### ***Gerindra Is Superior in The Youth Segment, PDIP In Its Twilight Years***

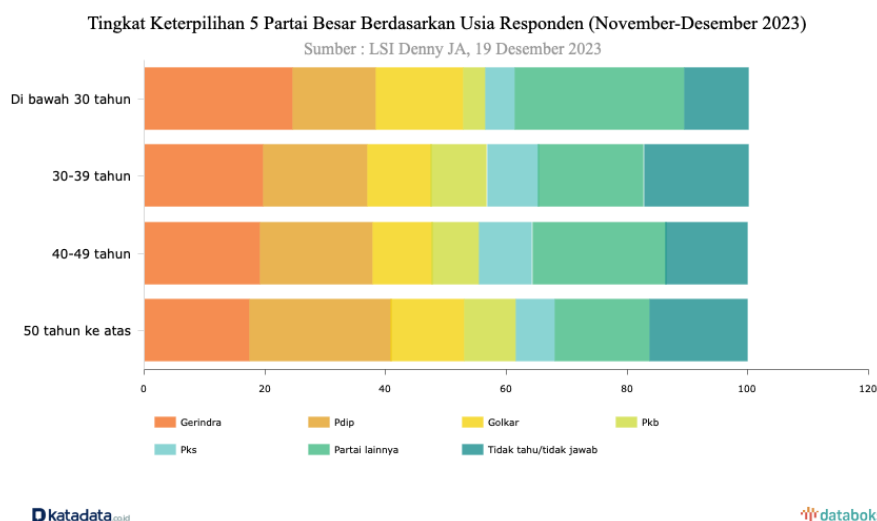
Denny JA's Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) released a new survey report on the electability of 5 major political parties, namely Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, PKB and PKS (Nabilah Muhamad, 2023).

As a result, Gerindra became the party most often chosen by young people under 30 years of age, with a vote share of 24.6%. The party led by Prabowo Subianto also excelled in the group of voters aged 30-39 years (19.7% of the vote), as well as those aged 40-49 years (19.1% of the vote).

Meanwhile, in the group of older respondents, the majority chose PDIP. PDIP's current advantage is in the older age segment over 50 years (LSI Denny JA in his online presentation material, Katadata.co.id, Tuesday, 19/12/2023).

In the segment of respondents aged 50 years and over, PDIP is ahead with 23.5% of the vote, while Gerindra has 17.4% as shown in the graph. The LSI Denny JA survey involved 1,200 respondents from various regions in Indonesia. The sample was selected using the multistage random sampling method.

Data collection was carried out on 20 November-3 December 2023 using the face-to-face interview method with a questionnaire. This survey has a margin of error of +/- 2.9%. is attached to the graph in Indonesian.



### *Gerindra Outperforms the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle*

According to the Kompas Research and Development survey, Gerindra is the political party participating in the 2024 Election with the highest electability in December 2023. The political party led by Prabowo Subianto achieved 21.9% electability, beating the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) which usually sits in the top position (Nabilah Muhamad, 2023).

Meanwhile, in December 2023 PDIP achieved 18.3% electability and was moved to second place.

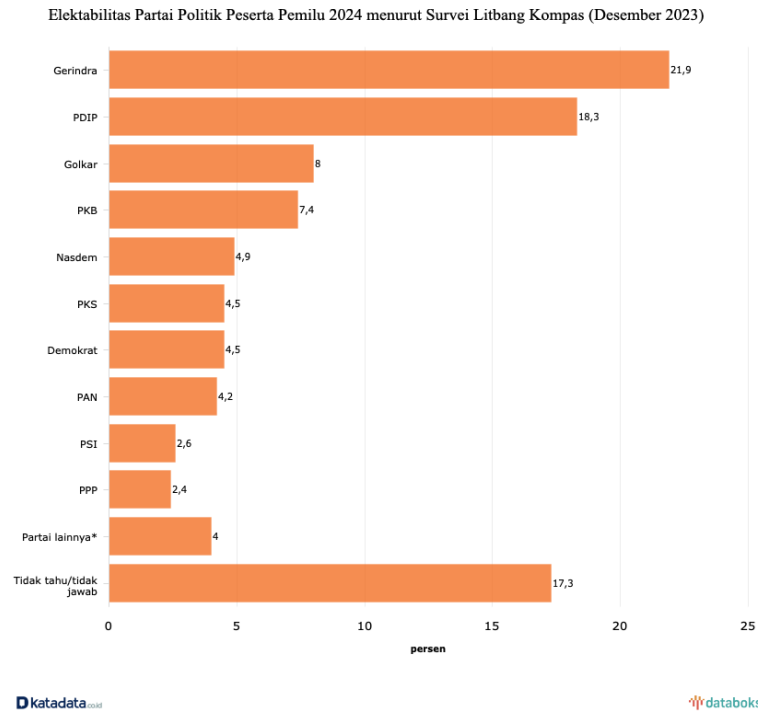
Below him was Golkar who won 8% of respondents' votes, followed by PKB 7.4%, Nasdem 4.9%, PKS 4.5%, Demokrat 4.5% and PAN 4.2%.

Then PSI, the party whose chairman is President Joko Widodo's son, Kaesang Pangarep, only received 2.6% of respondents' votes, not far from PPP which won 2.4%. Meanwhile, other parties, namely Perindo, Hanura, Labor Party, PBB, Garuda, Ummat Party and Gelora, cumulatively won 4% of respondents' votes.

There were also 17.3% of respondents who had not yet decided on their choice of political party.

This survey involved 1,364 respondents who were randomly selected using a multilevel systematic sampling method in 38 provinces of Indonesia.

Data collection was carried out on 29 November-4 December 2023 using the face-to-face interview method. This survey has a margin of error of +/- 2.65% at a 95% confidence level. is attached to the graph in Indonesian.



### *Electability of PDIP and Gerindra Compete in the Female Voter Group*

Electability of the Top 10 Political Parties Chosen by Female Voter Respondents in the 2024 Election Simulation (29 November-4 December 2023)

The results of the Kompas Research and Development survey show that the electability of the political parties (political parties) PDIP and Gerindra compete closely in the female voter group. It was recorded that these two parties were both chosen by 18.8% of female voter respondents in December 2023.

When compared with the previous Kompas R&D survey, PDIP electability in December 2023 fell by 4.6% from the previous 23.4% in the August 2023 survey (Nabilah Muhamad, 2023).

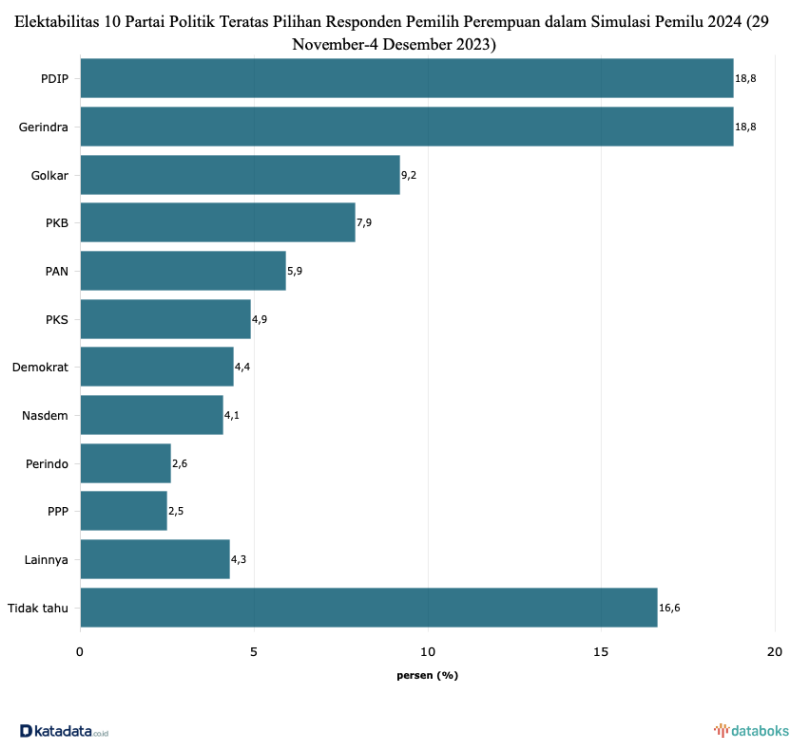
Meanwhile, Gerindra experienced an increase of 3.7% from the previous survey which only gained 15.1% of the vote in August 2023.

Next there is Golkar which won 9.2% of the votes from female voter respondents in December 2023. Then followed by PKB and PAN which respectively have electability of 7.9% and 5.9%. The rest of the parties received less than 5% of the votes as shown in the graph.

Meanwhile, there are still 16.6% of female voter respondents who have not yet decided on their political party choice. The campaign period until 10 February 2024 needs to be optimized with a more appropriate strategy that can retain loyal voters and solidify the choices of undecided voters. (R&D Kompas, Monday, 18/12/2023).

For the record, Kompas Research and Development has not detailed the number or proportion of female respondents involved in this survey. This Kompas R&D survey involved 1,364 respondents who were randomly selected using a multilevel systematic sampling method in 38 provinces in Indonesia on 29 November-4 December 2023 through face-to-face interviews.

The margin of error is around 2.65% and the confidence level is 95%, under simple random sampling conditions. is attached to the graph in Indonesian.



### ***Women Voters Prefer to Choose Legislative Candidates Over Parties in the 2024 Election***

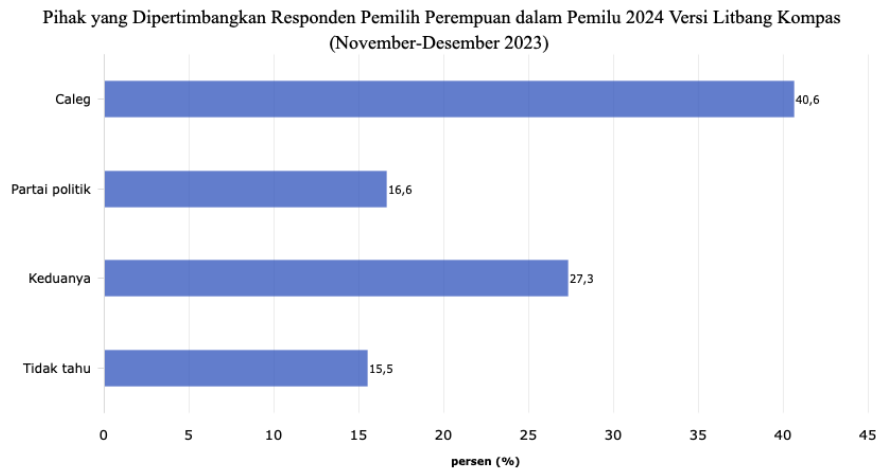
The latest Kompas Research and Development survey found that 40.6% of female respondents were considering legislative members (candidates) in the 2024 elections.

This proportion is higher than the group of female voters who consider political parties (parol), namely 16.6% (Nabilah Muhamad, 2023). This needs to be a concern for all political parties that will compete in the 2024 elections (Dewi Pancawati, Kompas, Monday, 18/12/2023).

There are also 27.3% of female voter respondents who consider both. Meanwhile, another 15.5% answered they didn't know. For the record, Kompas Research and Development has not disclosed the number or proportion of female respondents involved in this survey.

This Kompas R&D survey involved 1,364 respondents who were randomly selected using a multilevel systematic sampling method in 38 provinces in Indonesia on 29 November-4 December 2023 through face-to-face interviews.

The margin of error is around 2.65% and the confidence level is 95%, under simple random sampling conditions. is attached to the graph in Indonesian.



## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the discussion in this paper, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The General Election Commission (KPU) has released a report on the campaign funds of the presidential candidate (capres) and vice-presidential candidates (cawapres) for the 2024 Election. Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka was recorded as the largest, far surpassing Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD and Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar.
2. The transaction value of political party (political party) advertisements on social media reached IDR 4.8 billion from 1 April to 29 June 2023. The advertisements were made to get the audience to increase the party's popularity.
3. Golkar is the political party with the highest advertising spending on social media over the last three months, disbursing funds amounting to IDR 3.74 billion. This figure is quite far apart when compared to the advertising costs of other political parties.
4. Then the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) followed in second place with a nominal advertising expenditure of IDR 785.6 million. PSI's advertising expenditure is financed by the party itself. Then followed by the National Awakening Party (PKB) and Gerindra with nominal advertising costs on social media of IDR 195.7 million and IDR 49.18 million respectively, the rest is attached in the graph.
5. The Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) is in first place with the most advertisements, namely 1,277 advertisements. The total advertising expenditure for PSI's open campaign on television was IDR 42.84 billion, while Perindo was in second place for the party that advertised the most on television, with advertising expenditure of IDR 82.73 billion and 1,220 advertisements.
6. Electability of political parties (political parties) PDIP and Gerindra compete closely in the female voter group, these two parties were both chosen by 18.8% of female voter respondents. Gerindra's electability reached 19.5%, slightly ahead of PDIP which obtained 19.3%.

7. 5 major political parties were elected, namely Gerindra, PDIP, Golkar, PKB and PKS, Gerindra was the party most chosen by young people under 30 years of age, with a vote share of 24.6%.

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