

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aditya, N. R. (2022). Tak Lagi Jabat Ketua F-Nasdem, Ahmad Ali Mengaku Dapat Tugas Baru dari Surya Paloh. *Kompas.com*. Retrieved from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/02/07/22285481/tak-lagi-jabat-ketua-f-nasdem-ahmad-ali-mengaku-dapat-tugas-baru-dari-surya>
- Aditya, W. (2021a) *Dukung Pilkada Serentak Tetap 2024, PDIP Mau Jegal Anies Baswedan? ROSI (Bag 1)/Interviewer: Rossi*. Maju Mundur Pilkada Demi Nyapres, KompasTV, Youtube.
- Aditya, W. (2021b, Februari 5) *Jika Pilkada 2024 Tetap Digelar, Ini Resikonya- ROSI (Bag 3)/Interviewer: Rosi*. Maju Mundur Pilkada Demi Nyapres, KompasTV, Youtube.
- Agus, T. (2014). Beyond Measuring the Voice of the People: The Evolving Role of Political Polling in Indonesia's Local Leader Elections. *Southeast Asian Studies*, 3(1), 151__8211_.
- Aji, M. R. (2021). Hasil Rapimnas, Golkar Tolak Revisi UU Pemilu. Retrieved from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1439556/hasil-rapimnas-golkar-tolak-revisi-uu-pemilu>
- Anzia, S. F. (2012). Partisan power play: the origins of local election timing as an American political institution. *Studies in American Political Development*, 26(1), 24-49.
- Aspinal, E., & Meitzner, M. (2019). Indonesia's Democratic Paradox: Competitive Elections amidst Rising Illiberalism. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 295-317. doi:10.1080/00074918.2019.1690412
- Balmas, M., Rahat, G., Sheafer, T., & Shenhav, S. R. (2014). Two routes to personalized politics: Centralized and decentralized personalization. *Party Politics*, 20(1), 37-51.
- Benoit, K. (2007). Electoral laws as political consequences: Explaining the origins and change of electoral institutions. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 10, 363-390.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 77-101.
- Budi, A. (2016). *The Age of Personalized Parties: Survival and Revival of Party Personalization in the Philippines and Indonesia*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Ethics in Governance (ICONEG 2016).
- Budi, A. (2020). Less democracy, more centralism: the selection of Candidates by Golkar and PDIP in Indonesian subnational executive elections, 2005–2020. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 28(3), 236-255.
- Candraditya, V. J. (2021). Airlangga Hartarto Tegaskan Partai Golkar Tolak Revisi UU Pemilu. Retrieved from <https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2021/03/06/airlangga-hartarto-tegaskan-partai-golkar-tolak-revisi-uu-pemilu>
- Datta, A., Jones, H., Febriany, V., Harris, D., Dewi, R. K., Wild, L., & Young, J. (2011). Political parties and the parliament. In *The political economy of policy-making in Indonesia: Opportunities for improving the demand for and use of knowledge* (pp. 29-37). London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Davidson, J. S., & Mobrand, E. (2016). Rule Making and rule breaking: Electoral Corruption in East Asia. *Routledge Handbook of Corruption in Asia*, 85-98.
- Detikcom, T. (2021). Seorang Menteri Nasdem Bakal di-Reshuffle. Retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5537773/seorang-menteri-nasdem-bakal-di-reshuffle>

- DPR RI, S. (2019a). Daftar Anggota Komisi II. Retrieved 14 Juli 2022 <https://www.dpr.go.id/akd/index/id/Daftar-Anggota-Komisi-II>
- DPR RI, S. (2019b). Periode 2019-2024 Fraksi Partai Golongan Karya. Retrieved Oktober, 2022 <https://www.dpr.go.id/anggota/index/fraksi/2>
- DPR RI, S. (2019c). Periode 2019-2024 Fraksi Partai Nasdem. Retrieved Oktober 2022 <https://www.dpr.go.id/anggota/index/fraksi/20>
- DPR RI, S. (Producer). (2021). Seminar Online Quo Vadis RUU Pemilu. *LIVE STREAMING*. Retrieved from [youtube.com/watch?v=520DJzKOoCI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=520DJzKOoCI)
- Fusch Ph D, P. I., & Ness, L. R. (2015). Are we there yet? Data saturation in qualitative research.
- Ganghof, S. (2003). Promises and pitfalls of veto player analysis. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 9(2), 1-25.
- Ganghof, S. (2011). Veto player. *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, 2707-2709.
- Garzia, D. (2011). The personalization of politics in Western democracies: Causes and consequences on leader–follower relationships. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 22(4), 697-709.
- Garzia, D. (2019). *Personalization of politics and electoral change*: Springer.
- Gerring, J. (2008). Case selection for case-study analysis: Qualitative and quantitative techniques.
- Hafid, M. V. (2018). Konsensus Politik dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Partai Golkar tahun 2014-2016. *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, 15(1), 15-30.
- Haines, W. H. (1915). The Congressional Caucus of Today. *American Political Science Review*, 9(4), 696-706.
- Hidayah, A., & Perdana, A. (2019). Comparison of Female Legislative Candidate Selection Between the Nasdem Party in 2013 and the Unidos Podemos Party in 2015. *Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, 520-524.
- Hlady-Rispal, M., & Jouison-Laffitte, E. (2014). Qualitative Research Methods and Epistemological Frameworks: A Review of Publication Trends in Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Small Business Management*, 594-614.
- Holtz-Bacha, C., Langer, A. I., & Merkle, S. (2014). The personalization of politics in comparative perspective: Campaign coverage in Germany and the United Kingdom. *European Journal of Communication*, 29(2), 153-170.
- Hox, J. J., & Boeijs, H. R. (2005). Data collection, primary versus secondary. 593-599.
- Indonesia, C. (Producer). (2020). Utak Atik Ambang Batas Parlemen #LayarDemokrasi. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kp2o9fOf3Yk>
- Janda, K. (1983). Cross-National Measures of Party Organizations and Organizational Theory. *European Journal of Political Research*, 319-332.
- Jong, H. N. (2013). After extensive questioning, KPK detains Riau Governor. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/06/15/after-extensive-questioning-kpk-detains-riau-governor.html>
- Katz, R. S., & Mair, P. (1993). The Evolution of Party Organizations in Europe: The Three Faces of Party Organization. *The American Review of Politics*, 14, 593-617.

- Keahlian, B. (2020). *Resume Rancangan Undang-Undang Tentang Pemilihan Umum*. Badan Keahlian DPR RI
- Kodiyat, B. A., Siagian, A. H., & Andryan, A. (2020). The Effect Of Centralistic Political Party Policies In Selection Of Regional Heads In Medan City. *Indonesian Journal Of Education, Social Sciences Research*, 1(1), 59-70.
- König, T., & Junge, D. (2008). Veto player theory and consensus behaviour. In *Unveiling the Council of the European Union* (pp. 81-98): Springer.
- Liputan6, T. (2021). Fraksi Nasdem Batal Dukung Revisi UU Pemilu. Retrieved from <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/4476735/fraksi-nasdem-batal-dukung-revisi-uu-pemilu>
- Lupia, A., & McCubbins, M. D. (1994). Who controls? Information and the structure of legislative decision making. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 361-384.
- Merkel, W. (2003). *Institutions and reform policy: three case studies on the veto player theory* (Vol. 186): Citeseer.
- Mustopa, S. (2021a, Februari 2) 9 Fraksi DPR Terbelah Usulkan Bahas Revisi UU Pemilu/Interviewer: T. K. TV. KompasTV, Youtube.
- Mustopa, S. (2021b, Januari 27) Komisi II DPR Beri Penjelasan Soal Jadwal Pilkada 2022 dan 2023 Dalam Draft RUU Pemilu/Interviewer: C. Umam. Tribunnews, Youtube.
- Nasdem.id. (2021). Susunan Pengurus DPP. <https://nasdem.id/pengurus-dpp/>
- Pamungkas, S. (2009). *Perihal Pemilu*. Yogyakarta: Laboratorium Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan dan Jurusan Ilmu Pemerintahan FISIPOL UGM.
- Persada, S. (2021). Nasdem Berubah Sikap: Surya Paloh Tolak Revisi UU Pemilu, Dukung Pilkada 2024. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1430189/nasdem-berubah-sikap-surya-paloh-tolak-revisi-uu-pemilu-dukung-pilkada-2024>
- Purwaningsih, T., & Subekti, V. S. (2017). Political Family and Intra-Party Democracy in Indonesia.(A Study on the Political Recruitment of the Golkar Party during the Reform Era in South Sulawesi). *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan*, 8(1), 141-165.
- Putri, B. U. (2021a). Kader Wajib Pasang Baliho Airlangga Kerja untuk Indonesia, Golkar: Beliau Jibaku Tangani Covid. Retrieved from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1480060/kader-wajib-pasang-baliho-airlangga-kerja-untuk-indonesia-golkar-beliau-jibaku-tangani-covid>
- Putri, B. U. (2021b). NasDem Berubah Sikap: Surya Paloh Tolak Revisi UU Pemilu, Dukung Pilkada 2024. Retrieved from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1430189/nasdem-berubah-sikap-surya-paloh-tolak-revisi-uu-pemilu-dukung-pilkada-2024>
- Putri, B. U. (2021c). Peta Sikap Fraksi di DPR soal Pilkada 2024 dan Kelanjutan Revisi UU Pemilu. Retrieved from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1428280/peta-sikap-fraksi-di-dpr-soal-pilkada-2024-dan-kelanjutan-revisi-uu-pemilu/full&view=ok>
- Ramadhan, A. (2021a). Berubah Sikap, Golkar Ingin Revisi UU Pemilu Ditunda. Retrieved from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/02/08/10372571/berubah-sikap-golkar-ingin-revisi-uu-pemilu-ditunda?page=all>
- Ramadhan, A. (2021b). Elektabilitas Airlangga Masih Rendah, Waketum Golkar: Masih Ada 2 Tahun.

- Romli, L. (2018). Koalisi dan Konflik Internal Partai Politik pada Era Reformasi. *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 8(2).
- Samosir, H., Setiawan, D. M., & Margret, A. (2021). Meretas Jarak Afirmasi dan Administrasi: Studi Tentang Penerapan Kebijakan Afirmasi Pada Struktur DPP Partai Politik.
- Sartori, G. (2005). Party Types, Organisation and Functions. *West European Politics*, 5 - 32.
- Saunders, B., Sim, J., Kingstone, T., Baker, S., Waterfield, J., Bartlam, B., . . . Jinks, C. (2018). Saturation in qualitative research: exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality quantity*, 52(4), 1893-1907.
- Schlesinger, J. A. (1984). On the Theory of Party Organization. *The Journal of Politics*, 46, 369-400.
- Setiawan, R. (2021). DPR Plinplan Revisi UU Pemilu: Diusulkan Sendiri, Ditolak Sendiri. Retrieved from <https://tirto.id/dpr-plinplan-revisi-uu-pemilu-diusulkan-sendiri-ditolak-sendiri-f9N9>
- Setkab. (2022). Kabinet Pemerintahan Indonesia. Retrieved Mei 23, 2022 <https://setkab.go.id/profil-kabinet/>
- Sherlock, S. (2009). Parties and decision-making in the Indonesian Parliament: a case study of RUU APP, the Anti-Pornography Bill. *Australian Journal of Asian Law*, 10(2), 159-183.
- Sherlock, S. (2010). The parliament in Indonesia's decade of democracy: People's forum or chamber of cronies? *Problems of democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, institutions society*, 160-178.
- Silfita, F., Humaizi, H., & Kadir, A. (2019). Political Dynamics of Candidate Recruitment: A Case Study of Nasdem Party in Pilkada of North Sumatera in 2018. *International Journal of Multicultural Multireligious Understanding*, 6(3), 1026-1033.
- Soebagyo, F. (2019) *Revisi UU Pemilu Diwacanakan Pasca Putusan MK*/Interviewer: R. Nugraha. Warta Parlemen, Youtube.
- Tomsa, D. (2006). The defeat of centralized paternalism: factionalism, assertive regional cadres, and the long fall of Golkar Chairman Akbar Tandjung. *Indonesia*(81), 1-22.
- Tsebelis, G. (1995). Decision making in political systems: Veto players in presidentialism, parliamentarism, multicameralism and multipartyism. *British journal of political science*, 25(3), 289-325.
- Tsebelis, G. (2001). *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*.
- Tsebelis, G. (2011). Veto player theory and policy change: An introduction. In *Reform processes and policy change* (pp. 3-18): Springer.
- Turmudi, H., & Muchtar, K. (2021). Komunikasi Politik Elite Golkar Dalam Rekonsiliasi Dualisme Kepemimpinan Partai. In: Jurusan Manajemen Dakwah Fakultas Dakwah dan Komunikasi UIN Sunan Gunung
- Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. United States of America Library of Congress Catalogin-in-Publication Data: SAGE Publication.
- Yudistira, Y. (2015). Pelembagaan Partai Nasdem. *Jurnal Mahasiswa Ilmu Pemerintahan Universitas Brawijaya*, 1.