

Politics of Entrepreneurship

(Study of the Role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in Shaping Businessmen and Politicians in Malang Raya in the 2024 Legislative Election)

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ABSTRACT

Democracy provides an open space for all citizens to be involved and participate in electoral political activities, such as elections. This openness allows entrepreneurs to also be directly involved in practical political activities. Previously, many entrepreneurs were supporters of legislative candidates and officials in the executive. This is because political campaigns require large funds, including the cost of installing campaign equipment, organizing events, advertising in the media, and operational costs of the campaign team. This causes many prospective legislative members, especially those who do not have strong economic support, to hope for assistance from third parties, namely entrepreneurs. Now entrepreneurs are no longer political players behind the scenes, but have become political actors on the front stage. According to the political economy theory of legislators put forward by Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast (1981), which states that legislators behave rationally to maximize their personal interests in the political world. This study expands the theory about the existence of entrepreneurs, after entering the world of politics, can use the assets and networks they have for electoral victory, starting from recognition (popularity, likeability), to electability). This is also a theoretical novelty in this study. In addition, there is also a practical novelty, namely the role of the Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) organization in forming entrepreneur-politicians who become legislative members in the 2024 Election. This research is a qualitative study, data collection techniques are carried out by in-depth interviews with various main informants and supporting informants consisting of the founders and administrators of the NGG mass organization, legislative candidates, winning teams and candidate volunteers, and voters. To obtain valid data, cross-checking (triangulation) is carried out on the informants and data submitted. This is done with a variety of informants interviewed in each informant group. This research was conducted for one year, starting in 2024 to mid-2025. To support validity of the research, also displayed documents in the form of photographs of research activities, and photographs related to the object of research. This research contributes to the theory of political economy, and practically contributes to general election policies, especially Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, especially in the article on financing legislative candidates.

Keywords: Entrepreneurs-politicians, Entrepreneurial politics, Political economy.

1. INTRODUCTION

The general election (Election) is a challenge for the people to get a representative of the people/candidate for leader at the legislative level. On the other hand, elections also provide opportunities for the nation's children to become candidates for legislative members, both at the central, provincial, and district and city levels. Being a legislative member of course does not only talk about duties and responsibilities, but also talks about income, salary, and various facilities that will be obtained when legislative members are elected and considered to be state officials at the legislative level.

This, of course, is directly correlated with the efforts of legislative candidates to manage the best strategy to win and not be less competitive to occupy seats in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, DPD, and Provincial DPRD as well as districts and cities. In addition, the existence of a complex multiparty system and the large number of parties cause confusion in the community and result in the emergence of golput skepticism both in terms of

parties and candidate contestants (Mondir and Hermanto, 2020). These problems are a lesson in the next election to understand the significance of their votes in the election process.

Political dynamics in Indonesia are currently experiencing quite rapid development, as shown by the attitude of the public who are looking forward to the holding of elections openly and transparently, as well as starting to observe and observe the candidates involved in political contests both from the supporting party and the proposed candidates. In the 2024 election, it shows an increase in public interest and involvement supported by Bawaslu's efforts in targeting youth in increasing youth participation. However, political polarization has caused concern in the community, so that the political world experiences stronger competition. This is a challenge for political contestants to strengthen their strategy that they deserve to be elected by the public.

Indonesia has a democratic system that provides space for people to continue to play an active role in national development, especially through direct elections (Wibisono, et al., 2023; Bachtiar, 2014). In Law number 7 of 2017 concerning general elections, elections not only play a role as a means for the community to elect people's representatives, but elections also function as a mechanism in choosing leaders who have direct responsibility to the community in their respective regions to realize people's sovereignty (Maria and Marendra, 2020).

Democracy provides an open space for all people to engage and participate in electoral political activities, such as elections. This openness allows entrepreneurs to also be directly involved in practical political activities. Previously, many businessmen were supporters of legislative candidates and officials in the executive. Political campaigns require a lot of funds, including the cost of installing props, organizing events, advertising in the media, and operating costs for successful teams. This has led many legislative candidates, especially those who do not have strong economic support, to rely on help from third parties, namely businessmen.

Financial support from entrepreneurs is basically not a violation of the law, as long as it is done openly, transparently, and in accordance with applicable regulations. Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections has set a maximum contribution limit for campaigns of Rp2.5 billion for individuals and Rp25 billion for legal entities or companies. However, in practice, legal loopholes are often used to disguise the flow of funds, with many donations made by individuals and corporations that exceed the provisions regulated by laws and regulations, under pretext and reasons (Simarmata, 2020).

The General Election Commission (KPU) and the Lingga Regency Bawaslu were examined by the Honorary Council of Election Organizers (DKPP) for receiving the Campaign Fund Receipt and Expenditure Report (LPPDK) from the Nasdem Party which had been revoked before the audit process was completed. This resulted in the legislative candidate from the party being declared null and void as a participant in the 2024 Election (DKPP, 2024). In addition, the Depok City KPU and an elected legislative candidate were reported to Bawaslu for not uploading LPPDK through the Campaign Information System and Campaign Funds (Sikadeka) until the set deadline. Bawaslu has conducted a hearing with an examination agenda related to this administrative violation (Juliansyah, 2024). Bawaslu recorded 1,023 alleged violations during the 2024 election, with 479 of them proven to be violations. Of these, 69 were administrative violations, 39 alleged election crimes, 248 violations of the code of ethics, and 125 other violations of the law (Bawaslu, 2024). The Center for Financial Transaction Reporting and Analysis (PPATK) revealed that during the 2024 election campaign period, there was a significant spike in suspicious transaction reports allegedly related to money laundering crimes. Some campaign activities were carried out without any transaction movements in the Special Campaign Fund Account (RKDK), which raised doubts about the source of campaign financing. In addition, PPATK found that a number of election participants were not compliant in reporting campaign funds, by manipulating reports so that they did not reflect the actual situation. This shows possible violations in the management of campaign funds (Susanti, 2023).

In this context, the reason why entrepreneurs provide support to legislative candidates is inseparable from pragmatic interests. They not only want to support candidates who align with a particular ideology or program, but also hope to be rewarded in the form of access to power, legal protection, or ease of licensing and business. In a study by Faisal, Barid, and Mulyanto (2020) in the journal *Integrity: Anti-Corruption Journal*, it was found that the relationship between the party management elite and businessmen is very strong, and financing is one of the main points in the party's internal dynamics. They stated, "the influence of the party management elite has become very significant in determining the direction of party policy," which implicitly indicates a contributory influence on the decision-making process.

When a legislative candidate makes it to parliament with the support of large funds from businessmen, the potential for a high conflict of interest arises. Legislation that should be in the public interest may be turned around to serve the interests of funders. This phenomenon has become increasingly visible in recent years, with the emergence of policies that are full of business interests, such as the Job Creation Law, which has been widely criticized for being considered more favorable to investors than workers. In such conditions, democracy can be distorted, where the voice of the people is suppressed by the power of capital.

The reality of elections that require large costs opens up opportunities for domination by groups with economic power. Many reports show that legislative candidates from business circles have a greater chance of winning than candidates from civil society backgrounds. As stated by Ratnasari (2024) in his thesis at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, "campaign funds are statistically significant in increasing vote acquisition and can explain 20.7% of the total factors that affect a candidate's vote. These findings reinforce the assumption that the involvement of employers in funding candidates has a real impact on election results.

A report from Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) emphasizes that there is still a discrepancy between the reality of the campaign and the campaign fund report submitted to the KPU. Some political parties and legislative candidates reported minimal use of campaign funds, even though their campaign activities showed the opposite. This phenomenon shows the weak accountability system in the supervision of political funds. Setiawan and Maryanah (2023) in the Nusantara Journal stated that "often the campaign fund reports submitted do not reflect the actual conditions of the income and expenditure of campaign funds of the candidate pairs." This indicates that data manipulation practices are quite systematic and difficult to detect without an in-depth forensic audit.

The involvement of entrepreneurs in campaign finance also has an impact on the exclusivity of access to politics. Politics has become an exclusive arena that can only be accessed by those who have the power of capital, either directly or through funding networks. Ordinary people or activists who have a spirit of change but do not have funds will have a hard time finding their way in a highly competitive and high-cost political structure. This moves away from the ideals of inclusive participatory democracy and makes elections an oligarchic tool that maintains the status quo.

This phenomenon also has implications for the quality of long-term public policy. When legislators feel indebted to their contributors, independence in formulating policies is hampered. Policies emanating from parliament tend to favor the economic interests of the elite rather than the needs of the wider community. In many cases, people-friendly legislative initiatives are often sidelined by stronger interests in terms of financing.

From a legal point of view, the current campaign fund reporting system is still not strong enough to effectively monitor the flow of funds involving entrepreneurs. Regulations do exist, but the supervision does not run optimally. The weak capacity of supervisory institutions and the lack of transparency are major obstacles in efforts to build a clean and fair democratic system.

Now entrepreneurs are not only supporters of political parties, or political candidates at the executive and legislative levels, but also directly involved as candidates for legislative members and/or executive officials, then elected. Data released by several institutions shows that many businessmen are involved in practical politics, especially those who become officials at the legislative level. As released by Investor Trust Id. According to information published by investortrust.id, members of the House of Representatives from businessmen still dominate the legislative composition. About 200 members of the House of Representatives out of a total of 580 members of the House of Representatives for the 2024-2029 period, or 34.5%, have a background as businessmen before entering politics as politicians or legislators. This figure does not include those who are *beneficial owners* but are not registered in the company structure. The second position is filled by members of the House of Representatives who come from activist or volunteer backgrounds, with a total of 59 individuals or 10.2%.

There has been an increase in the number of entrepreneurs who have become legislative members from the 2019 election to the 2024 election. In the 2019 Tempo and Auriga Nusantara releases, at least 262 members of the House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 period came from businessmen. This businessman is recorded as having share ownership, occupying the position of commissioner, and serving as a director in various companies. The 2020 Marepus Cornet research entitled Map of Businessmen in Parliament: Portraits of Oligarchs in Indonesia also noted that, in accordance with the change between times, there are 55 percent of members of the House of Representatives who are businessmen from various fields. There are a total of 318 members of the House of Representatives involved

in business. In other words, if calculated, about 5-6 out of every 10 members of the House of Representatives are businessmen. Of the 11 DPR commissions, 8 commissions have the highest number of businessmen (Detik.com, 2022).

According to a political psychology expert at the University of Indonesia, Hamdi Muluk, there are 63 percent of members of the House of Representatives (DPR) who also run businesses. "The tendency is that entrepreneurs are attracted to the legislative realm because they see opportunities," he said. "There are a number of entrepreneurs, namely 63 percent, whose business is related to state budget projects. That's because from the beginning, they have paid attention to the size of the budget and there are those who have previously 'played' there (Senayan), such as contractors." After being officially inaugurated on October 1, 2019, the members of the House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 period immediately started their duties. Of the 575 members of the House of Representatives, 262 have a background as businessmen. They are recorded as owning shares, serving as commissioners, and occupying board seats in 1,016 companies. In addition, their business fields include the broadcasting sector, general trade, and extractive industries. Meanwhile, there are 313 members from non-entrepreneur backgrounds (Tempo, 2019).

One of the main reasons why Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) encourages the entry of entrepreneurs into the world of practical politics is that so far political leadership, both at the national and local levels, has experienced leadership disorientation as mandated by the nation's founders. There are so many political figures who are tempted to abuse power, because of the high economic needs factor, with the mode of abuse of public office for economic purposes. So, to minimize this, political positions at various levels and segments need to be held by people who are successful and economically successful. When likened, politics and economics are two interconnected and inseparable wings. When they go hand in hand, they can make a great contribution to the progress of a region or even a nation and state. Leadership at the regional and national levels that is able to combine these two aspects is believed to be the path to progress and development success.

Leadership at various levels, global, national, including local, is a strategic *stakeholder* in designing and implementing innovation programs in environmental management and community empowerment in a region so that in this case strong local leadership is needed from the resources possessed by the individual both in terms of knowledge, expertise, competence, experience, and leadership vision (Garis, et al, 2023; Bahrianoor and Juwita, 2021). One of the considerations in this context is the involvement of entrepreneurs in the political world, because economically entrepreneurs have the ability to meet their living needs, so they are not too dependent on the state budget, or salaries and other income that comes from government funds.

Based on this, regional leaders such as DPRD members have roles and challenges to encourage change at the local level by understanding the needs in the regions through communication with the community. This is also in line with the efforts of the Nusantara Gilang Gemilang organization which trains and prepares future leaders through leadership development programs.

Leadership regeneration is one of the key aspects that attract the attention of legislative candidates, not only focusing on community empowerment in the economic and social fields. In this regeneration, leadership skills are also developed and effective political marketing strategies are also carried out, especially in utilizing social media as a campaign *platform* so as to strengthen the political branding of members in the eyes of the public.

Political marketing that combines marketing science with political science has become one of the keys to success in winning elections, where effective communication through various platforms can influence public opinion and increase voter participation (Rizkia et al., 2022). Communication through these campaign activities is important to convey strategies and messages about political education for the wider community (Boestam, et al., 2023; Nur, 2019). Political message packaging is also an important instrument when carrying out political campaigns because it builds positive perceptions in the community, especially in realizing the promises that have been conveyed during the campaign. (Ahmad, 2013; Zunaira and Ruliana, 2022).

An example that can be taken is that during Joko Widodo's candidacy as the 2019 Presidential Election, Jokowi not only applied *the face-to-face communication* model as a strategy to win the hearts of the people, but Jokowi also campaigned through social media as another strategy to convey the messages and promises of the candidate pair (Fadiyah & Simorangkir, 2021; Aji, 2014). This variety of incidents of political communication behavior will be a mirror for political elites, political parties, and the government to continue to interact, interact, pressure each other, and seek mutual benefits behind the failure or success of political games (Ahmad, 2013).

In Indonesia, regions such as Malang Raya recorded an increase in voter participation as reported in Radar Malang news, the total Permanent Voter List (DPT) in 2024 in the Malang Raya region experienced an increase of 100,389 voters compared to the 2019 election and did not include the additional potential of potential voters (Wicaksana, 2023). The data shows an increase in voters who exercise their voting rights which has the potential to achieve the expected target compared to the 2019 election. Public participation is starting to increase because more and more people understand the importance of contributing to elections, especially in having figures who are able to keep promises, prosper the community, and have a clear vision and mission. (Hidayansyah, et al., 2018). In addition, in the 2013 regional elections in Malang City, participation was influenced by factors of length of stay, political socialization, and curiosity about the performance of regional head candidates (Usfinit, et al., 2014). This shows that the community has begun to be careful in choosing the desired leader candidate.

Not only did public involvement and participation increase during elections, but also the involvement and participation of various groups who participated in being part of the election contestants, especially as legislative candidates. One of the records in Malang Raya is the number of entrepreneurs who are directly involved in running as legislative members at various levels, both at the center, provincial, and at the district/city level.

Based on this context, Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) can be a forum for entrepreneurs who enter the world of politics as entrepreneurs as well as politicians. Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) has a role in preparing various important instruments in the involvement of entrepreneurs to engage in practical politics, ranging from giving encouragement, inspiration, to winning strategies with various community empowerment programs disseminated through *branding* and political marketing.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Political Economy Theory

Political economy is understood as the relationship between political elements, processes, and institutions with economic activities, such as: production, investment, prices, trade, consumption, distribution, and others (Caporaso & Levine, 1992). Thus, for Caporaso and Levine, political economy explores and discusses the interconnectedness of various elements related to economics and politics. This means that every element in economics and politics has an inseparable connection. In addition, it can be explained that every process in the economic field is related to the political process. On the other hand, the political process is also closely related to the economy. The political process affects the economic process, and the economic process also has an impact on the political process. Similarly, economic institutions or actors (actors) are inseparable from political actors, and political actors will not be far from economic actors; These two actors are interconnected and related. This is the focus of the study of political communication, namely how the relationship, linkage, and interrelationship between the two can be realized and their impact. Overall, all activities related to economics, in practice, will be closely related to politics, be it political processes, political actors, or political policies. Political policy will certainly be directly connected, because individuals who have power in certain political positions, especially at the state level, have the authority to regulate, control, and distribute everything related to production, trade, consumption, and so on.

2.2. Role Theory

Role theory originated from a theatrical metaphor in which the actors in a performance were limited to performing parts of a predetermined script. This is in line with social behaviors associated with roles and scenarios understood by social actors. Thus, role theory can be focused on three concepts, namely: patterned and characterful social behavior, the part or identity assumed by the social actor, and the script or expectation of the behavior that the individual understands and fulfills (Biddle, 1986).

Role can be defined as the behavior or attitude or social expectations of an individual or group towards the position, status, and things that that individual or group must do towards society (Mailisa, 2022). In addition, it is also interpreted as a concept in sociology and social psychology that refers to daily activities as actions based on socially determined categories (Biddle, 1986). According to Biddle & Thomas, role theory consists of two devices, namely the subject device and the behavioral device. The subject device is a person who is behaving in the role either individually or in a group, while the behavioral device is the end result or manifestation of the expected goal regardless of how to achieve the goal (Nurhaiza, et al., 2021).

2.3. Theory of Democracy

The theory of democracy is one of the main foundations in political studies that discusses the type of government in which power is in the hands of the people. In its development, the concept of democracy has been elaborated and analyzed by various thinkers and political scientists with varied approaches, both normatively and empirically. Etymologically, the word "democracy" comes from the Greek, namely "*demos*" which means society, and "*kratos*" which means power or government. Thus, democracy can be understood as government by the community. The concept was first applied in its original form in ancient Athens in the 5th century BC, although only a small portion of the population (male adult citizens) had the right to participate.

According to Joseph Schumpeter in his classic work *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942), democracy is not only about the direct participation of society, but is an institutional method of achieving political decisions. Schumpeter stated that democracy is a system in which individuals gain the power to make decisions through competition for the votes of the people. This view is known as minimalist or procedural democracy theory, which emphasizes the importance of competitive and free elections as a key mechanism of democracy, without overemphasizing the broader participatory dimension.

Robert A. Dahl, a leading figure in contemporary democracy research, developed the concept of polyarchy to describe the ideal form of modern democracy. In his book *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (1971), Dahl emphasized two important dimensions of democracy: inclusive participation and political competition. Polyarchy, according to Dahl, is a system that has institutions such as free and fair elections, freedom of opinion, access to alternative information, and the right to association. For Dahl, democracy meant not only electoral procedures, but also guarantees of civil rights and political freedom of citizens.

2.4. Political Theory

Politics comes from the Greek *polis* meaning city-state. At that time, people interacted with each other to achieve well-being in their lives. When humans try to determine their position in society, they try to achieve their own welfare and try to influence others to accept their views so that this activity is called politics (Anggara, 2013:3). According to KBBI, politics is (knowledge) of all affairs and actions regarding the constitution (such as the system of government, the basis of government), the government of the state or against the state. The definition of politics according to Gabriel A. Almond *et.al.*, in (Anggara, 2013:3), "... Activities related to the control of public decisions in a given society in a particular region, where this control is supported through authoritative (legally authorized) and coercive (coercive in nature)." Politics refers to the use of these authoritative and coercive instruments—who has the right to use them and for what purpose."

2.5. Likelihood Elaboration Theory

The Elaboration Likelihood *Theory* is a theory developed by Richard E. Petty and John T. Cacioppo, persuasive communication experts from Ohio State University in the United States in 1980 (Anandra, et al., 2020). This theory is basically about persuasive theory. This theory explains that a person's attitude can be formed permanently or temporarily depending on the way a person processes the delivery of the message (Perbawaningsih, 2012). Permanent attitudes arise when the process of motivation, opportunity, and ability is able to elaborate on the content of a persuasive message while temporary occurs when motivation, opportunity, and ability to elaborate the content of the message are low or non-existent (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). According to this theory, there are two ways in which people process information, namely carrying messages through the central road and through the *peripheral* route (Wahyudi, 2022).

This theory explains that individuals who are in the choice of the central path usually have a high education. The community will focus on the content of the message and then translate and integrate the meaning of the message by weighing and comparing the message and the knowledge possessed by the individual critically and carefully (Anandra, et al., 2020; Wahyudi, 2022). So that the results achieved will be of higher quality and give rise to strong positive or negative attitudes (Anandra, et al., 2020). The things that affect the *central route* are the quality of information, the quality of arguments, and other variables that are appropriate in accordance with technological media,

in addition to the change in attitude of the route is long-term, consistent and can predict behavior (Shahab, et al., 2021).

2.6. Impression Management Theory

Impression management is the behavior of a person who strives to create, maintain, and protect their self-image as well as control how others perceive them (Ariani, 2014). Impression management theory is the result of a theory developed from the dramaturgy theory by Erving Goffman where it is stated that when a person appears a motive to try to control the impression and use techniques to maintain a certain impression in front of others (Saptanti, 2020). When a person is motivated to process their impressions, the impression they want to convey is automatically influenced by the role they take such as about norms in the social context, individual values that can be of concern, their self-concept, and about their desired and undesirable self (Leary, 2001).

Impression management has an important role in politics and the outcome of elections is also often influenced by the appearance and behavior style of candidates to gain their image to other parties (Patterson, 2017). The main categories of impression management strategies are divided into two parts, namely (Ariani, 2014):

- 1) Defensive strategies, used in response to poor performance such as excuses, apologies, obstacles or limitations, feelings of pressure and helplessness.
- 2) An assertive strategy, used to build a certain reputation for a specific target and not a reaction to situational demand.

2.7. Participation Theory

Participation theory refers to the involvement of individuals or groups in a development process. Etymologically, the term "participation" comes from the English word participation, which means participation or participation (Partan & Al-Barry, 2006). In the context of development, participation includes the active role of the community, both in the form of statements and concrete actions, by contributing in the form of thoughts, energy, time, expertise, capital, and other resources. In addition, participation also includes utilizing and enjoying the results of the development (Sumaryadi, 2010).

Mubyarto (1997) defines participation as the willingness of individuals to support the success of a program according to their respective capacities, without having to sacrifice personal interests. Meanwhile, Arimbi (1993) defines participation as a two-way communication mechanism that takes place in a sustainable manner, where the community plays the role of receiver as well as conveyor of information in interaction with the government as a policy maker (Laily, 2015). Fasli Djalal and Dedi Supriadi (2001) expand the definition of participation by stating that community involvement is not only in the form of expressing opinions, but also includes contributions in the form of goods, skills, materials, and services. Participation can also be realized through independent problem identification, study of various alternative solutions, and collective decision-making.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Research Approach

This research is a qualitative approach with a descriptive analysis method. According to Bogdan and Taylor, qualitative research methods are research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observed behaviors (Nugrahani, 2014). The term qualitative according to Denzin and Lincoln implies an emphasis on processes and meanings that are not rigorously studied or have not been measured in terms of quantity, quantity, intensity, or frequency (Nugrahani, 2014). In general, descriptive research is described in research texts that are at the bottom of the hierarchy of quantitative research design (Sandelowski, 2000).

3.2. Research Focus

The focus of this research is twofold, taken from two theories. *First*, according to Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast, political economy theory deals with legislators and political party institutions. According to Shepsle and Weingast, there are several things related to the political economy theory of legislators, *first*, the occurrence of exchange, *second*, the existence of profits, *third*, the effort to gain and maintain power (Shepsle and Weingast, 1994).

Based on the political economy theory, the first focus of this study is the practice of political economy on the involvement of entrepreneurs as candidates in the 2024 election in the Malang Raya constituency, with the following indicators:

- 1) Exchange occurrence
- 2) Advantages
- 3) Attempts to gain power

Second, according to the opinion of Scott et al. (1981), there are five main characteristics of role theory: (1) it is impersonal; (2) relating to the conduct of certain tasks; (3) difficult to control due to ambiguity; (4) can be learned quickly; and (5) differ from work in that one individual can play multiple roles at once.

Based on this theory, the focus of these two studies is the role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in producing businessmen and politicians as legislative members in the 2024 election in the Malang Raya Dapil. The second focus indicators are:

- 1) Impersonal
- 2) Relating to the behavior of a specific task
- 3) Difficult to control due to ambiguity
- 4) Can be learned quickly
- 5) One individual can play multiple roles at once

3.3. Informants

The informants in this study consisted of the main informant and the supporting informant. The main informants are administrators and members of the Gilang Gemilang Nusantara Organization from the Greater Malang region who are running as legislative candidates in the 2024 elections. In addition, interviews were conducted with the winning team of entrepreneurs who are candidates for legislative members, as well as voters who voted for entrepreneurs in the 2024 legislative election. The supporting informants are the voters of legislative candidates. The following are the informants who were interviewed in depth.

Table 1. Informants Interviewed in Depth

No	Name	Initials	Attribution
1	H. Bayu Rekso Aji, A.Md	B-R-A	Member of the Malang City DPRD
2	Lukman Hakim	L-H	Volunteer H. Bayu Rekso Aji, A.Md, Member of the Malang City DPRD
3	Friyan Dwi	F-D	Volunteer H. Rendra, Member of the Malang City DPRD
4	Andi Tri Cahyono	A-T-C	Volunteer H. Rendra, Member of the Malang City DPRD
5	Puguh Wiji Pamungkas	P-W-P	Member of the East Java Provincial Parliament
6	Puji Atmoko	P-A	A Tribute to the Late Spaniard, Member of the East Java Provincial Parliament
7	Totok Winarno	T-W	Volunteer H. Rokhmad, Member of the Malang City DPRD
8	Herman Ali Sadikin	H-A-S	Chairman of NGG for the 2019-2024 Period
9	Fahmi Muhajir	F-M	Founder of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG)
10	H. Rokhmad, S.Sos	R-H	Member of the Malang City DPRD
11	Suryadi	S-Y	Volunteer H. Rokhmad, Member of the Malang City DPRD
12	Ihsan Basori	I-B	Volunteer H. Bayu Rekso Aji, Member of the Malang City DPRD
13	Nurul Fitriya	N-F	Voters
14	Cindy Ramadhani	C-R	Voters

15	Samsul Arifin	S-A	Voters
16	Imam Abdul Hamid	I-A-H	Voters
17	Qossam Abdillah	Q-A	Voters
18	Fadrian Kwartady	F-K	Voters
19	Agus	A-G	Voters
20	Refa Nataliano Sulihanta	R-N-S	Voters

3.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis techniques used in this study are as follows:

1) Qualitative Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is the process of searching for data and systematically compiling data obtained from both through interviews, field notes, and documentation, by organizing data into categories, describing it into units, synthesizing, arranging it into patterns, which ends with making conclusions, so that it is easy to understand by yourself and others (Abdul, 2020)

2) Descriptive Analysis

The analysis technique in this qualitative research is using descriptive techniques or more specifically using interactive methods. Miles, Huberman, and Saldana. The analysis components used by the researcher are the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana as follows (Wanto, 2018): Data Condensation, Data Display and Conclusions Drawing.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. Economic-Political Practices of Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections in Malang Raya

The involvement of businessmen in practical political activities has been going on for a long time. Although it has been going on for a long time, discussions about the existence of businessmen in the world of practical politics, especially in legislative elections, have not yet become a special discussion in discussions and scientific studies published in national and international journals. Moreover, in the case of politics at the regional/local level. The practice of political economy in the context of elections, which involves businessmen-politicians, is a phenomenon that reflects the direct participation of capital owners in the electoral political process, as active participants, no longer just as important funders. This phenomenon shows the existence of a reciprocal relationship between economic power and political authority that strengthen each other. From the perspective of political economy theory, this relationship is not just a pragmatic coincidence, but is part of the logic of the political capitalist system that harmonizes business and state interests in order to access, control, and own public resources. When businessmen decide to become legislative candidates, they bring financial resources, business networks, and capital power into the political realm. This capital is used to fund campaigns, build a public image, and mobilize support. In many situations, the financial wealth of businessmen-politicians makes them superior to other candidates.

In practice, businessmen-politicians often use economic resources to finance campaigns through various forms of political spending: money politics, donations of goods, large-scale advertising, and funding of surveys and political consultants. These strategies aim to build the perception of popularity and electability in the eyes of the public. On the other hand, the involvement of businessmen in politics also opens up opportunities for conflicts of interest, where power is used to formulate policies that support personal interests or certain business groups. This is in line with C. Wright Mills' (1956) argument about the "power elite," where economic and political elites overlap and form an oligarchy that dominates important decision-making in society.

In the context of developing countries, including Indonesia, the phenomenon of businessmen-politicians also shows that elections often become an arena to demonstrate the power of capital, not just a contestation of ideas. Candidates with large capital tend to control media space, campaign logistics, and local elite networks. As a result, the democratic process becomes very expensive, so that only a few candidates from the grassroots can compete. The impact is that political representation becomes class biased, where the interests of capital owners are more accommodated than the aspirations of ordinary people. Antonio Gramsci (1971) in the concept of "hegemony" explains that the dominance of the money-owning class does not always occur through coercion, but through the influence of institutional structures that have been adjusted to maintain power.

In addition, the economic-political practices of businessmen-politicians also often create patronage relationships between politicians and voters. Through the distribution of money or goods, businessmen-politicians build short-term loyalty from constituents, but without strong ideological ties. This phenomenon is called "clientelism," where the relationship between representatives and the people is built on the exchange of pragmatic benefits, not on long-term policy commitments. This practice weakens the substance of democracy because it shifts attention from programmatic debates to transactional relations.

Overall, the political-economic practices of businessmen-politicians in elections are seen as oligarchic tendencies in electoral democracy. Their involvement is driven by the logic of exchange between economic resources and political power, as well as the motivation to control the legislative process and budget allocation for personal interests. This challenges the idealism of democracy as a system that should provide equal access to all citizens to influence policy direction. Without strong control and transparency mechanisms, democracy risks being reduced to an arena for capital competition, not genuine popular participation.

This research involving political entrepreneurs who entered the world of politics in the 2024 Election as legislative candidates is reviewed with the political economy theory put forward by Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast. According to Shepsle and Weingast, the political economy theory of legislators, first, the occurrence of exchange, second, the existence of benefits, third, efforts to gain and maintain power (Shepsle and Weingast, 1994).

4.1.1. The Occurrence of Exchanges in Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections in Malang Raya

Mutually beneficial interaction is understood as a process of social relations involving reciprocity between individuals or groups to achieve certain benefits. In practice, this concept applies not only to everyday social interactions, but also in the context of power and economy, for example in the relationship between entrepreneurs and the political world. When an entrepreneur takes the initiative to enter the political realm, the exchange process that occurs is not only in the form of material, but also includes symbolic exchange, power, and strategic resources. Theoretically, exchange in this context can be explained through the social exchange theory approach formulated by George C. Homans and expanded by Peter M. Blau. Homans (1961) stated that every human social action is controlled by efforts to achieve rewards and avoid negative consequences (punishments), so that social interactions tend to take place as long as they provide benefits to all parties involved. In the context of entrepreneurs who turn into politicians, their actions in entering the political world can be interpreted as an effort to secure and expand their assets, including access to public policy, power networks, and social legitimacy. Peter Blau (1964) added that social exchange is not always clear and calculative, but can appear in more complex forms, such as social reciprocity and power exchange. In this case, businessmen who work as politicians may not directly ask for material rewards, but can use their position to strengthen their business influence, create a more credible self-image, or gain access to strategic information that was previously unreachable by the private sector. Thus, this exchange process is multidimensional, uniting economic, political, and symbolic elements in a network of mutually beneficial relationships. James S. Coleman (1990) in social capital theory also emphasizes that social relationships and trust networks can function as a means to achieve certain goals. When businessmen move into the political realm, they utilize the social capital that has been built through business relationships to garner political support, while at the same time they also offer economic and logistical resources to political parties or certain interest groups. This process is a form of strategic exchange, where power and resources are exchanged to achieve institutional and individual goals. In practice, these businessmen-politicians can also use the state power structure to support their business interests, which in many cases raises concerns about corruption, collusion, and nepotism. However, from the perspective of exchange theory, this is not just a deviation, but rather a logical consequence of an unbalanced exchange system, where one party has greater resources to influence the decision-making process. Emerson (1962) stated that an imbalance in power and dependency will create an unequal exchange structure, where the stronger party can dominate the other party in the process of social interaction. In this case, entrepreneurs who have financial power and extensive networks find it easier to gain access to strategic positions in politics, while also influencing the direction of public policy. Therefore, exchange in the practice of entrepreneurs who adopt the role of politicians is a form of reciprocal social interaction, where both parties—entrepreneurs and the political system—give and receive benefits. This exchange is not only limited to the economic dimension, but also

includes power, legitimacy, information, and broader social networks. Exchange theory allows us to understand this process as part of the dynamics of power relations that occur in modern society.

The exchange that takes place between businessmen who turn into politicians, especially prospective council members, can be analyzed in more depth using the institutional rational political economy theory approach proposed by Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast. Both theorists emphasize the significance of institutions and strategic calculations of actors in understanding political dynamics, including in the legislative context. They are based on the assumption that politicians are rational actors who seek to maximize their interests within the framework of existing institutions. Including in maximizing the resources they have to gain greater power, namely political power. When becoming a political official, they have two wings of power, the first wing is money obtained from business or business results, and the second wing is politics which has the power to control various state resource policies.

4.1.1.1. Exchanging Reputation and Success for Voter Support

Shepsle and Weingast's theory provides a powerful framework for understanding the dynamics of exchange in the practices of businessmen-politicians applying for legislative office. The political process is seen as a rational arena where economic and political interests are strategically exchanged within the constraints of existing institutional structures. This phenomenon shows how economic rationality can shape political behavior in the context of representative democracy.

One of the advantages that entrepreneurs have is a good reputation as economic actors who have a higher social class in society. In addition, there is a success story that makes entrepreneurs get sympathy and support from voters when they become political candidates. This is clearly recognized by many voters who choose legislative candidates with a business background. Informant admitted to choosing legislative candidates who have a business background because they are considered successful in establishing and running their businesses. What the informant stated shows that one of the reasons voters choose legislative candidates who have a business background is because they are considered successful in building their businesses. This is a good reputation for their track record as a candidate for public office, especially a candidate for legislative members.

Other informants who chose legislative candidates with a business background admitted to choosing legislative candidates with a business background because they have been proven to provide benefits to others, not only to themselves. What was conveyed by the informant showed that success as an entrepreneur by providing jobs, provides benefits to others. This is also a reason for voters to choose legislative candidates with a business background. The success and success story of entrepreneurs who enter politics is one of the factors assessed by voters.

Another informant, who admitted to choosing legislative candidates who have a business background, because entrepreneurs are considered successful in building their own and their families' economy, so they no longer expect a salary from the council. That way, when elected and serving as a legislative member, the person concerned can focus on carrying out his duties as a people's representative, no longer being busy with the task of earning a living. What was stated by the informant shows that entrepreneurs who have successfully run their businesses are considered a factor that can attract sympathy and support from voters during the election.

Shepsle and Weingast emphasize that in contemporary legislative systems, institutions play a crucial role in regulating this exchange process. For example, the committee system in parliament allows for specialization and division of labor, but also creates space for strategic exchange. Legislators who control a committee have the power to influence budget allocations or the formation of policies that affect certain sectors of the economy. In this case, businessmen-politicians tend to negotiate positions on committees that are relevant to their business background as a form of rationalization of their investment in campaigns and politics.

4.1.1.2. Exchange of Materials with Voters' Voices

Entrepreneurs have other capital that is no less important than that capital, namely money/material capital. As entrepreneurs, of course they have a lot of money/material collected from profits as entrepreneurs. The money/material collected from the results of the business is then used as capital to enter the world of politics. This has been understood by entrepreneurs who have entered the world of politics and run for office during the General Election. So entrepreneurs still prepare money for these needs. This was emphasized by an informant who was a member of the winning team or volunteer for one of the entrepreneurs who became a legislative candidate in Malang

City in the 2024 General Election. As an entrepreneur, the candidate for Malang City DPRD who was accompanied had provided money for winning purposes, including execution. The informant's explanation shows that to enter the world of practical politics, a lot of logistics are needed as capital used to contest the General Election. Logistics as capital in the election are not only provided for consolidation and socialization activities, but also for execution.

The same thing was also conveyed by an informant who was one of the winning teams or volunteer entrepreneurs who became legislative candidates, and succeeded in occupying legislative seats, as members of the Malang City DPRD, in the 2024 election, and the previous election in 2019. According to the informant, entrepreneurs who became legislative candidates deliberately prepared various forms of materials for the purposes of winning when running as legislative members. These preparations were not only carried out ahead of the election, but had been prepared long before the voting. The informant's explanation showed that entrepreneurs who entered the world of politics, as legislative candidates, had prepared materials to care for constituents and prospective voters, as a means of exchange carried out during the election. This happened because voters did not pay much attention to the programs carried out by politicians when elected, but more to what was given during the nomination process, especially when approaching election day.

Another informant, a businessman who is a politician in the Malang City DPRD, emphasized it. According to him, programs implemented by council members that are sourced from the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD), cannot automatically be converted into support in the form of votes during the Election. Voters consider this as a task and obligation that must be carried out by DPRD members. This informant's explanation shows that during the Election nothing is free for voters, prospective legislative members must prepare logistics in the form of cash to be given to voters, if they want to get support and votes from voters.

According to Shepsle and Weingast (1981), legislators act as "vote traders" who engage in political exchanges to obtain resources, strategic positions, or favorable policy support. In this context, a businessman competing to become a legislator can be viewed as a rational agent who utilizes the political structure to achieve economic and political goals. He enters the political arena not only for ideological interests or public service, but to achieve a position that provides greater access to information, policy influence, and protection for his business.

The exchange referred to in this theory occurs in the form of log-rolling or bartering votes between legislators, but in the case of businessmen-politicians, the form of exchange extends to the pre-legislative phase, namely during the campaign. Here, businessmen provide financial resources for the campaign (either their own or their business networks), while political parties provide candidacy tickets and access to power networks. After being elected, this exchange relationship continues in the form of strategic position distribution in certain commissions or legislative bodies that are relevant to the politician's business sector—for example, the economic, financial, or infrastructure commissions. These positions allow legislators to influence the direction of policy, fight for regulations that benefit certain businesses, or block policies that are detrimental to their economic interests.

4.1.2. The Advantages of Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections in Malang Raya

Entrepreneurs who become politicians gain many advantages in their position as entrepreneurs. This also applies to entrepreneurs who become legislative candidates in the Malang Raya electoral district in the 2024 Election. There are at least two advantages gained by entrepreneurs who become legislative candidates in Malang Raya in the 2024 Election. This also facilitates the position and existence of entrepreneurs as legislative candidates to achieve victory in the Election contest.

According to the view put forward by Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast (1981), the benefits gained by entrepreneurs who engage in politics can be understood through the lens of institutional rationality, which conceptualizes politics as a calculative arena, where actors act based on strategies to maximize their interests within the context of existing institutions. In this context, an entrepreneur who enters politics, for example as a candidate for parliament, behaves rationally in order to gain benefits that are not only symbolic, but also strategic and material.

Shepsle and Weingast see legislative institutions as structures designed to facilitate exchanges between political actors, who exchange policy support, committee positions, and other resources to achieve outcomes that are both individually and collectively beneficial. Within this framework, business-politicians gain access to formal institutions that allow them to engage in the process of making public policies relevant to their personal or group economic interests. Through legislative office, they can influence the direction of regulation, including tax policy, business

incentives, investment policy, and state budget allocations. This provides significant competitive advantages over business rivals who do not have similar access to state institutions.

This theory also explains that the committee structure in parliament provides great opportunities for specialization and influence in policy in certain sectors. An entrepreneur with a background in industry or finance, when joining a committee that regulates these sectors, has a strategic position to shape policies that support his business. Legislative decisions taken in this context are not neutral, but are influenced by the political and economic incentives of the actors involved. Therefore, becoming a member of the legislature gives entrepreneurs the opportunity to “internalize” the legislative process in order to protect and expand capital accumulation.

Furthermore, Shepsle and Weingast emphasize that legislative institutions form a structure-induced equilibrium, a situation in which policy choices emerge from the results of rational interactions within the existing institutional structure. In this context, businessmen-politicians not only enjoy direct policy outcomes but also play an active role in creating policy configurations through negotiation, political alliances, and exchange of support with other legislators. Other significant benefits are the legitimacy and socio-political status gained through public office.

4.2.1. The Benefits of Having a Network of Employees and Colleagues as Social Capital to Increase Popularity

Every entrepreneur has many employees working in the company or in the business premises they manage. The bigger the business that is run, the more employees are employed. Employees who work in companies owned by entrepreneurs who become politicians are one of the aspects of their own advantage for entrepreneurs compared to other professions that are not entrepreneurs. Employees are one of the social capitals that can be capitalized into a political machine owned by entrepreneurs that can be mobilized during elections.

This was confirmed by an informant, a businessman who is a legislative candidate, who has 250 employees who were then mobilized to support his candidacy during the election. According to the informant, employees in his company were mobilized to become voters, and were also asked to invite family and other people they knew to help with his winning process. This informant admitted that he even gave targets to each employee in the area where they lived or where they came from, so that they would help as much as possible in seeking votes for his victory when he ran for office. The informant's explanation shows that employees who work in the company are one of the resources used to help win during the election. Although not the only human resource for winning, company employees are part of the resources that help win when business voters become legislative candidates in the 2024 election.

This informant even emphasized that employees in his company were indeed part of the winning team during the election, and were coordinated directly under the manager. The informant's explanation showed that employees who work in his company are human resources in winning the contest in the 2024 election. The existence of employees as human resources in winning has proven to have an important role in winning. This is evidenced by the acquisition of votes at the polling stations (TPS) or hamlets where employees come from, the votes obtained are quite a lot.

The informant's explanation shows that employees as human resources for winning legislative candidate elections have succeeded well, because employees are not only functioned as voters, but also as a winning team that works in their home areas, and are assisted by their families who are figures in their home areas. In addition, service programs are also provided whose benefits are directly enjoyed by the surrounding community. Their families are proud, and the community feels the benefits.

According to Shepsle and Weingast, the main benefit that entrepreneurs gain from involvement in politics lies in their ability to influence policy through strategic use of institutional structures. Politics is not just a field of devotion or image, but rather a rational tool to secure and expand economic interests within the framework of state laws and institutions. In this view, the involvement of entrepreneurs in politics is part of a rational calculation in a system of power exchange that is formally regulated by modern political institutions.

4.2.2. Benefits of Reputation and Business Success (Success Story) as Likeability Capital

As a businessman who has a good name in the form of success (success story) in carrying out business activities, it is a special advantage for entrepreneurs who enter politics. This was confirmed by an informant who was part of the winning team for a legislative candidate who is a successful businessman in the property sector. That success or success as a businessman in the health sector is an important assessment for political figures who have a business

background. The informant is a volunteer for a candidate for the East Java Provincial DPRD from the Malang Electoral District in the 2024 Election.

The informant's explanation shows that voters met during the legislative election contestation process chose business candidates because they were considered successful in building the economy through the businesses they had pioneered. With these provisions, voters have the hope that businessmen who enter the world of politics will not be tempted to commit deviations.

Another informant, who is also a member of the winning team or volunteer for legislative candidate H. Rendra who successfully occupied a legislative seat in the Malang City DPRD in the 2024 election, despite being a newcomer to the political world of Malang City. According to the informant, many voters admitted to choosing the candidate who was accompanied because his success as a businessman was considered the main provision to become a candidate for people's representative. This informant also added that voters considered entrepreneurs who had succeeded in the business they were engaged in to be one of the reasons that if elected to the council, their position as a council would not be used to enrich themselves or just to earn money, because they already had income from being a businessman.

The informant's explanation shows that voters who choose business candidates really believe that businessmen who enter the world of politics will not commit corruption while in office. So voters believe that businessmen who become members of the council not only do not pawn their positions as people's representatives for short-term economic interests, but voters also believe that the council will not commit corruption.

The benefits obtained by entrepreneurs who become politicians are diverse and numerous, from when they become legislative candidates, during the nomination process, until after being elected. The network benefits owned by entrepreneurs before becoming candidates, in the form of employee networks, clients, customers, and colleagues can be utilized for victory during the contestation, so the network owned after being elected is a network in the bureaucracy and also a network to parties who need services and budgets.

4.2.3. Financial Benefits as Financial Capital in Winning a Contest

As an entrepreneur, you have a lot of funds as capital to win when entering the world of practical politics. Entrepreneurs who become politicians, especially legislative candidates in Malang Raya, use the money/material capital collected from their businesses, one of which is for winning purposes during the election. This was stated by one of the informants who is also an entrepreneur and several were elected as members of the Malang City DPRD. The informant who was re-elected in the 2024 Election admitted that he always collected money from his business to win during the election. The informant's explanation shows that as a businessman there is preparation of money/or materials in facing the election, which is used as a candidate to win the contest. Political contests from time to time require more and more funds. One of the expenditure items that is always needed during the election is to exchange votes for materials. This is referred to by this informant as closing. Not only for closing, the money/material collected by the businessman is also used as capital to maintain relationships with constituents, some of which are given in the form of materials, namely basic necessities or rice. This was explained by the informant. The informant's explanation shows that the capital money/material collected by businessmen who enter the world of politics is used as an exchange with voters during the time leading up to the voting or before the voting period, or during the campaign period until the election day.

Another informant who is also a businessman who has entered the world of politics. According to him, every political actor who runs for political contestation needs money or funds. The amount of funds or money needed is quite large, not a little. So to get money or funds, political actors who become political contestants, including legislative candidates, collect funds from various sources. One source of funding is from business results collected over some time. Businessmen are one of the parties who benefit from this condition, because the large amount of money needed to win a political contest can be met from the profits of the business that has been run. The same thing applies to the 2024 legislative elections. The money owned by businessmen is used for various purposes, ranging from socialization costs, introductions, consolidation, formation and volunteer networks, attribution, providing witness honoraria, to carrying out the execution process, and securing votes. The informant's explanation shows that businessmen who become politicians are included in the category of those who collect money from their business results to be used to compete in politics which requires high costs (high cost). The higher the level of position to be achieved in political office, the higher the costs required. There are many needs or requirements that must be funded in

political activities, starting from recruiting volunteers or winning teams, socialization activities and others, to the execution stage before voting.

According to the informant, even though many activities have been carried out, voters still need something called execution. Of course, this requires a lot of money. This is what entrepreneurs always prepare from the profits obtained from their businesses. The execution in question is usually known as, but in essence, it is money politics. Entrepreneurs have more capital in preparing money for these purposes than other parties, because of their position as entrepreneurs, so they are more profitable. The informant's explanation shows that entrepreneurs also carry out an exchange process between the money they have and the votes they have for voters during the general election. So entrepreneurs who are considered successful in business, with a good track record are also not enough to convince voters when the election is approaching. Voters are still waiting for the money that will be given by entrepreneurs who are legislative candidates in the general election. If it is not given, voters may not choose the entrepreneur who is a legislative candidate. Voters are increasingly pragmatic in determining their choices, voter behavior is largely determined by material factors, especially by money factors in the form of cash. Money is not the only factor that influences voter behavior, but without money, voters who used to like or know, can change their choice, either changing to another party, or to another candidate in another party, or moving to another candidate in the same party, who gives cash to voters. So the factor is not the only one but also still determines.

The financial capital owned by entrepreneurs provides direct benefits in terms of electability. This was explained by this informant as an entrepreneur who entered the world of politics as a legislative candidate, experienced and felt directly how money plays a role in shaping voter behavior, and this benefits the position of entrepreneurs who have a lot of money compared to candidates with different backgrounds from entrepreneurs. The informant's explanation further strengthens the advantages of entrepreneurs who have money when entering the world of politics, becoming legislative candidates who can attract voters who previously would not have voted, to vote, and still determine their choice to vote for entrepreneurs if they get money. However, there is a possibility of switching to another legislative candidate, if they do not get money from the legislative candidate. This is a distinct advantage for business candidates. The informant's explanation further emphasizes that the money they have can strengthen the electability factor.

4.2.4. Attempts to Gain Power by Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections in Malang Raya

Every person who enters politics certainly has a goal to gain power, or if they have gained power, they try to maintain that power. Businessmen who enter the world of politics are also like that, they have a goal, or in other words, the ambition to gain power. Businessmen who become politicians, especially legislative candidates, also have efforts to gain power. These efforts involve various strategies that are carried out so that their efforts to gain power are successful, according to their wishes.

This was explained by an informant, a catering entrepreneur who is running as a legislative member in Malang City in the 2024 Election. In the previous Election in 2019, he ran and was elected. The 2024 Election is his second candidacy, since becoming a culinary entrepreneur in Malang City. This informant admitted that he dared to run as a legislative member in Malang City, because he felt he had the ability, especially financial capital, as provisions to finance political contests. The explanation from the informant shows that as a businessman who has entered the world of practical politics, and has become a legislative candidate, through the business activities he owns, he is oriented towards gaining political power, because the opportunity he has is to become a legislative member at the city level, so efforts are made to achieve this power, until he succeeds in the 2019 and 2024 elections.

Another informant, who is also a volunteer and a member of the winning team for legislative candidates with a business background, confirmed that many voters in their area know legislative candidates from the businesses they run. One of them is called the culinary entrepreneur Ibalibul. According to the informant, voters in his area initially knew his culinary business better than the party that nominated him. The informant's explanation shows that the existence of culinary businesses run by entrepreneurs does have the aim of being a means to gain political power.

When an experienced businessman decides to enter the political arena, especially as a legislative candidate, he usually brings a series of advantages that other candidates do not have. These advantages are not only related to financial aspects, but also include experience, networks, and the public's view of him. First of all, the most obvious is capital strength. Successful businessmen usually have sufficient funds to fund campaign needs. From producing banners, advertising in various media, to supporting the campaign team - all of which require significant investment.

With the available financial strength, they are not too dependent on political donations which often have the potential to cause conflicts of interest. As expressed by Van Biezen (2003), politicians with personal wealth often have an advantage in elections, especially in countries where the funding system is not yet fully transparent.

However, financial capital is not the only tool. An entrepreneur also has a wide social network, and is accustomed to interacting with various parties—from business partners, professional associations, to community groups. This network can function as a key node in building political support. According to Winters (2011), entrepreneurs who enter politics can often use this network to gain legitimacy, public support, and even policy influence.

Furthermore, the public tends to view successful entrepreneurs as “successful” individuals—someone who understands how to manage resources, make decisions, and create opportunities. In the context of elections, this image is very beneficial. The public tends to believe that people who are successful in business will be able to bring efficiency and tangible results to government. Carnes (2013) notes that a business background is often associated with pragmatism and a results-oriented mindset.

Equally important, an entrepreneur's managerial experience is often an added value. He is accustomed to making strategic decisions, designing long-term plans, and solving problems systematically. This ability is very relevant in legislative tasks that require policy formulation and budget oversight. As Drucker (2006) wrote, skills in managing large organizations can be directly applied in legislative functions. Entrepreneurs often have easier access to the mass media. Business connections or stock ownership can more easily shape their self-image and disseminate their political messages to the public. Gilens and Page (2014) note that business elites are often better able to control the media narrative, which makes their campaigns more prominent and persuasive in the eyes of voters.

4.3. The Role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in Forming Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

The focus of these two studies is taken from the opinion Scott et al (1981), on role theory. Scott et al, (1981) mentioned five main characteristics of role theory: (1) impersonal; (2) related to specific task behavior; (3) difficult to control due to ambiguity; (4) can be learned quickly; and (5) different from work because one individual can play several roles at once.

Scott et al. (1981) present an interesting perspective on role theory in a very human and relevant way for everyday life. They start from the idea that in social interactions, we all actually play certain roles—like actors on a stage. However, what is meant here is not a role that is made up or simply acted out, but rather a social role that is tied to our position in the community. Each individual, in a given position, is faced with a set of unwritten expectations and norms about how they should behave. For example, a teacher is expected to be educational and to be a role model, while a student is expected to learn and follow the rules. These expectations, according to Scott et al., shape our patterns of behavior and interactions with others in various social contexts (Scott et al., 1981).

However, they also emphasize that roles are not always rigid. In their perspective, humans do not just automatically play roles like robots obeying orders. Instead, humans are active and reflective beings. We have the ability to interpret our own roles, adapt to situations, and even reject or change roles that we feel are not in line with our personal values or needs. This can be seen, for example, in the life of someone who serves as a community leader. He or she may play the role in a different way than his or her predecessors, adding a more inclusive or empathetic approach because it feels more relevant. Scott and his colleagues believe that social interaction is an arena where roles are constructed and renewed, not simply obeyed (Scott et al., 1981).

Furthermore, they also raise the issue of role conflict, which is a condition when someone faces conflicting expectations from two or more roles that they play. Imagine someone who has to choose between working late at the office for their professional responsibilities, or going home early to attend a family event. This kind of situation not only causes stress, but also reflects how complex the roles we play in modern society are. Scott et al. state that role conflict like this is common, especially in societies that have become highly differentiated and dynamic. Interestingly, however, they do not see this conflict as merely a problem. Instead, role conflict can be an opportunity for someone to reflect on priorities, renegotiate roles, and even encourage change in the broader social structure (Scott et al., 1981). Dual roles are interpreted as something normal.

4.3.1. The Impersonal Role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in Forming Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

According to Scoot et al. (1981), impersonal roles describe how a person is expected to carry out his duties or responsibilities not because of who he is personally, but because of the position or title he holds in a social system or organization. In this case, individual actions are more directed by the rules, norms, and structures in force, rather than by personal desires, emotions, or relationships with others. This means that a person carries out his role because that is the rule of the game, not because of closeness or personal reasons.

In the social system that applies in Indonesia, including in the Malang Raya community, it does not prohibit entrepreneurs who are involved in practical politics. Moreover, this is not prohibited by the rules and legal norms that apply universally in Indonesia. On the contrary, the participation of entrepreneurs as part of the nation's elements is given the opportunity to be involved in political activities, from just as voters, party administrators, legislative candidates, or even as executive candidates. This is what inspires community organizations such as Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) to encourage the birth or formation of entrepreneurs who are active in political activities. This was conveyed by the informant who became the founder and initiator of the birth of NGG. According to him, the involvement of entrepreneurs in practical politics is not only needed, but is a must, because leadership at the national and local levels is experiencing a crisis. If this is allowed and continues to happen, then not only will a leadership crisis occur, but it will also give rise to a loss of legitimacy for leaders in the eyes of the public. Losing legitimacy from the public is a dangerous symptom in a democratic country, so it cannot be allowed.

In the view of Scott and his colleagues (1981), impersonal roles are a significant concept to understand, especially when discussing how social systems or organizations operate. They refer to impersonal roles as a form of role that is not tied to the individual, but to the position occupied. This means that anyone who is in that position will face similar expectations and responsibilities, regardless of character or background. So, if you function as a public service officer, for example, what is expected of you is not how you personally want to act, but how a public service officer should behave according to existing guidelines. "Impersonally managed roles require individuals to perform certain functions based on standardized guidelines and rules," wrote Scott et al. (1981, p. 75).

The informant's explanation shows the importance of a new approach to national and local power and leadership. One of the solutions offered by NGG is the presence of entrepreneurs in the Indonesian political stage. One of the entrepreneurs who then entered the world of practical politics after joining Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG), a successful entrepreneur in the property sector in Malang City. Rendra is an entrepreneur who has succeeded in running a housing business with an exclusive concept and model, including sharia housing. After succeeding with this housing model business, Rendra also entered the world of boarding house business, and others. According to an informant, one of Rendra's winning volunteers during the 2024 Election, Rendra was also heavily involved in Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG).

Scott et al.'s understanding of impersonal roles invites us to realize that modern social and organizational structures cannot rely entirely on personal relationships, but they also cannot completely ignore the human side. There is a balance to be found—between the objectivity of the system and the flexibility of the individual—and therein lies the art of carrying out social roles in real life. Impersonal roles are also discussed in sociological and organizational writings with various highlights, especially in relation to social structures, bureaucracies, and professional roles. In general, impersonal roles refer to the functions or expectations associated with a social position. not the individual who fills it.

4.3.2. Nusantara Gilang Gemilang Specific Tasks in Forming Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

Although a new community organization and its scale is still small, Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) is serious about carrying out its role, duties and responsibilities to produce or shape entrepreneurs who are also politicians. This can at least be seen from the steps taken by the founders and administrators of NGG in succeeding in the tasks they have been entrusted with, producing entrepreneurs-politicians. This was explained by the informant who is the founder and initiator of NGG. The informant's explanation shows that NGG is very serious in carrying out its responsibilities as an organization that focuses on producing entrepreneurs who are also politicians. The informant also said that NGG has prepared a roadmap for prospective leaders with a background as entrepreneurs-politicians. The guide can be used

by those who are interested in joining and getting involved in activities carried out by NGG, in various forms and times, some of which are routine, and some are temporary.

In Scott et al.'s perspective, a role is not determined by whether someone is empathetic or reserved, but by a series of tasks that must be carried out by a politician, such as monitoring the condition of voters, responding to aspirations conveyed, recording every complaint conveyed, and so on. These tasks have existed before someone joined an organization or was in the job, and will continue to exist even though people have left and come and go. A role consists of a set of specific tasks and expectations attached to a social position. These tasks are defined in such a way that they can be carried out by any individual who occupies the position, regardless of personality or preferences (Scott et al., 1981, p. 65).

Another informant, a businessman who became a member of the legislature, and was re-elected in the 2024 Election in Malang City, admitted that NGG had carried out its functions and roles well. This was expressed by an informant because he had been involved in various activities carried out by NGG for a long time, so he also became a speaker and resource person. Even so, the informant also admitted that what was captured by each person who joined NGG was different from one another. Some consider NGG only as an inspiration, nothing more than that, but there are also those who consider that NGG has reached the stage of implementing tactics and winning strategies during political contests.

In other words, our social system works because everyone understands what needs to be done in their respective positions. If there is a businessman, then what is recognized is that there is an obligation and duty to make sales, serve customers, and listen to customer complaints—not just because one enjoys selling, but because that is what is expected of the role of a merchant. And if replaced by another person, that person would perform the same duties.

Leadership can be defined as the process of influencing and directing tasks related to the activities of group members. In addition, leadership also includes the ability to influence common strategies and goals, as well as build group awareness to recognize, maintain, and develop organizational culture. Basically, leadership is a reciprocal relationship between leaders and those they lead, where influence is the main key in the process (Nur, et al., 2023). Leadership has an important role in an organization such as in managing the organization, building a healthy work environment, and increasing motivation and productivity (Durmaz and Demir, 2021). Based on the research results, NGG (Nusantara Gilang Gemilang) has a main focus on building local leadership cadres who have integrity, political and social competence, and commitment to community service. From the perspective of various legislative levels, NGG is seen as an organization that not only produces politicians, but also produces leaders who have a long-term vision and care for the community.

Leadership has several characteristics that can be applied, namely transformational leadership which prioritizes orientation towards sustainable individual and organizational development, while transactional leadership tends to be based on exchange and rewards (Durmaz and Demir, 2021). According to Bass and Riggio (2005), transactional and transformational leaders can be applied by prospective leaders. Where transactional leaders have a caring nature and are neutral in resolving conflicts, in contrast to transformational leaders who show empathy, charisma, self-confidence, inspiring communication, sensitivity to the environment, and improve self-image. These two traits need to be applied by prospective leaders so that they can build trust in society.

According to Scott et al., “definite tasks” are the foundation of modern organizations because they facilitate everyone moving in a clear direction. When roles have impersonally defined tasks, organizations can operate without relying on specific individuals. This creates order, efficiency, and clarity in the work system. However, even though these tasks are defined, they also recognize that we do not perform our tasks like robots. We still bring our own personal styles and ways of fulfilling those responsibilities. So, even though roles and tasks are impersonal, the way we perform them still allows for human interpretation and nuance.

Organizations such as NGG pay great attention to the moral and social aspects of leadership. This is supported by the views of prospective DPRD members who emphasize the importance of leadership regeneration based on moral values. Meanwhile, the perspective of the Malang City DPRD and Malang Regency DPRD highlights that NGG forms leaders who not only have political competence but also good communication and strategy skills in understanding the needs of the community. The opinions that have been conveyed are in line with the statement that political leadership not only influences the work of public service organizations, but through public policy, regulation, and mobilization of support, also influences private and voluntary sector organizations (Hartley and Benington, 2011). Thus, it can be

concluded that the main task of NGG in local leadership cadre formation is to build leaders who are not only politically ready but also have strong social insight and leadership ethics. This strategy provides a solid foundation for NGG cadres in carrying out their roles in society and the political world.

4.3.3. There is a lack of clarity (ambiguity) in the role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in forming entrepreneurs-politicians in the 2024 legislative elections

In the work Organizational Structure and Processes (Scott, Dornbusch, & Busching, 1981), there is one fundamental concept that they examine in the context of role theory, namely role ambiguity. This concept refers to a situation where a person working in a social position or job does not have a clear understanding of what is expected—whether it is related to tasks, responsibilities, limits of authority, or methods of carrying out the role. As an organization that operates in two fields or sectors that are understood by most people as contradictory, there is an ambiguous or unclear perspective on the role of NGG in carrying out its duties and responsibilities. This is also a challenge for NGG to produce only entrepreneurs or only politicians. But it seems that NGG can overcome this with the pattern and model of members that are formed, namely leaders. Political leaders who are successful in the business sector. Successful businesses as capital to enter politics, so as not to damage politics with personal and family economic interests.

This was explained by the informant, the founder and initiator of NGG. According to him, there is nothing unclear about the role of NGG, that NGG plays a role in producing entrepreneurs who are political, and politicians who are businessmen. The informant's explanation further emphasizes the role of NGG which seeks to combine business with politics. However, it is not just politicians who are businessmen and businessmen who become politicians, but they have the ability to advocate and affirm public interests. This is a concern for NGG, so that NGG members and administrators are not like that.

Scott et al. (1981) explained that in modern organizations, each position should be accompanied by a clear job description and clear expectations. However, in reality, there is often a mismatch between the expectations of the organization and the understanding of the individual who plays the role. In this condition, a person can feel confused: "What exactly do I need to do? Who should I obey? How far is my responsibility?" Ambiguity occurs when there is a lack of clarity regarding the expectations, responsibilities, or scope of a role, which causes confusion or stress for the individual occupying the position (Scott et al., 1981, p. 70).

The informant's explanation can be understood as the responsibility of NGG in carrying out its role in order to succeed in accordance with the goals and ideals of NGG. Not only focusing on members and administrators, NGG also carries out activities on other people, new people who are recruited, trained and assisted to become successful entrepreneurs, and after being successful as entrepreneurs are also encouraged to enter the world of politics. One of the targeted programs is to form children of entrepreneurs to become successful leaders at a young age, and have the ability as leaders, prospective entrepreneurs and prospective politicians. The informant's explanation further clarifies the role of NGG in forming entrepreneurs-politicians, not only in adults, but also in students who are still in school. Children and students have been trained and fostered to become leaders among their circles, including them to become leaders for adults.

It seems that NGG relies more on door-to-door campaigns and mobilization of political volunteers. Direct visits to homes are more effective in building trust with the community. Political volunteers play an important role in disseminating the vision and mission of NGG cadres. The role of social activities, such as community service and free health services, as a means to bring cadres closer to the community. Direct involvement in local issues makes NGG cadres better known and trusted by the community throughout the year, not only before the election. NGG remains active on social media but also maintains traditional methods such as religious studies and community meetings. The importance of personal branding in building a positive narrative about NGG cadres. As a technical activity, NGG implements a data-based campaign to ensure a more focused marketing strategy. Storytelling is an effective strategy in conveying the life journey and experiences of cadres to the community. NGG's success lies in its ability to build sustainable political relationships with constituents.

In terms of the effectiveness of social media versus face-to-face communication, NGG uses both methods synergistically. Social media allows for the rapid and widespread dissemination of political messages, but face-to-face communication remains essential in building public trust. This combination strategy can be achieved through social

media, but vote acquisition still depends on direct meetings with voters. At the Malang City DPRD level, social media is seen as an effective political branding tool. While face-to-face meetings are still needed to build emotional connections with the public, the use of social media is to shape public opinion before finally going to the field. Although social media is effective in reaching young voters, direct communication is better at building long-term loyalty. However, considering that without a strong narrative, social media can backfire on candidates.

Social media is used as an early campaign driving tool, as the best communication strategy is a combination of social media with face-to-face, and real action is more important than just promises on social media. Social media is effective in reaching a wide audience, but direct interaction remains more influential in ensuring that political messages are truly understood. Overall, NGG's political marketing strategy shows a diverse approach, ranging from personal branding, social media, community, to face-to-face communication. The success of this strategy depends on the balance between digital campaigns and direct interaction, so that NGG cadres are not only known but also trusted as competent leaders who care about the community.

Political communication strategy is the art or method of conveying messages to target audiences, either directly or through mass media, with the aim of influencing, changing perceptions, and shaping attitudes and behavior in order to achieve certain political interests (Syahrudin, et al., 2023). In this study, the political communication strategy referred to refers to strategic planning prepared by political communicators to achieve predetermined goals. That NGG adopts a variety of political marketing strategies, adjusting to the level of election and constituent characteristics. The personal branding approach and issue-based campaigns are the main strategies, reflecting a modern political marketing approach that emphasizes the candidate's image and the substance of the work program. This is in accordance with the concept of political marketing which positions candidates as products that must be communicated effectively to the public (Andrias and Nurohman, 2013).

4.3.4. Rapid Learning Process in Forming Entrepreneur-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

The transition from businessman to politician is not easy, but it is not impossible to do. A fast learning process is needed to make this happen. Moreover, to become a successful businessman and a successful politician. The 2024 Election shows the reality of voters who are open to the background of candidates, and on the other hand, the 2024 Election is also a high-cost Election, one of which is caused by voters who are tolerant of money politics. So the opportunity for businessmen, who have a lot of money, is very open to being elected as public officials. This situation and condition only requires one thing, a fast learning process from businessman to politician.

Based on information provided by the informant, this happened to entrepreneurs who became politicians in the 2024 General Election in Malang Raya. This informant stated clearly that the 2024 General Election is the right momentum for entrepreneurs to enter the world of practical politics. The informant's explanation shows that there is an acceleration being carried out to be able to play a role in the formation of entrepreneurs-politicians in politicians, so that NGG can become one of the organizations that contributes to producing politicians who lead Indonesia well, serve the people, fight for the people's aspirations, and oversee development, so that it can improve people's welfare.

According to the informant, the current momentum can no longer be postponed, because the opportunities are indeed wide open, and when the opportunity is obtained, the resources owned will also be greater. What is done by public officials, in the legislature and in the executive is funded by the state budget, both central and regional. The explanation given by the informant shows that there is acceleration carried out by NGG to hone the abilities of entrepreneurs who become politicians. Thus, the existence of entrepreneurs as public officials can be felt by the public. In addition, entrepreneurs who have become public officials can rise to a higher level. Thus, the contribution to the nation is even greater.

This was acknowledged by another informant, a businessman who entered politics, and was elected as a member of the legislature in the 2024 Election in the Malang Raya electoral district. According to him, there were efforts made by the founder of NGG to accelerate the role that has been carried out by NGG, so that members and administrators can contribute optimally to national development.

The informant's explanation emphasized NGG's efforts to continue to play a fast and maximum role in forming entrepreneurs who enter the world of practical politics. Not being in a safe zone and comfort zone, but having to struggle in an uncomfortable zone to contribute to the people. According to the informant, NGG's seriousness in

accelerating its role in forming and producing entrepreneurs-politicians can be seen and felt in various activities that are indeed designed by NGG for administrators, members, and those who have just joined NGG.

The informant's explanation shows that NGG activities are carried out regularly and periodically. In addition, public officials are given different skills than those who are not public officials. This is done to improve the ability of public officials to advocate for the interests of the people. In addition, NGG also plays a role in making entrepreneurs who enter politics successful, so that they succeed in winning political contests, both in the legislative and executive branches.

Speed is needed in realizing a clear vision in forming regional, legislative and executive leaders who have a solid leadership mentality and strong character and commitment to the people. Nature creates local leaders NGG takes a comprehensive approach through training and mentoring in political practice. If that is done, NGG is not just an ordinary association organization but an organization that aims to build leadership that brings change to society and responsibility for that change in the long term and forms leadership that can understand the needs of society. NGG's role also helps provide political education for prospective leaders, especially young people, both theoretically and practically, in addition NGG also increases its reach to expand its cadreship so that many young people join it. Thus, NGG is able to form cadres who are not only ready in the economic field but also ready to enter the world of politics and teach that leadership must listen more than talk.

In a short time, NGG as a movement that builds political awareness among young people, NGG still faces challenges in attracting the interest of more people so that it can be reached by all groups. At that stage NGG also needs to be involved in supporting community empowerment by strengthening the leadership capacity of local communities by producing political cadres and building strong social networks for community welfare. The NGG program also includes community-based health and economics as well as creative economy training.

This program run by NGG helps the community with political education. NGG has an entrepreneurship training program that can open up opportunities for people to become economically independent and find concrete solutions to conditions that occur in the field. The NGG program is in the form of community-based empowerment. The NGG program focuses on building a leadership community for young people to be more confident in contributing to society. NGG also supports social activities and also as a place for the community to develop such as free health services and MSME programs. NGG is also active in developing local culture, including in digital literacy and social media for productive interests. NGG has a mentoring program for MSMEs so that it can help the community in running their businesses. NGG's program in politics can teach the community about their rights in the legal path. NGG also provides space for women to be active in the public sphere and leadership, in addition they highlight that NGG should further expand NGG programs in remote areas.

In a short time, NGG seeks leaders who have the ability to adapt to social and political changes, as well as the courage to make strategic decisions. In addition, NGG emphasizes the importance of long-term vision and service-based leadership that is oriented towards the interests of the community. Although the NGG recruitment system and selection criteria have been designed strictly, there are still challenges in reaching more people, especially in remote areas. Therefore, efforts are needed to expand the network and increase flexibility in the cadre process to be more inclusive for prospective leaders from various backgrounds.

Community development is NGG's way of developing its programs in empowering local communities. This community development is a process that actively involves community members in order to build a community that is able to maintain welfare by involving stakeholders or interested parties such as government, private sector and the community to achieve the desired goals (Suharnanik, 2023). The NGG organization carries out several programs that focus on community empowerment in developing their communities through various initiatives such as leadership training, political education, entrepreneurship programs, and increasing access to community-based health and economic services. The results of the interview showed that this initiative received a positive response from various parties, both those who passed and failed in the 2024 election.

Accelerating learning in carrying out this role, NGG in terms of leadership implements a sustainable leadership system. So it is important for NGG to strengthen the leadership capacity of local communities by building social networks that support community welfare. Meanwhile, the Provincial DPRD considers that NGG plays a role in political education and opening up economic opportunities through entrepreneurship training. The community-based approach implemented by NGG is also the main attraction in building cadres who care about the surrounding

environment. This shows that a sustainable leadership system is applied to every NGG member. According to Suriyankietkaew, et al. (2022), it is emphasized that sustainable leadership is very important in balancing economic, social, and environmental aspects.

This shows that community involvement is also very necessary, as conveyed by several informants about NGG programs that have been implemented in the community. In addition, community-based business models can be an effective solution to increase business resilience amidst global uncertainty (Suriyankietkaew, et al., 2022). However, the challenge faced by NGG is how to expand the reach of its programs to be more evenly distributed, especially in remote areas. Several informants suggested that NGG strengthen the supporting infrastructure for its programs to be more effective in increasing local community involvement. Based on statements from several informants, this approach is inspiring and transformative, and gives voice to often marginalized communities, and enables more inclusive and sustainable evidence-based change (Wallerstein, et al., 2017).

According to Scott et al. (1981), the learning process within the framework of role theory refers to the way an individual gradually recognizes and adapts to the expectations attached to the social role or position held. When a person begins a new role, he or she does not immediately master all the demands and norms that need to be upheld. Through interaction with the social community, observation of other individuals performing similar roles, and direct experience, a person learns what is expected of him or her, how to behave, and how to adjust actions to be in line with the standards of the role. This process allows the individual to internalize the duties, responsibilities, and rules that guide the role so that he or she can carry out his or her role effectively and be accepted by his or her social group. In other words, role learning is a social adaptation mechanism that helps individuals understand and carry out roles correctly within the existing social structure.

4.3.5. Various Roles (*Role Diversity*) Nusantara Gilang Gemilang In Giving Birth To Entrepreneurs-Politicians In The 2024 Legislative Elections

In the functional theory proposed by Scott, Dornbusch, and Busching (1981), role diversity refers to the fact that an individual generally does not only perform one social role in his/her daily life, but rather several different and sometimes overlapping roles. This concept is based on the understanding that contemporary society is complex and is manifested in a variety of institutions—family, work, social organizations, communities, and others—and each of these institutions provides individuals with certain positions and expectations. Individuals hold many positions in different social structures, so they are expected to fulfill a series of roles, each accompanied by its own expectations and behaviors (Scott et al., 1981, p. 78).

Positioning itself as an organization that handles two different fields is a challenge for Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG). It demands various roles to be carried out. If these roles are not carried out properly, then NGG cannot succeed in carrying out its roles, functions, duties and responsibilities in producing entrepreneurs-politicians. This was realized by the founders and administrators of NGG, so NGG created a design for organizational activities and programs that could carry out these various roles. This was explained by the informant, the founder and initiator of NGG. That NGG is tasked with preparing reserves for prospective national leaders at various levels, both executive and legislative. In carrying out this role, the activities carried out are very diverse, not just once or twice, but continuously and continuously.

The informant's explanation shows that NGG has various roles in organizational activities. One time as an event organizer who carries out activities, on another occasion as a business and enterprise motivator, on the other hand also as a leadership mentor. These dual roles continue to be carried out in various places and regions in Indonesia, not only in Malang Raya, or Java Island.

This was explained by another informant, a businessman who is now a politician as a member of the legislature, who is also the President of NGG. According to him, NGG initially only carried out business coaching activities, but then developed various thoughts and alternatives that could allow NGG to play a wider role in society. The informant's explanation shows that the dual role carried out by NGG has resulted in many businessmen being moved to enter the world of practical politics.

The informant who is the initiator and founder of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) admitted that the NGG he founded is ready for any role needed by the management and members. The role is indeed prepared specifically for the success and achievement of the members. The informant's explanation emphasized that NGG has a dual role, even

multiple and multiple. The dual role that is carried out has more or less succeeded in forming businessmen-politicians. The informant's explanation shows that NGG is serious about carrying out the dual role that has been carried out. NGG's role will continue to be carried out in the future.

Cadre formation as one of the superior factors in forming leadership character based on moral values. At this stage, NGG develops leadership through communication skills training, conflict management, and more comprehensive campaign strategies. This communication skills training has an important role in branding NGG members who are running in the 2024 legislative elections. Judging from the number of NGG members and administrators who have passed to become legislative members, whether it is recognized or not, the dual role carried out by NGG can also be called a success in implementing the strategy. One of them is in the political communication strategy which has a major impact on the votes of legislative candidates in the 2024 Election. Theoretically, political communication is related to the following things: (1) Political education and training; (2) Campaign and lobbying; (3) Strengthening networks; (4) Approaching community leaders (Taekab, et al., 2025). This is in line with the increasing results of NGG members who are running in the 2024 elections.

At the City and Regency DPRD levels, NGG's advantage lies in its mentoring-based cadre approach, which ensures that each cadre receives intensive coaching before actually entering the world of politics. This mentoring-based approach is very useful for the continuity of everyone who is involved and dedicates themselves to an organization so that they understand the role, duties, and functions of the organization, thus forming potential leaders and bringing change in the future (Hiryanto, et al., 2015). In addition, providing equal access can open up opportunities for all members to obtain promotions and pursue political careers through the process regardless of other factors such as ethnicity, race, religion, and gender (Fauzan, 2024).

The role of NGG is also in strict selection but remains open to various elements of society, thus creating a more inclusive and quality-oriented cadre environment. This system in previous studies was also used by political parties in the 2019 Election, in the cadre process there are several stages and strict evaluations that ensure that each elected cadre understands the party's values and ideology so that they are not just pursuing political power and the votes obtained are also high (Musthofa and Ngenget, 2023). The application of this model was also applied by NGG where members who successfully passed were quite a lot compared to those who failed in the 2024 election. From the results of NGG cadre formation, NGG members who nominated for the 2024 election were not only viewed in terms of popularity or finances, but from the results of a strict cadre process emphasizing loyalty, competence, and dedication.

The role of NGG recruitment is carried out in stages by considering individual potential, social track record, and involvement in the community. Basically, the purpose of the recruitment process is to attract the best and quality individuals and prepare to become potential cadres in the future and ready to take over the leadership of the next organization (Fauzan, 2024). In this regard, NGG prioritizes individuals who have influence in the community and demonstrate social concern. At the Provincial DPRD level, recruitment is carried out with strict selection that considers the candidate's track record in social and academic organizations. Meanwhile, the City and Regency DPRDs emphasize competency-based leadership training and intensive mentoring. That NGG carries out a strict recruitment pattern by providing coaching for lower-level cadres for each individual who will advance to the 2024 election. According to (Asshiddiqie, et al., 2006), this recruitment strategy is very necessary in order to provide opportunities for young figures, and reduce the dominance of money politics in the nomination process. In addition, reform is needed within political parties and encouragement from the community so that the elected leaders truly represent the interests of the people (Asshiddiqie, et al., 2006). In this way, the Indonesian political system can be healthier and oriented towards the interests of the people.

In terms of local leader criteria, NGG emphasizes aspects of integrity, commitment, capability, and fighting spirit. Integrity is the main factor at the DPR-RI level, while at the Provincial and City DPRD levels, competence and social concern are the main considerations. With this role, NGG ensures that the prospective leaders produced are more prepared to face political and social challenges in their respective regions. This is in line with previous recruitment models, namely the Barber model where according to Barber there are three main recruitment variables, namely: motivation, resources, and opportunities (Ratnasara, 2019). In this case, NGG emphasizes motivation by showing the fighting spirit of its members to become qualified prospective leaders and NGG also prepares that the resources it has are ready to face political and social challenges.

To eliminate the negative stigma among young people, an effective political education model is needed. The use of social media, the formation of virtual communities, and social movements in the digital world are patterns of political education that can be used today so that politics is not only looked down upon and young people can think critically and are expected to contribute to the political decision-making process (Prasetyo, et al., 2020). Based on this phenomenon, currently NGG has also begun to provide broad insights into political education through its programs and provide an in-depth understanding of the importance of leadership and how to be a good and proper leader.

From the perspective of cadre formation, the limited number of mentors and cadre formation infrastructure are the main obstacles in recruiting potential leaders. This shows the need to strengthen the political development system that is more inclusive and attractive to the younger generation. According to the theory of political cadre formation, the effectiveness of cadre formation depends on the presence of competent mentors and a sustainable system. With the number of mentors still limited, NGG needs to develop new strategies, such as digital-based leadership training or partnerships with educational institutions.

A person can act as a manager at work, a parent at home, a neighborhood leader, or a member of a religious or social organization. Each of these roles carries different duties, norms, and expectations. According to Scott et al., the challenge is how individuals can balance all these demands, especially when there is a clash between them. The same thing also happens to businessmen-politicians, when in the building as a politician, outside as a businessman.

The concept of role diversity also emphasizes the importance of role flexibility, which is the ability of an individual to shift from one role to another with relevant adjustments in attitudes and actions. Scott et al. note that a person's success in social interactions often depends on how well he or she is able to navigate the complexities of these roles without losing identity consistency or self-integrity. However, they also recognize that role diversity can lead to role conflict or role strain, especially when the time, energy, or values of one role clash with those of another. For example, a person may face a dilemma when parental responsibilities clash with the demands of a job that requires physical presence outside of work hours.

Thus, the concept of role diversity in Scott et al.'s theory not only describes the variety of social activities undertaken by individuals, but also provides insight into the complexity of modern social life that demands the ability to adapt, prioritize, and manage oneself on an ongoing basis.

The theoretical novelty of this research lies in the aspect of the benefits obtained by entrepreneurs who become politicians, namely the benefits obtained by entrepreneurs who become politicians:

- 1) The advantage of a winning network has an impact on the popularity aspect.
- 2) The benefits of reputation or good name, and achievements (success stories), have an impact on the likeability or preference of the public/voters.
- 3) The benefits of financial support, which are correlated with electability as a politician.

These three things are the novelties of Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast's theory of the political economy of legislators. The theoretical novelty of this study lies in the enrichment of the political economy theory of legislators formulated by Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast, especially in the framework of the relationship between the business sector and the political realm. In general, Shepsle and Weingast's theory focuses on how legislators behave rationally to maximize their personal interests in the political world, which are generally related to the goal of maintaining power or distributing resources according to political preferences or their constituents. However, this study expands the dimensions of this theory by emphasizing how status as a businessman—before or during entering politics—can be a strategic asset that affects an individual's chances of winning in an electoral battle.

In this context, the theoretical novelty offered is the identification of three specific types of benefits obtained by an entrepreneur when entering the political arena. First, the benefits of the winning network. As an entrepreneur, the individual already has a broad social and business network, including access to relationships with the media, communities, and important figures in various social strata. This network not only helps in campaign funding but also contributes to creating and spreading narratives that increase his popularity in the eyes of voters. This suggests that economic motives play a role not only in the distribution of legislative benefits, as explained by Shepsle and Weingast, but also in the creation of social capital that increases electoral opportunities.

Second, the novelty arises from the analysis of the reputation and record of success or success stories of entrepreneurs which are then utilized as political power. The image of success in business functions as a kind of informal credential that shapes public perception of competence, integrity, and leadership ability. This has an impact

on increasing the attractiveness or preference of voters for the candidate. In the framework of the political economy theory of legislators, this dimension enriches the understanding that political calculations do not only depend on the allocation of policies or resources, but also include effective communication strategies and self-image.

Third, the financial support dimension is an important foundation of the theoretical contribution of this study. Entrepreneurs who run for office as politicians generally have access to large economic resources, both from personal businesses and from business networks that support them. This financial strength is directly correlated with electability because it affects the candidate's ability to fund political campaigns, expand the reach of promotions, and control political communication channels. In this case, the rationality aspect in Shepsle and Weingast's theory is strengthened by the fact that personal financial gain is not only used to acquire profitable policies, but also serves as a tool to negotiate power since the early stages of electoral competition.

Thus, the uniqueness of this study not only broadens the theoretical scope, but also deepens the understanding of how a political actor's rational calculation can begin long before he or she takes part in the legislative institution. By placing experience and economic capital as part of a strategy to build political power, this study shows that legislators' political decisions are not only determined by political incentives in office, but also by the structure of social, symbolic, and financial capital that has been built previously. This is a significant contribution to the development of the theory of legislator political economy in a more complex socio-political context.

NGG's success in the 2024 Election also confirms new opportunities in transforming political careers in Indonesia. If previously the political path was dominated by bureaucracy, activism, or family connections, NGG introduces a new mechanism, where entrepreneurs can become public decision makers with legitimacy built from real work in the business sector and electoral support from the community. This innovation not only has an impact on the composition of government and parliament, but also has the potential to change political culture in the long term by bringing a different work ethic, results orientation, and communication patterns from conventional politicians.

Thus, the existence of NGG is not merely a technical phenomenon in political training or coaching, but also has strategic and cultural implications. This organization disrupts old political patterns, redefines political career paths, and provides new dynamics in Indonesian democracy through a combination of entrepreneurial values with the principles of public service.

Table 2. Existing Table

Formulation of the problem	Focus	Findings	Proposition
How political economic practices on the involvement of entrepreneurs as legislative candidates in the 2024 Election in the Malang Raya electoral district?	1. An exchange occurs 2. There are benefits 3. Attempts to gain power	<p>Finding 1 There was an exchange of businessmen and politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election in Malang Raya.</p> <p>Finding 2 What is exchanged is reputation and success for voter support.</p> <p>Finding 3 What is exchanged is also money/material for voters' votes.</p> <p>Finding 4 There are advantages for businessmen-politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election in Malang Raya.</p> <p>Finding 5 The advantage of having a network of employees and colleagues as social capital to increase popularity.</p> <p>Finding 6 The benefits of reputation and business success (success story) as capital for likeability.</p> <p>Finding 7 Financial gain as financial capital in winning the contest.</p> <p>Finding 8 There is an attempt to gain power by businessmen-politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election in Malang Raya.</p> <p>Finding 9 Efforts are made in the form of active campaign activities and winning strategies.</p>	<p>Minor Proposition</p> <p>Proposition 1 The practice of businessman-politician exchange in elections.</p> <p>Proposition 2 Businessmen-politicians benefit during elections.</p> <p>Proposition 3 Businessmen-politicians seek to gain power in elections.</p>
How The role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in forming businessmen-politicians as legislative members in the	1. Impersonal in nature. 2. Relating to specific task behavior. 3. Difficult to	<p>Finding 10 There is a role for Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in forming businessmen-politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election.</p> <p>Finding 11 The impersonal role of the Gilang Gemilang archipelago in forming businessmen-politicians</p>	<p>Proposition 4 Nusantara Gilang Gemilang plays a role in forming businessmen-politicians in the General Election</p>

Formulation of the problem	Focus	Findings	Proposition
2024 election in the Malang Raya electoral district?	control due to ambiguity. 4.Can be learned quickly. 5. One individual can play several roles at once.	in the 2024 Legislative Election. Finding 12 There is a specific task for Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in forming businessmen-politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election. Finding 12 There is ambiguity in the role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in forming businessmen-politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election. Finding 13 There is a rapid learning process in forming entrepreneur-politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election. Finding 14 The existence of various roles (role diversity) of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in forming entrepreneurs-politicians in the 2024 Legislative Election.	
			Major Proposition The economic-political practices of entrepreneurs who are legislative candidates formed by Nusantara Gilang Gemilang.

5. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

5. 1. Conclusion

- 1) Political Economy Practices on Entrepreneurs' Involvement as Legislative Candidates in the 2024 Election in the Malang Raya Electoral District
In practice, politics is not much different from business. There are things that are exchanged in the world of politics. There are some things that are actually exchanged in the existence of entrepreneurs in the world of politics.
 - a. Exchanging Reputation and Success for Voter Support
Reputation, good name and success as an entrepreneur are among the things offered to voters as a means of exchange for support given by voters during elections to entrepreneurs who are legislative candidates.
 - b. Exchange of Materials with Voters' Voices
Entrepreneurs have other capital that is no less important than that capital, namely money/material capital. As entrepreneurs, of course they have a lot of money/material collected from profits as entrepreneurs. The money/material collected from the results of the business is then used as capital to enter the world of politics.
- 2) The Advantages of Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections in Malang Raya
Entrepreneurs who become politicians gain many advantages in their position as entrepreneurs. This also applies to entrepreneurs who become legislative candidates in the Malang Raya electoral district in the 2024 Election. There

are at least two advantages gained by entrepreneurs who become legislative candidates in Malang Raya in the 2024 Election. This also facilitates the position and existence of entrepreneurs as legislative candidates to achieve victory in the Election contest.

a. The Benefits of Having a Network of Employees and Colleagues as Social Capital to Increase Popularity
Every entrepreneur has many employees working in the company or at the place of business they manage. The bigger the business they run, the more employees they employ. Employees working in companies owned by entrepreneurs who become politicians are one aspect of their own benefits for entrepreneurs. Another benefit obtained by entrepreneurs who become political candidates, during the winning process, is the benefit in the form of networks from relations, colleagues, partners including from clients in the business they run.

b. The Benefits of Reputation and Business Success (Success Story) as Likeability Capital
As a businessman who has a good name in the form of success (success story) in carrying out business activities, it is a special advantage for entrepreneurs who enter politics.

c. Financial Gains as Financial Capital in Winning Contests
As a businessman, he has a lot of funds as capital for winning when entering the world of practical politics. Businessmen who become politicians, especially legislative candidates in Malang Raya, use the money/material capital collected from their business, one of which is for the purpose of winning during the Election.

3) Attempts to Gain Power by Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections in Malang Raya

Every person who enters politics certainly has a goal to gain power, or if they have gained power, they try to maintain that power. Businessmen who enter the world of politics are also like that, they have a goal, or in other words, the ambition to gain power. Businessmen who become politicians, especially legislative candidates, also have efforts to gain power. These efforts involve various strategies that are carried out so that their efforts to gain power are successful, according to their wishes.

a. The Role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in Forming Entrepreneurs-Politicians as Legislative Members in the 2024 Election in the Malang Raya Electoral District

This study reveals that Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) plays an important role in supporting the election of legislative members in the 2024 Election in Malang City. NGG contributes to forming businessmen-politicians.

b. The Impersonal Role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in Forming Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

In the social system that applies in Indonesia, including in the Malang Raya community, it does not prohibit entrepreneurs who are involved in practical politics. Moreover, this is not prohibited by the rules and legal norms that apply universally in Indonesia. On the contrary, the participation of entrepreneurs as part of the nation's elements is given the opportunity to be involved in political activities.

c. Nusantara Gilang Gemilang Specific Tasks in Forming Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

Even though the community organization is new and still small in scale, Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) is serious about carrying out its role, duties and responsibilities to produce or shape entrepreneurs who also become politicians.

d. There is Ambiguity in the Role of Nusantara Gilang Gemilang in Forming Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

As an organization that operates in two fields or sectors that are understood by most people as being in conflict, there is an ambiguous or unclear viewpoint regarding the role of NGG in carrying out its duties and responsibilities.

e. Rapid Learning Process in Forming Entrepreneur-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

The transition from being a businessman to being a politician is not easy, but it is not impossible to do. It takes a fast learning process to be able to make it happen. Moreover, to become a successful businessman and a successful politician.

f. Nusantara Gilang Gemilang Multiple Roles in Producing Entrepreneurs-Politicians in the 2024 Legislative Elections

Positioning itself as an organization that handles two different fields is a challenge for Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG). It demands various roles to be carried out. If these roles are not carried out properly, then NGG

cannot succeed in carrying out its roles, functions, duties and responsibilities in producing entrepreneurs-politicians. The theoretical novelty of this research lies in the aspect of the benefits obtained by entrepreneurs who become politicians, namely the benefits obtained by entrepreneurs who become politicians:

- 1) The advantage of a winning network has an impact on the popularity aspect.
- 2) The benefits of reputation or good name, and achievements (success stories), have an impact on the likeability or preference of the public/voters.
- 3) The benefits of financial support, which are correlated with electability as a politician.

Third matter This is the novelty of Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast's theory on the political economy theory of legislators. The theoretical novelty of this study lies in the enrichment of the political economy theory of legislators formulated by Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast, especially in the framework of the relationship between the business sector and the political realm. In general, Shepsle and Weingast's theory focuses on how legislators behave rationally to maximize their personal interests in the political world, which are generally related to the goal of maintaining power or distributing resources according to political preferences or their constituents. However, this study expands the dimensions of this theory by emphasizing that the status of businessmen who become politicians, before or during their time in politics, can be a strategic asset that influences an individual's chances of winning in an electoral battle.

Meanwhile, the practical novelty of this research lies in the existence of the Gilang Gemilang Nusantara (NGG) organization which seeks to combine the business world and the political sector in the training of entrepreneurs to enter the world of politics to become political officials at the regional, central, legislative and executive levels. This has been done in the 2024 Election, with many entrepreneurs who joined NGG being elected as people's representatives at the regional, provincial and central levels. So far, there has been no organization that specifically plays a role in these two aspects in the organization's activities and programs.

5.2. Suggestion

Based on the research findings, several suggestions and recommendations that can be conveyed are:

- 1) Suggestions for the Glorious Archipelago (NGG)

As an organization engaged in the empowerment, strengthening, training and cadre development of entrepreneurs who become politicians, NGG needs to take the following steps. First, strengthening human resource capacity. Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) needs to improve training for its political cadres in terms of digital communication strategies, campaign management, and leadership skills in order to be able to compete in the increasingly competitive world of politics. Second, optimizing the use of social media. Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) needs to develop a more systematic social media strategy by utilizing digital platform algorithms, such as the use of targeted digital advertising, optimizing interactive content, and using analytical data to understand voter behavior. Third, collaboration with stakeholders. To overcome budget challenges, Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) can collaborate more closely with various communities, academics, and non-governmental organizations to obtain additional support in cadre development and campaign programs. Fourth, evaluate the program periodically. Nusantara Gilang Gemilang (NGG) must conduct regular evaluations of the effectiveness of its programs by measuring the impact of each campaign strategy implemented and making necessary adjustments to remain relevant to the evolving political dynamics.

- 2) Advice to Politicians-Entrepreneurs

Politicians who become entrepreneurs need to diversify their campaigns when running for legislative office. In addition to digital and face-to-face approaches, there needs to be additional strategies such as political education-based campaigns for the public, so that voters not only get to know legislative candidates but also understand their vision and mission in depth. Both strategies can be more successful, in terms of recognition (popularity), likeability (likeability) and electability (electability).

5.3. Implications of Research Results

5.3.1. Theoretical Implications

This study has implications for the political economy theory of legislators put forward by Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast, which states that legislators behave rationally to maximize their personal interests in politics.

This study expands on the theory about the existence of entrepreneurs, after entering politics, can use the assets and networks they have for electoral victory, starting from recognition (popularity, likeability), to electability.

6.3.2. Practical Implications

This study has practical implications for the implementation of Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, especially the article explaining the nomination of legislative members. The articles in the Law provide freedom to all Indonesian citizens who have met the requirements to participate in running for office. However, in reality there is a principle of inequality in financing legislative candidates. Everyone is given the widest possible opportunity to finance the contest. Article 327 of the Law only regulates donations to candidates, for individuals a maximum of IDR 2.5 billion, and for companies a maximum of IDR 25 billion. However, there are no provisions regarding the maximum amount of candidate financing. So the law of the jungle seems to apply, those with the most money can finance the nomination as much as possible.

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