

The Strategy of the Nasdem Party in Confronting the Dominance of Major Parties in the 2024 Election in Tuban Regency

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Abstract

This study analyzes the strategy of the Nasdem Party in responding to the dominance of major parties in the 2024 election in Tuban Regency. The research background highlights the complexity of local political competition, which is dominated by religion-based parties, as well as the crucial role of community leaders and local identity in shaping voter preferences. This study aims to identify the political strategies employed by the Nasdem Party and to reveal the challenges faced in enhancing electability and vote acquisition. A descriptive qualitative method is utilized, incorporating a data triangulation approach that includes in-depth interviews, document studies, and direct observations of political activities in the field. The findings indicate that the Nasdem Party adopts a strategy based on recruiting high-quality cadres, internal consolidation, and political marketing through the 4P approach (product, price, place, promotion), tailored to the socio-cultural characteristics of Tuban's society. The primary challenges encountered include the dominance of major parties such as PKB and Golkar, shifts in voter preferences due to local and national issues, and competition among regional political figures. Although there has been an increase in electability at the regency DPRD level, the results have not yet met the targets for the provincial DPRD and national DPR-RI levels. In conclusion, the strategies implemented by the Nasdem Party have led to several positive achievements but still require further evaluation and refinement to address greater challenges in the future. This study provides practical contributions to the development of political strategies and offers recommendations for political parties in navigating elections, particularly in regions with complex political dynamics such as Tuban Regency.

Keywords: *Electability, 2024 Election, Political Marketing, Party Strategy, Tuban.*



A. INTRODUCTION

Political parties serve as a vehicle for citizens to participate in the governance process of a country. Today, the presence of political parties has become a fundamental aspect of our political environment (Budiman, 2018). As political institutions, parties do not emerge spontaneously but rather have a long historical trajectory, although they are relatively young compared to state organizations. Political parties are a relatively recent phenomenon in human history, primarily emerging in the context of modern nation-states (Budiardjo, 2008).

In the Republic of Indonesia, various types of elections are held, including presidential elections, regional head elections, and legislative elections.

This paper focuses on legislative elections, which serve as a direct mechanism for the people to exercise their sovereignty across Indonesia at the provincial, regency, and municipal levels, in accordance with the Indonesian Constitution and the principles of Pancasila. The legislative election process is conducted based on

principles of honesty, fairness, peace, and transparency, aiming to elect members of the House of Representatives (DPR), Provincial Regional House of Representatives (DPRD Province), and Regency/Municipal Regional House of Representatives (DPRD Regency/Municipality). Through legislative elections, citizens exercise their voting rights, contributing to their political education. Indonesia adopts a democratic system characterized by competition among political parties. Political rivalry is an inherent aspect of democracy, as eliminating such competition could lead to the rise of authoritarian and absolute governance. Within this democratic framework, political parties serve as the primary pillars of the political process in Indonesia.

One of the significant political entities in Indonesia's democratic landscape is the Nasdem Party. Founded on November 11, 2011, Nasdem has consistently emphasized its commitment to democratic principles and public participation in the political process. The party first participated in the 2014 general elections, followed by subsequent electoral contests in 2019 and 2024. In each election, including in Tuban Regency, East Java Province, Nasdem competes not only at the local level but also at the national level for seats in the DPR, DPRD Province, and DPRD Regency/Municipality..

As a relatively young political party, Nasdem has faced significant challenges in building its electability (Aminah, 2020). The political competition in Tuban Regency is particularly intense, as regencies and municipalities in East Java are generally dominated by Islamic-based parties, particularly the National Awakening Party (PKB) (Ali, 2021). However, unlike the broader trend in East Java, Tuban Regency saw the dominance of the Golkar Party in the 2024 elections, despite PKB's previous electoral superiority in the past two elections. Golkar's success in the 2024 election was significantly influenced by its strong candidate, Tuban Regent Aditya Halindra, who is the son of the Chairman of Golkar's Tuban Regional Leadership Council (DPD) and a former two-term regent of Tuban. This suggests a strong presence of the Golkar Party in the 2024 elections. Given this context, the electoral competition in Tuban Regency presents an interesting case for analysis. The Nasdem Party had high expectations for the 2024 elections, compared to the previous two election cycles, particularly following the 2022 leadership change in Nasdem's Tuban Regional Leadership Council (DPD), where Tuban Deputy Regent Riyadi assumed the leadership position. This transition signaled Nasdem's serious commitment to securing more legislative seats. However, despite these efforts, Nasdem in Tuban Regency still faces significant challenges in achieving its electoral targets.

The Nasdem Party is engaged in intense political competition both at the national and local levels. At the national level, Nasdem played a major role in the presidential election by endorsing Anies Baswedan as its candidate, demonstrating the party's strong determination to enhance its political influence. At the regional level in Tuban, the political rivalry between the regent, backed by Golkar, and the deputy regent, supported by Nasdem, adds another layer of complexity. Additionally, Nasdem faces competition from other major political parties, including the Indonesian

Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Gerindra, the Democratic Party, and PKB, all of which have traditionally been more dominant than Nasdem in previous elections.

An analysis of election results from 2014 to 2024 indicates that Nasdem has not yet been able to fully optimize public support in Tuban Regency.

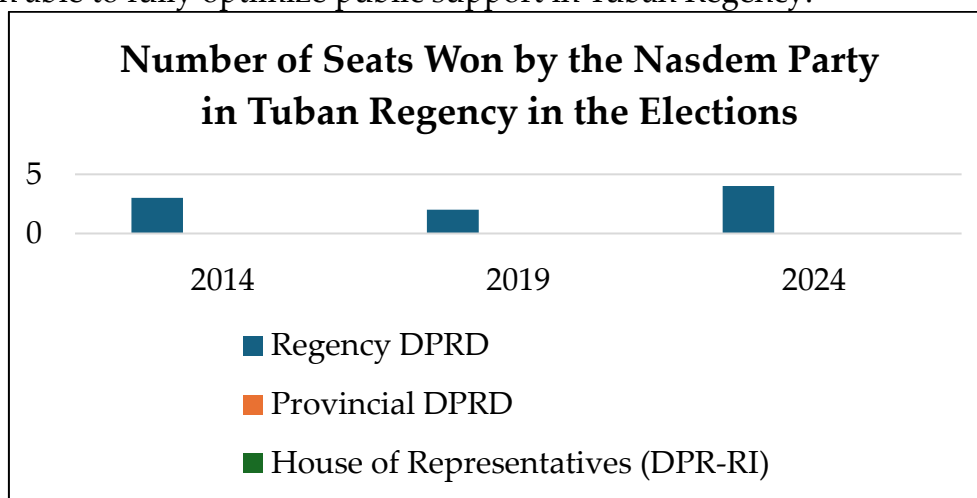


Figure 1. Graph of Nasdem Party's Seat Acquisition in Tuban Regency

Source: Analyzed Data from the General Election Commission (KPU) of Tuban Regency

According to data from the General Election Commission (KPU) of Tuban Regency, the Nasdem Party, which participated in the elections for the first time in 2014, secured 27,407 votes out of a total of 663,052 votes, ranking 9th out of 12 competing parties. The party won three seats in the Regency DPRD but failed to secure representation in the East Java Provincial DPRD or the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR-RI). In the 2019 election, although Nasdem's total votes increased to 30,661, its seats in the Regency DPRD decreased to two, and the party once again failed to send representatives to the Provincial DPRD or DPR-RI.

By 2024, the Nasdem Party experienced a significant increase in votes, reaching 55,112 votes in Tuban Regency and securing four seats in the Regency DPRD. However, despite this growth at the local level, the party still failed to win seats in the Provincial DPRD and DPR-RI. While the increase in votes and seats at the regency level represents an improvement, the overall performance remains suboptimal, particularly at the provincial and national levels.

From the 2014 to 2024 elections, the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency has struggled to fully maximize its electoral performance. The party's representation in the Regency DPRD fluctuated, with three seats in 2014, decreasing to two in 2019, and then rising again to four in 2024. However, at the Provincial DPRD and DPR-RI levels, Nasdem has yet to secure a single seat in all three elections. This indicates that the party's cadres and leadership have not been fully effective in securing representation at multiple levels of government.

Nasdem's performance in Tuban Regency reflects significant challenges in the local political landscape, particularly against the dominance of larger parties such as Golkar, PKB, and PDIP. Leadership changes at the regional level and the political strategies employed thus far appear to have fallen short in overcoming these obstacles.

In preparation for the 2024 election, the Nasdem Party in Tuban underwent a major leadership transition. Drs. H. Sumantri, who previously served as the Chairman of the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) of Nasdem, was replaced by H. Riyadi, S.H., M.Kp., who also serves as the Deputy Regent of Tuban (Saputra, 2021). Riyadi was officially appointed as Chairman of Nasdem's Tuban DPD for the 2022–2027 period on December 18, 2022. Prior to his leadership in Nasdem, Riyadi was a Democratic Party cadre and was elected as Deputy Regent through a coalition with Golkar. His experience, public image, and leadership credentials in both political organizations and local governance are well-recognized. However, at the local level, political parties face challenges in shaping a positive public image, expanding their voter base, and maintaining consistent electoral support.

The Chairman of the Nasdem Regional Leadership Council (DPD) of Tuban Regency, H. Riyadi, emphasized that in 2024, the Nasdem Party must emerge victorious, considering it a major challenge. With improvements in human resources, financial support, political image, and other aspects compared to previous elections, expectations for the party were high. However, the reality was far from ideal—Nasdem failed to secure seats in the DPR-RI and the East Java Provincial DPRD and only won four seats in the Regency DPRD, falling short of its targets.

This study is crucial not only for developing political theories related to election management and political marketing but also for its practical implications for political parties in formulating future strategies. Therefore, this research aims to make a significant contribution to understanding the strategies that influence a party's electoral success and provide valuable recommendations for improving the performance of political parties in the future.

The study on Nasdem Party's strategy in facing dominant political parties in the 2024 election in Tuban Regency is supported by relevant references. Although several previous studies have analyzed political strategies and party achievements in elections, specific research on Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency within the context of the 2024 election remains scarce. Most prior studies, such as (Saputra A. &, 2020) and (Anggara, NS, JS, & Silitonga, 2020), focused more on general factors contributing to party failures in elections without deeply examining the strategies and challenges faced by nationalist-based parties in regions dominated by religious-based politics. Additionally, the study by (Loso, Turtiantoro, & Utomo, 2021) on PKS's failure in Batang Regency provides an interesting perspective on internal and external factors influencing party performance but does not directly relate to Nasdem's political recruitment approach. Several previous studies also offer valuable insights into Nasdem's political strategies in various electoral contexts. (Lestiani, 2014) examined Nasdem's political marketing strategies in the 2014 election in Central Java, focusing on party structuring, member recruitment, and socialization programs. (Sugiono & Agung, 2021) investigated the impact of political strategies on party electability at both national and regional levels, while (Dahliah, 2023) explored Nasdem's strategy in Aceh for the 2024 election, emphasizing internal consolidation and no-dowry political branding. (Wedhono & Suparlan, 2024) highlighted Nasdem's political marketing

strategy in Yogyakarta using the 4P marketing mix approach. Other studies, such as (Wulandari, 2019) in Surabaya and (Agus, 2023) in Lampung, offer diverse perspectives on campaign strategies, cadre recruitment, and efforts to increase voter participation.

From a theoretical perspective, previous studies have largely relied on the 4P political marketing theory and general political party theories without specifically exploring how recruitment strategies and candidate placement influence vote acquisition. Therefore, this research seeks to fill this gap by conducting a comprehensive analysis of how Nasdem Party's recruitment and political marketing strategies in the 2024 Election in Tuban Regency contributed to its electoral performance. By adopting a mixed strategy approach—including social media utilization, face-to-face campaigns, and internal consolidation—this study aims to enrich the literature on political party strategies in regional political competition. Thus, the research not only adds to the body of knowledge regarding nationalist party strategies in regions dominated by religious-based parties but also provides an empirical contribution to understanding the effectiveness of party strategies in overcoming electoral challenges.

Despite Nasdem Party's efforts to address challenges, such as competition with major parties (Golkar, PKB, and PDIP), shifts in voter preferences, and local issues, its strategies appear to have fallen short of achieving significant success. Therefore, an in-depth analysis of Nasdem's electoral performance and challenges in the 2024 Election in Tuban Regency is crucial to understanding local political dynamics and the role of political parties in elections. This research identifies the political dynamics of the Nasdem Party, the implementation of its 4P-based political marketing strategy (Product, Price, Place, Promotion), as well as the challenges and opportunities in enhancing its electability amid local political competition. The novelty of this study lies in its analysis of Nasdem's political strategy using the 4P approach while linking it to the effectiveness of political recruitment functions—a perspective that has not been extensively explored. Additionally, this research reveals how a nationalist party competes in an area with religious-based electoral preferences and identifies internal and external factors influencing Nasdem's electoral performance. This approach offers new insights for both academics and political practitioners in designing electoral strategies at the regional level. Under the title "Nasdem Party's Strategy in Facing Dominant Political Parties in the 2024 Election in Tuban Regency," this study aims to analyze Nasdem Party's political dynamics, evaluate the effectiveness of its political marketing strategy, and identify the obstacles and supporting factors in increasing its electability.

B. METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach with a descriptive method to gain an in-depth understanding of the challenges and achievements of the Nasdem Party in the 2024 Election in Tuban Regency. This method aims to describe the occurring phenomena and analyze the factors influencing both the party's success and the

obstacles encountered in the electoral contest (Moleong, 2017). The research subjects consist of Nasdem Party officials in Tuban Regency, legislative candidates endorsed by the party, and voters who have interacted with the party's political strategies. Additionally, the study involves academics and political observers who possess a comprehensive understanding of the political dynamics in Tuban Regency. Informants are selected using purposive sampling, which involves choosing individuals deemed to have relevant and in-depth knowledge of the research topic (Patton, 2015).

Data collection is carried out through three main methods: first, in-depth interviews with party officials, legislative candidates, and voters to understand the political strategies implemented as well as the challenges faced in the 2024 Election; second, participatory observation to directly observe campaign activities, recruitment strategies, and the party's interactions with the community in order to gain a more concrete empirical understanding; third, documentary research to collect data from official party documents, previous election results, and relevant media reports. The research instrument consists of a semi-structured interview guide, which is developed based on indicators derived from political theory, particularly the theory of political party recruitment and the 4P political marketing framework (Product, Price, Place, Promotion) (Firmanzah, 2016), ensuring that the data obtained is relevant to the theoretical framework used.

Data analysis in this study uses a thematic analysis method, where the data obtained from interviews and observations are coded based on emerging themes. The analysis process is carried out in three stages, namely data reduction by sorting and filtering data deemed relevant to the research, data presentation in the form of a descriptive narrative to facilitate understanding and further analysis, and conclusion drawing by synthesizing findings based on patterns and relationships identified within the data. Data validity is maintained through source triangulation, which involves comparing information from various informants and cross-checking it with documentary and observational data, so that this study is expected to provide a comprehensive overview of the strategies, achievements, and challenges faced by the Nasdem Party in the 2024 Election in Tuban Regency.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Election Results of Political Parties in Tuban Regency

The Golkar Party, which has a long history in Tuban Regency, has maintained its position as one of the dominant parties with a solid voter base. In the 2014 Election, Golkar managed to secure 84,972 votes and won 7 seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD. However, in the 2019 Election, Golkar's votes saw a significant increase to 111,816 votes, successfully securing 9 seats. This positive trend continued in the 2024 Election, where Golkar demonstrated its growing influence and presence with a vote acquisition reaching 275,644 votes and the success of securing 20 seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD. This dominance of Golkar indicates that the party's strategies in winning over voters have been highly effective, particularly in maintaining

constituent loyalty and attracting new voters. The vote and seat acquisition of the Nasdem Party further highlight the strength of the Golkar Party in Tuban Regency, as it managed to control nearly half of the total available seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD.

Meanwhile, PKB, which has a strong voter base in Tuban, has experienced a declining trend in votes over the last three elections. In the 2014 Election, PKB obtained 199,487 votes and secured 14 seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD, demonstrating its strong dominance at the time. However, in the 2019 Election, PKB's vote count experienced a slight decline to 195,173 votes, although it was still able to maintain its dominant position. This negative trend became more apparent in the 2024 Election, where PKB's vote count drastically decreased to 152,133 votes, and the number of seats obtained was reduced to 11. This result caused PKB, which had previously always been the party with the most seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD, to drop to second place, below the Golkar Party, which in the 2024 Election managed to secure 20 seats. This change reflects a shift in the political preferences of the people of Tuban as well as the impact of the campaign strategies implemented by each party.

The National Mandate Party (PAN) also experienced a significant decline in both vote acquisition and seats. In the 2014 Election, PAN obtained 46,078 votes and secured 3 seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD. However, in the 2019 Election, PAN's vote count experienced a slight decline to 44,916 votes, although its number of seats remained at 3. A drastic decline occurred in the 2024 Election, where PAN was only able to obtain 21,035 votes and lost most of its seats, leaving only 1 seat in the Tuban Regency DPRD. This decline indicates a decrease in constituent support as well as increasing competition from other parties in capturing PAN voters in Tuban.

The Democratic Party has experienced a negative trend over the last three elections. In the 2014 Election, the Democratic Party obtained 62,663 votes and secured 6 seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD. However, in the 2019 Election, the party's vote count declined to 71,845 votes, and the number of seats decreased to 5. This negative trend became even more evident in the 2024 Election, where the Democratic Party was only able to obtain 38,081 votes and lost 2 of its seats, leaving only 3 seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD. This decline indicates that the Democratic Party has faced challenges in maintaining voter support, possibly due to the ineffectiveness of its campaign strategies, shifts in its voter base, or external factors such as national political issues.

PDIP, as the ruling party at the national level, has maintained relatively stable vote acquisition in Tuban Regency despite experiencing a slight decline in the 2024 Election. In the 2014 Election, PDIP obtained 78,306 votes and successfully secured 5 seats. This stable trend continued in the 2019 Election, where PDIP obtained 78,917 votes and maintained its 5 seats. However, in the 2024 Election, PDIP experienced a slight decline in votes to 60,189, although its number of seats remained at 5. The stability of PDIP in maintaining its seats indicates that despite the slight decline in votes, the party still has a relatively strong and loyal voter base in Tuban Regency.

The Gerindra Party has also experienced a declining vote trend since the 2014 Election. In the 2014 Election, Gerindra obtained 78,191 votes and secured 6 seats in

the Tuban Regency DPRD. However, in the 2019 Election, the party experienced a decline in vote acquisition to 56,773 votes, and its number of seats decreased to 5. This trend continued in the 2024 Election, where Gerindra only obtained 55,346 votes and saw a reduction in seats to 4. This decline indicates that although the Gerindra Party holds a strong position at the national level, it faces significant challenges in maintaining voter support at the local level, particularly in Tuban Regency.

Overall, the electoral dynamics in Tuban Regency indicate significant changes in voter preferences from the 2014 Election to the 2024 Election. The Golkar Party has successfully strengthened its dominance with a highly significant increase in votes, while PKB, which was previously dominant, has experienced a substantial decline. PAN, the Democratic Party, and Gerindra have also experienced declining votes, while PDIP has remained relatively stable in maintaining its seats. These changes indicate that political strategies, campaigns, and approaches to voters play a crucial role in determining a party's success in securing seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD.

One of the parties that also experienced significant dynamics in the 2024 Election in Tuban Regency is the Nasdem Party. As a party that upholds a nationalist ideology with a modern political approach, Nasdem faces various challenges and opportunities in maintaining and increasing its vote acquisition. The performance of the Nasdem Party in this election is particularly interesting to analyze further, especially in terms of its campaign strategies, cadre recruitment, and competitiveness against other parties in Tuban Regency.

The vote acquisition results of the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency can be observed from the composition of its representatives in the legislature at the DPRD Tuban Regency, DPRD East Java Province, and DPR-RI levels. Based on data from the General Election Commission (KPU) of Tuban Regency, in the 2014 Election, the Nasdem Party managed to obtain only 27,407 votes out of a total of 663,052 votes in Tuban Regency, placing it 9th out of 12 competing parties. The party managed to secure 3 out of 50 available seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD, which were distributed across 5 electoral districts (Dapil). Despite being a newcomer party, Nasdem still performed better than several parties that had previously participated in elections, such as the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI).

Table 1. Number of Legislative Candidate Votes in Tuban Regency 2014

No	Party	Regency DPRD		Provincial DPRD		House of Representatives (DPR-RI)	
		Number of Seats	Number of Votes	Number of Seats	Number of Votes	Number of Seats	Number of Votes
1	NasDem Party	3 Seats	27,407	0 Seats	23,260	0 Seats	24,868
2	National Awakening Party (PKB)	14 Seats	199,487	1 Seats	161,734	1 Seats	151,832
3	Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)	3 Seats	27,421	0 Seats	21,795	0 Seats	19,961
4	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)	5 Seats	78,306	1 Seats	79,889	1 Seats	85,492

5	Golkar Party	7 Seats	84,972	1 Seats	56,123	1 Seats	65,815
6	Gerindra Party	6 Seats	78,191	1 Seats	65,916	1 Seats	73,133
7	Democratic Party	6 Seats	62,663	1 Seats	72,503	1 Seats	83,179
8	National Mandate Party (PAN)	3 Seats	46,078	1 Seats	49,042	1 Seats	29,229
9	United Development Party (PPP)	2 Seats	2,925	0 Seats	17,713	0 Seats	20,991
10	People's Conscience Party (Hanura)	1 Seats	20,932	0 Seats	13,801	0 Seats	13,772
11	Crescent Star Party (PBB)	0 Seats	6,741	0 Seats	4,487	0 Seats	5,455
12	Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI)	0 Seats	1,104	0 Seats	1,307	0 Seats	1,336
Total		50 Seats	663,052	6 Seats	567,57	6 Seats	575,063

Source: General Elections Commission (KPU) of Tuban Regency, 2014

At the East Java Provincial DPRD level in the Tuban Regency electoral district, the NasDem Party was only able to secure 23,260 votes out of a total of 567,570 votes and failed to win any of the 6 available seats. Despite being a newcomer, NasDem still managed to obtain a significant number of votes compared to several long-established parties such as the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the United Development Party (PPP), the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), and the Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI).

In the 9th electoral district (Dapil 9) for the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR-RI), which includes Tuban Regency, the NasDem Party secured only 24,868 votes out of a total of 575,063 votes and failed to win any of the 6 available seats. As a new party, NasDem had not yet succeeded in sending its representatives to the DPR-RI, although the number of votes it obtained was quite competitive compared to older parties that did not have a strong base in the region. Overall, in the 2014 election, the NasDem Party was unable to send representatives to either the East Java Provincial DPRD or the DPR-RI but managed to secure 3 seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD. Although the party had yet to make a significant impact, this result was already a good achievement for a party that was only founded on November 11, 2011, and was participating in its first election.

In the 2019 election, which was NasDem's second election, the party had gained experience from the previous election. In Tuban Regency, the NasDem Party experienced an increase in the number of votes by 3,251, from 27,407 votes in 2014 to 30,661 votes. However, the number of seats obtained actually decreased, securing only 2 seats out of the 50 available in the Tuban Regency DPRD. At the East Java Provincial DPRD level, NasDem's votes declined. From 23,260 votes in the 2014 election, it dropped to 19,388 votes in the 2019 election, and once again, the party failed to send its representatives to the provincial DPRD. In the 9th electoral district for the DPR-RI, NasDem experienced a significant decline in votes, from 24,868 votes in 2014 to 16,621 votes in 2019, and failed to secure any of the 6 available seats. This decline indicated that NasDem Party cadres had not yet maximized their efforts in increasing the party's electability.

Table 2. Number of Legislative Candidates' Votes in Tuban Regency 2019

No	Party	Regency DPRD		Provincial DPRD		House of Representatives (DPR-RI)	
		Number of Seats	Number of Votes	Number of Seats	Number of Votes	Number of Seats	Number of Votes
1	National Awakening Party	16 Seats	195,173	2 Seats	146,236	1 Seats	177,101
2	Gerindra Party	5 Seats	56,773	1 Seats	44,623	1 Seats	45,847
3	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)	5 Seats	78,917	1 Seats	110,864	1 Seats	73,309
4	Golkar Party	9 Seats	111,816	1 Seats	111,995	1 Seats	144,162
5	NasDem Party	2 Seats	30,661	0 Seats	19,388	0 Seats	16,621
6	Indonesian Change Movement Party	0 Seats	1,351	0 Seats	2,071	0 Seats	1,663
7	Berkarya Party	0 Seats	957	0 Seats	13,724	0 Seats	11,878
8	Prosperous Justice Party	1 Seats	24,306	0 Seats	13,988	0 Seats	13,871
9	Indonesian Unity Party	0 Seats	9,209	0 Seats	8,497	0 Seats	8,72
10	United Development Party	2 Seats	31,064	0 Seats	23,186	0 Seats	38,235
11	Indonesian Solidarity Party	0 Seats	3,428	0 Seats	3,875	0 Seats	4,113
12	National Mandate Party	3 Seats	44,916	1 Seats	4,141	1 Seats	39,885
13	People's Conscience Party	1 Seats	15,598	0 Seats	4,625	0 Seats	4,442
14	Democratic Party	5 Seats	71,845	1 Seats	34,323	1 Seats	58,26
15	Crescent Star Party	1 Seats	9,626	0 Seats	3,545	0 Seats	3,279
16	Indonesian Justice and Unity Party	0 Seats	461	0 Seats	946	0 Seats	636
Total		50 Seats	694,714	7 Seats	583,296	6 Seats	642,022

Source: General Election Commission (KPU) of Tuban Regency, 2019

The 2024 election marked the third election for the NasDem Party, with experience from the previous two elections. In the Tuban Regency DPRD election, NasDem Party significantly increased its vote count by 24,451 votes, from 30,661 votes in 2019 to 55,112 votes in 2024, securing 4 seats out of the 50 available. Although there was an increase in the number of seats, the result was still not optimal. At the East Java Provincial DPRD level, NasDem Party's vote count saw only a minor increase of 421

votes, from 19,388 in 2019 to 19,809 in 2024. The party still failed to secure a representative in the East Java Provincial DPRD. In the 2024 DPR-RI election for Electoral District 9 (covering Tuban Regency), NasDem Party significantly increased its vote count from 16,621 votes in 2019 to 45,934 votes in 2024. However, the party still did not secure a seat in the DPR-RI.

Table 3. Number of Legislative Candidate Votes in Tuban Regency 2024

No	Party	Regency DPRD		Provincial DPRD		House of Representatives (DPR-RI)	
		Number of Seats	Number of Votes	Number of Seats	Number of Votes	Number of Seats	Number of Votes
1	National Awakening Party	11 Seats	152,113	2 Seats	166,621	2 Seats	15,609
2	Gerindra Party	4 Seats	55,346	1 Seats	56,524	1 Seats	55,566
3	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)	5 Seats	60,189	1 Seats	54,617	1 Seats	46,441
4	Golkar Party	20 Seats	275,644	2 Seats	234,834	2 Seats	282,952
5	NasDem Party	4 Seats	55,112	0 Seats	19,809	0 Seats	45,934
6	Labor Party	0 Seats	6,441	0 Seats	359	0 Seats	324
7	Indonesian People's Wave Party	0 Seats	264	0 Seats	3,139	0 Seats	2,568
8	Prosperous Justice Party	0 Seats	23,687	0 Seats	16,004	0 Seats	14,332
9	Archipelago Awakening Party	0 Seats	27	0 Seats	1,605	0 Seats	1,393
10	People's Conscience Party	0 Seats	6,759	0 Seats	1,812	0 Seats	1,617
11	Republic Guard Party	0 Seats	0	0 Seats	1,668	0 Seats	1,561
12	National Mandate Party	1 Seats	21,035	0 Seats	35,558	0 Seats	29,654
13	Crescent Star Party	0 Seats	3,385	0 Seats	1,618	0 Seats	1,426
14	Democratic Party	3 Seats	38,081	1 Seats	21,287	0 Seats	28,075
15	Indonesian Solidarity Party	0 Seats	3,598	0 Seats	704	0 Seats	8,566
16	Indonesian Unity Party	0 Seats	720	0 Seats	1,447	0 Seats	2,075
17	United Development Party	2 Seats	26,598	2 Seats	27,533	0 Seats	13,702
18	Ummat Party	0 Seats	1,679	0 Seats	1,656	0 Seats	1,641
Total		50 Seats	735,727	7 Seats	656,362	6 Seats	696,833

Source: KPU Tuban Regency, 2019

The 2024 General Election became a major test for the Nasdem Party, with high expectations following leadership changes and a more aggressive strategy. Although the number of votes increased to 55,112, Nasdem was still unable to reach its expected targets. The party only managed to send four representatives to the Tuban Regency DPRD, with no representation in the East Java Provincial DPRD or the House of Representatives (DPR-RI). From the 2014 to 2024 elections, Nasdem in Tuban Regency

has faced significant challenges in maximizing its vote share. At the regency/city DPRD level, the party's performance has fluctuated. In the 2014 Election, Nasdem successfully sent three representatives to the Tuban Regency DPRD. However, in 2019, this number decreased to only two representatives. It was only in the 2024 Election that Nasdem managed to increase its seats to four again. Despite this increase, Nasdem's performance remains suboptimal.

At the higher levels, namely the East Java Provincial DPRD and DPR-RI, Nasdem has never succeeded in sending its representatives for three consecutive elections (2014, 2019, and 2024). This indicates that the cadres and administrators of the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency have not been able to significantly boost the party's electability, particularly at higher levels of government.

This situation highlights the major challenges faced by Nasdem in Tuban Regency in competing with dominant major parties such as Golkar, PKB, and PDIP. Local political competition is becoming increasingly intense, and Nasdem must compete against well-established political forces deeply rooted in Tuban's society. Although various strategies have been implemented, such as leadership changes and adjustments in political strategies, the expected results have not yet been fully achieved.

In the 2024 Election, a significant change occurred in the leadership of the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency. Drs. H. Sumantri, who previously served as Chairman of the Nasdem DPD, was replaced by H. Riyadi, S.H., M.Kp., who was also the Deputy Regent of Tuban Regency (Saputra E., 2021). This change was made as part of an effort to strengthen Nasdem's position in the local political arena. Riyadi was officially inaugurated as the Chairman of the Nasdem DPD for the 2022-2027 period on December 18, 2022. Previously, Riyadi was a cadre of the Democratic Party, which later formed a coalition with Golkar to become Deputy Regent of Tuban Regency.

Riyadi's experience as a public figure and regional leader brings great hope for the Nasdem Party to expand its support base and enhance its political image. Public trust in Riyadi's leadership is a key asset for Nasdem in facing local political challenges. However, local political parties still face major challenges in shaping a positive image, expanding political reach, and maintaining solid voter support. The leadership change within the Nasdem Party of Tuban Regency provides new momentum for the party to rebuild itself, but only time will tell whether these strategies and changes will bring significant results in strengthening Nasdem's political position in Tuban Regency.

2. Political Dynamics of the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency

The political development in Tuban Regency since the previous elections has shown significant changes influenced by social and political dynamics at the local level. In an interview with Riyadi, the Chairman of the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency, insights were revealed regarding how the political situation in this region has evolved and how Nasdem is striving to address it with an adaptive strategy. Riyadi stated that one of the key elements in Tuban Regency politics is the importance

of building emotional connections with voters. This is particularly related to the way legislative candidates or political figures are selected favoring those who have close ties with the local community.

"A politician or political figure competing in Tuban Regency must have an emotional connection with the community. If we are not sensitive to who and which segment of voters we need to reach, we will have difficulty winning support."

According to Riyadi, an emotional relationship-based approach is becoming increasingly important, as party ideology is becoming less relevant to voters, especially among the younger generation, who are becoming less attached to specific political parties.

First, The Phenomenon of Changing Voter Preferences in Tuban Regency. One of the interesting aspects discussed in the interview was the shift in voter preferences in Tuban Regency. Voters who previously chose based on party ideology are now shifting toward more pragmatic considerations. Riyadi explained that in the past, voters were more likely to choose based on ideological factors—for example, NU supporters tended to vote for Islamic-based parties, while PDI Perjuangan supporters leaned toward nationalist parties. However, due to ongoing social and political changes, voter preferences are now increasingly driven by other factors, particularly the connection with relevant and reliable political figures.

"Today, we see that the younger generation is no longer tied to party ideology as they were before. Their choices are more influenced by emotional closeness to existing figures. For instance, a young person whose parents used to vote for PDI Perjuangan may now switch to another party that they feel is more aligned with their needs,"

Riyadi added. This indicates a shift from an ideology-based political system to a more figure-oriented politics, creating opportunities for newer parties like Nasdem to compete.

Second, Increasingly Intense Competition and Voter Fragmentation. The political landscape in Tuban Regency is also marked by increasingly intense competition among political parties. Riyadi explained that with the large number of parties competing in the 2024 election, the voter base has become narrower, and voter segmentation has become more fragmented. This means that more parties are competing for the same group of voters. This phenomenon has intensified competition at the local level, where nearly all political parties are vying for the same electorate. Riyadi stated,

"Competition among parties is becoming tighter due to the increasing number of parties trying to capture the same voter base. Voters who previously belonged exclusively to a certain party can now be contested by more than one party. In fact, a single voter can be approached by more than five parties at the same time."

Therefore, he emphasized the importance for each party to have a clear and precise strategy to identify the right voter segments and understand the characteristics of those voters.

Third, Political Transactions and Money Politics. One of the main issues in the political development of Tuban Regency is the persistent practice of transactional

politics. This indicates the existence of a growing culture of money politics within the community, where voters tend to choose candidates who provide incentives or "gifts." Riyadi mentioned that around 80% of Tuban residents prefer legislative candidates (caleg) who offer money or direct benefits.

"This culture of money politics is indeed difficult to eliminate because nearly 80% of voters in Tuban Regency choose candidates who give them money. Material incentives often become the main attraction for voters, although there are also those who choose based on an emotional connection with a political figure,"

This highlights that while emotional closeness with a political figure is important, voters also often expect financial benefits from the candidates they support. In this context, Nasdem acknowledges this challenge but strives not to rely solely on money politics. Instead, the party focuses on building stronger emotional connections with voter segments that have personal relationships or family affiliations with their candidates. Therefore, Nasdem's strategy involves introducing figures who are already well known at the local level and leveraging these relationships to expand their voter base.

Fourth, The Success of the Nasdem Party in the 2024 Election. Despite facing significant challenges, the Nasdem Party managed to achieve fairly satisfying results in the 2024 Election. According to Riyadi, Nasdem successfully increased its number of seats from two to nearly five seats and gained almost 400 additional votes. This success was largely due to their ability to identify the right voter segments and establish emotional connections with the figures within the party.

"We managed to secure a top-three position in Tuban Regency because we truly understand who our voters are and what they need. We not only introduced well-known figures but also built strong emotional relationships with them. As a result, we were able to significantly increase our vote count,"

However, Riyadi also emphasized that although Nasdem achieved better results, the challenge of maintaining emotional connections with voters—particularly in sustaining their loyalty remains a major task. He stressed that Nasdem must continue strengthening its organizational structure and ensuring that these emotional connections are maintained not only during the election period but also afterward.

3. Recruitment of Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency

Cadre recruitment is a fundamental component in building the structural strength of a political party, especially in facing the increasingly intense political competition in the 2024 Election. In Tuban Regency, the Nasdem Party strives to overcome major challenges in developing a solid cadre network, particularly at the village and neighborhood levels, to compete with established major parties that already have a well-structured organization. This section will discuss how the Nasdem Party conducts cadre recruitment in Tuban Regency, the challenges it faces, and the strategies implemented to ensure the party remains competitive in the 2024 Election.

Challenges in Recruitment for Nasdem Party. As a party that is only 12 years old, Nasdem faces significant challenges in building a strong and evenly distributed organizational structure, especially in rural areas. According to Riyadi, Chairman of the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency, cadre recruitment initially encountered difficulties due to the lack of a solid network extending to the village level. Riyadi stated:

"Nasdem, being only 12 years old, has yet to establish a cadre network that is evenly distributed. This has influenced the party's progress because, in local politics, the community still relies on three major factors: Golkar with its nationalism, PKB and PPP with their religious base, and PDI and PSI representing the left-wing segment. Nasdem itself is still in the process of finding its niche. Moving forward, we must clearly determine which segment we want to target."

The main issue faced by Nasdem is the lack of public understanding of the party's ideology, making it difficult for the party to gain widespread attention from voters. As a relatively new party, Nasdem must work hard to convey its message and ideology to the public. This aligns with the political recruitment theory, which states that a party's success in cadre recruitment is heavily influenced by a clear ideology that resonates with voters' political needs (Druckman, 2013). Effective recruitment also requires alignment between the party's programs and public expectations (Schumacher, 2016).

Likewise, at the level of the Recruitment Process and Challenges, Nasdem's cadre recruitment process faced significant obstacles, particularly in finding figures with electability who are ready to step forward as leaders. Riyadi explained that many individuals have potential in terms of popularity and electability, but they are reluctant to enter the political arena. According to him,

"There are many people with electability and popularity, but they do not want to enter politics. Most people are also not ready to step into the public eye as leaders. On the other hand, even though we have only been in office for a year, we were forced to select the available cadres for the 2024 election, despite all the limitations."

In line with this, in an interview with a religious figure in Tuban Regency, Kyai Ahmad Fatoni Turmudzi revealed that one of the main issues in recruitment is the fear many people have of entering politics, even if they possess high popularity and electability. They feel unprepared or unwilling to step into the public eye as leaders. This aligns with the statement of Riyadi, the Chairman of Nasdem Tuban DPD, who also mentioned that they often struggle to find cadres with both electability and the willingness to run as legislative candidates. However, Riyadi also noted that despite these challenges, they continue to seek out potential cadres, even within existing limitations.

Recruitment in politics is greatly influenced by individual character and their perception of politics itself. The fear of stepping into a leadership role and concerns about the social consequences often act as barriers for individuals who actually have potential. Schattschneider's political recruitment theory states that cadre recruitment within a political party heavily depends on the party's ability to attract figures with

political resources (such as electability and popularity) and the courage to step into the public sphere. Without this courage, even those with the right capacities may be reluctant to join politics.

Building a Solid Party Structure. According to Masduki, a community leader in Tuban Regency, in an interview, he stated that to secure more seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD, Nasdem needs to strengthen its network and structure down to the village and neighborhood levels (RT). Riyadi also emphasized the importance of establishing a militant and loyal leadership at the village and RT levels to reinforce the party's position. This aligns with social network theory, which suggests that strengthening structures at the local level is crucial in expanding a party's support base. Kyai Ahmad Fatoni also acknowledged that religious figures hold significant influence in Tuban, meaning that in addition to building a solid grassroots structure, Nasdem must also leverage relationships with religious leaders in its cadre recruitment process and voter base consolidation.

Despite facing difficulties in recruiting suitable figures, Partai Nasdem continues its efforts to build a solid structure down to the village level. Riyadi emphasized the importance of having a militant and loyal network of party administrators at the grassroots level as a long-term strategy for winning the 2024 elections. He explained:

"Nasdem must be able to establish a militant and loyal organizational structure. At the sub-district level, we have achieved 100% formation, but reaching the village and neighborhood (RT) levels remains a significant challenge. A major party must have an administrative network down to the hamlet and even RT levels."

The importance of building a party structure at the village level is further supported by Putnam's theory on social networks in politics, which states that a strong local social network can enhance political participation and strengthen a party's legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Putnam highlights that a militant and loyal network is the key to political success, particularly in grassroots-based political movements that rely on popular support at the lowest levels of society.

In this context, Nasdem focuses on establishing party administrators in every village, with a target of at least 50 cadres per village to ensure a strong grassroots base. Riyadi explained that:

"For the next election, the party structure must be well-established down to the village level. Each village must have at least 50 administrators, and this is a national program of Nasdem. We want to ensure that village-level administrators have a strong base and can work militantly and with loyalty."

The key to winning political competition against major parties lies in the ability to build an evenly distributed structure down to the lowest level of society. According to Schumacher (2016), an effective party organization must have strength across all layers of society, from the top to the bottom, allowing the party to mobilize broader support efficiently.

Despite facing many challenges in the recruitment process, Nasdem still holds great potential if it can further develop its party structure. Evaluations conducted by

the party indicate that strategic steps to establish a strong cadre network will significantly impact the 2024 Election results. Riyadi stated,

"Recruitment is not just about finding people to fill positions. It is about building trust and loyalty among cadres so that they can work with full enthusiasm and commitment."

To achieve this goal, Nasdem must continue its efforts to strengthen structures at the village and neighborhood levels, as well as prepare cadres who have the capability and courage to step forward as public leaders. Success in building a solid structure and militant cadres will be a key factor in competing against the dominance of major parties in the 2024 Election.

4. Implementasi Political Marketing 4P by Nasdem Party

As one of the political parties striving to dominate the political competition in Tuban Regency, Nasdem Party has adopted a political marketing strategy based on the 4P concept (Product, Price, Place, Promotion) in designing its campaign for the 2024 Election. Based on an interview with Riyadi, the Chairman of Nasdem Party Tuban, this strategy aims to attract young voters as well as voters with strong religious affiliations, which often play a determining role in legislative elections in the region.

First, Product – Presenting Recognized and Trustworthy Figures. One of the main components in Nasdem Party's political marketing is "product", which in this context refers to the figures or candidates they promote. In Tuban Regency, the influence of prominent figures and personal credibility plays a significant role in shaping voter preferences. In an interview, Kyai Fatoni stated that religious leaders have a major influence in determining the political choices of Tuban's society. He mentioned that around 80% of voters are highly influenced by religious figures in choosing their legislative candidates. This indicates that to achieve effective cadre recruitment, Nasdem must identify figures who have strong ties to religious leaders or trusted community leaders. However, Riyadi further explained:

"The influence of prominent figures is indeed a determining factor in elections. However, in the end, on the election day, this factor can be diminished if there is no material or financial distribution."

In this context, Nasdem prefers to prioritize figures who are already well-known to the public. This is not only through the programs offered during the campaign period but also through the emotional connection established between the candidate and the voters. Riyadi added,

"Voters from religious backgrounds, such as santri, tend to choose figures they know. However, in many cases, they are also influenced by material factors or direct assistance."

The Nasdem Party, through the figures they endorse, strives to provide a "political product" that is acceptable and trusted by voters. This aligns with the theory of "candidate-centered politics," which suggests that in many cases, voters are more inclined to choose candidates based on their character or image rather than their party affiliation.

Second, Price: Setting the Right "Price" to Attract Voters. In political marketing, the "price" component often refers to the costs incurred by legislative candidates to gain voter attention. However, in this context, "price" is more metaphorical, referring to the material or attention-based costs required to influence voter decisions. Riyadi explained,

"For lower-class voters or small communities, even if they are aware of the programs offered by legislative candidates, their final decision is often more influenced by material incentives provided on election day."

This concept refers to the phenomenon of "vote buying," which remains prevalent in many regions. Voters who receive material benefits from legislative candidates, whether in the form of direct cash payments or other assistance, are more likely to cast their votes for those candidates. This is reinforced by a statement from Fahri Setiaji, a Nasdem Party legislative candidate for the DPR-RI from Tuban Regency:

"Voters will feel valued if they receive direct attention, especially when they feel that the legislative candidate treats them equally and fairly."

The factor of social jealousy among the community also influences voter behavior. Riyadi noted that,

"Religious figures who have significant influence within the community sometimes cannot control the votes of their followers if they do not treat them fairly or if the followers feel neglected."

Thus, the party must ensure that its candidates provide adequate attention to all segments of society, not just specific groups.

Third, Place: Building a Network from the Center to the Grassroots. Effective political marketing does not rely solely on candidates or material incentives but also on the dissemination of information and the establishment of an extensive network. For the Nasdem Party, one of the biggest challenges is connecting legislative candidates with voters at the grassroots level, especially in rural areas. Riyadi stated,,

"In Tuban Regency, we face difficulties in establishing organizational structures at the village and neighborhood levels. Although we already have networks at the sub-district level, we must work hard to reach all voters in the villages."

Nasdem realizes that to win the election, they must build strong relationships with voters from various social groups, especially among young and religious-based voters. One successful example is the establishment of JPRT (Jaringan Pengurus Ranting Tuban), which functions to organize voters at the village level. This demonstrates that "place" in Nasdem's political marketing strategy focuses on the effective distribution of information at the local level. Riyadi added,

"JPRT is crucial in ensuring that every vote from village-level voters is maximized."

The "grassroots mobilization" theory in political marketing suggests that the success of a political campaign heavily depends on efforts to connect candidates with voters at the local level. In this regard, the Nasdem Party strives to build a network that is not only concentrated in urban areas but also extends to rural villages, which have often been overlooked by many other political parties.

Fourth, Promotion: Leveraging Social Media and Influential Figures to Boost Popularit. One of the biggest strengths of the Nasdem Party in promoting its legislative candidates is the use of social media and the influence of community and religious leaders. In the digital era, promotional strategies are no longer solely reliant on traditional methods such as direct meetings or public gatherings but also involve social media platforms like Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube, where young voters access political information. Fahri Setiaji stated,

"We must follow the trends among young people, especially on TikTok and Instagram, to effectively reach them."

However, based on the author's interviews, Kyai Ahmad Fatoni explained that social media was underutilized by Nasdem in this region, causing them to lag in terms of marketing and promotion. This reflects a lack of understanding or optimal use of social media as a recruitment and promotional tool by the Nasdem Party in Tuban. This is further supported by the author's findings on the official social media accounts of the Nasdem Party in Tuban—Instagram, TikTok, and Facebook—showing low activity in providing information during the 2024 election. The accounts had limited engagement, both in terms of followers and posts.

Therefore, Nasdem is striving to build the personal branding of its candidates through broader and more strategic promotion. Political branding plays a crucial role in political promotion. In this case, the candidates' personal branding on social media and engagement with community leaders are key factors in strengthening their positive image and increasing their visibility among voters.

The Nasdem Party also prioritizes face-to-face campaigns that directly connect with voters. In an interview, Riyadi emphasized the importance of directly engaging with the community to introduce candidates and the party's programs, especially in areas with specific voter segments.

"If they (the candidates) are willing to enter politics, they must go out frequently to greet, build relationships, get to know the people, and present their programs. If they can preach, they should reach segments that respond to religious preaching. If their segment is entrepreneurs, they should engage with MSMEs. If they are interested in sports, they should meet with young people who are passionate about sports."

According to Riyadi, face-to-face campaigns are not just about greeting the masses but about understanding specific voter segments that align with the programs carried by the candidates or the party. The Nasdem Party prioritizes a more targeted approach, focusing on specific groups that share interests or concerns that align with the party's vision and programs.

The Nasdem Party also strengthens candidate promotion by leveraging the influence of religious figures, particularly in attracting voters from religious bases. Riyadi revealed that although religious leaders have strong influence among certain voter groups, they are often approached by multiple candidates.

"Religious figures do have a strong influence, but if they are visited by too many candidates, their impact diminishes."

Riyadi also emphasized the importance of selecting the right segments for campaigns. Nasdem does not attempt to reach every segment of society but instead focuses on specific groups that are considered to have the potential to support the candidate or the party. As he explained,

"Which segment should we target? We can't target everyone. We must focus on the segments where we have loyal supporters. If we work on these segments properly, we will succeed in securing them."

This highlights the importance of targeting in political campaigns. In this regard, Nasdem chooses to build a strong voter base within specific segments, such as MSMEs or sports groups, which are perceived as more accessible and having a higher potential for loyalty compared to trying to attract all societal groups.

Based on interviews and analysis of the implementation of political marketing by the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency, it can be concluded that they have successfully integrated the 4P approach into their political campaign, despite facing several major challenges. Key factors such as candidate figures, the influence of religious leaders, social media utilization, and attention to young voters and religious-based communities have become the main pillars of their political marketing strategy. To win the 2024 election, Nasdem must continue optimizing all aspects of their political marketing, particularly by expanding their grassroots network and leveraging the influence of political figures and religious leaders to enhance the electability of their legislative candidates.

5. Challenges and Opportunities in Increasing Electability

The Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency faces several challenges in increasing its electability, particularly in competing with major parties that already have a strong voter base and an established political network. However, based on an interview with Riyadi, several strategies implemented by the Nasdem Party can be identified to address these challenges and leverage existing opportunities to enhance their appeal to voters.

Strategy to Counter the Dominance of Major Parties. One of the primary strategies adopted by the Nasdem Party to counter the dominance of major parties is identifying voter niches that have an emotional connection with prospective voters. According to the source, this strategy is crucial because if the targeted voter segment is not accurately chosen, all campaign resources will be wasted. This was explained by the source with the following statement:

"We must be able to identify voter niches that have an emotional connection. If we fail to do this, we will run out of time and resources. Once the voter niche is identified, we need to be realistic and focus on the sectors that we can secure."

In other words, the Nasdem Party prefers to target voters who have an emotional connection with legislative candidates (caleg), such as family members or members of specific organizations, as they are easier to influence and have more stable voting preferences. The effectiveness of this voter mobilization strategy increases the chances of victory, even without relying on a large voter base. This approach also

contributes to campaign resource efficiency, particularly in financial aspects. Therefore, the Nasdem Party adopts a more efficient strategy, such as focused group discussions (FGD) and door-to-door visits, to reach the right voters.

First, Financial and Campaign Logistics Management. As a party competing with larger, more established parties, managing campaign finances and logistics is a crucial factor in winning elections. The source explained that cost-saving strategies are essential in designing an effective campaign. According to him, a campaign does not necessarily have to incur massive expenses like candidates from major parties, who sometimes allocate up to billions of rupiahs to mobilize voters. He emphasized the importance of managing campaign budgets wisely:

"On average, DPRD candidates in the previous election spent between 1.5 to 5 billion rupiahs. That budget covered ammunition and voter incentives. Yet, despite such spending, many still failed to win the election."

As a solution, the Nasdem Party chose to minimize expenditures and rely more on emotionally driven campaigns and social media utilization, which are more cost-effective while still effectively delivering political messages. This approach allows for significant campaign budget savings without compromising campaign quality.

Second, Approach to Young Voters. Young voters have become one of the primary targets for the Nasdem Party in the 2024 election. The source stated that young voters tend to be more critical in their decision-making and prefer candidates they know personally rather than just relying on images or photos on the ballot. Therefore, personal approaches such as discussions, direct visits, and outreach in popular youth gathering spots like campuses and sports communities are crucial for securing their support.

"When voting in legislative elections, young voters pay more attention to the name rather than the candidate's photo. Therefore, we must focus on voters who have the ability to read and understand their choices."

By emphasizing a well-targeted and efficient approach, Nasdem hopes to gain support from young voters, who play a significant role in determining election outcomes.

Third, The Importance of Synergy Among Party Management Levels. In addition to the above strategies, synergy among party leaders at the national, provincial, and district levels is also a crucial factor in strengthening the party's network and structure. According to the source, without strong synergy, expanding the Nasdem Party would be very challenging. A well-connected and solid party organization, from the neighborhood level (RT) to the central leadership, is necessary to ensure that the party's ideology, programs, and policies are effectively communicated to the public:

"Without synergy among party leaders at all levels, it will be very difficult to grow this party. Programs designed at the national level must be effectively implemented at the district and village levels."

Through strong synergy, the Nasdem Party hopes to be more active in outreach and education efforts within communities, as well as involving local cadres to directly engage with voters and introduce the party's ideology and programs.

Fourth, The Challenge of the Deputy Regent's Position in the Winning Strategy. The Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency faces significant challenges in increasing its electability ahead of the 2024 elections. One major influencing factor is the intense competition with well-established major parties in Tuban, such as Golkar. Additionally, the presence of Tuban's Deputy Regent, Riyadi, who also serves as the Chairman of the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) of the Nasdem Party, plays a crucial role in the party's winning strategy—both as a strength and a challenge in boosting electability. In an interview with Riyadi, the Chairman of the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency, he explained how his role could impact the party's strategy and overall electability.

Tuban Deputy Regent Riyadi, who also serves as the Chairman of the Nasdem Party's Regional Leadership Council (DPD), holds a strategic position in designing and directing the party's winning strategy, especially amidst intense political competition. According to Riyadi:

"My position as Deputy Regent has actually become quite a burden. There is political competition with the Regent, who is also the Chairman of the Golkar Party. Since 2019, this rivalry has started to take shape. As the Chairman of the Golkar Party, the Regent will naturally fight for his party's and his family's interests, as many of his family members are also involved in politics, from the provincial level down to the regency level."

This illustrates that the political rivalry between Nasdem, led by Deputy Regent Riyadi, and the Regent, who is the Chairman of the Golkar Party, has intensified since 2019. Nevertheless, Riyadi strives to maintain his political position as Deputy Regent, despite the limitations it imposes on his ability to leverage the bureaucracy and government programs in support of Nasdem's electoral strategy. Riyadi added,

"As Deputy Regent, we are indeed restricted from targeting certain segments within the bureaucracy due to political factors. The Regent, who is also the Chairman of the Golkar Party, will naturally fight for his party's candidates, who are also his close family members. This is certainly a major challenge in increasing Nasdem's electability in Tuban."

In this context, the challenges faced by Deputy Regent Riyadi can be explained through the Political Machines theory proposed by Higgs (2002) in his book *The Political Machine: A Sociological Analysis of Political Parties*. This theory asserts that in local political systems, officials holding bureaucratic positions (such as a Deputy Regent) are often limited in their ability to use their power to support a specific political party due to interference from other parties with similar authority. This is evident in the case of the Regent, who is also the Chairman of the Golkar Party. Such competition creates difficulties in utilizing bureaucratic resources to gain political support.

Fifth, Political Competition with Golkar Party. According to Riyadi, the competition with the Regent, who is also the Chairman of the Golkar Party, has become increasingly evident. As a regional leader, the Regent has many tools to strengthen his support base, from bureaucratic influence to development programs that can be leveraged for political interests. Nasdem, with Deputy Regent Riyadi in its ranks, faces limitations in utilizing the same bureaucracy, forcing them to rely on other strategies, particularly in recruiting competent cadres and building grassroots support networks. This is explained in the book *Political Competition and Electoral Strategies*, which states that in local political competition, bureaucratic positions are highly influential but can also become obstacles for party consolidation if not backed by a party that has full control over the bureaucracy. With the dominance of major parties like Golkar in local politics, smaller parties such as Nasdem must develop alternative strategies to increase their electability, such as strengthening the presence of local figures who have strong appeal to the public.

Sixth, Opportunities and Challenges in the 2024 Election. Despite facing significant challenges, Nasdem also has several opportunities that can be leveraged to win the election in Tuban Regency. One key strategy is targeting specific voter segments that have not been heavily pursued by major parties. For instance, focusing on groups that share the same vision and mission as Nasdem candidates, such as entrepreneurs, youth, and social organizations. This approach can help Nasdem secure loyal voters who are politically aware and more inclined to choose candidates they personally know. However, the biggest challenge remains managing the electability of cadres who are still relatively unknown among voters and overcoming fierce competition from major parties with greater resources.

6. Evaluation of the 2024 Election Results in Tuban Regency

Main Focus and Efforts for Improvement In facing the 2024 election, the Nasdem Party in Tuban Regency set priority strategies to enhance synergy between party administrators at various levels central, provincial, and regency. This synergistic relationship is considered a fundamental element that not only determines the party's internal strength but also the effectiveness of strategies in expanding public support.

The intended synergy is not limited to routine communication between levels but also includes the synchronization of work programs, policies, and the distribution of party funds. This effort ensures that every initiative launched by the central party can be effectively translated and implemented at the regional level. From the interviews conducted, Nasdem's greatest hope in Tuban Regency is to improve cadre quality and strengthen leadership at the village level. By ensuring that selected cadres possess both strong capabilities and loyalty, Nasdem aims to enhance the party's performance in the 2024 election and increase its chances of winning legislative seats at both the regency and provincial levels.

"We must ensure that the cadres we develop not only have electability and popularity but are also willing to fight and have the capability to win the 2024 election. If we achieve that, I am confident that Nasdem can surpass the major parties."

One of the concrete steps taken by the Nasdem Party is building an organizational structure that extends down to the neighborhood (RT) level. This organizational structure is considered a crucial foundation for strengthening the party's presence within the community. In this effort, every party administrator is expected to actively fulfill their role, from conveying the party's ideology to the public, promoting the party's work programs, to ensuring that party policies are understood and accepted by the public.

However, having a broad organizational structure alone is not enough. The Nasdem Party recognizes that the success of this strategy depends on how well local party administrators and cadres truly understand and internalize the party's ideological values. Therefore, the party aims to develop cadres who are not only filling leadership positions but also possess strong loyalty, militancy, and the courage to actively engage in politics. This way, they are expected not only to represent the party but also to serve as the main driving force in building a positive image and expanding the party's influence at the local level.

Challenges and Hopes for the Future, Despite implementing strategic measures, the Nasdem Party still faces significant challenges in its efforts to increase vote acquisition in the DPRD (Regional House of Representatives) of Tuban Regency. One of the main challenges is building the confidence and commitment of party cadres who meet the three crucial criteria—electability, popularity, and readiness to run—but remain hesitant or reluctant to step forward as legislative candidates or trusted political figures. This hesitation often arises due to a lack of self-confidence or the perception that competing against well-established parties with greater resources is too daunting.

The Nasdem Party acknowledges that overcoming this challenge is not easy. It must work harder to provide training, motivation, and support to potential cadres, helping them view political prospects as opportunities rather than obstacles. Additionally, the party faces structural challenges, such as the uneven distribution of its organizational network at the village level in certain areas. While most of the party's structure has been established, not all members possess the necessary militancy to carry out their responsibilities effectively.

In the local political landscape, major parties with broader access to resources and power are often the primary competitors. Therefore, the Nasdem Party must ensure that its cadres are not only loyal and militant but also equipped with strong competitive abilities. These abilities include communication skills, a deep understanding of local issues, and expertise in designing strategies that can effectively attract public support.

In addition, Nasdem Party's position, which is not always within the national power circle, presents its own challenges. Party cadres must be able to seize opportunities, such as forming coalitions with other parties, to gain access to political resources and policies. Although Nasdem Party currently lacks representation in certain strategic positions, they remain optimistic that through hard work and consistency, the party can build a stronger foundation for the future.

The groundwork for the 2029 elections is being laid from now. Nasdem Party is committed to continuously improving its organizational structure, enhancing the quality of its cadres, and strengthening synergy across all party levels. With a well-directed strategy and support from dedicated cadres, the party is optimistic about competing more significantly against the dominance of larger political parties, both at the local and national levels.

D. CONCLUSION

This study has provided deeper insights into the political strategies of the Nasdem Party in facing the dominance of major parties during the 2024 elections in Tuban Regency. Through the implementation of a political marketing strategy based on the 4P framework (Product, Price, Place, Promotion) and a more selective cadre recruitment process, Nasdem Party successfully increased its vote share and legislative seats in the Tuban Regency DPRD compared to the previous election. However, this achievement is still not enough to rival the dominance of major parties such as Golkar and PKB, which have a stronger voter base and a more established political infrastructure.

Several key factors contributed to Nasdem Party's achievements, including the effectiveness of candidate-centered campaign strategies, close relationships with community and religious leaders, and the optimal use of social media to reach young voters. On the other hand, the main challenges faced include the party's limited resources, difficulties in building organizational structures down to the village level, and the persistent phenomenon of vote-buying, which continues to influence voter decisions in the region.

Although this study has contributed to understanding local political dynamics, several limitations should be noted. First, the qualitative approach used in this research may limit the generalizability of the findings to other regions with different political characteristics. Second, the data collected primarily comes from interviews and observations, which may contain subjective biases from informants. Third, this study has yet to explore in depth the role of economic and social factors in shaping voter preferences, which could be a crucial aspect of further political analysis.

Overall, this study contributes to the electoral politics literature by revealing the strategies of a nationalist party in a region dominated by religious-based parties. These findings may also serve as a reference for political parties in designing more effective campaign strategies, particularly in increasingly competitive local electoral contests. For future research, it is recommended that a quantitative approach be used to gain a more comprehensive understanding of voter behavior patterns and the effectiveness of political strategies implemented.

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