



## Political Strategy of the National Awakening Party (PKB) in the 2019 Legislative Election in Pandeglang Regency: A Study of Irvan Nugraha's Victory in Mandalawangi District

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### Abstract

This study aims to analyze the political strategy of the National Awakening Party (PKB) during the 2019 Legislative Election in Pandeglang Regency, focusing on the case of Irvan Nugraha's electoral victory in Mandalawangi District. Irvan Nugraha was the only legislative candidate from Mandalawangi who succeeded in being elected as a member of the Pandeglang Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) for the 2019–2024 period, obtaining 1,685 votes. This research employed a qualitative approach using literature studies, interviews, and documentation. The data were analyzed through collection, presentation, and conclusion stages. The findings indicate that Irvan Nugraha's political strategies included presence politics, the development of popularity and electability, network building, financial resource management, political marketing, target segmentation, and positive political imaging. The key supporting factors were strong volunteer mobilization and the influential reputation of his father and father-in-law, which enhanced his sociopolitical legitimacy. The researcher recommends maintaining public trust and relationships with religious and traditional leaders by consistently advocating for community aspirations in the governmental sphere.

**Keywords:** *Political Strategy, National Awakening Party (PKB), Legislative Election, Mandalawangi*

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### I. Introduction

The year 2019 can be called a political year for the Indonesian people because in that year simultaneous general elections were held which became an important milestone in the journey of national democracy. Elections are a means of realizing people's sovereignty to elect their representatives at the central and regional levels who are responsible for the direction of nation development. Based on Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, the system used is an open proportional system, which allows the public to directly vote for legislative candidates who are considered capable of fighting for their aspirations.

Five-year general elections are not only a routine political process, but also a form of social contract between the people and their representatives. Through elections, the people have the opportunity to determine the direction of national political policy, as well as affirm their position as subjects in the political process. The participation of people from various social strata is an important element in maintaining the quality of democracy. The active involvement of the community in voting and in the campaign process is an indicator of the nation's political maturity.

The implementation of the 2019 Legislative Election is an important moment in determining the direction of government policy for the 2019-2024 period. Political parties as election participants are required to send their best cadres in order to win the hearts of the people. In this context, political strategy plays a very vital role because it is a tool for parties and legislative candidates to win electoral contests. A well-prepared strategy will affect the party's image, candidate electability, and overall vote acquisition.

Political strategy not only determines the candidate's victory in the election, but also has an impact on strengthening the party's position in society. Factors such as presence in the community, socio-political networks, volunteer support, and the ability to manage financial resources are inseparable parts of political

strategies. In addition, the aspect of image and effective political communication also has a great influence on public acceptance of legislative candidates.

In the local context, the political strategy of the National Awakening Party (PKB) in Pandeglang Regency is interesting to study, especially through the case study of Irvan Nugraha's victory in the 2019 Legislative Election. Irvan Nugraha is the only legislative candidate from Mandalawangi District who was successfully elected as a member of the Pandeglang Regency DPRD for the 2019-2024 period with 1,685 votes. This victory is inseparable from various factors, including his intense presence in the community, solid volunteer support, and the influence of family figures who strengthen his social and political legitimacy.

Based on the results of the 2019 legislative election, PKB won six seats in the Pandeglang Regency DPRD, while other parties such as Gerindra and Golkar each won seven seats, followed by PDIP, PKS, Democrats, and other parties with varying gains. The success of PKB, especially through the victory of Irvan Nugraha, shows that an effective political strategy can be applied at the regional scale by taking into account the factors of locality and social proximity to the electorate.

Departing from this background, this study is directed to analyze the political strategy used by Irvan Nugraha in the 2019 Legislative Election in Pandeglang Regency, as well as identify the supporting and inhibiting factors that affect the winning process. This research also aims to understand how the implementation of local political strategies can be an example for other legislative candidates in building a sustainable community support base.

Theoretically, this research is expected to enrich the treasures of government science, especially in the study of political strategies and electoral behavior at the regional level. Meanwhile, practically, the results of this research can be a reference for political parties and legislative candidates in designing a more effective winning strategy in the next election. In addition, this research is also expected to provide academic contributions as reference material for researchers and students who are interested in studying local political dynamics in Indonesia.

## **Literature Review**

### **Political Strategy**

Political strategy is an important instrument in an effort to achieve the political ideals of a party or candidate. According to Peter Schröder (2010), political strategy is a conditional technique or decision used to realize political goals. Schröder distinguishes two forms of political strategy, namely offensive (attacking) and defensive strategy (defending). Offensive strategies aim to expand support and capture new voters through attractive differentiation from rival parties, while defensive strategies focus on maintaining existing support and voter base.

In the context of legislative elections, Schröder emphasized that political victory can be achieved through broad voter support by taking advantage of key factors such as attendance politics, electability and popularity, social networks, and financial power (money).

Politics of Presence requires politicians to be present and active in social and religious activities of the community so that their presence provides benefits and emotional closeness. Popularity and Electability indicate the level of fame and electability of a candidate in the eyes of the public. The two are interrelated in determining the political attractiveness of a candidate. Political networks reflect the social relationships between candidates and stakeholders who play a role in the distribution of political support. Money or political capital is needed to support the entire campaign activity, although it is not the only factor determining victory.

In addition, according to Eko Supriatno, political strategy can be interpreted as a candidate's approach to the community to create effective political communication. He stated three main elements, namely political marketing, political targets, and political image. Political marketing focuses on disseminating information about candidates to build voter sympathy, political targets determine the target groups of the campaign (e.g. novice voters, housewives, academics), while political imagery deals with how a candidate forms a positive perception in society to be considered eligible to vote.

## Legislative Elections

Legislative elections in Indonesia are regulated in Law Number 8 of 2012 concerning the Implementation of Elections for Members of the House of Representatives, DPD, and DPRD. The system used is proportional to the open list, where voters can directly vote for the desired candidate. This system is seen as a form of representative democracy that provides greater space for the involvement of the people in determining their representatives.

There are several important components in the implementation of legislative elections, including:

- 1) The Election Preparation Period, which was extended to 22 months to improve the quality of planning and readiness for implementation.
- 2) The *Parliamentary Threshold* of 3.5% to form a simple multi-party system.
- 3) The Vote Conversion Method, uses the Voter Dividing Number (BPP) system with the remaining votes being used up in the constituency (dapil) which aims to maintain proportionality.
- 4) *District Magnitude*, which is the allocation of 3–10 seats for the House of Representatives and 3–12 for the DPRD per constituency, which determines the level of competition between parties.

Legislative elections are not only an arena of political competition, but also a measure of the maturity of the democratic system at the local level, such as in Pandeglang Regency in 2019 which is the focus of this research.

## Political Campaigns

Political campaigns are a form of political communication designed to influence voters' attitudes and behaviors over a period of time. According to Rogers and Storey (1987), a campaign is a series of communication activities that are planned to create a certain effect on the audience on an ongoing basis.

Law Number 1 of 2015 defines a campaign as an activity of election participants to convince voters by offering their vision, mission, and political program. The form of the campaign can be in the form of public debates, installation of props, broadcasting through the media, limited meetings, and public meetings. In a local context such as Pandeglang Regency, campaign activities often rely on personal approaches and social activities that are in direct contact with the community.

## National Awakening Party (PKB)

The National Awakening Party (PKB) was established on July 23, 1998 at the residence of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) as a political representative of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) residents after the 1998 reform. PKB was born through the PBNU Five Team chaired by KH. Ma'ruf Amin as a manifestation of the aspiration of the Nahdliyin to have a political platform based on Islam Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah.

PKB's vision focuses on upholding people's sovereignty, social justice, substantive democracy, and people's economy-based welfare.

PKB's mission includes the implementation of fair development, the preservation of human and religious values, and the strengthening of regional autonomy and a clean and just state of law.

As a party based on religious and national values, PKB has become a political vehicle for NU cadres, including Irvan Nugraha, in the 2019 Pandeglang Regency legislative election contest.

## Conceptual Framework

Based on the theories of Peter Schröder and Eko Supriatno, Irvan Nugraha's political strategy in legislative elections can be analyzed through the interaction between the politics of presence, popularity, network, and political capital with the application of political marketing, image, and voter targets. The combination of these elements illustrates the effectiveness of the winning strategy in the context of local politics in Mandalawangi.

## II. Research Methods

### Approaches and Types of Research

This research uses a qualitative descriptive method, which is an approach that aims to describe in depth the socio-political phenomena that occur in the field. According to Moleong (2017), qualitative research is directed at understanding social reality holistically without separating individuals or organizations into separate variables, but seeing them as a whole.

This method was chosen because the research focuses on the political strategy of the National Awakening Party (PKB) in the 2019 Pandeglang Regency Legislative Election, especially on the study of Irvan Nugraha's victory in Mandalawangi District. Through this approach, the researcher seeks to comprehensively explore the winning strategies, supporting factors, and obstacles faced by candidates.

According to Sugiyono (2017), qualitative research is interpretive, using researchers as key instruments, and emphasizing social meaning and context. Data analysis was carried out inductively, with the results of the research directed to understand political phenomena and build theoretical constructions from field findings.

### Data Sources and Research Informants

This study uses two types of data sources, namely primary data and secondary data.

Primary data was obtained through direct interviews with informants involved in the process of winning Irvan Nugraha, such as the success team, volunteers, participants, PKB administrators, and the community in Mandalawangi District.

Secondary data was obtained from documents, archives, mass media news, scientific literature, and official publications relevant to PKB's political strategy and the dynamics of the 2019 election.

The selection of informants was carried out by purposive sampling technique, which is the selection of data sources based on certain considerations according to research needs (Sugiyono, 2017). The criteria for informants include:

- Understanding the legislative election process in Pandeglang Regency in 2019.
- Knowing the political strategy carried out by Irvan Nugraha.
- Have direct involvement or proximity to campaign and party activities.
- Willing to provide information and easily accessible to researchers.

The research informants include:

- Irvan Nugraha (elected PKB legislative candidate)
- Successful teams and winning volunteers
- The Mandalawangi community (both from Irvan's neighborhood and the surrounding area)
- PKB Party Management (sub-district and district levels)

### Data Collection Techniques

The data collection techniques in this study include three main methods:

#### **Library Research**

This technique is carried out by examining various sources of literature, books, scientific articles, and documents related to political strategies, legislative election systems, and political behavior in the regions.

#### **Documentation Study**

Documentation is carried out to obtain data from event records, party archives, photos of activities, and various other public documents. According to Sugiyono (2016), the documentation study is a complement to observations and interviews to strengthen the validity of the data.

### **Interview**

In-depth interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner with question guides arranged based on the focus of the research. The purpose of the interview was to explore the informant's understanding of political strategies, the role of the network, the image of the candidate, and the factors that supported or hindered Irvan Nugraha's victory.

### **Research Instruments**

The main instrument in this study is the researcher himself who functions as a data collector, analyst, and interpreter. In addition, interview guidelines are also used based on the theoretical dimensions of Peter Schröder and Eko Supriatno.

Some of the key variables and dimensions that the interview focuses on include:

- Politics of Presence, Popularity and Electability, Networks, and Political Capital (Money) based on Schröder's theory.
- Political Marketing, Political Goals, and Political Image based on Supriatno's theory.

This instrument ensures that each interview question remains consistent with the theoretical framework used as well as relevant to the research objectives.

### **Data Analysis Techniques**

Data analysis was carried out using an interactive model from Miles and Huberman (1994) which consisted of three main stages, namely:

#### **Data Reduction**

It is a process of selecting and simplifying field data by summarizing and focusing important information according to the research theme.

#### **Data Display**

The preparation of data in the form of narratives, tables, or matrices to make it easier for researchers to understand the patterns of relationships between variables.

#### **Conclusion Drawing/Verification**

Conclusions are made based on the interpretation of the analysis results and verified by comparing findings from various data sources so that the validity of the research is maintained.

### **Research Limitations**

The researcher is aware of limitations in the data collection process, especially the difficulty of scheduling a live interview with Irvan Nugraha due to work activities and tight time. This obstacle is overcome with a flexible approach and additional interviews with parties who are in direct contact with the candidate.

### **Research Location and Time**

The research was carried out in Mandalawangi District, Pandeglang Regency, Banten Province. The research implementation time is planned for two months after the proposal seminar is approved, including the stages of data collection, interviews, and analysis.

### **III. Results and Discussion**

#### **Research Description**

Irvan Nugraha is the son of KH. Suhud Hidayat, Chairman of the Syuro Council of the DPC of the National Awakening Party (PKB) of Pandeglang Regency since 2017. Prior to serving as a member of the Pandeglang Regency DPRD for the 2019-2024 period, Irvan was active in various social and youth organizations, such as the Cikumbuen Village Youth Organization, the pencak silat community, and the dirt bike community in Mandalawangi District. His social experience and closeness to the community became the initial capital in his political career.

In the 2019 legislative election, Irvan Nugraha managed to get 1,865 votes and was elected as a member of the Pandeglang Regency DPRD from Dapil II. His main support base comes from Cikumbuen Village and Ramea Village, the areas where he grew up and is socially active.

#### **Political Strategy of the National Awakening Party (PKB)**

As a party firmly rooted in the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) base, PKB in Pandeglang Regency emphasizes offensive and defensive political strategies. The offensive strategy is carried out by expanding the voter network through strengthening the party's inclusive ideology and a direct approach to the lower classes such as farmers, fishermen, workers, and women's groups. Meanwhile, the defensive strategy is carried out by maintaining the loyalty of traditional PKB voters through strengthening the cadre structure at the sub-district and village levels.

According to the Chairman of the Syuro Council of the DPC PKB Pandeglang, KH. Suhud Hidayat, the party seeks to change the stigma of being an exclusive party to a party that is open to all circles. This is realized through pluralistic campaigns and cross-community political dialogue so as to expand the PKB's electoral base in Pandeglang.

#### **Irvan Nugraha's Winning Strategy**

Referring to Peter Schroder's theory, Irvan Nugraha's political strategy can be analyzed through seven main dimensions: attendance politics, popularity and electability, networking, cost politics, marketing politics, political goals, and political image.

##### **1. Politics of Presence**

Irvan Nugraha implements a political strategy of attendance by actively attending various social, religious, and cultural activities in the community. His consistent presence in the community creates an emotional closeness between the candidate and the voter. However, the presence is still limited in the area of its two base villages, Cikumbuen and Ramea, so the reach of support has not been maximized outside the region.

##### **2. Popularity and Electability**

Irvan Nugraha's popularity is inseparable from the figure of his father, KH. Suhud Hidayat, an influential religious and educational figure in Pandeglang. This genealogical factor indirectly increases his electability, even though some people outside the base still do not know Irvan personally.

##### **3. Political Network**

Winning networks are built informally through extended families and social communities without the formation of a formal campaign team structure. This approach saves political costs and strengthens emotional connections with supporters, but is less than optimal in cross-village coordination.

##### **4. Use of Funds (*Cost Politic*)**

Irvan Nugraha ran the campaign at a relatively small cost of around Rp180 million, focused on socio-religious activities and campaign logistics needs. The absence of money politics practices shows that strategies based on social proximity are more effective than transactional approaches.

##### **5. Marketing Politics**

Political marketing is carried out through campaign activities and consolidation at the grassroots level. Political communication is focused on conveying the vision of partiality towards small communities. This strategy is considered effective in building positive perceptions even though it has not been able to reach all constituents equally.

## **6. Political Targets**

The main target of the campaign is directed at religious leaders and local communities who have a strong influence in shaping public opinion. This approach is effective in gaining support in religious-based areas, but it is less reaching young and female voters at large.

## **7. Citra Policy**

Irvan's political image is built through two main channels: social media (Facebook, Instagram) and banners. Digital approaches have proven to be efficient and cost-effective, but limited internet access in rural areas has made the impact uneven.

### **Supporting and Inhibiting Factors**

Some of the factors that support Irvan Nugraha's success include:

- 1) active presence in the community;
- 2) the influence of family figures;
- 3) community-based social networks;
- 4) cost-effective campaign strategies;
- 5) approach to religious figures; and
- 6) A simple political image but close to the community.

While the inhibiting factors include:

- 1) limited campaign reach beyond the two base villages;
- 2) lack of personal popularity outside of family influence;
- 3) the absence of a structured winning team; and
- 4) budget constraints for political expansion.

### **Research Implications**

The results of the study show that political strategies based on social closeness and local religiosity are still the dominant factors in determining the success of legislative candidates in areas such as Pandeglang. Emotional approaches and religious networks are more effective than large-scale money-based campaigns. However, in the context of political modernization, legislative candidates need to expand public and digital communication strategies to be more adaptive to changes in voter behavior, especially the younger generation.

## **IV. Conclusions and Suggestions**

### **Conclusion**

Based on the results of research on the Political Strategy of the National Awakening Party (PKB) in the 2019 Legislative Election in Pandeglang Regency: Irvan Nugraha's Victory Study in Mandalawangi District, it can be

concluded that the political strategy implemented by Irvan Nugraha has proven to be effective in delivering him to become a member of the Pandeglang Regency DPRD for the 2019–2024 period.

*First*, Irvan Nugraha's political strategy is based on the application of various elements put forward in the theories of Peter Schröder and Eko Supriatno, including the politics of presence, popularity and electability, networks, political capital (money), political marketing, political goals, and political image. All of these elements are carried out in an adaptive manner and relevant to the social characteristics of the religious and communal Mandalawangi community.

*Second*, Irvan Nugraha's winning pattern shows a tendency to focus on the main base areas, namely Cikumbuen Village and Ramea Village. The limited reach outside the two regions makes its electoral support local and has not expanded significantly in all constituencies (Dapil II).

*Third*, heredity and family network factors play an important role in the success of the victory. Socio-political support from KH. Suhud Hidayat (Irvan Nugraha's father) and KH. Ece Zainuddin (Irvan's father-in-law) strengthened social legitimacy and expanded political influence among religious leaders and the surrounding community.

*Fourth*, the main obstacle in Irvan Nugraha's winning strategy lies in the low level of personal recognition outside the base area and the lack of direct involvement (action) outside the main community. This condition causes the distribution of votes in other areas to be not optimal.

In general, this study confirms that the success of local politics is not only determined by the strength of financial capital, but also by social presence, the legitimacy of religious leaders, and the ability to build a positive image in the eyes of the public.

## **Suggestions**

Based on the results of the research, some suggestions that can be submitted are as follows:

### 1) Improving Community Political Education

It is necessary to make systematic efforts to improve people's political literacy. Political education is not only important ahead of the election, but must also be carried out on an ongoing basis as part of the development of a healthy and dignified local democracy.

### 2) Social Activities and Ongoing Public Engagement

Legislative candidates are expected to be active in social, religious, and community activities, both during the campaign and outside the election period. Consistent attendance will strengthen trust and build emotional closeness with the community.

### 3) Maintaining the Trust and Consistency of the People's Aspirations

After being elected, legislative members need to maintain public trust by showing integrity and consistency in fighting for public aspirations in government institutions. Collaboration with religious, customary, and local community leaders needs to be maintained so that representative relationships remain strong and sustainable.

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