



## Comparing Political Campaign Strategies of PDIP and PKS in the 2024 Legislative Election in Banyumas, Indonesia

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### Abstract

Political campaign strategies have become increasingly important in shaping electoral competition, particularly in Indonesia's decentralized democratic system where local political dynamics influence electoral outcomes. The 2024 legislative election in Banyumas Regency presents an interesting case, as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) experienced a decline in votes while the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) significantly increased its electoral support. This study aims to compare the political campaign strategies employed by PDIP and PKS during the 2024 legislative election in Banyumas by applying Hafied Cangara's political campaign framework, which includes communicator selection, target audience, campaign messages, and media utilization. This research employs a qualitative approach using in-depth interviews, observation, and document analysis, with purposively selected informants from the regional leadership of both political parties. The findings reveal that although both parties emphasized public welfare and relied on digital campaign platforms, they adopted different strategic orientations. PDIP employed an institutional and structured campaign model through its Election Winning Body, whereas PKS relied on community-based volunteer networks and culturally adaptive mobilization. These differences shaped distinct patterns of voter engagement and electoral performance. This study contributes to the comparative understanding of local political campaign strategies by demonstrating how institutional organization and community mobilization influence electoral effectiveness in Indonesia's legislative elections.

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## INTRODUCTION

Since the 2004 election until now, Indonesia has implemented an open proportional election system which gives the public the opportunity to choose political parties and candidates in the election (Lubis et al., 2023). 2024 is a political year for Indonesia because it will hold simultaneous general elections for the presidential and vice-presidential elections, legislative elections and regional head elections. General elections in Indonesia play a crucial role, as they serve as a competitive process to fill political positions in government through a formal voting mechanism carried out by eligible citizens (Basuki, 2020).

The 2024 legislative election is notable due to changes in candidate requirements, allowing former corruption convicts to run following revisions to the 2017 Election Law. According to ICW, 56 former corruption convicts are candidates: 27 for DPR, 22 for DPRD, and 7 for DPD (Indonesia Corruption Watch, 2023). In the 2019 election, the General Election Commission published a list of legislative candidates who were former corruptors. In contrast, in 2024 there was no disclosure of candidates' legal status or resumes on the KPU website, limiting public input on the DCS (Temporary Candidate List).

Banyumas Regency, Central Java, held legislative elections on February 14, 2024. However, several issues emerged, particularly as candidates rushed to meet registration deadlines. The Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) of Banyumas reported that many prospective candidates failed to meet administrative requirements, including incomplete documents and irregular practices such as substituting diplomas with blank paper photos (Antara, 2023). There were also cases of a single diploma being used across multiple candidate files, involving political parties. Additionally, violations included a Gerindra candidate, Alfiatun Khasanah, campaigning at a place of worship, and Dwi Purwana (PPP) installing campaign materials on private property without permission (Bawaslu Banyumas, 2024).

The reason underlying the researcher choosing the PDIP and PKS parties as the focus of the research study is because the PDIP party

won the most votes in Central Java every time the general election was held. However, in Banyumas regency, the number of votes obtained by PDIP in the 2024 legislative election decreased compared to the 2019 election. The number of votes for PDIP in the 2024 legislative election in Banyumas regency was 332,347 votes, while in the 2019 election, PDIP received 343,778 votes (Irawati, 2024). Meanwhile, PKS as an Islamic party that is considered ordinary in the 2024 election experienced an increase in votes in the 2024 legislative election in Banyumas. PKS won 86,947 votes in the 2024 legislative election, more than in the 2019 legislative election, which was 67,721 votes (Badan Pusat Statistik Banyumas, 2021).

Theoretically, political parties are key institutions in the political system, serving as channels for public aspirations and tools for achieving political goals. Their main functions include political communication, socialization, recruitment, and conflict management (Nurhalimah, 2026). In political communication, parties mediate between government and society by conveying public interests to the state and disseminating government policies to the public (Pratiwi, 2025). The process by which people gain political knowledge and orientation through a variety of actors, including family, schooling, and political parties, is known as political socialization (Santoso et al., 2025). Political education is one of the key tools for increasing public participation, understanding, and political awareness (Sa'ban et al., 2022).

Political recruitment is a crucial function of political parties, as failure in this area hinders regeneration and threatens organizational continuity. It ensures sustainability by selecting new leaders for legislative and executive position (Giri Susilo HJP, 2026). In democratic systems, conflict is inevitable due to social diversity and rising public critical awareness, but it should be managed as a means to achieve the common good. Political parties are expected to address conflicts through dialogue, accommodating various public interests and deliberating them in legislative forums (Mendrofa, 2024). According to Law No. 2 of 2011, a political party must be founded by at least 30 married or 21-year-old citizens, registered by at least 50 founders through a notarial deed, contain at least 30%

female representation, have bylaws and articles of association, and forbid its officials and founders from being members of another political party (Saptohutomo, 2022).

Political campaigns are efforts to gain public support in elections, and when conducted honestly, they can strengthen democratic ideals (Moekahar, 2021). Campaigns serve as formal arenas for contesting political office, with objectives such as persuading audiences to accept or reject ideas, conducting propaganda toward voters, creating specific effects, and influencing public opinion (Wahid, 2016). They are typically carried out through party attributes like banners, posters, and media advertisements to promote programs and shape public perception (Arfiandani, 2022). Key campaign principles include positioning (building a positive and distinct image), branding (developing identity to attract public attention), and segmenting (identifying and targeting specific societal groups based on values, norms, and characteristics) (Heryanto, 2018).

The concept of political campaign strategy adopts the marketing mix 4P (Product, Price, Place, Promotion), referring to activities by parties or candidates in promoting political agendas, including vision, mission, ideology, programs, and identity (Wiwid, 2024). Political products include party platforms, past records, and candidates' personal characteristics (Noor, 2023). Promotion functions as a tool to market candidates, requiring effective jargon and appropriate media use (Sutrisno et al., 2018). Meanwhile, price consists of economic costs, psychological perceptions (such as voter comfort based on background), and national image, including campaign expenses and political lobbying effort (Dinata & Andriyani, 2022).

To gain votes in the general election there must be a strategy in the political campaign. Because the election is a democratic tool to form a state power system that is sovereign of the people. Based on the 1945 Constitution, chapter 22 E explains that the election is carried out directly, generally, secretly, honestly and fairly every five years. The purpose of the general election is the implementation of the people's political rights. Through the periodic election mechanism, these political human rights can be implemented in an orderly and safe manner

(Jurdi, 2018). In this research, the researcher used the approach proposed by (Cangara, 2011) who presented four types of political campaign strategies, namely:

- 1) Determining the communicator as the main actor in communication activities. The communicator plays a very important role. Therefore, the communicator acts as a campaigner who must be skilled at communicating.
- 2) Determining the target audience is also known as the audience. Understanding the community, especially those who will be the target audience in the campaign, is very important because all campaign activities are directed at the audience.
- 3) Compiling campaign messages that are effective and relevant. Several things need to be considered, including having to first master the message being conveyed including the structure of the composition, being able to put forward arguments logically so that they must have reasons in the form of facts and opinions that support the material presented, having the ability to create language intonation and having the ability to package messages in the form of humor to attract the attention of listeners. The delivery of messages consists of 3 types, namely informative messages, persuasive messages, propaganda.
- 4) Selection of media in the form of print media, electronic media, outdoor media, direct face-to-face channels with the community (Ratna, 2017).

Previous studies on political campaign strategies largely focus on individual parties. *First*, (Sakti & Al-Hamdi, 2020) found that NasDem emphasized slogans like "Politics Without Mahar" and "NasDem My Party, Jokowi My President," highlighting candidates' business backgrounds and leveraging media such as Metro TV and social platforms, while also engaging religious figures and communities. *Second*, (Nurfebriansyah et al., 2024) showed that PDIP's campaign strategy evolved significantly from the New Order to the reform era, adapting to technological developments and expanding approaches in media, public engagement, and communication. *Third*, (Trianggorowati & Al-Hamdi, 2020) noted that PKS promoted key policy programs and relied on candidates'

business backgrounds, with campaign funding largely sourced from legislative candidates. *Fourth*, (Setiawan, 2024) explained that the Jokowi–Ma'ruf campaign in 2019 combined offensive-defensive and promotional strategies, strengthening political branding and identity politics, leading to electoral victory. *Fifth*, (Mauludin et al., 2024) highlighted PAN's use of advertising across television, radio, and social media, especially TikTok to build a positive image and reach younger voters ahead of the 2024 election.

A review of these studies highlights several important patterns. Sakti et al. (2020) demonstrate that NasDem applied an integrated 4P political marketing strategy by leveraging media networks and public figures. Nurfebriansyah et al. (2024) emphasize PDIP's transformation toward a more adaptive and media-oriented campaign model. Meanwhile, Trianggorowati and Al-Hamdi (2020) show that PKS relied on programmatic messaging and candidate-based resources. Setiawan (2024) further illustrates how identity politics and combined campaign strategies contributed to the success of the Jokowi–Ma'ruf campaign. In addition, Mauludin et al. (2024) reveal the growing importance of digital advertising, particularly TikTok, in reaching younger voters.

Despite these contributions, most previous studies focus on the campaign strategies of a single political party and rarely provide direct comparisons within the same electoral context. Moreover, research at the regency level, particularly in Banyumas during the 2024 legislative elections, remains limited. Therefore, this study addresses this gap by applying Hafied Cangara's framework, which includes four dimensions, communicator selection, target audience, campaign messages, and media use to compare PDIP as a nationalist party and PKS as an Islamic party. Accordingly, this study aims to analyze and compare the campaign strategies of PKS and PDIP in the 2024 legislative elections in Banyumas Regency, identifying similarities and differences in terms of communicators, target audiences, campaign messages, and media use.

## METHODS

This study used a qualitative comparative case-study design to examine and compare the campaign strategies of PDIP and PKS in the 2024 legislative election in Banyumas Regency. PDIP and PKS were treated as two cases situated in the same electoral context. The comparison was guided by Cangara's (2011) four dimensions of political campaign strategy: the selection of communicators, the identification of target audiences, the construction of campaign messages, and the selection of media. This design was selected to develop a contextual understanding of how the two parties planned and implemented their campaigns rather than to estimate a causal effect of campaign strategy on election results.

Data were collected through semi-structured, in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document review. Informants were selected purposively from the Banyumas Regency leadership and campaign structures of PDIP and PKS. The selection criteria required informants to have direct involvement in, or substantive knowledge of, campaign planning, coordination, messaging, voter targeting, or media use. Purposive sampling was appropriate because it enabled the study to obtain information from participants whose roles were directly relevant to the research questions (Lenaini, 2021). Interview and observation data were supplemented with official election documents and results from the Banyumas Regency General Elections Commission (KPU), as well as relevant party campaign materials and public documents.

Data analysis was conducted iteratively through data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification (Djumadin & Dowansiba, 2023). Interview and observation notes and documentary evidence were first organized and screened for relevance. The data were then coded deductively according to Cangara's four campaign-strategy dimensions, while additional codes were retained when recurring themes emerged from the data.

Findings were summarized within each party and then entered into a cross-case comparison matrix to identify similarities and differences between PDIP and PKS. Election results were used to provide contextual evidence for the comparison, not as proof that a particular campaign strategy directly caused changes in votes or seats.

The credibility of the findings was strengthened through source and method triangulation. Statements from party informants were compared across interviews and checked against observations, official KPU records, and campaign documents. When accounts differed, the interpretation was re-examined against the available evidence before a conclusion was drawn. Because the informants were drawn primarily from party leadership and campaign structures, the findings represent the organizational perspectives of PDIP and PKS and do not directly capture voters' interpretations. Accordingly, the study's conclusions are limited to a contextual comparison of the two parties' campaign strategies in Banyumas Regency.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### A. Banyumas Regency Legislative Election 2024

The 2024 Banyumas Regency legislative election was contested by political parties that nominated candidates for membership in the Banyumas Regency Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). Banyumas Regency was divided into six electoral districts. Electoral District 1 comprised East Purwokerto, West Purwokerto, North Purwokerto, and Patikraja; Electoral District 2 comprised Baturraden, Sumbang, Kembaran, and Sokaraja; Electoral District 3 comprised Kalibagor, Banyumas, Somagede, Kemranjen, Sumpiuh, and Tambak; Electoral District 4 comprised Kebasen, Rawalo, Wangon, and Jatilawang; Electoral District 5 comprised Ajibarang, Pekuncen, Gumelar, and Lumir; and Electoral District 6 comprised Purwojati, Cilongok, Kedungbanteng, and Karanglewang.

The participating parties nominated varying numbers of legislative candidates. PKS, NasDem, PDIP, the Democratic Party, Golkar, PBB, PPP, Gerindra, PKB, PAN, and PSI each nominated 50 candidates. Meanwhile, PKN and Gelora each nominated 36 candidates, the Labour Party nominated 26 candidates, and the Garuda Party nominated 15 candidates. The study records a total of 762 legislative candidates, consisting of 450 men and 312 women.

The six electoral districts collectively allocated 50 DPRD seats. Electoral Districts 1, 4, 5, and 6 were each allocated eight seats, whereas Electoral Districts 2 and 3 were each allocated nine seats. PDIP won three seats in each of Electoral Districts 1–5 and two seats in Electoral District 6. PKS won one seat in each of the six electoral districts. Consequently, PDIP obtained 17 seats with 332,347 votes, while PKS obtained six seats with 86,947 votes. PKS's vote total represented an increase of approximately 28% compared with the 2019 legislative election (KPU Kabupaten Banyumas, 2024).

These results demonstrate that PDIP maintained its dominant position in the Banyumas Regency DPRD by winning seats consistently across all electoral districts. Its electoral performance reflects the strength of its party organization, extensive political networks, and established voter base. PKS also demonstrated electoral growth, as indicated by its substantial increase in votes, but this growth resulted in only one seat in each electoral district. Thus, PDIP retained its parliamentary dominance, while PKS emerged as a growing political force that had not yet converted its increased electoral support into a proportionate number of seats.

With a total of 332,347 votes, the PDIP received the most votes across all electoral districts, according to the table, demonstrating its robust and pervasive dominance in Banyumas. With a total of 86,947 votes, PKS is in the center, suggesting that although it has support, it is not yet powerful enough to contend at the highest level. Overall, this data indicates that one major party (PDIP) continues to dominate Banyumas politics, with a number of other parties acting as

**Table 1.** Valid Votes by Political Party and Electoral District in Banyumas Regency, 2024

| Political party   | District 1 | District 2 | District 3 | District 4 | District 5 | District 6 | Total     |
|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| PKB               | 17,256     | 36,805     | 33,876     | 18,412     | 19,563     | 37,744     | 163,656   |
| Gerindra          | 22,127     | 18,695     | 29,904     | 24,685     | 22,123     | 40,692     | 158,226   |
| PDIP              | 45,461     | 73,639     | 62,452     | 54,908     | 53,375     | 42,512     | 332,347   |
| Golkar            | 26,768     | 12,203     | 11,946     | 13,258     | 17,098     | 9,996      | 91,269    |
| NasDem            | 6,892      | 6,448      | 11,082     | 5,976      | 8,756      | 15,615     | 54,769    |
| Labour Party      | 893        | 513        | 626        | 291        | 327        | 413        | 3,063     |
| Gelora            | 1,081      | 1,198      | 952        | 746        | 1,781      | 849        | 6,607     |
| PKS               | 17,656     | 14,097     | 16,807     | 10,944     | 14,206     | 13,237     | 86,947    |
| PKN               | 313        | 543        | 553        | 26         | 33         | 225        | 1,693     |
| Hanura            | 304        | 354        | 125        | 63         | 91         | 106        | 1,043     |
| Garuda            | 477        | 269        | 227        | 161        | 140        | 185        | 1,459     |
| PAN               | 6,314      | 7,213      | 11,161     | 11,880     | 8,735      | 2,459      | 47,762    |
| PBB               | 313        | 93         | 121        | 74         | 61         | 93         | 755       |
| Democratic Party  | 12,403     | 10,567     | 7,361      | 6,090      | 3,173      | 5,457      | 46,051    |
| PSI               | 5,697      | 1,750      | 798        | 955        | 768        | 1,298      | 11,266    |
| Perindo           | 1,763      | 1,026      | 557        | 1,205      | 687        | 543        | 5,781     |
| PPP               | 7,358      | 9,019      | 3,135      | 5,984      | 15,722     | 5,970      | 47,188    |
| Ummat Party       | 1,568      | 1,161      | 899        | 271        | 469        | 527        | 4,895     |
| Total valid votes | 174,644    | 195,593    | 192,582    | 155,929    | 167,108    | 177,921    | 1,063,777 |

Source: Banyumas Regency General Elections Commission (KPU), 2024.

rivals and the remaining parties only playing a supporting role in the electoral contest.

## B. PDIP in the 2024 Banyumas Regency Legislative Election

In the 2024 legislative election in Banyumas regency, PDIP participated by nominating 50 of their members to compete for the Banyumas district legislative seat. The number of 50 PDIP members who participated in the 2024 legislative election in Banyumas district can be seen in table 2.

Based on the results of the 2024 legislative election in Banyumas Regency, 17 of the 50 candidates nominated by PDIP secured seats in the Banyumas Regency DPRD. In Electoral District 1, the elected candidates were Rellya Venny Octalina (9,533 votes), drg. Andrias Kartikosari (8,058 votes), and Sandung Wijoko (7,782 votes), while PDIP received a total of 45,461 votes in the district. In Electoral District 2, the elected candidates were Ito Anjarini, S.Sos. (15,828 votes), Agus Priyanggodo (13,548 votes), and dr. Henry Christianto (9,317 votes), with a total of 73,639 party votes. In Electoral District 3, Andri Kusmayadi, S.T. (9,452 votes), Didi

Rudianto, S.E., M.M. (9,284 votes), and Kartika Dewi Wulandari, A.Md., K.L. (8,183 votes) were elected, while PDIP obtained 62,452 votes. In Electoral District 4, the elected candidates were Subagyo, S.Pd., M.Si. (18,573 votes), Jasmin, S.H. (14,264 votes), and Wawan Yuwandha (6,469 votes), with a total of 54,908 party votes. In Electoral District 5, Agus Supriyanto (14,264 votes), H. Samsudin Tirta, S.E., M.M. (11,218 votes), and Merakarno Ra'husna Taruno, S.T. (9,883 votes) secured seats, while PDIP received 53,375 votes. Finally, H. Anang Agus Kostrad Diharto (8,696 votes) and Trisno Sudarso, S.Sos. (8,458 votes) were elected from Electoral District 6, where PDIP obtained 42,512 votes.

PDIP's success in securing 17 seats demonstrates its consistently strong electoral performance throughout Banyumas Regency. The party won three seats in each of Electoral Districts 1–5 and two seats in Electoral District 6, indicating that its support was broadly distributed across the regency rather than concentrated in only one area. The competitive vote totals achieved by several elected candidates also suggest that PDIP had multiple candidates with

**Table 2.** PDIP Candidates for the Banyumas Regency DPRD, 2024

| Electoral district | Number of candidates | Candidate names                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Banyumas 1         | 8                    | drg. Andrias Kartikosari<br>Rellya Venny Octalina<br>Sandung Wijoko<br>Junaedi Darmawan, S.E.<br>Bambang Widodo<br>Emilia Prabasari Prasetianingrum<br>Heri Firmandani<br>Kukuh Wijatmoko, S.H., M.Kn.<br>Agus Priyanggodo<br>Ito Anjarini, S.Sos.<br>Febrian Nugroho Perangin Angin, S.Sos. |
| Banyumas 2         | 9                    | Yulian Haryadi<br>Yusuf Arinton Sasongko<br>Ayu Sulistyorini<br>Himawan Darmajati, S.H.<br>Dwi Mukinah Erni<br>dr. Henry Christianto<br>Didi Rudianto, S.E., M.M.<br>Ofan Sofiyan, S.Sos.<br>Kartika Dewi Wulandari, A.Md., K.L.                                                             |
| Banyumas 3         | 9                    | Andri Kusmayadi, S.T.<br>Roso<br>Pika Windi Pangestu<br>Edwi Yulianto, A.Md.<br>Rony Nur Hidayat, S.Pd.<br>Eka Setianingsih, S.IP.<br>Subagyo, S.Pd., M.Si.<br>Jasmin, S.H.                                                                                                                  |
| Banyumas 4         | 8                    | Nurul Lusi Anjani<br>Wawan Yuwandha<br>Dewi Maulfarian<br>Dwi Hari Mardika, S.Kom.<br>Nani Wijayanti<br>David Okta Nugraha, S.T.<br>Agus Supriyanto<br>H. Samsudin Tirta, S.E., M.M.<br>Rintis Ida Tri Yola                                                                                  |
| Banyumas 5         | 8                    | Bayu Setyo Nugroho, S.Sos., M.Si.<br>Merakarno Ra'husna Taruno, S.T.<br>Retno Listiani, A.Md.<br>Rosana Dewi Ningrum, S.Si.<br>Firman Maulidin<br>H. Anang Agus Kostrad Diharto<br>Trisno Sudarso, S.Sos.                                                                                    |
| Banyumas 6         | 8                    | Eni Marheni<br>Cahyoto, S.Kom.<br>Zamretta Alra Sutrisno<br>Kuwat Purwanto<br>Nurcahaya, S.Sos.<br>Warid, S.H.                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Total              | 50                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

Source: Banyumas Regency KPU Decree No. 1098 of 2024 concerning the determination of the 2024 Banyumas Regency DPRD election results

performance in Electoral District 6 produced one fewer seat than in the other districts, PDIP nevertheless maintained a strong presence in every electoral district. Overall, these results reflect the party's organizational strength, established voter base, and ability to convert votes into legislative seats across Banyumas Regency.

### **C. PKS in the 2024 Banyumas Regency Legislative Election**

Keadilan Sejahtera Party (PKS) was officially declared on April 20, 2002. In the 2024 legislative election in Banyumas Regency, PKS nominated 50 members to participate in obtaining legislative seats.

Based on the results of the 2024 general election for members of the Banyumas Regency Regional House of Representatives (DPRD), six of the 50 candidates nominated by PKS were elected, with one representative securing a seat in each electoral district: Atik Luthfiyah received 7,038 votes, Eko Pramono 4,399 votes, Dedi Supriyanto 6,727 votes, Sutrisno Rudiyanto 3,420 votes, Joko Pramono, S.E. 6,679 votes, and Slamet Sukoco, S.TP. 4,111 votes. This distribution demonstrates that PKS maintained an electoral presence throughout Banyumas Regency, although its success rate remained relatively limited amid intense competition. The variation in the elected candidates' vote totals, ranging from 3,420 to 7,038 votes, also indicates differences in their respective levels of electoral support. Overall, the results suggest that PKS possessed a broadly distributed but comparatively modest support base, enabling it to secure one seat in every electoral district without establishing a dominant stronghold in any particular district.

### **D. Comparison Matrix of PDIP and PKS Campaign Strategies**

To see the strategies used by both parties, this study uses the approach proposed by Hafied Cangara regarding political campaign strategies including how to determine communicators, determine target targets, how to process campaign messages, and media selection.

### **Determination of Communicator**

In the 2024 legislative elections, political communicators play a crucial role as initiators of visionary ideas aimed at influencing and shaping the attitudes and behavior of target audiences (Poernomo & Irwanti, 2024). Credible communicators are essential in political campaigns, as they facilitate the transmission of political messages, including ideas, visions, missions, values, and policies, to constituents. In addition to credibility, political communicators must possess attractiveness, which includes physical appearance, speaking style, personal character, performance, communication skills, and behavior. They must also be able to position themselves within society, demonstrating that they share similar needs and expectations with the constituents they aim to represent.

In the 2024 legislative elections in Banyumas Regency, PDIP did not rely on individual "success teams" but instead used a formal structure through the Election Winning Institution (BP Pemilu) at the DPC level. This body is responsible for designing campaign strategies, mapping electoral districts (dapil), assessing candidate quality, and identifying the community's electoral preferences. Its formation is institutional, following the establishment of the DPC, and its members must be registered PDIP cadres (proven by a membership card/KTA) with the capacity to analyze demographic and electoral dynamics.

In contrast, PKS relied on decentralized "success teams" that maintain close personal communication with legislative candidates. These teams are composed of individuals with strong social recognition and networks, often recruited from community groups such as women's religious gatherings, as well as friends and neighbors. PKS also conducts weekly coordination meetings. The teams operate under the direction of the party's general secretary and cadre division, but their strategies vary across electoral districts. Overall, PKS's campaign structure integrates three elements; party management, cadres, and candidate-based volunteer teams, which work collaboratively to maximize outreach across all dapil within a

**Table 3.** PKS Candidates for the Banyumas Regency DPRD, 2024

| <b>Electoral district</b> | <b>Number of candidates</b> | <b>Candidate names</b>                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Banyumas 1                | 8                           | Atik Luthfiah<br>Imam Subarkah<br>Agusdin, S.Sos.<br>Roudlotul Isti'anah Fadilah<br>Sjaiful Rahman<br>Rofik Asnan<br>Umi Priyatiningsih<br>H. Paryoto, S.Ag.<br>Eko Pramono<br>Kusyanto, S.H.<br>Tuti Sundari, S.Pd. |
| Banyumas 2                | 8                           | Jumarsih<br>Pujiati<br>Munsifah<br>Judiono, S.P.<br>Riyadi, S.H.<br>Dedi Supriyanto<br>Satini, S.Pd.<br>Suheri, S.Pd.I.                                                                                              |
| Banyumas 3                | 9                           | Mahmud Basyar Saifudin<br>Dzikri Lathiful Karim<br>Fitrias Andriyani<br>Eko Rahmanto<br>Yuli Puspita Dewi, S.E.<br>Dwi Antoro<br>Sutrisno Rudiyanto<br>Anisfatul Istiqomah<br>Riyanto, S.Si.                         |
| Banyumas 4                | 8                           | Marman<br>Endah Lewihati<br>Erni Kurnianingsih<br>Fakhri Ibnu Nur Graha, S.M.<br>Amin Subkhanoro<br>Joko Pramono, S.E.<br>Akhmad Khariri, S.Ag.<br>Rina Marfungah                                                    |
| Banyumas 5                | 8                           | Agung Priatmoko<br>Joko Suwelo, S.Th.I.<br>Alfina Jenny Cahyani<br>Siti Ngaenah<br>Edi Pramono<br>Slamet Sukoco, S.TP.<br>Masrur Andriyani, S.Pd.<br>Susanto                                                         |
| Banyumas 6                | 8                           | Sindiara Syahputra<br>Annisa Faizul Hidayah<br>Ari Kuntoro<br>Fathurrokhman<br>Titien Sumiati                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Total</b>              | <b>49</b>                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

Source: Banyumas Regency KPU Decree No. 1098 of 2024 concerning the determination of the 2024 Banyumas Regency DPRD election results.

limited timeframe.

Three levels of coordination underpin the PKS campaign team's operations: the party's core leadership, which establishes campaign strategies; active party members, who lead outreach efforts; and the volunteer teams for each legislative candidate, which function through personal connections and community networks. To guarantee that all components work together harmoniously, regular weekly meetings act as a consolidation mechanism. This model is similar to Gun Gun Heriyanti's (2018) segmentation strategy, in which the party uses pre-existing social groups to disseminate political messaging. The primary distinction between the PDIP and PKS in terms of communicator selection is where their legitimacy comes from. The PDIP establishes authority through formal institutions through the Election Commission (BP Pemilu), whereas PKS depends on social closeness and personal trust at the local level.

The Banyumas Regency election results were directly impacted by this discrepancy. With a total of 17 seats and 332,347 votes, the PDIP's institutionally based campaigners consistently secured 3 seats in almost every electoral district, proving that an organized system can maximize each region's potential. In contrast, PKS was able to increase its vote share by 28% to 86,947, but only managed to secure 1 seat per electoral district (a total of 6 seats). This suggests that the power of community-based communicators tends to be distributed and is not yet sufficiently concentrated to provide extra seats. While the PKS model is more successful in increasing support, it is still limited in its capacity to translate social proximity into greater victories. In contrast, the PDIP model excels in the stability of electoral distribution.

These results are also in line with earlier studies. The findings of Nurfebriansyah et al. (2024) that the PDIP's shift to an institutional campaign model is constant from the national level down to the district level are supported by the institutionalization trend among PDIP communicators. The PKS model, on the other hand, goes beyond the findings of Trianggorowati and Al-Hamdi (2020), who pointed out that PKS still relied on formal cadre networks in the 2019 election; this adaptive evolution is strongly suspected to be the factor

explaining the increase in PKS votes in the 2024 election. The PKS model is currently expanding into informal community networks, such as religious study groups and cultural communities.

### Setting Target Goals

The general public serves as the primary target of political campaigns, making audience definition crucial to electoral success. In the 2024 legislative elections in Banyumas Regency, PDIP focuses mainly on millennials, Gen Z, and first-time voters, while also targeting women and community groups. To ensure effective outreach, PDIP candidates map the demographic composition of each electoral district (dapil), particularly age distribution, so campaigns can reach all segments consistently. Female voters are given particular attention, as they are considered more stable in their political preferences.

In practice, PDIP conducts segmentation by mapping the demographic composition of voters across electoral districts. Campaign strategies are then tailored accordingly, interactive and visual social media content is used to engage younger voters, while community meetings and face-to-face activities target women. This approach aligns with Gun Gun Heriyanti's (2018) segmentation concept, which emphasizes identifying social groups to support political expansion. It also reflects findings by Ahmad Rifki Nurfebriansyah et al. (2024), showing PDIP's increasing adaptability to changing voter demographics in the post-reform era.

In the 2024 legislative elections in Banyumas Regency, PKS expanded its target audience beyond its traditional focus on religious study groups to include the broader public. Through preliminary research, the party analyzed sociocultural characteristics across electoral districts and adopted a cultural approach. Although known as an Islam-oriented party, PKS adapted its strategy by engaging with local traditions such as wayang performances, gamelan music, and kentongan. It also organized hadroh and gandingan festivals and supported local arts groups, helping to build an image of inclusivity and cultural openness.

This strategy begins with field research to understand local communities, followed by tailored outreach aligned with regional customs.

Participation in cultural events and support for traditional arts function not only as social engagement but also as a positioning strategy to shift public perception from an exclusive religious party to one embedded in local culture. This finding is consistent with Erna Trianggorowati and Ridho Al-Hamdi (2020), who note PKS's efforts to broaden its voter base, though the 2024 case shows a more advanced and adaptive approach. The 28% increase in PKS votes compared to 2019 which can be associated with the expansion of its target audience to new voter segments.

From a theoretical perspective, these differences can be explained through party identification and electoral volatility. PDIP's focus on young and female voters reflects an effort to adapt to shifting voter bases, especially given its vote decline since 2019. In contrast, PKS demonstrates partial de-ideologization, maintaining its Islamic identity while combining it with a more inclusive cultural strategy. This indicates a development from earlier findings by Erna Trianggorowati and Ridho Al-Hamdi (2020), which emphasized PKS's reliance on ideological appeal.

Moreover, both parties' strategies differ from the findings of Asep Setiawan (2024) on the Jokowi–Ma'ruf campaign, which strengthened identity politics. In Banyumas, PDIP and PKS instead tend to adopt more inclusive approaches that broaden their appeal across diverse voter segments.

The PDIP and PKS demonstrate contrasting approaches to voter targeting, with markedly different electoral outcomes. PDIP's focus on youth, women, and first-time voters translated into steady dominance across all districts 332,347 votes and 17 seats, securing two to three seats per district despite a slight overall vote decline from 2019. PKS, meanwhile, saw a significant 28% vote increase, yet this growth remained too evenly spread across districts to yield more than one seat per district, resulting in just six seats total. This contrast highlights a key distinction: PDIP proved more effective at consolidating its target audience into concentrated electoral power, while PKS, though successful in expanding its voter base, still struggles to convert that broader support into proportionally greater seat gains.

### **Campaign messages**

PDIP's campaign messaging in the 2024 Banyumas Regency legislative elections centered on public welfare, communicated through an informative-persuasive approach. Rather than broadcasting generic party platforms, legislative candidates engaged directly with constituents through discussions, community gatherings, and personal visits to understand local needs firsthand. These interactions served a dual purpose: building personal rapport while translating community aspirations into concrete, measurable program commitments. This ground-up approach reflects the party's positioning of its candidates as policy bridges between community expectations and legislative action.

PKS tailored its campaign messaging to each district's demographic profile, prioritizing MSME advancement in merchant-heavy areas, youth empowerment and family resilience where working-age populations dominate, and agricultural welfare in farming subdistricts. This reflects Niffenegger's "product" concept in political marketing (in Noor, 2023), where party platforms are repackaged into locally relevant issues. While both parties center their messaging on public welfare, their approaches differ fundamentally: PKS employs a top-down, thematic-sectoral strategy grounded in field research, whereas PDIP adopts a bottom-up, aspirational approach built through direct community engagement.

PDIP's bottom-up, aspirational approach combining broad welfare themes with direct community engagement generated consolidated support across all districts, yielding 332,347 votes and 17 seats. PKS's thematic-sectoral strategy expanded its appeal among specific groups, driving a 28% vote increase, yet its issue-specific, district-varying messaging kept support fragmented at one seat per district. In sum, PKS is more effective at targeting specific constituencies, while PDIP proves superior at building the broad, stable support needed to maximize seat gains.

### **Media Selection**

Both PDIP and PKS utilize the same social media platforms Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok but with distinct approaches. PDIP takes a top-down, credential-focused strategy,

using these channels to highlight national policy achievements and candidate qualifications, with public figures deployed situationally. PKS adopts a more decentralized, community-driven approach, where campaign teams and volunteers organically generate and share content through personal accounts, making messaging feel more grassroots and relatable. These contrasting social media strategies mirror each party's broader campaign orientation.

PDIP deploys public figures situationally, while PKS more consistently uses DPR RI members and central party figures to bolster its constituency-level image. Both parties combine digital platforms with offline materials such as billboards and banners reflecting Sutrisno et al.'s (2018) "promotion" concept of reaching diverse voter segments simultaneously. As Mauludin et al. (2024) note, platforms like TikTok are increasingly effective for youth outreach. Ultimately, media effectiveness for both parties hinges less on platform choice and more on how content is tailored to their respective target audiences.

Compared to prior research, PDIP and PKS in Banyumas Regency demonstrate a more localized approach than parties like PAN, which relied on centralized, uniform messaging (Mauludin et al., 2024). This suggests local adaptation is more critical at the regency level than in national campaigns. PKS's organic, volunteer-driven social media use also contrasts sharply with Nasdem's reliance on mass media networks like Metro TV (Sakti et al., 2020), reflecting Indonesia's broader shift toward decentralized digital mobilization. Overall, both PDIP and PKS have successfully adapted to the 2024 electoral landscape, each leveraging distinct strategies aligned with their respective strengths and target constituencies.

PDIP's organized, educational social media strategy reinforced by offline campaigns produced consistent visibility across all districts, translating into 332,347 votes and 17 evenly distributed seats. PKS's intimate, volunteer-driven approach successfully drove a 28% vote increase but remained too decentralized to consolidate electoral strength, yielding only six seats. This confirms that media effectiveness depends not on platform choice alone, but on distribution consistency. PDIP excels at

converting broad reach into seats, while PKS builds strong community closeness yet struggles to translate this into proportional electoral gains.

## CONCLUSION

Based on Hafied Cangara's four aspects of campaign strategy, this study attempts to evaluate and contrast the political campaign strategies of the PDIP and PKS in the 2024 parliamentary elections in Banyumas Regency. *First*, when it comes to choosing communicators, the PKS uses a campaign team that is directly led by the secretary-general and the cadre development division, while the PDIP uses the Election Victory Committee (BP Pemilu), a formal and structured body within the party. *Second*, the PDIP uses demographic mapping by election district to emphasize female voters, Gen Z, millennials, and first-time voters. Through local cultural practices like wayang, gamelan, and kentongan, PKS has broadened its target audience beyond religious study groups to the broader public. This expansion has proven successful, as seen by PKS's 28% rise in votes from 67,721 (2019) to 86,947 (2024). *Third*, both parties focus on public welfare in their campaign messaging, but they do so in different ways: PKS employs a thematic-sectoral approach specific to each electoral district, such as "*UMKM Naik Kelas*" (SMEs Moving Up), "*Pemuda Berdaya*" (Empowered Youth), and issues facing farmers, while PDIP takes a bottom-up, aspirational approach through direct dialogue with constituents. *Fourth*, when it came to media selection, both parties used social media (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok), but they did so in different ways. PDIP used social media in a programmatic and informative way, as well as situationally to engage public figures, whereas PKS used it in an organic and personal way through its volunteer network and regularly used its House of Representatives cadres. With 17 seats and 332,347 votes, PDIP's campaign plan was successful in sustaining its dominance; however, a drop of 11,431 votes from 2019 suggests that a strategic change is required. However, despite having only six seats, PKS's more culturally sensitive approach was successful in greatly growing its support base.

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