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# The Political Strategy of the National Mandate Party (PAN) in Winning the 2024 General Election in Blitar City

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***Abstract.*** *This study analyzes the political strategy of the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN) in winning the 2024 Legislative Election in Blitar City. Using a qualitative case study approach, the research examines how PAN implemented a hybrid strategy that integrates offensive and defensive approaches, as conceptualized by Peter Schröder (2010), and how internal and external factors shaped its electoral success. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, document analysis, and official electoral data from the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). The findings show that PAN successfully broke a two-decade absence from the local legislature by winning three seats through the simultaneous application of offensive strategies and defensive strategies, including grassroots organizational consolidation, voter base maintenance, and rigorous vote protection mechanisms. Resource allocation was conducted selectively and proactively based on electoral geography analysis, enabling PAN to overcome financial and organizational limitations through low-cost, high-impact campaigning. The effectiveness of this strategy was strongly influenced by the interaction between internal strengths (organizational consolidation, digital adaptability, and strong social capital) and external opportunities (voter volatility, high political participation, and national political momentum), while mitigating structural weaknesses and external threats such as the historical dominance of major parties and transactional politics. Validation from KPU and Bawaslu confirms that PAN's success was achieved through legal, ethical, and well-organized campaign practices. This study concludes that PAN's hybrid offensive–defensive strategy represents an effective model for medium-sized parties operating under resource constraints in a competitive multiparty system. The findings also enrich Schröder's framework by highlighting the central role of digital campaigning, electoral integrity, and the simultaneous integration of offensive and defensive strategies in contemporary elections.*

***Keywords:*** *Political Strategy; Legislative Election; Hybrid Strategy; Partai Amanat Nasional; Local Politics*

## 1. Introduction

Democracy is a system of government that places the people as the ultimate holders of sovereignty in the decision-making process, either directly in small communities or indirectly through representative mechanisms in modern states (Prayitno, 2023). Elections serve as a fundamental pillar of democracy, as they enable citizens to participate actively in determining political preferences and selecting their representatives in legislative and executive institutions (Bhera et al., 2025). Within this framework, political parties play a central role as election participants, as stipulated in Article 1 paragraph 27 of Law Number 7 of 2017 on General Elections. Political parties are defined as voluntary national organizations formed by Indonesian citizens to represent collective political interests, safeguard public aspirations, and maintain the unity of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Nazaruddin & Warsono, 2021).

General elections in Indonesia are held every five years to elect the President and Vice President, as well as members of the House of Representatives (DPR RI), the Regional Representative Council (DPD RI), and Regional Legislative Councils (DPRD) at the provincial and municipal levels. In the 2024 General Election, 24 national political parties and six Aceh-based local parties participated. National legislative election results show that the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional—PAN) secured 10,984,003 votes, equivalent to 7.24% of the total national vote, placing seventh overall. This achievement resulted in PAN obtaining 69 seats in the DPR RI, an increase of ten seats compared to the 2019 election, in which it secured 59 seats (General Election Commission, 2024).

PAN's national electoral performance also influenced its achievements at the local level, including in Blitar City. PAN's decision to join the national coalition supporting the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket in the 2024 presidential election strengthened its political positioning at the regional level. This phenomenon aligns with Reilly's (2006) argument that local political dynamics are closely linked to national political configurations, particularly in multiparty systems such as Indonesia.

A notable political anomaly occurred in Blitar City, where PAN, after failing to secure any seats in the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) for more than two decades, succeeded in winning three seats in the 2024 election and forming its own parliamentary faction. Based on the official results, the composition of seats in the Blitar City DPRD consists of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) with eight seats, the National Awakening Party (PKB) with five seats, Golkar with three seats, PAN with three seats, the United Development Party (PPP) with three seats, Gerindra with two seats, and the Democratic Party with one seat, totaling 25 seats (Alivia, 2024). PAN's three seats were obtained from three different electoral districts Kepanjenkidul, Sananwetan, and Sukorejo with vote counts of 1,498, 833, and 2,690 respectively (Blitarraya, 2024).

This outcome is particularly significant given Blitar City's reputation as a stronghold of PDIP, often referred to as a "Kandang Banteng". Since the political reform era of 1998, PDIP has consistently dominated electoral contests in Blitar City, shaping a stable local political landscape from 2004 to 2019 and reflecting strong voter loyalty to the party's ideology and leadership (Widyarini, 2022). However, the 2024 election revealed a shift in voter preferences, marked by a decline in seats for several parties, including PDIP, the Democratic Party, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and Hanura. This shift created political opportunities that PAN successfully leveraged to enter the Blitar City DPRD.

PAN's electoral success was closely linked to the political strategies it employed. PAN's institutional proximity to major Islamic mass organizations, particularly Muhammadiyah, provided significant social capital. Research by Roois et al. (2025) demonstrates that PAN emphasized winning strategies based on strengthening the role of community leaders and mobilizing support from religious organizations with extensive grassroots networks. Furthermore, PAN's use of politainment strategies and digital campaigning proved effective in increasing its electoral appeal. These strategies included the formation of ad hoc campaign bodies, intensive use of social media platforms such as Instagram and TikTok targeting voters aged 16–40, and the nomination of public figures as legislative candidates, which contributed positively to PAN's vote share (Pratama & Suharto, 2024).

In the study of political campaign strategies, Schröder (2010) distinguishes between offensive and defensive strategies. Offensive strategies focus on expanding electoral support by targeting new voters, capitalizing on current issues, and projecting images of change, whereas defensive strategies aim to maintain loyal voters through consolidation and reinforcement of established support bases. Empirical findings by Nurmalina et al. (2023) indicate that the integration of offensive and defensive strategies can significantly enhance electoral outcomes at the local level. This theoretical framework is highly relevant to analyzing PAN's victory in Blitar City, as the party effectively combined offensive strategies such as voter outreach and image rebranding with defensive strategies, including internal consolidation and organizational strengthening.

Based on these considerations, this study focuses on the following research topic: "The Political Strategy of the National Mandate Party (PAN) in Winning the 2024 General Election in Blitar City."

## 2. Research Methods

This study employs a qualitative research approach with descriptive data collection techniques. Data analysis is conducted narratively, consistent with the characteristics of a qualitative case study, to obtain an in-depth and comprehensive understanding of the research phenomenon (Sobari, 2023). The study specifically examines how the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional—PAN) in Blitar City formulated, implemented, and adapted its political strategies during the 2024 general election, resulting in the acquisition of three seats in the Blitar City Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) for the 2024–2029 period.

A qualitative case study design is applied, focusing on a single research object, namely PAN's electoral winning strategy in Blitar City during the 2024 election (Subakti, 2023). This approach is considered appropriate as it allows for an in-depth exploration of

internal party dynamics, candidate–voter interactions, and socio-political factors influencing electoral success within a local context. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with legislative candidates, party officials, and community members to capture the meanings, motivations, and narratives underlying the implemented strategies.

The research focus serves as a conceptual guide to maintain analytical coherence and depth. As emphasized by Miles and Huberman (2014), defining the research focus from the outset is essential to limit the scope of inquiry, select relevant data, and ensure systematic and directed analysis. Accordingly, this study focuses on PAN's political strategy in winning the 2024 legislative election in Blitar City.

Data collection techniques include interviews, document analysis, media research, and literature review to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon (Sugiyono, 2019). Interviews were conducted both online and offline and documented through notes and recordings. Document analysis involved official election data from the General Election Commission (KPU), party archives, campaign team records, and photographic documentation. The literature review utilized relevant books, national and international journal articles, theses, and dissertations.

Informants were selected using purposive sampling, based on their relevance, experience, and direct involvement in the research object (Sugiyono, 2019). This technique ensures that data are obtained from individuals with substantive knowledge of PAN's electoral strategy.

## 3. Results and Discussion

### 3.1 Political Strategy of the National Mandate Party (PAN) in the 2024 Legislative Election in Blitar City

According to Schröder (2010), offensive strategies refer to efforts by political parties to expand their support base and capture voters from competitors through strategies of constituency expansion and constituency penetration. The findings of this study indicate that the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN) in Blitar City implemented both approaches simultaneously and contextually. The success of this offensive strategy is reflected in the increase in PAN's seat acquisition from zero seats in the 2019 General Election to three seats in the 2024 General Election, with a total of 5,021 votes or 6.8% of valid votes at the city level (Blitar City KPU, 2024).

The strategy of expanding constituencies was pursued by PAN Blitar City through integrated digital campaigning, the mobilization of young political figures, and the utilization of national coalition effects. Digital campaigning was primarily directed at reaching young voters through content management on social media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, Facebook, and WhatsApp, managed by a dedicated digital team composed of young party cadres. The intensity of digital campaigning was found to be positively correlated with PAN's vote share in polling stations (TPS) with a high concentration of voters aged 17–30, where PAN obtained an average of 9.1% of the vote, compared to only 4.3% in polling stations dominated by senior voters. These findings underscore the effectiveness of digital strategies in penetrating young voter segments while simultaneously highlighting their limitations among older voters.

In addition, the mobilization of young political figures served as a progressive image-building strategy aimed at reshaping public perceptions of PAN as a party relevant to

millennials and Generation Z. Strategically, PAN Blitar City nominated 28% of legislative candidates under the age of 35, a proportion higher than that of other major parties. This approach functioned as an electoral differentiation strategy; however, the sustainability of voter support remains contingent upon post-election legislative performance, as emphasized in the theory of electoral accountability (Manin et al., 1999).

The strategy of constituency expansion was further reinforced through the utilization of the national coalition effect associated with the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket in the 2024 presidential election. The victory of Prabowo–Gibran in Blitar City with 58.7% of the vote generated a coattail effect that significantly influenced PAN's vote acquisition. Correlation analysis shows that in polling stations where Prabowo–Gibran received more than 65% of the vote, PAN achieved an average vote share of 9.2%, whereas in polling stations with lower presidential vote shares, PAN's support declined to 4.1%. These findings confirm a strong positive relationship between the presidential election outcome and PAN's increased vote share, consistent with the findings of Wahyudi (2024).

Nevertheless, reliance on the coattail effect is viewed as a potentially risky long-term strategy. Perspectives from coalition partners and confirmations from the Blitar City General Election Commission (KPU) indicate that, although there is a strong statistical correlation between presidential election victories and the vote shares of coalition parties, other factors such as candidate quality, campaign intensity, and local political dynamics also play a crucial role. From the perspective of party system theory (Sartori, 1976), PAN needs to strengthen its institutionalization and political identity to avoid excessive dependence on national figures in future electoral contests.

### 3.2 Constituency Penetration Strategy

According to Schröder (2010), the constituency penetration strategy (customer strategy) aims to convert voters who are loyal to other parties through intensive penetration into competitors' strongholds. PAN Kota Blitar implemented this strategy through three main instruments: door-to-door campaigning, personalization of candidate–constituent relations, and community-based social programs. Door-to-door campaigning was conducted systematically using neighborhood (RT) mapping based on the 2019 election results, allowing the party to focus on swing voters and relatively open segments within competitors' bases. This approach emphasized listening sessions, social engagement, and the avoidance of negative campaigning, aligning with the principles of electoral geography (Johnston & Pattie, 2006).

The effectiveness of this strategy was particularly evident in Electoral District 3, where most targeted neighborhoods experienced an increase in PAN's vote share, including areas that had previously provided no support for the party. Cross-tabulation data indicate that 82.6% of the targeted neighborhoods recorded vote gains, suggesting an independent effect of personal campaigning beyond the influence of the national coalition. Voter testimonies confirm that personal proximity and candidates' social track records were more decisive than party affiliation, consistent with the personal vote theory (Carey & Shugart, 1995). At the organizational level, the door-to-door strategy was implemented in a coordinated manner by PAN's Bappilu through mandatory field activities, weekly reporting, and periodic evaluations. Nevertheless, the sustainability of voter support remains contingent on consistent post-election performance (Pitkin, 1967).

The second crucial instrument was the personalization of candidate–constituent relations, manifested through candidates' active participation in community life,

responsiveness to individual problems, and transparent communication. This approach reflects the practice of constituency service (Cain et al., 1987) and leverages strong social capital and reciprocal relationships within the local context (Coleman, 1988). Personalization was found to generate organic campaigners who voluntarily promoted candidates within their social networks, consistent with the diffusion of political influence mechanism (Rogers, 2003). At the organizational level, this strategy functioned as a means for PAN to compensate for limited material resources by investing in social relations, in line with findings that personal votes tend to be more dominant in candidate-oriented electoral systems (Gibson & McAllister, 2006).

The third instrument consisted of community-based social programs focused on education, health, and economic empowerment, such as scholarship initiatives, MSME (UMKM) support programs, and the renovation of religious facilities. These programs were implemented before and during the campaign period, funded independently, and designed as forms of programmatic campaigning that produced tangible track records (Manin et al., 1999). Beyond generating direct beneficiaries, the programs expanded electoral support through positive word-of-mouth effects. From an organizational perspective, these social programs served as a competitive differentiator and a unique selling proposition for PAN in competing with larger parties, consistent with political marketing positioning theory (Lees-Marshment, 2009). Validation by the Blitar City Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu) confirmed that these programs were legal and did not constitute vote-buying, thereby situating PAN's strategy firmly within the ethical and regulatory framework of democratic elections.

### 3.3 Defensive Strategy of PAN in Blitar City

According to Schröder (2010), defensive strategies are oriented toward maintaining an existing voter base through consolidative and protective approaches. In the context of PAN Blitar City, which had only recently regained representation in the local legislature after a two-decade absence, defensive strategies were not directed toward an established traditional base, but rather toward newly formed constituencies that emerged during the 2024 Legislative Election. PAN implemented a voter-retention strategy (multiplier strategy) focusing on the consolidation of long-standing sympathizers, the strengthening of party structures down to the polling station (TPS) level, and the systematic safeguarding of votes.

The consolidation of long-standing sympathizers was conducted through intensive communication, both face-to-face and digital, aimed at maintaining ideological and emotional ties. These long-standing supporters many of whom originate from Muhammadiyah-affiliated social environments were positioned as core supporters and mobilized as informal campaign agents. This approach generated a multiplier effect, whereby sympathizers not only cast their votes but also influenced other voters within their social networks. This finding is consistent with theories of party identification (Campbell et al., 1960) and the two-step flow of communication (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955), which emphasize the role of opinion leaders in shaping electoral preferences.

In addition, PAN strengthened its organizational structure down to the TPS level through internal restructuring, the formation of polling station coordinator networks, voter mapping based on the Permanent Voter List (DPT), and systematic cadre training. A solid organizational structure enabled rapid and responsive vertical coordination, thereby increasing the effectiveness of voter mobilization at the micro level. This organizational strengthening reflects an enhancement of party organizational capacity (Panebianco, 1988), supported by the implementation of performance-based incentive systems

emphasizing recognition and opportunities for political career development. This approach aligns with organizational motivation theory, which highlights the importance of intrinsic motivation in improving cadre performance (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Vote safeguarding constituted a critical stage in the strategy of voter retention, as it determined the conversion of electoral support into actual votes. PAN Blitar City established a structured witness network through selective recruitment, intensive training, and the utilization of digital technology for real-time monitoring. Each witness was equipped with knowledge of electoral regulations, monitoring procedures, and complaint mechanisms, as well as facilitated in the use of Form C1 and the Sirekap application for rapid reporting. The target of uploading C1 results within a maximum of two hours after vote counting reflected high organizational discipline and a rigorous monitoring system.

Field implementation demonstrated that PAN witnesses were present from the early stages of voting through vote counting, ensuring procedural compliance and minimizing the potential for electoral fraud. The application of digital documentation and reporting enhanced transparency and accountability in the electoral process. The Blitar City Election Commission (KPU) assessed PAN witnesses as professional and disciplined, even ranking PAN among the parties with the fastest and most complete C1 uploads. This institutional validation confirms that PAN's vote-safeguarding efforts contributed to strengthening electoral integrity, with party witnesses functioning as a critical checks-and-balances mechanism to maintain public trust in the electoral process (Norris, 2014).

### 3.4 Strategy of Closing or Relinquishing Constituencies

The strategy of closing or relinquishing constituencies (surrounding strategy), as articulated by Schröder (2010), represents a rational choice to avoid intensive resource allocation in areas with low electoral prospects, while concentrating efforts on more competitive and promising regions. For PAN Blitar City, this strategy reflects campaign planning maturity amid resource constraints, manifested through the selection of priority areas and the measured reallocation of resources.

The selection of priority areas was based on electoral geography analysis, taking into account the 2019 election results, voter demographic characteristics, and the strength of competing parties. Based on this mapping, polling stations were classified into high-, medium-, and low-priority categories. Intensive campaigning was concentrated in swing-voter areas and highly competitive districts, while areas dominated overwhelmingly by competitors received only minimal engagement. This data-driven approach demonstrates the application of resource allocation efficiency principles, whereby political investment is directed toward areas with the highest marginal returns (Pindyck & Rubinfeld, 2013), while simultaneously enhancing party credibility among rational voters (Downs, 1957).

The decision to deprioritize certain areas was accompanied by the reallocation of resources to priority regions, including candidate time, campaign logistics, and social programs. Although this strategy initially generated internal resistance, transparency and data-based justification helped maintain organizational cohesion. Importantly, non-priority areas were not entirely abandoned but were managed with adjusted intensity. From a political leadership perspective, the ability to make unpopular yet effective decisions reflects mature leadership capacity (Heifetz, 1994). Moreover, acknowledgment from political competitors indicates that PAN's focused strategy was

perceived as a strategic threat, consistent with focus strategy theory in political competition (Porter, 1980).

### 3.5 Validation of PAN's Political Strategy by the KPU and Bawaslu of Blitar City

Validation by the General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU) and the Election Supervisory Body (Badan Pengawas Pemilu/Bawaslu) of Blitar City plays a crucial role in ensuring that the political strategies of the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN) analyzed in this study are not only electorally effective but also legally and ethically sound. This institutional perspective complements both the party's internal viewpoint and the external perspective of society, thereby enhancing the objectivity and robustness of the research findings.

The KPU of Blitar City confirms that PAN experienced a significant increase in electoral support in the 2024 election, rising from 2.3% to 6.8% of the valid votes. The uneven spatial distribution of votes across districts substantiates the implementation of a focused territorial strategy, while aggregate data indicate a positive correlation between PAN's vote share, the concentration of young voters, and the coattail effect generated by the supported presidential ticket. The KPU also emphasizes PAN's administrative compliance, demonstrating that its electoral success was achieved through legal, orderly, and well-organized strategies. From a comparative standpoint, the KPU regards PAN's focus and differentiation strategy as a rational choice for a party with limited resources, consistent with theories of competitive strategy (Porter, 1980).

Meanwhile, the Bawaslu of Blitar City validates that all PAN campaign strategies were conducted without violations of electoral regulations. PAN was assessed as compliant with campaign rules, proactive in consulting with election supervisors, and attentive to campaign ethics, particularly in the digital sphere. PAN's digital strategy did not involve disinformation or negative campaigning, reflecting practices of political integrity (Norris, 2014). Bawaslu further confirms that PAN's social programs did not constitute vote buying, as they were productive in nature, did not require political support in return, and were reported transparently. Nevertheless, Bawaslu cautions that electoral success must be followed by legislative performance and fulfillment of campaign promises in order to maintain political accountability and avoid electoral punishment in subsequent elections (Manin et al., 1999).

### 3.6 Synthesis of PAN's Political Strategy

Based on a comprehensive analysis of PAN's political strategies in Blitar City, this study concludes that PAN implemented offensive and defensive strategies simultaneously and in an integrated manner through a hybrid model. This strategy was designed contextually to address PAN's position as a party returning to the local legislature after a two-decade absence, characterized by limited resources but high demands for effectiveness.

The Hybrid Offensive–Defensive Model adopted by PAN exhibits three principal characteristics. First, *selective expansion*, whereby electoral expansion is concentrated on specific voter segments and priority areas, combining offensive outreach with defensive selectivity to ensure efficient resource allocation. Second, *proactive consolidation*, in which PAN does not merely react to competitive threats but actively strengthens its internal structures, cadre capacity, and vote-monitoring systems from the outset. Third, *performance-based legitimacy*, whereby political legitimacy is constructed through social programs that deliver tangible benefits, reducing reliance on personal charisma or transactional political practices.

The effectiveness of this strategy is evident from the comparison between electoral targets and outcomes. With an initial target of two seats and 4,500 votes, PAN exceeded expectations by securing three seats and 5,021 votes. This achievement demonstrates that PAN's success was the result of systematically designed and well-executed strategies rather than electoral chance.

The findings also reveal strong alignment with Peter Schröder's political strategy framework. All of Schröder's strategic classifications—expanding, penetrating, maintaining, and abandoning or conceding constituencies—are evident in PAN's practices, albeit with local adaptations. At the same time, this study extends Schröder's theory in three important respects: the integration of digital campaigning as a core instrument for engaging young voters; the positioning of electoral integrity and regulatory compliance as integral components of effective political strategy; and the simultaneous integration of offensive and defensive strategies, which Schröder previously conceptualized as distinct approaches. Accordingly, PAN's experience in Blitar City not only corroborates Schröder's theory but also enriches and updates it within the context of contemporary electoral politics.

### 3.7 Factors Influencing PAN's Political Strategy in Winning the 2024 Legislative Election in Blitar City

The analysis of internal factors (IFAS) is employed to identify the internal strengths and weaknesses of the National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional—PAN) in Blitar City that shape the organization's capacity to win electoral competition. These findings provide an essential foundation for understanding how PAN's political strategy was formulated and implemented effectively at the local level.

**Internal Factors (IFAS)**

**Internal Strengths**

a) A Grassroots-Consolidated Organizational Structure
   PAN Blitar City possesses a relatively solid organizational structure extending from the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) to branch and grassroots levels. This structure enables rapid and coordinated campaign execution, voter mobilization, and instruction dissemination. Such structural consolidation constitutes a comparative advantage in simultaneously implementing offensive and defensive strategies, while also enhancing campaign efficiency and accountability.
b) Digitally Adaptive Young Cadres
   The presence of young, technologically literate cadres and legislative candidates represents a strategic asset for PAN in reaching millennial and Generation Z voters. The use of social media as a campaign instrument allows PAN to conduct cost-effective yet high-impact campaigns, while simultaneously cultivating an image as a progressive party aligned with the dynamics of digital politics.
c) Close Personal Ties between Candidates and the Community
   Personalized approaches, manifested through candidates' regular participation in community social activities, have fostered social capital and trust-based relationships. This grassroots strategy strengthens PAN's political legitimacy and differentiates it from parties that rely primarily on formal or transactional campaigning, particularly within the context of local politics.
d) Compliance with Electoral Regulations
   PAN's high level of compliance with electoral regulations, as assessed by the General Election Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) of Blitar

City, represents a significant strength. Administrative compliance not only minimizes the risk of sanctions but also functions as a long-term strategy for building credibility, professionalism, and public trust.

e) Support from Civil Society Organization Networks
PAN's historical proximity to Muhammadiyah networks provides social access and moral legitimacy among moderate Muslim voters. Informal support from Muhammadiyah figures and sympathizers expands PAN's electoral reach without requiring the construction of a social base from scratch.

**Internal Weaknesses**

a) Limited Financial Resources
Constraints on campaign financing restrict PAN's capacity for large-scale conventional promotion and compel reliance on more efficient campaign strategies. Although structurally limiting, this condition has encouraged PAN to adopt more selective resource allocation and innovative campaign methods.

b) Relatively Limited Number of Cadres Compared to Major Parties
PAN's smaller cadre base complicates comprehensive monitoring and mobilization across all polling stations, particularly in non-core areas. To mitigate this limitation, PAN implemented priority-area mapping and engaged volunteers to optimize the deployment of available cadres.

c) Absence of a Charismatic Local Figure
PAN lacks a highly popular local figure, necessitating greater effort to build party brand awareness. Consequently, PAN relies more heavily on collective organizational work, program quality, and the individual performance of candidates rather than on personal charisma.

d) Limited Local Organizational Experience
PAN's absence from the local legislature for two decades resulted in limited local-level electoral experience. However, awareness of this limitation fostered greater adaptability, openness to evaluation, and responsiveness to local political dynamics.

e) Dependence on Young, Electorally Untested Figures
Reliance on young cadres entails potential organizational sustainability risks if not balanced by experienced senior figures. To mitigate this risk, PAN has begun developing mentoring and cadre regeneration mechanisms to maintain long-term organizational stability.

**External Factors (EFAS)**

The analysis of external factors identifies opportunities and threats arising from PAN's external environment that influence the effectiveness of its political strategy. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for formulating adaptive and anticipatory strategic responses in Blitar City's electoral competition.

**External Opportunities**

a) Shifts in Voter Preferences Away from Dominant Parties
Electoral volatility has emerged in the form of voter shifts from dominant parties such as the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the National Awakening Party (PKB) toward alternative parties. Electoral fatigue with major parties has created opportunities for PAN to attract swing voters seeking performance- and program-based alternatives rather than purely historical loyalties.

b) Increasing Internet and Social Media Penetration

The high level of social media use among young voters in Blitar City presents a strategic opportunity for PAN to conduct cost-effective digital campaigns with broad reach. Digital transformation enables PAN to compensate for financial limitations through creative and interactive content that enhances voter engagement.

c) Support from the Prabowo–Gibran National Coalition
PAN's affiliation with the winning Prabowo–Gibran coalition in the 2024 presidential election provided electoral advantages through the coattail effect. The popularity of the presidential ticket increased PAN's local visibility and strengthened its political legitimacy among voters.

d) High Levels of Political Participation
The high voter turnout in Blitar City reflects a relatively mature local democratic culture. This condition benefits PAN's programmatic and personalized campaign approach, as voters tend to be more rational and critical in making political choices.

e) Weak Internal Consolidation within Major Parties
Internal conflicts and fragmentation within several major parties have created opportunities for political realignment. PAN has capitalized on this situation by projecting an image of organizational solidity, stability, and public-interest orientation.

**External Threats**

a) PDIP's Historical Dominance in Blitar City
Blitar City's identity as the "Land of Bung Karno" reinforces strong emotional loyalty to PDIP. This historical dominance constitutes a structural barrier for PAN in penetrating PDIP's traditional voter base, necessitating culturally sensitive, long-term strategies.

b) Competition with Well-Funded Major Parties
Disparities in financial and organizational resources between PAN and major parties constrain PAN's capacity for mass-scale campaigning. This threat compels PAN to adopt differentiation strategies emphasizing micro-level engagement, digital campaigning, and personalized voter interaction.

c) Low Brand Awareness of PAN
PAN's absence from the local legislature for two decades has resulted in relatively low party recognition among voters. This condition requires consistent and sustained branding efforts to increase PAN's top-of-mind awareness.

d) Potential for Money Politics and Negative Campaigning
The persistence of vote-buying practices and negative campaigning poses a serious threat to PAN's programmatic campaign strategy. Such practices risk distorting democratic competition and shifting voter choices from rational evaluation to short-term material incentives.

e) National Political Instability
Fluctuations in national political dynamics may affect PAN's local electability. Dependence on national coalition configurations creates spillover risks, underscoring the need for PAN to build a more autonomous and sustainable local support base.

### 3.8 Synthesis of IFAS and EFAS: The Strategic Position of PAN in Blitar City

Based on the IFAS and EFAS analyses, PAN Blitar City occupies a strategic position that requires the optimization of internal strengths to capitalize on external opportunities, while simultaneously minimizing weaknesses and anticipating threats. PAN's principal strengths include the consolidation of its organizational structure down to the grassroots level, the adaptability of young cadres to digital technologies, and close personal ties

with the community that generate strong social capital. Internal weaknesses particularly financial constraints and a relatively limited number of cadres have been effectively mitigated through a focused territorial strategy and efficient, community-based campaigning.

From the external perspective, PAN's key opportunities derive from shifts in voter preferences toward alternative parties, support from the Prabowo–Gibran national coalition through the coattail effect, and the increasing penetration of social media among young voters. Major threats include the historical dominance of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) in Blitar City, resource asymmetries vis-à-vis larger parties, the persistence of vote-buying practices, and national political instability. PAN has responded to these challenges through an adaptive strategy that integrates offensive and defensive approaches simultaneously.

The SWOT framework indicates that PAN has implemented an SO (diversification) strategy by leveraging internal strengths to exploit external opportunities, alongside a WO (turnaround) strategy that utilizes opportunities to offset internal weaknesses. The implementation of these strategies has proven effective, as reflected in PAN's success in securing three seats in the Blitar City DPRD in the 2024 legislative election.

Nevertheless, this achievement remains dynamic and contingent upon sustained legislative performance, strengthened cadre development, and the diversification of support bases to avoid overreliance on a single voter segment. Through a holistic, adaptive, and sustainable strategic approach, PAN holds the potential not only to maintain but also to expand its political influence in Blitar City in future elections.

## 4. Conclusion

The political strategy of the National Mandate Party (PAN) in the 2024 Legislative Election in Blitar City represents a successful implementation of a hybrid strategic model that integrates offensive and defensive approaches simultaneously and cohesively, as conceptualized by Peter Schröder (2010). PAN's breakthrough in ending a two-decade absence from the local parliament by securing three DPRD seats—was achieved through a carefully orchestrated balance between aggressive constituency expansion and the protection of newly consolidated voter bases. On the offensive side, PAN penetrated new voter segments through integrated digital campaigning driven by technologically adept young cadres, the strategic utilization of the Prabowo–Gibran coattail effect, personalized candidate–voter interactions, and tangible community-based social programs. On the defensive side, the party strengthened its grassroots organizational structure and implemented rigorous vote-guarding mechanisms to prevent electoral leakage. The core strength of this strategy lay in PAN's selective–proactive allocation of resources, focusing campaign efforts on priority areas identified through electoral geography analysis, thereby demonstrating that the integration of ground-level mobilization and digital campaigning—conducted with high regulatory compliance—can effectively overcome the resource constraints faced by a medium-sized party. The effectiveness of PAN's strategy was shaped by a dialectical interaction between internal and external factors, positioning the party within a diversification and turnaround strategic quadrant. Internally, the solidity of PAN's organizational structure and the digital adaptability of its young cadres served as key assets that compensated for structural weaknesses such as limited financial resources and the absence of charismatic local figures, compelling the party to rely on collective performance rather than individual leadership. Externally, PAN successfully capitalized on voter volatility in the digital era and favorable national political

momentum to counter long-standing PDIP dominance and the transactional pragmatism of larger competitors. Consequently, PAN's strategic success was determined by its adaptive capacity to transform environmental threats into opportunities through low-cost, high-impact campaign innovations and accurate identification of political market gaps left by dominant parties.

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