

Political Positioning of the Gerindra Party and the National Awakening Party (PKB) in the 2024 Indonesian General Election

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Article Info

Article History

Accepted: 27-01-2026

Approved: 05-02-2026

Published: 09-02-2026

Keywords:

Political positioning
Gerindra Party
National Awakening
Party (PKB)
2024 General Election
Political marketin

Abstract

Abstract: *This study examines the political positioning of the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) and the National Awakening Party (PKB) in Indonesia's 2024 General Election. Both parties represent contrasting ideological foundations and voter bases, making them important cases for analyzing contemporary party competition. Using a qualitative approach based on a literature review of academic studies, media sources, and electoral data, this research applies political marketing and positioning theory to explore how each party constructs and communicates its identity. The findings show that Gerindra adopts a nationalist-populist positioning centered on strong personal leadership, patriotism, and economic sovereignty, which effectively attracts cross-demographic support, particularly among young voters. In contrast, PKB maintains a cultural-religious positioning rooted in moderate Islamic values and strong ties to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), resulting in a loyal but segmented electorate. Although PKB demonstrates stable electoral growth, its positioning is less competitive compared to Gerindra's broader appeal. The study concludes that political positioning plays a crucial role in shaping voter preferences and electoral outcomes in Indonesia's evolving democratic landscape.*

Abstrak: Studi ini mengkaji posisi politik Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra) dan Partai Kebangkitan Nasional (PKB) dalam Pemilihan Umum Indonesia 2024. Kedua partai mewakili fondasi ideologis dan basis pemilih yang kontras, menjadikannya kasus penting untuk menganalisis persaingan partai kontemporer. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif berdasarkan tinjauan literatur studi akademis, sumber media, dan data elektoral, penelitian ini menerapkan teori pemasaran politik dan pemosisian untuk mengeksplorasi bagaimana masing-masing pihak membangun dan mengkomunikasikan identitasnya. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa Gerindra mengadopsi posisi nasionalis-populis yang berpusat pada kepemimpinan pribadi yang kuat, patriotisme, dan kedaulatan ekonomi, yang secara efektif menarik dukungan lintas demografis, terutama di kalangan pemilih muda. Sebaliknya, PKB mempertahankan posisi budaya-agama yang berakar pada nilai-nilai Islam moderat dan ikatan yang kuat dengan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), menghasilkan pemilih yang setia namun tersegmentasi. Meskipun PKB menunjukkan pertumbuhan elektoral yang stabil, posisinya kurang kompetitif dibandingkan dengan daya tarik Gerindra yang lebih luas. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa posisi politik memainkan peran penting dalam membentuk preferensi pemilih dan hasil pemilu dalam lanskap demokrasi Indonesia yang terus berkembang.

Introduction

The National Awakening Party (PKB) and the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) are two major political parties with different characters, bases, and historical positioning. Both parties have strategic positions in the contemporary Indonesian political landscape (Gunanto et al., 2024). The PKB, which was born out of one of Indonesia's largest Islamic organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), is positioned as a party that is close to the moderate Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah Islamic group (Islam Nusantara), with a strong mass base in rural East Java, Central Java, and other NU strongholds (Supawi, 2023). PKB's positioning is inseparable from tolerant religious values, cultural values, and a commitment to democracy and social justice (Arif & Darwati, 2022).

On the other hand, the Gerindra Party, founded in 2008, emerged as a new party with rapid growth, mainly due to its founder, Prabowo Subianto (Gunawan, 2024). Gerindra, which initially positioned itself as a nationalist-populist party with a strong narrative of decisive leadership, national defense, and economic sovereignty, quickly gained support from various groups, ranging from urban communities, traditional circles, young people, to groups of people who wanted a change in leadership (Nurani, 2023). Prabowo became a strong leader and nationalism became the core of the party's identity (Saputri, 2021).

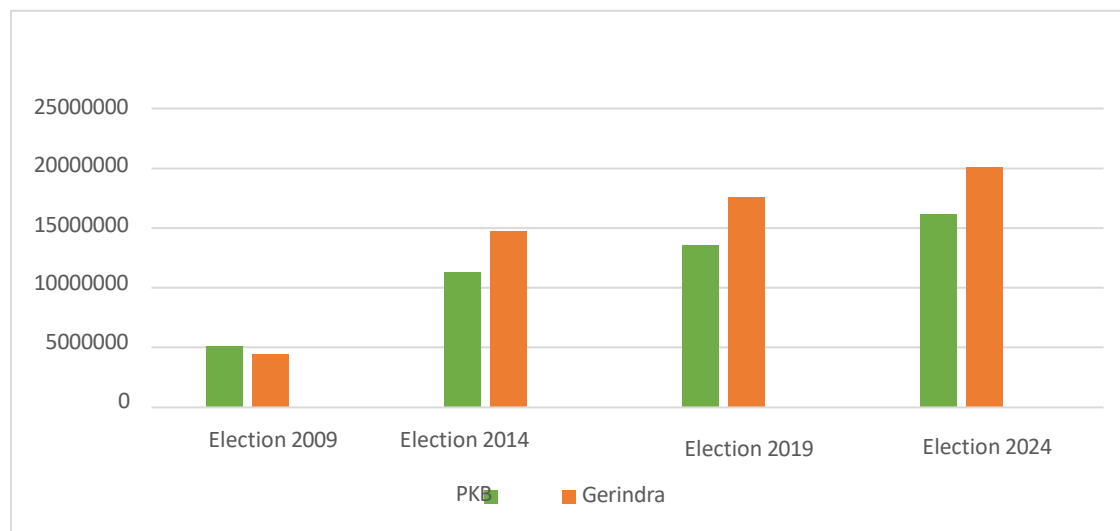


Figure 1. PKB and Gerindra Votes Obtained in the 2009-2024 Election

The data shows that Gerindra, a newcomer to the elections, successfully increased its votes and seats in the Indonesian House of Representatives (Saputri, 2021). However, PKB also managed to increase its votes and seats in the Indonesian House of Representatives, but PKB's increase in votes and seats was not enough to surpass Gerindra, the newcomer (Mukhlis et al., 2024). The PKB party won 5,146,122 votes and 28 seats in the 2009 elections, increased to 11,298,950 votes and 47 seats in the 2014 elections, and further increased to 13,570,970 votes and 58 seats in the 2019 elections. In the 2009 elections, the Gerindra party immediately gained momentum by obtaining 4,642,795 votes and 26 seats. In the 2014 elections, the Gerindra Party surpassed the PKB Party's achievement by obtaining 14,750,043 votes and 73 seats, successfully placing third among the parties with the most seats in the Indonesian House of Representatives. Meanwhile, in the 2019 elections,

the Gerindra Party managed to secure second place after the PDIP with 17,594, 839 votes and 78 seats. In the 2024 elections, the Gerindra Party again experienced an increase in the number of votes and seats in the DPR RI, namely 20,071,708 votes and 102 seats (Kusmanto, 2024).

In observing the above phenomenon, we need to take a positioning approach as an aspect that distinguishes between the two parties. According to Philip Kotler in (Firdiansyah, Benihingan, et al., 2024), positioning is defined as a brand owned by an institution, company, or individual, each with their own differences. In this case, Philip Kotler divides positioning into four parts. The first is Market Leaders, which is the position of companies or political parties that control the market or are dominant. The second category is Market Challengers, which are companies or political parties that have a position as opposition or oppose other companies or political parties. The third is Market Followers, in which companies or political parties only follow market or voter developments. The last or fourth category is Market Nichers, where companies or political parties choose something specific to develop and maintain the company or political party (Firdiansyah, Benihingan, et al., 2024).

Positioning in political parties is very important, as it makes it easier for voters to distinguish the characteristics of each party participating in the election (Mukhlisin et al., 2024). In political activities, positioning refers to all activities and actions taken to promote an image, impression, or identity (Pavlichenko, 2022). Positioning is the first step in identifying and developing plans related to a political party's brand. The aspects involved in positioning are clearly mapping out what a political party represents and how it is positioned among its competitors (Volodymyr & Dmytro, 2023).

As explained earlier, the PKB and Gerindra parties have their own positioning in an effort to gain voter sympathy (Lukita, 2022). Therefore, the researcher will analyze the differences in positioning between the two parties to see the effectiveness of the positioning carried out by both parties. This study will also look at the weaknesses and strengths of the positioning of each of these two political parties.

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative approach that focuses on in-depth exploration of phenomena (Wiraguna & Widjaja, 2024). The data collection technique in this study was conducted through a literature review, which examined relevant sources through scientific journals, news, and supporting related literature (Firdiansyah, Firdaus, et al., 2024). The data obtained from various sources will be critically analyzed to gain a broad understanding of the positioning between the PKB and Gerindra parties. The use of this method enables researchers to examine the phenomenon from various perspectives, both from scientific studies and the media, thereby providing an in-depth analysis of the positioning of the two parties (Mahmudah & Rahayu, 2024). The purpose of this study is to describe in depth the issues or phenomena to be discussed.

Results and Discussion

Political parties tend to lack a clear position in terms of their ideology and the programs they intend to implement (Widianti, 2022). Political parties and their elites are indifferent to political ideology or unconcerned with how political parties should operate in

accordance with their ideology. They are more concerned with short-term interests, and political parties only think about how they can attract the sympathy of many voters (Hermanto, 2019). Based on the results of the Vosviewer analysis, it was found that not many researchers specifically discussed the positioning of political parties (Camico, 2024). The cluster that most frequently appeared in every discussion on political topics was political parties. This can be seen in the Vosviewer analysis below.

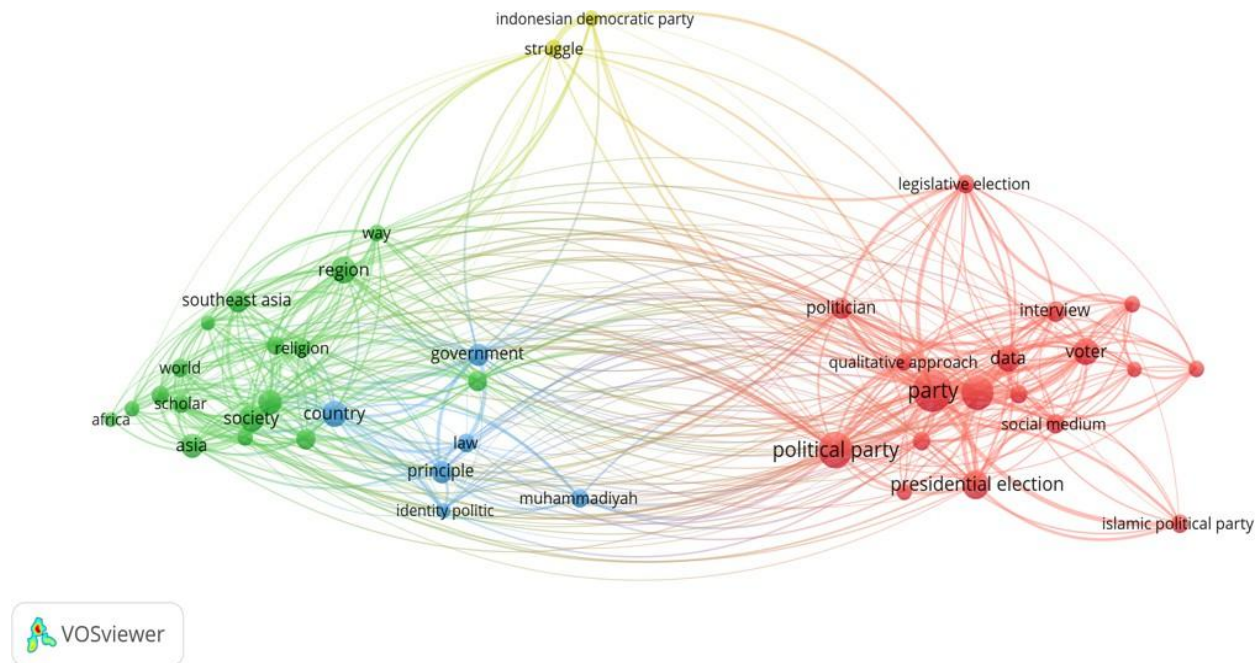


Figure 2. Bibliometric analysis using VOSviewer with the keyword “political party positioning”

From the image above, it can be seen that the topic most closely related to other topics is political parties. In addition, presidential elections are also a topic closely related to other topics. Legislative elections are a topic that has very few connections to other topics. Discussions of legislative elections are only connected to certain topics, such as the connection between legislative elections and topics such as politicians, political parties, and voters. Social media has also become a topic that is closely related to legislative elections, presidential elections, and political parties. This shows that the positioning of political parties and candidates can be seen directly through social media (Nazila et al., 2025). Social media has become an alternative medium for political parties and candidates to introduce themselves to voters in the digital age, with political parties and candidates competing to present their best image to potential voters (Hidayat et al., 2025).

In 2023, discussions about Islamic politicians and political parties became trending topics in various discussions in various literature (Zaman et al., 2022), as can be seen in the following vosviewer analysis.

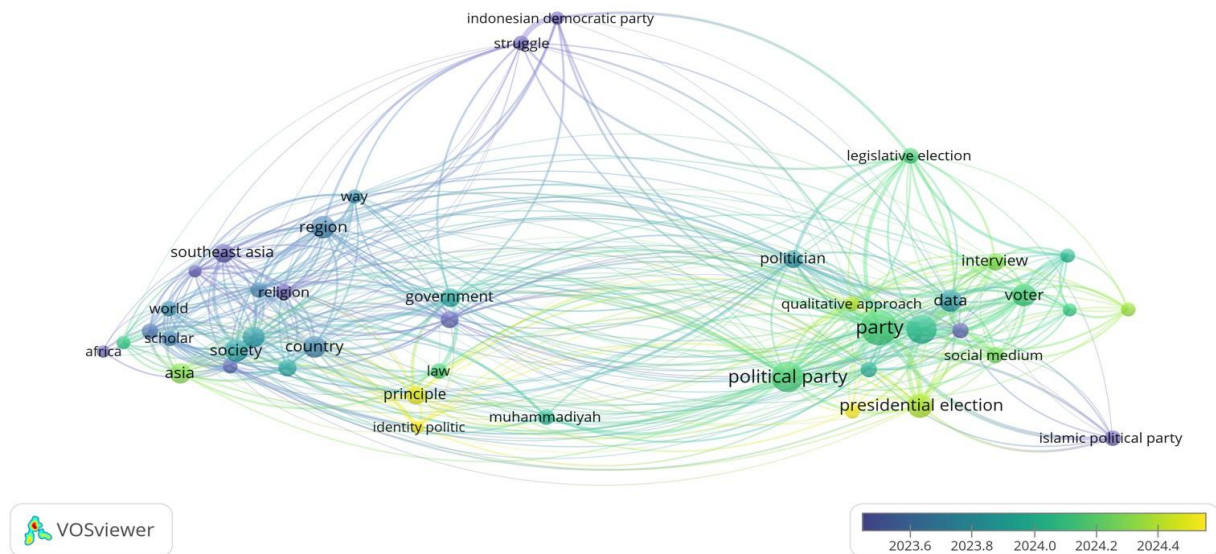


Figure 3. Bibliometric analysis of VOSviewer trending with the keyword political party positioning

The results of the Vosviewer analysis above show that in 2023, the topics most frequently discussed were democratic elections, religion, and Islamic political parties. In addition to these three aspects, politicians were also among the most frequently discussed topics, indicating that politicians are important actors in the 2024 elections. Muhammadiyah was also one of the most frequently discussed topics ahead of the 2024 elections, due to its influence on Indonesian politics (Rahman, 2025). Apart from Muhammadiyah, NU is also a mass organization that has a major influence on Indonesian politics. However, in Vosviewer's analysis, NU did not appear in the discussion of the selected topics. This is because the discussion about NU ahead of the 2024 elections was overshadowed by the discussion of Islamic political parties. At the beginning of 2024, the topics discussed included the government, political parties, and voters. This was inseparable from the evaluation of the course of governance. The topic of political parties and voters arises due to the correlation between the two, both in terms of their interconnection and voting behavior.

After the 2024 elections, the most frequently discussed topics were identity politics and the presidential election. This means that in the Vosviewer analysis, many researchers examined the presidential election and identity politics in the period after the elections. This was due to the polarization that occurred in the 2024 presidential election. The above analysis is certainly related to the political positioning of the Gerindra and PKB parties. This is because in the 2024 elections, Gerindra and PKB were participating parties and the parties supporting their respective presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The Gerindra Party supported the Prabowo-Gibran pair, while the PKB supported the Anis-Muhaimin pair. In addition, based on the results of Vosviewer analysis, political parties

were the most dominant topic of discussion in various literature analyzed in 2023-2024, as can be seen in the following Vosviewer analysis.

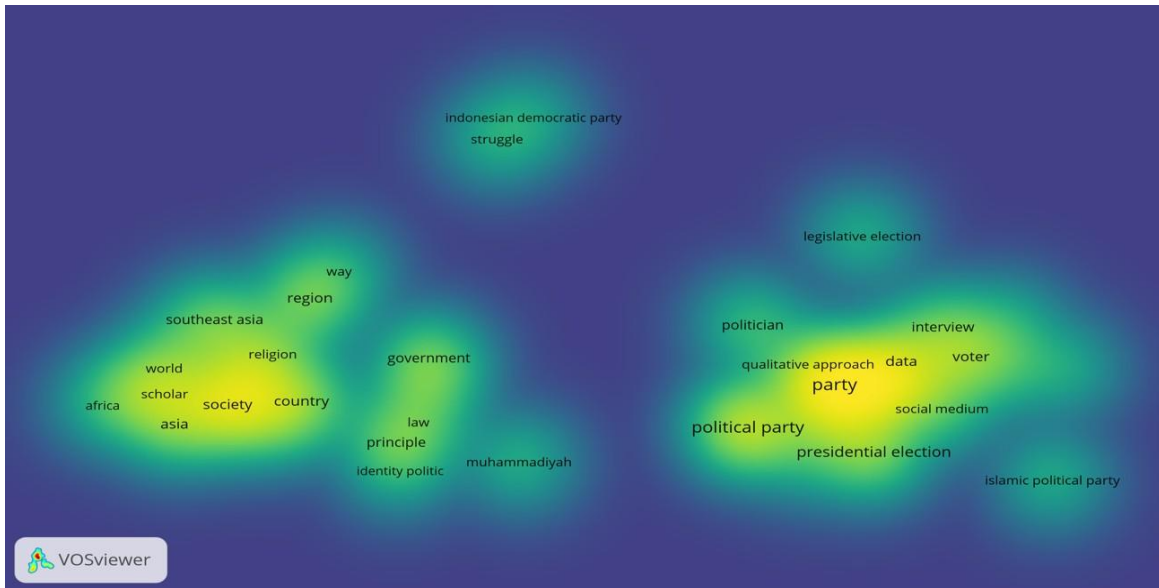


Figure 4. Dominant VOSviewer Bibliometric Analysis with the keyword political party positioning

Based on the image above, it can be seen that political parties are the most dominant topic of discussion in various literature analyzed in 2023-2024. This can be seen from the increasingly yellow color of a discussion, which indicates the dominance of the topic discussed in various literature. In addition to political parties, presidential elections also dominated the discussion, with social media and voters also being topics that dominated the discussion. The topics that dominated the discussion were inseparable from the election year.

Positioning of Gerindra Party and PKB

The positioning of political parties in the 2024 elections is diverse. This is also done by the Gerindra party. There are several examples of political positioning of political parties that we can see in the 2024 elections. One of them is the positioning of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). PSI positions itself as a youth party and as Jokowi's party ([Ardi Firdiansyah et al., 2024](#)). Furthermore, Firdiansyah et al. (2024), refer to Philip Kolter's positioning theory, which positions PSI in the Market Nichers position, where PSI chooses something specific to develop and maintain its party positioning. This shows that PSI has a positioning as the party of young people and Jokowi's party, which certainly has its own objectives for PSI. PSI wants to target the young voter segment that dominates the Final Voters List (DPT) in the 2024 elections. Young voters, consisting of millennials and Gen Z, make up more than 50% of the electorate ([Jamil et al., 2024](#)). Gen Z voters number 46,800,161 or 22.85%, and millennial voters number 68,822,389 or 33.60% of the total registered national DPT (tribrataneews.polri.go.id).

In addition to PSI, other parties such as the National Mandate Party (PAN) also have their own positioning. This can be seen in research conducted by Wiwid (2024), which reveals that PAN's positioning can be seen in two aspects. The first is the party platform, which includes slogans, ideology, and programs offered. The second is the personal characteristics of prospective legislative members, including their professional backgrounds, ages, and religions. In this case, the most important thing is to look at the party platform. In this case, PAN has the slogan "Help the People." In the analysis, a word cloud was processed using Nvivo by Wiwid (2024).

Revealed that the slogan that often appears, "Help the People," is a concrete step taken by PAN. In the word cloud program, the phrase "PANsar Murah" often appears, which aims to help meet basic household needs. PAN also has a music festival program called Birukan Langit Indonesia Stage (BLIS) in collaboration with local MSME actors. Additionally, PAN has created the "Waktunya SaraPAN" program, initiated by cadres with a background in public figures. PAN's programs are also reflected in the PAN jingle, which has achieved a special position in society (Aydil & Zuhri, 2024).

In addition, PAN also has legislative candidates from various backgrounds, more specifically from the entertainment industry. Based on the data collected, legislative candidates from the entertainment industry rank fourth among other artists. This can be seen in the following table.

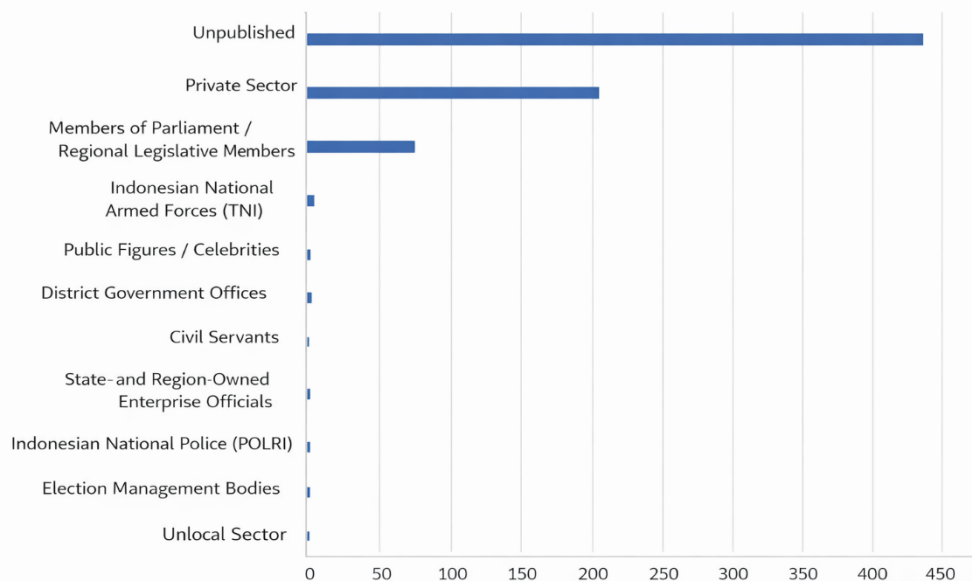


Figure 5. Background of PAN Candidates for the 2024 Indonesian House of Representatives (Adapted from, [Wiwid, 2024](#))

The table above shows that the majority of PAN's 2024 DPR RI candidates come from the private sector, while those from the DPR/DPRD occupy second place with 57 candidates, and those from the entertainment industry occupy fourth place with 16 candidates. This shows that PAN also involves many artists in garnering votes in the 2024 elections, referring to the positioning mentioned by Philip Kolter in Ardi Firdiansyah et al. (2024), PAN falls into the third positioning category, namely Market Followers, in which companies or political parties only follow voter developments. This shows that PAN does not have specific voter targets or specific positioning. PAN positions itself as a party that follows the developments of the times, as seen from its choice of slogans and the placement of its candidates for the DPR RI.

Unlike the two parties above, the Gerindra Party also has its own positioning. This can be seen from several aspects that are the strengths of the Gerindra Party in every campaign it conducts, both on social media and in public. The Gerindra Party, which was founded by Prabowo Subianto in 2008, has experienced rapid growth compared to other parties established during the reform era (Saputri, 2021). This is evident in the Gerindra Party's current position as the third largest party after the PDI-P and Golkar parties (Wikipedia, 2024).

The political positioning of the Gerindra Party in the 2024 elections can be seen from several aspects. First, it is the emergence of Prabowo as the main figure and strong leader of the party with the Garuda symbol. Second, the Gerindra Party has positioned itself as a party that strongly fights for national values, national sovereignty, and patriotism (Fitriyah et al., 2025). The Gerindra Party's patriotism and nationalism can build its image as a party that always prioritizes the interests of the country. Third, the Gerindra Party is positioning itself as a party that cares about the common people, such as farmers and laborers, as can be seen from various campaigns appearing in the mass media and social media (Fitriyah et al., 2025).

The political positioning of the Gerindra party has the same characteristics as the political positioning of the PSI, as seen in Philip Kolter's positioning in Firdiansyah et al. (2024) in the fourth point, namely the Market Nichers position, which is that the Gerindra party has something specific in terms of maintaining or developing its party. This can be seen from the three positions taken by the Gerindra party above. This shows that the Gerindra Party has specific goals and target voters. Since its declaration in 2008, the Gerindra Party has always been consistent in promoting Prabowo as a strong figure and has always campaigned for the values of prosperity for the community, especially farmers (Santoso et al., 2025).

In disseminating its positioning, the Gerindra Party uses various social media and mass media outlets to make it easier for voters to learn more about the party, from its ideology to its positioning. The use of social media to disseminate this positioning has a clear objective. The Gerindra Party also targets young voters from the millennial and Gen Z generations. The Gerindra Party sees an opportunity in the fact that nationally, voters from these two age groups account for 55% of the total electorate (Fitriani, 2024).

The Gerindra Party's political positioning strategy has proven to be effective in generating positive perceptions and an upward trend in support for the party among young people. This

is evident in the fact that many young people specifically choose Gerindra and Prabowo as their preferred presidential candidate for the 2024 elections. This is shown in the following table.

Table 3. Political preferences of Indonesia's younger generation ahead of the 2024 elections, divided into two groups: Generation Z (Gen Z) and Millennials

Partai Politik	Gen Z (%)	Milennial (%)
Gerindra	21,4%	19,9%
PDIP	12,3%	14,9%
Golkar	10,3%	10,8%
PKB	8,1%	7,4%
Nasdem	7,2%	8,4%
PKS	7,1%	7,4%
Demokrat	6,1%	6,0%
PAN	2,8%	3,5%
PSI	1,7%	3,5%
PPP	2,2%	1,2%
Perindo	0,7%	0,5%

Source: Compiled from Kompas Research and Development Survey

Based on the table above, the Gerindra Party is the top choice among young Indonesians, both Gen Z (21.4%) and Millennials (19.9%). This shows the party's strong appeal to young voters, due to its leadership image and active social media campaigns. The PDIP ranks second with 12.3% support from Gen Z and 14.9% from Millennials, indicating a stronger voter base among Millennials than Gen Z.

Golkar ranks third with relatively balanced support between the two generations (10.3% Gen Z and 10.8% Millennials), demonstrating consistent appeal across young age groups. Parties such as PKB, Nasdem, and PKS also received moderate support, each in the range of 7–8%. Meanwhile, parties such as PAN, PSI, PPP, and Perindo still have relatively small support below 4%.

After understanding the political positioning of the Gerindra party, the author attempts to map out the positioning of the National Awakening Party (PKB). The PKB has extensive experience in Indonesian politics. The PKB was founded in 1998, shortly after the collapse of the New Order (Supawi, 2023). The PKB consistently positions itself as the main political representation of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) citizens (Abror, 2020), promoting a moderate Islamic identity or “Islam Nusantara” as its ideological foundation. In the 2014 elections, the PKB won 13.6% of the votes, placing it in the second position among the parties that participated in the elections. The PKB has consistently positioned itself as the main political representation of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) members, promoting a moderate Islamic identity or “Islam Nusantara” as its ideological foundation. In the 2024 elections, the PKB strengthened this positioning through narratives of protecting santri (Islamic students) and developing the economy of the Muslim community in rural areas, which is their traditional base. This strategy places PKB in the Market Nichers category according to Philip Kotler's theory,

because this party has a very specific and loyal market niche, namely the religious-cultural community affiliated with the NU organization (Mulyadi et al., 2024).

The PKB's positioning transformation in the 2024 elections is also very significant through the nomination of the Anies-Muhaimin (AMIN) pair. This step is an effort by the PKB to reposition itself in order to reach voters outside its traditional base by combining narratives of change and social justice. However, the main challenge for PKB remains its high dependence on central figures and structural support from mass organizations, which sometimes makes it difficult for the party to compete with nationalist parties such as Gerindra in the battle for swing voters (Mulyadi et al., 2024).

Data shows that although PKB's votes have continued to increase from the 2009 to 2024 elections, the effectiveness of their religious-cultural positioning has not been able to surpass Gerindra's acceleration in vote gains. This is due to Gerindra's advantage in managing the strong personal leadership image of Prabowo Subianto and a nationalist narrative that is more easily accepted across demographics, especially among young urban voters (Mulyadi et al., 2024). In contrast, PKB is still trapped in the perception of being a sectoral party, even though its seat count in the Indonesian House of Representatives shows a stable positive trend of 68 seats in the latest results.

In the competition for young voters, PKB recorded 8.1% support from Gen Z and 7.4% from Millennials. This figure is far below Gerindra, which dominates with 21.4% support from Gen Z. The PKB's weak appeal among young people compared to Gerindra indicates that its positioning based on traditional religious values needs to be repackaged into a more dynamic digital platform in order to be relevant to today's voters, who prioritize leaders who are decisive and active on social media (Djabumir & Setyanto, 2024).

Overall, the main difference between the two parties lies in their political positioning. Gerindra relies on personal leadership and patriotism, while PKB relies on cultural-religious identity. To face the upcoming elections, PKB is required to expand its positioning from being merely the "NU Party" to a party that has concrete solutions to macroeconomic and environmental sustainability issues in order to compete with the dominance of other major parties.

This is necessary considering that voters from the NU community are beginning to shift their political preferences to parties outside PKB (Nurdiyansyah, 2021), with more NU voters choosing PDIP and Gerindra. This is evident in the following table.

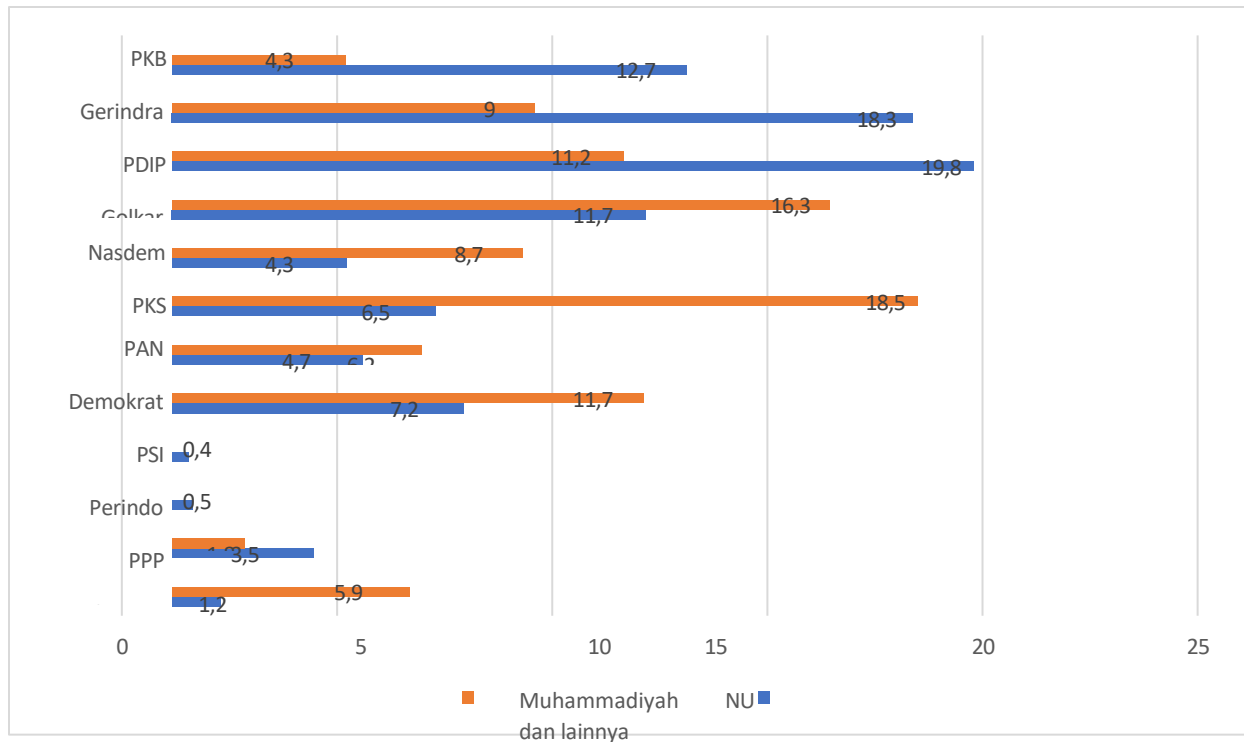


Figure 6: Political Preferences of NU Members in the 2024 Elections

The table above shows that NU voters prefer parties with nationalist ideologies, such as PDIP and Gerindra. These results indicate that NU voters have diverse political choices, with PKB and PPP, as parties representing NU in the political arena, beginning to be forgotten. This shows that today's politics no longer focuses solely on ideology. Although PKB positions itself as a party with a base among NU members, Gerindra is more capable of winning the sympathy of NU voters.

As explained above, PKB must determine its positioning from being merely the “NU Party” to one that is open to other groups, especially among young people. This is to maintain and increase PKB's electoral strength in the 2029 elections. In addition, PKB must also be able to strengthen its positioning as the “NU” party. This strengthening is necessary to maintain the NU voter base so that it is not taken over by other parties, especially Gerindra.

Meanwhile, Gerindra's positioning must be strengthened in terms of their support for small communities such as farmers and fishermen, considering that their positioning is only stronger due to the personal appearance of Prabowo Subianto. It is not impossible that Gerindra will become a party with weak electoral power in the future. This can be seen from the number of seats they won in the House of Representatives, which is lower than Golkar, a party that does not have a strong personal figure like Gerindra.

Conclusion

This study shows that the Gerindra Party and the National Awakening Party (PKB) are two major political forces that have contrasting but effective positioning strategies in maintaining the parliamentary threshold. Gerindra has consistently built its image as a nationalist-populist party based on the figure of Prabowo Subianto as a strong, patriotic, and economically sovereign leader. In contrast, PKB positions itself as the main representative of the moderate Islamic group “Islam Nusantara,” which has very strong cultural and structural ties to the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization. These differences in positioning place the two parties in different market niches, with Gerindra being more cross-demographic in nature and PKB being more religious. From a political marketing perspective, both parties show specialization as successful Market Nichers who have secured their respective voter niches. Gerindra has proven to be more adept at translating the value of patriotism into a digital narrative that is able to target young voters. On the other hand, PKB shows that it still maintains its voter base from the NU community. This makes PKB unable to reach voters from the younger generation. In addition, voters from the NU community have begun to shift their support to parties with nationalist ideologies.

The gap in political communication effectiveness between the two parties is most evident in the preferences of young voters, where Gerindra is far superior in attracting the sympathy of Generation Z and Millennials compared to PKB. This dominance shows that the productive age group is more interested in symbols of assertiveness and open access to information on social media. This situation requires PKB to immediately repackage its traditional religious values into a more dynamic platform in order to remain relevant to the aspirations of young people without losing its identity as a santri party. Data on shifts in NU support also provides a new perspective that constituent loyalty is currently very fluid at the national level. The success of nationalist parties such as Gerindra in absorbing the aspirations of Nahdliyin citizens proves that structural identity is no longer the sole variable in determining political choices. This reality requires PKB to re-strengthen its relationship with “true NU” circles through concrete programs that address the economy of the people, in order to ensure that its traditional mass base does not continue to shift to nationalist parties. The big challenge for the sustainability of the two parties lies in their ability to maintain relevance in the eyes of increasingly critical national voters. The PKB needs to strengthen its positioning more aggressively in targeting young voters while locking in the loyalty of NU members so that they are not taken over by other political forces. Meanwhile, Gerindra needs to transform the strength of its personal figures into a more established institutional strength through real support for small communities such as farmers and fishermen in order to maintain their positive electoral trend in the future.

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