



A Phenomenological Inquiry into Political Marketing Dynamics in Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Election: The Case of Anies Baswedan's Campaign Narrative

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the political marketing strategies implemented by the Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) ticket in the 2024 Presidential Election through a phenomenological approach. The research focuses on interpreting the experiences of political actors—including the supporting parties, campaign teams, and volunteers—in building a political narrative based on change and social justice. The phenomenological approach was chosen to explore the subjective meaning of the political communication process and campaign strategies that shape the candidate pair's image in the public eye. The results of the study indicate that the strategy of Segmenting, Targeting, and Positioning (STP) and the implementation of the Marketing Mix (product, promotion, price, and place) became the main foundation in shaping the public perception of the AMIN ticket. Political products that emphasize moral values, integrity, and support for the common people were promoted through digital strategies and a massive volunteer movement. These findings confirm that political marketing is not only an electoral instrument, but also a social communication process that builds moral legitimacy and public participation. This research provides a theoretical contribution to the development of political marketing studies in Indonesia, particularly in the context of participatory democracy that emphasizes ethics, transparency, and public trust.

Keywords: campaign strategy; general election; phenomenology; political marketing, political parties.

Introduction

After the General Elections Commission (KPU) closed the registration period for presidential and vice-presidential candidates on October 25, 2023, only three pairs officially submitted their candidacy to participate in the 2024 Presidential Election. Several weeks later, on Monday, November 13, 2023, KPU Chairman Hasyim Asy'ari in a press conference at the KPU Media Center stated that his institution had held a closed plenary session to determine the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs. After the plenary session, the Head of the KPU's Technical Implementation Division, Idham Holik, officially announced the three candidate pairs that would compete in the 2024 Election, namely Anies Rasyid Baswedan paired with Muhaimin Iskandar, Ganjar Pranowo with Mahfud MD, and Prabowo Subianto with Gibran Rakabuming Raka (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2023).

The support provided by the coalition of political parties to the three presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs in the 2024 General Election is based on legal provisions as stipulated in

Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections. Articles 221 and 222 of the law state that each presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair can only be nominated by a political party or coalition of political parties that has met a certain threshold. This provision stipulates that the supporting party or coalition must have a minimum of 20% of the total seats in the House of Representatives (DPR) or obtain at least 25% of the total valid national votes in the previous DPR member election (Indonesia, 2007). Thus, this legal basis serves as the main basis for political parties in determining the direction of support and coalition strategy in the run-up to the presidential election.

The coalition of political parties supporting three pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 2024 General Election (Pemilu) was formed through national political dynamics that reflect the direction and strategy of each party. Based on official data from the General Elections Commission of the Republic of Indonesia (KPU RI), the pair Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar received support from three major political parties: the National Democratic Party (NasDem), the National Awakening Party (PKB), and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). These three parties cumulatively controlled 167 seats in the House of Representatives (DPR) as a result of the 2019 Election, equivalent to 29.04% of the total seats in parliament. Furthermore, this coalition also represented 37,725,534 valid national votes, which, when expressed as a percentage, reached 26.95% of the total valid votes in the 2019 Election (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2023).

The coalition supporting Anies-Muhaimin is known as the Coalition for Change for Unity, which emphasizes the spirit of change in governance, social justice, and a commitment to the principles of community and democracy. PKB's support in this coalition strengthens its voter base among Nahdliyyin (Nahdliyyin), while PKS brings support from urban religious voters, and NasDem plays a strategic role as a party driving the discourse of change at the national level.

In contrast, the pair Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD were nominated by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the United Development Party (PPP), the United Indonesia Party (Perindo), and the People's Conscience Party (Hanura). Based on the recapitulation by the Indonesian General Elections Commission (KPU), the total valid votes obtained by this coalition in the 2019 Election reached 39,276,935, or 28.06% of the total valid votes nationwide (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2023).

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), as the main party in the coalition, wields dominant influence due to its victory in the 2019 election. Ganjar Pranowo, an internal PDIP cadre, represents the political continuity of the previous administration, while Mahfud MD is seen as strengthening the pair's moral standing and legal integrity. Support from mid-sized parties such as the United Development Party (PPP), Perindo (Perindo), and Hanura (Hanura) also contributes to the coalition's strength, building on nationalism and moderation.

The Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket received the most support, both in terms of the number of parties and the total number of valid votes. They were supported by the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), the Functional Groups Party (Golkar), the Democratic Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), and the Garuda Party. According to KPU data, this grand coalition had 59,726,503 valid votes nationwide, equivalent to 42.67% of the total valid votes cast in the 2019 election.

The coalition, later known as the Advanced Indonesia Coalition (KIM), marked a shift in political power toward the consolidation of major parties. Gibran's presence as a vice-presidential candidate strengthened the symbol of continuity between the old and new generations in national politics, while support from Golkar, the Democrats, and the National Mandate Party (PAN) broadened the Prabowo-Gibran power base, both ideologically and geographically.

The registration process for the three presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs in the 2024 General Election (Pemilu) is the result of a long and complex political journey within each coalition. Their success is inseparable from the Indonesian political system, which demands intensive negotiation strategies among supporting parties. In this context, the presidential threshold mechanism, as stipulated in Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning General Elections, is a key determinant in the formation of party coalitions. This provision stipulates that presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs can only be nominated by political parties or coalitions of political parties that hold at least 20% of the seats in the House of Representatives (DPR) or 25% of the national valid vote in the previous election (Indonesia, 2007). Therefore, forming a grand coalition is an unavoidable necessity for any party wishing to nominate a presidential candidate (Karso, 2024).

This threshold system leads to a tug-of-war of interests between political parties, particularly in the process of determining the candidate pair deemed most likely to win, creating a highly fluid dynamic in the national political landscape. In this context, each party must balance ideological interests, electoral strategies, and future opportunities for power. The process of political communication between parties unfolds over a prolonged period, accompanied by intensive negotiations that sometimes result in shifts in support. This phenomenon explains why coalition configurations leading up to presidential candidate registration with the General Elections Commission (KPU) are so rapid and often change in a short period of time (Karso, 2024).

One of the couples involved in significant political dynamics is Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar through the formation of Coalition for Change (previously Coalition for Change for Unity). This coalition comprises three parliamentary parties: NasDem, PKB, and PKS, which combined their support for Anies as the presidential candidate and Muhaimin as the vice-presidential candidate in the 2024 Presidential Election. The Democrats were once part of the initiators of the clash, but withdrew on September 1, 2023, while PKB officially held a meeting on September 2, 2023. This kind of political shift raises internal challenges related to public stability regarding the solidity of the meeting, especially when welcoming the official registration with the General Election Commission. The reality that its native ecosystem is experiencing climate change creates speculation about the ability of the Change Coalition to survive in a rapidly changing political framework (Wikipedia, 2025).

In his official speech at the General Elections Commission (KPU) after registration, Anies Baswedan reflected public skepticism by expressing optimism about the strength of the Coalition for Change. He emphasized that it remained strong, resilient, and committed to continuing to bring about change. Anies also addressed those who were pessimistic about their ability to register, apologizing if their expectations were not met. This statement demonstrated his confidence that the Coalition for Change could survive the complex political dynamics and remain focused on its promising agenda for change (Wiryo & Ihsanuddin, 2023).

This statement reflects the spirit of resistance and political solidarity of the Change Coalition in the face of pressure, both from political opponents and from public opinion that is pessimistic about their chances. Anies' stance also symbolizes that the dynamics of Indonesian politics are determined not only by the structural strength of the major parties, but also by the narrative of change and public trust in the candidates. The optimism expressed in this statement demonstrates that this coalition is trying to establish itself as an alternative force that upholds the spirit of political and governmental reform in Indonesia.

The political journeys of the three candidate pairs, particularly the Anies-Muhaimin pair, demonstrate how the threshold system and party power configuration play a strategic role in determining the direction of national political contestation. Amidst these dynamics, a new political narrative has emerged that focuses not solely on power but also on restoring democracy as a space for the struggle for ideas and social change.

Research shows that the first presidential debate is more than just an exchange of ideas; it also serves as a crucial moment that can influence the electability of candidates through public perception of their arguments and image. Surveys from institutions such as CSIS and Indonesia Polling Stations indicate that after the first debate, the Prabowo-Gibran ticket experienced an increase in electability. However, there is skepticism about the survey's validity, leading the Ganjar-Mahfud campaign team to focus on internal surveys and social media sentiment analysis. This research concludes that the debate's impact on electability is not uniform, as the candidates' success in presenting arguments, utilizing rhetorical styles, and shaping meaning in the debate significantly influences how the public responds and shapes voter preferences (Widayanti & Fridiyanti, 2023).

Various survey institutions have noted a positive trend in Anies' electability, even after his term as governor ended. A survey conducted by Indopol Survey & Consulting from November 8–14, 2022, showed Anies topping the list with an electability rating of 30.33%, followed by Ganjar Pranowo (25.53%) and Prabowo Subianto (15.37%) (Wakik, 2022).

This phenomenon is interesting because it refutes the common assumption that a figure's electability will decline with reduced media exposure after leaving public office. In the context of the 2024 elections, electability plays a strategic role as it is a key indicator for political parties in determining which candidates to nominate. Although public trust in pollsters is often questioned, survey results still have a significant influence on shaping public opinion and voter preferences (Devit

& Ridwan, 2023). In other words, survey results are not only a reflection of public perception but also a political tool to direct support and strengthen candidates' legitimacy in public discourse.

Although various survey institutions often produce mixed results, the trend of support for Anies Baswedan shows a relatively stable position among the top candidates. Some surveys note the dynamics of changing public preferences, but Anies' name almost always appears among the top three presidential candidates with significant levels of support. This indicates that his support base is quite strong and spread across various levels of society. Differences in results between survey institutions may be due to different data collection methods, timing, and respondent characteristics, but overall, Anies remains perceived as a figure with high political competitiveness and consistent electoral potential.

Anies's decline in electability after the end of his term is believed to be related to the loss of the "political platform" he previously enjoyed as governor. Meanwhile, other candidates, such as Ganjar and Prabowo, are still active in public office, thus having an advantage in terms of media exposure and coverage. In modern politics, the intensity of news coverage and public engagement are crucial factors in maintaining a figure's popularity.

Anies' emergence as a presidential candidate has raised concerns among the political oligarchy that has dominated power. Anies is considered to have an independent character and is difficult to control by certain group interests. During his leadership in Jakarta, he was known as a firm figure and dared to make decisions that were not always in line with central government policies if they were deemed not to favor the people. This character and political stance are among the reasons why some political elites view Anies as a figure who can shake the status quo ahead of the 2024 elections (Syaeful & Rajagukguk, 2022).

The phenomenon of Anies Baswedan's electability demonstrates that political popularity in Indonesia depends not solely on party structure or public office, but also on leadership narratives, independence, and emotional connections with the public. In the context of the 2024 elections, Anies's position reflects that Indonesian voters are increasingly critical of the figures and track records of candidates, not just their supporting parties.

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with a phenomenological type. The qualitative approach was chosen because it is oriented towards understanding social phenomena in depth through the experiences of individuals directly involved in them. As explained by (Creswell, 2014), qualitative research is intended to explore and understand the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to social or humanitarian issues. Through this approach, the researcher seeks to explore authentic meaning from the experiences of political actors involved in the 2024 Presidential Election (Pilpres), specifically the presidential and vice-presidential candidates Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar, the administrators of the supporting political parties, their campaign teams, and the volunteers who are members of the AMIN political movement. The qualitative approach was chosen because it is able to capture the complexity of political dynamics and the meanings that underlie every action and belief of the actors studied.

In this context, the type of research used is phenomenology. Phenomenology is a research method that focuses on understanding the meaning and essence of human experiences as they occur in real life. Phenomenology aims to explore the nature of human subjective experiences to discover the universal structures underlying those experiences. Thus, phenomenology not only describes events or occurrences that appear on the surface, but also seeks to uncover the deeper meaning behind human conscious experiences (Moustakas, 1994). The philosophical foundation of phenomenological research refers to the ideas of Edmund Husserl, who emphasized that reality must be understood through human subjective awareness of the surrounding world. This thinking was later developed by Alfred Schutz, who observed that social actions always have subjective meanings that can only be understood from the perspective of the actors themselves (Schutz, 1967). Within Schutz's framework, the social world is the result of the construction of meaning formed through interactions between individuals and collective experiences. Therefore, to understand political phenomena such as the dynamics of candidate pairs and AMIN volunteers, researchers need to enter the world of meaning constructed by these actors.

Furthermore, the views of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann also serve as important conceptual foundations for this research. In their work, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966), they explain that social reality is formed through a dialectical process between individuals and society that occurs in three stages: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Through this process, humans construct social meanings that are then collectively recognized in public life. In the context of this research, the experiences of political actors in shaping images, visions of change, and networks of political support can be understood as part of the social construction process of the meaning of political struggle and participation (Berger & Luckmann, 2016). Therefore, a phenomenological approach is used not to analyze the causes and effects of political events, but rather to understand the meanings that arise from the conscious experiences of political actors.

The main focus of this research is to understand the meaning of the experiences of the political and social actors involved in the political struggle of the AMIN ticket. Through this research, the researcher aims to explore how the experiences of presidential and vice-presidential candidates, supporting party officials, campaign teams, and volunteers are perceived as forms of struggle, devotion, and expressions of specific political values. (Schutz, 1967) emphasized that phenomenology aims to understand human beliefs and their interpretations of experiences, including the most complex or controversial views. Therefore, this research does not attempt to explain political phenomena quantitatively or causally, but rather to uncover the meaning contained in the consciousness of participants as the core of social phenomena. As emphasized by (Giorgi, 2009), the basic concept of phenomenology is meaning, because significance or meaningfulness is the core of human conscious experience.

The subjects in this study consisted of individuals directly involved in the dynamics of the AMIN ticket's campaign and political activities. They included presidential and vice-presidential candidates Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, administrators of supporting parties such as the NasDem Party, PKB, and PKS, campaign teams at the national and regional levels, and volunteers active in the field. Informants were selected using purposive sampling, a technique for selecting informants based on specific considerations deemed relevant to the research objectives. According to (Patton, 2015), this technique is used to select participants with experience and a deep understanding of the phenomenon being studied, resulting in richer and more meaningful data. Thus, the selected informants are expected to provide authentic perspectives on their experiences within the context of the AMIN ticket's political struggle.

Data collection techniques in this study included in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation studies. In-depth interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner so that researchers could gather extensive information while remaining focused on the research focus. Through interviews, participants were given space to express their experiences, views, and values they experienced during the political process. Participatory observation was used to understand the social situation directly, including interactions between campaign team members, campaign activities, and volunteer dynamics in the field. Meanwhile, documentation was conducted to obtain secondary data from various sources such as activity archives, video recordings, mass media reports, and internal documents of political organizations. These three techniques were used simultaneously to increase data validity through a process of triangulation, as explained by (Sugiyono, 2017), which states that triangulation is a technique for checking data from various sources and methods to obtain valid research results.

Data analysis in phenomenological research is conducted in stages according to the procedures described by (Moustakas, 1994) and (Creswell & John, 2013). The first stage is *epoche* or bracketing, a process in which the researcher suspends all forms of personal prejudice and assumptions in order to understand the phenomenon purely from the participant's perspective. The next stage is data reduction, in which the researcher identifies statements deemed significant and relevant to the participants' experiences. Next, these meanings are grouped into main themes through a process of clustering of meanings. From the results of this grouping, the researcher constructs textural and structural descriptions that explain what the participants experienced and how those experiences unfolded. The final stage involves formulating the essence or nature of the experience, which forms the core of the research findings. Through this process, the researcher aims to uncover the profound meaning of the political experiences encountered by actors during the 2024 Presidential Election.

To maintain data validity, this study employed four criteria proposed by (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility was maintained through triangulation of sources and methods. Member checking was conducted by reconfirming interview results with informants. Peer debriefing was used to discuss findings with colleagues to reduce researcher bias. Transferability was maintained through rich contextual descriptions so that the research results could be applied to similar contexts. Dependability was maintained through systematic documentation of each research stage, and confirmability through transparency in data reporting and analysis. Therefore, the results of this study are expected to have high scientific validity and can contribute to the development of political phenomenology studies in Indonesia.

Through this phenomenological approach, this research seeks to capture the profound meaning of the experiences of political actors involved in the AMIN movement. Every narrative, perspective, and political action is understood as a form of consciousness that reflects the values of struggle, idealism, and hopes for socio-political change. Phenomenology, in this context, becomes a path to understanding politics not merely as a struggle for power, but as an arena of meaning where human consciousness, beliefs, and experiences intertwine. Therefore, the research findings are expected to enrich the socio-political sciences with a deeper and more humanistic understanding of contemporary political dynamics in Indonesia.

Results and Discussion

Political marketing is a series of planned, systematic activities with strategic and tactical dimensions, implemented in both the short and long term. These activities aim to effectively disseminate political meaning to voters, both through direct and symbolic messages. The primary goal of political marketing is not simply to introduce a candidate, but to shape public awareness, expectations, attitudes, and beliefs about the values and image the candidate wishes to instill. In other words, political marketing seeks to instill voter orientation and behavior that align with the candidate's political interests. The expected outcome of this process is the emergence of public support in various forms, especially electoral support in the form of decisions to vote for a particular candidate during general elections (Firmanzah, 2008).

The basic concept of political marketing stems from an understanding of political meaning, which is formed through the communication process. This meaning is born through political stimuli conveyed through political communication, both verbal and nonverbal, which can be done directly or indirectly. Verbal communication can take the form of speeches, interviews, or oral campaigns, while nonverbal communication emerges through the symbols, gestures, colors, and political attributes used by candidates. These stimuli produce subjective meanings in the minds of the public, called political meaning, namely interpretations of political messages that are not always identical to the objective meaning intended by political communicators. Thus, the perceptions that emerge in voters are often the result of social construction from experiences, expectations, and the surrounding social context (Nimmo, 1989).

The political meanings generated from these communications will influence public perceptions of the candidates. These perceptions, in turn, shape voters' attitudes, aspirations, and political behavior, including their decision-making. Within this framework, political marketing becomes an arena of symbolic competition, where each candidate strives to produce the meaning deemed most relevant and acceptable to the public. Therefore, the political marketing process is not merely about campaign strategies but also about the process of constructing social and symbolic meanings that determine an individual's political image and legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

Political marketing is essentially a continuous and permanent activity. This activity is not limited to the campaign period but is an integral part of long-term efforts to build and maintain public trust. (Firmanzah, 2008) emphasizes that political marketing is a combination of communication science, political science, and marketing strategies adapted from the business world for political purposes. Political candidates, like products in the business world, need to maintain their brand image to maintain public trust and acceptance. Therefore, political marketing is an important tool in building public trust, strengthening voter loyalty, and maintaining a base of political support amidst increasingly fierce electoral competition.

In the context of modern political competition, political marketing serves to differentiate or uniquely distinguish a candidate's image from that of their competitors. Candidates are not only required to promote their work programs but also to engage voters' emotional aspects. This can emerge through political narratives that tap into the identity, values, and aspirations of the community. An effective political marketing process bridges the gap between the candidate's vision and the public's emotional needs. As (Henneberg et al., 2009), noted, the success of a political campaign depends not only on the rationality of its message but also on its ability to mobilize social sentiment and imagination.

In practice, each candidate's campaign team plays a crucial role in designing an effective political marketing strategy. This strategy is designed to identify potential voter groups that align with the candidate's political platform. Through political segmentation, campaign teams can identify key target groups, such as young voters, religious voters, or urban voters, and tailor relevant political messages to each segment. Furthermore, the use of digital technology and social media has become a crucial element in today's political marketing strategy. The presence of social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, and TikTok opens up new opportunities for candidates to interact directly with voters, foster emotional connection, and build a more personal political narrative (Nurussyahadah et al., 2025).

From a long-term perspective, political marketing plays a role in building a sustainable image (political sustainability) that extends beyond a single election cycle. Successful candidates or political parties are those that maintain public trust even after the election is over. Therefore, political communication must be conducted consistently and transparently so that the public sees candidates not only as electoral figures but also as representatives of values and integrity. This is where a two-way communication strategy is crucial, where candidates not only deliver messages but also listen to the aspirations of the public as part of the process of constructing shared political meaning.

Political marketing can be understood as a combination of communication art and scientific strategy designed to build emotional and rational connections between candidates and voters. It is not simply a campaign tool, but rather a symbolic process that influences the formation of public political identity. In the context of modern democracy, ethical and transparent political marketing is a crucial element in maintaining the quality of democracy and strengthening meaningful public political participation. The stages of this political marketing strategy consist of several steps, including:

Segmentation

Segmentation is the process of grouping individuals into specific groups based on similar characteristics, resulting in segments. According to (Nursal, 2004), segmentation aims to gain a deeper understanding of various audience or voter groups. Through this process, campaign teams or political marketers can identify new opportunities, expand their reach, craft more relevant communication messages, and provide political services that align with the needs and values of the community. Furthermore, segmentation also helps analyze voter behavior, design political programs, and determine the direction of communication to be more effective and targeted.

In the context of political marketing, segmentation can be conducted using various approaches. Each approach provides a different perspective depending on the variables used. Generally, segmentation approaches include four main types: demographic segmentation, religious segmentation, geographic segmentation, and psychographic segmentation. Demographic segmentation considers factors such as age, gender, education, occupation, and socioeconomic status. Religious segmentation focuses on religious values and orientations that influence political preferences. Geographic segmentation differentiates voters based on their place of residence, such as urban or rural areas, which have different characteristics and political issues. Psychographic segmentation, on the other hand, emphasizes the lifestyle, values, and personality of voters, which influence how they respond to political messages.

In the context of the 2024 Presidential Election, the Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) winning team implemented the Segmentation, Targeting, and Positioning (STP) strategy as the main framework for developing its political communication strategy. The STP approach was used to shape positive public perceptions of the political products offered, such as the candidate pairs' visions, missions, and work programs. Through the segmentation process, the AMIN team identified voter groups with distinct characteristics and needs, then targeted specific segments with tailored messages.

As a concrete example, the "Press Anies" campaign strategy is part of the implementation of this segmentation. In this activity, Anies Baswedan went directly to various regions to engage in dialogue with communities from various social and economic backgrounds. This activity not only provided a means of two-way communication but also reinforced the candidate's image of closeness and concern for the people's aspirations. By listening directly to the people's voices, the AMIN ticket sought to adapt its political message and policies to be relevant to real needs on the ground.

Segmentation is not simply an attempt to group voters, but rather a fundamental strategy that enables more effective and targeted political campaigns. Through the STP approach, the AMIN Team demonstrates how an understanding of societal diversity can be transformed into a significant electoral force in winning over voters in national political contests.

Targeting

Targeting, or goal setting, is a strategic step in the political marketing process that aims to determine specific voter groups that will be the primary focus of the campaign. According to (Nursal, 2004), targeting is the process of selecting one or more segments from the segmentation results that are considered to have the greatest potential to be reached in order to achieve political campaign goals. This process serves to effectively direct campaign resources, whether in the form of messages, issues, or communication strategies, in order to reach the voter groups most likely to support the candidate. In other words, targeting helps the campaign team focus attention only on relevant and strategic segments, so that campaign efforts are more efficient and have maximum impact.

In practice, targeting is carried out through an analysis of the total number of voters in a region and a calculation of the minimum number of votes needed to win the election overall. This analysis serves as the basis for campaign teams in determining which regions or community groups to focus on. One important aspect of targeting is identifying undecided voters. This group is considered highly strategic because it has significant potential to determine the final outcome of a political contest. Therefore, campaign teams strive to craft messages that can attract the attention of and convince this group of voters to side with their nominated candidate.

Once the segmentation process is complete, the campaign team will typically prioritize the most promising segments based on survey data, demographics, and the public's political leanings. They will target strategic voter segments, such as young voters, women voters, or community groups with specific emerging issues. For example, economic, educational, or environmental issues are often used as entry points to attract the attention of specific voter groups.

In the context of the 2024 election campaign of Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN), the targeting strategy is implemented through direct campaigning, such as visits to regions, public dialogues, and dissemination of work programs relevant to the needs of the local community. This approach aims not only to introduce the vision and mission but also to build an emotional connection between the candidate and voters. By focusing on undecided voter groups, the AMIN team seeks to expand its support base through sectoral issues packaged persuasively and based on community aspirations.

Targeting is a crucial step in ensuring an effective and measurable campaign strategy. This process helps the campaign team direct political resources precisely to achieve maximum results in the electoral contest.

Positioning

Positioning, in the context of political marketing, is a communication strategy designed to instill a specific image in the minds of voters, giving candidates a unique, clear, and memorable identity. According to (Park, 2020), positioning aims to create a perception that differentiates a product or candidate from its competitors by emphasizing values and advantages deemed relevant by the target audience. In politics, positioning is key to building a strong and meaningful image amidst intense electoral competition. Through this process, candidates seek to assert their political identity and position themselves in the public sphere in a positive and consistent manner.

Political positioning serves as a tool for connecting political meaning with voters' emotions and expectations. As explained by (Firmanzah, 2008), political positioning is not only about differentiating candidates from their competitors but also creating strong associative links between candidates and values valued by society, such as justice, change, and support for the common people.

When positioning is carried out effectively, this image becomes an anchor for public perception, influencing voters' preferences and behavior in making their choices.

In the context of the Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) campaign for the 2024 election, the winning team sought to build a strong positioning by emphasizing a narrative of change. Their campaign was designed to portray the AMIN ticket as a symbol of an alternative to the existing political status quo. Through creative communication approaches, such as social media-based campaigns and the installation of people's banners made from used sacks or calico cloth, the AMIN campaign team sought to project simplicity and closeness to the common people. This strategy demonstrated their desire to position themselves as representatives of groups in society who have long felt excluded from the dominant political power.

The slogan "Change" used in the AMIN campaign was not just a slogan, but also a symbol of ideological positioning depicting the struggle against inequality and the dominance of the political oligarchy. Through this image, the AMIN ticket successfully gained sympathy from the segment of voters seeking reform of Indonesia's political and social systems. Thus, their political positioning not only built a personal image but also strengthened emotional connections with the public, serving as significant electoral capital in the run-up to the presidential election.

AMIN's Political Marketing Mix Strategy

The political marketing mix strategy is an approach used by almost all presidential candidates to garner sympathy and support from voters. This concept is adapted from the business marketing strategy known as the 4Ps: Product, Promotion, Price, and Place, and then adapted to the political context. In practice, this strategy focuses not only on how candidates present themselves but also on how they manage their image, communication, and the values they wish to convey to the public.

The campaign team of Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) systematically implemented this approach to strengthen the political appeal of the candidate pair. Through the 4Ps strategy, the AMIN team positioned the pair as a "political product" with transformative value, strengthened promotion through social media and public activities, set a "price" in the form of a moral commitment to the people, and determined "place" by expanding the campaign's reach to the grassroots level. By implementing this political marketing mix strategy, the AMIN team sought to instill a strong image in the minds of voters and expand support across segments of society.

Product

In the realm of political marketing, a product is not only understood as a physical entity or economic commodity, but also as a representation of ideas, values, and figures offered to the public. Political products include political parties, candidates, and ideological ideas designed to shape an image and influence voter preferences. Their essence lies in how parties and candidates frame themselves to be relevant to the public's social aspirations and to project credible credibility.

According to (Park, 2020), a product is anything that can be offered to a market for attention, ownership, use, or consumption, thereby satisfying a need or desire. This definition broadens the meaning of product to include ideas and experiences, making it relevant to analyzing modern political phenomena where candidates and parties are constructed as political "brands" sold to the public.

Meanwhile, (Rois et al., n.d.) explains that a product is a collection of tangible and intangible attributes including color, price, packaging, and service that are expected to satisfy the buyer's desires. In a political context, these attributes can be interpreted as the candidate's work program, ideology, communication style, and character, which are the main selling points in the campaign.

(Firmanzah, 2008) emphasized that political products consist of three essential elements: the party platform, past track record, and the candidate's personal character. The platform demonstrates ideological direction and policy vision, while the track record demonstrates moral legitimacy and experience. Personal character, meanwhile, serves as a symbol of the candidate's integrity and credibility in the public eye.

(Firmanzah, 2008) then added three dimensions that determine the durability of a political product: person/party/ideology, loyalty, and mutability. Thus, a party's success in electoral contests depends on its ability to maintain the loyalty of its voter base while adapting to dynamic socio-political changes.

In the context of the Coalition for Change, the Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) ticket offers a political product that combines two major currents: nationalism and religiosity. The NasDem Party represents nationalist values, while the PKB and PKS carry a strong religious identity. This combination creates an inclusive political image, while the two candidates' firm, religious, and experienced personal characteristics are key elements in strengthening their political appeal to the public.

Promotion

Promotion is a crucial element in the political marketing mix, serving to introduce, build an image, and influence public opinion toward the party or candidate being nominated. According to Kotler and Armstrong (2018), promotion is a communication activity designed to disseminate information, persuade, and remind target audiences about a product, service, or idea, in order to elicit the desired response. In a political context, promotion can be defined as a series of advertising efforts, public relations, and campaign activities strategically designed to instill a political message in voters. (Kotler, 2012) explains that promotional tools consist of four main components, namely: (1) advertising, which is non-personal promotion carried out by a sponsor whose identity is clear; (2) personal selling, which is direct interaction between the seller and prospective buyers to persuade them to make a purchase; (3) sales promotion, which is additional activities aimed at attracting consumer interest in a short time; and (4) public relations, which is the indirect dissemination of information through the media to build a positive image in the eyes of the public.

In the context of political communication, promotion is often associated with campaign activities. Through promotion, political parties and candidates seek to attract voters' attention and influence public perception of their vision, mission, and programs. According to (Firmanzah, 2008), political promotion is not merely a campaign tool during elections, but also an ongoing communication strategy aimed at consistently building public trust. Therefore, political promotion activities do not stop after the campaign period but are a continuous and permanent process.

The campaign team of Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) implemented a promotional strategy centred on digital approaches, public communication, and community engagement. First, in terms of advertising, the AMIN ticket did not place large-scale advertisements in conventional media such as television or newspapers due to limited campaign funds. Instead, they maximized the power of social media as a primary promotional tool. Social media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube were used to disseminate political messages, showcase campaign activities, and build direct interaction with the public.

Second, in terms of personal selling, Anies Baswedan's personal charm is a crucial factor in garnering public sympathy. Although not a party member, his reputation and charisma attracted the attention of political figures such as Surya Paloh, Chairman of the NasDem Party, who subsequently nominated him as a presidential candidate. Personally, Anies' leadership character is considered "marketable" due to his image as an intelligent, religious, and down-to-earth leader. This approach is a form of personal selling in a political context, selling his figure and integrity as a political "product" that the public trusts.

Third, in sales promotion, various communities and volunteers supporting the AMIN ticket played an active role in expanding public support. Promotional activities were carried out through social media chain messages, the distribution of creative digital content, and word-of-mouth communication within the community. This method amplified the reach of political messages without requiring significant costs, while also fostering a sense of participation and a grassroots movement.

Fourth, in terms of public relations (PR), the AMIN ticket successfully utilized various opportunities to build a positive image in the media. They frequently appeared in public debates, television interviews, and campaign coverage by national and local media outlets. These PR activities served as an effective indirect promotional tool because they organically generated positive coverage. Furthermore, Anies' open approach to the media made him an easily accessible and well-liked figure, strengthening the perception of him as a communicative and transparent leader.

Overall, the AMIN ticket's promotional strategy demonstrated a smart adaptation to the changing landscape of political communication in the digital era. By combining advertising, personal selling, sales promotion, and public relations, they were able to build a strong political image, expand

their support base, and present an efficient and contextual political promotion model tailored to the needs of modern society (Farihi et al., 2024).

Price

Cost encompasses a wide range of factors, from economics to psychology to national image. Economic cost encompasses all costs incurred by a candidate or party during the campaign period. Psychological cost refers to the perceived value of psychological factors, such as voters' perceived comfort with ethnicity, religion, education, and other backgrounds. National image cost, on the other hand, relates to whether voters perceive the candidate as projecting a positive image and bringing pride to the nation.

The pricing mix concerns strategic and tactical policies such as price levels, discount structures, payment terms, and the degree of price discrimination among different customer groups. Price reflects the amount of money a consumer must spend to obtain a product, and it should be affordable.

The definition of price according to Philip Kotler is: "price is the amount of money charged for a product or service. More broadly, price is the sum of all the value that consumers exchange for the benefits of having or using the product or service." (Price is the amount of money charged for a product or service. More broadly, price is the total value that consumers exchange to gain the benefits of owning a product or service.) Meanwhile, Stanton defines price: "Price is the amount of money and or goods needed to acquire some combination of other goods and its accompanying services." The definition above means that price is the amount of money and or goods needed to obtain a combination of other goods accompanied by the provision of services.

Price is a flexible element of the marketing mix. It can be stable for a certain period of time, but can also fluctuate in the same way. It's also the only element that generates revenue from sales. Price is the amount of money a customer must pay to obtain a product. In other words, someone will buy our product if the sacrifice (money and time) is commensurate with the benefits gained from the product. In the case of a service, someone will come to our store if the time or money sacrificed to obtain our service aligns with the service offered. Price and pricing policy are the most debated elements in marketing. Price is the only marketing strategy variable related to revenue, however, price presents its own problems.

The problem of price in political marketing encompasses many things, from economics and psychology to national image. Economic price includes all costs incurred by political institutions during the campaign, starting from advertising costs, publications, and other administrative costs. Psychological costs The value of national image refers to psychological perception, such as whether voters feel comfortable with a candidate's ethnic background, religion, education, and image. The value of national image relates to whether voters feel the candidate or politician can project a positive image and be a source of national pride.

The economic cost incurred by the AMIN ticket is relatively small compared to the expenditures of other pairs. According to an independent audit report, the number one ticket spent 30 billion rupiah on their campaign. However, Saugi acknowledged this figure as a minimum, as he believes many expenses were unrecorded. Meanwhile, psychologically, the majority of the public, based on surveys by several survey institutions, perceives the AMIN ticket as a comfortable pair, with their Betawi ethnic background, Muslim background, and education, as Anies is a well-known American alumnus.

Place

Placement is closely related to the way a candidate or party presents or distributes itself and their ability to communicate with voters. This means that a candidate or party must be able to map the structure and characteristics of society, both geographically and demographically. Philip Kotler's definition of place regarding distribution is: "The various activities the company undertakes to make the product accessible and available to target customers." (Various activities carried out by the company to make its products easily accessible and available to target consumers.) Decisions about the location and channels used to provide services to customers involve thinking about how to deliver or deliver services to customers and where this will be done.

This must be considered because in the service sector, it is often impossible to determine the location where production and consumption will occur simultaneously. A distribution channel can be

seen as a collection of interdependent organizations involved in the process of providing a product/service for use or consumption. In a service company, delivery must be able to find agents and locations to reach a wide population. As one of the marketing mix variables, place/distribution plays a very important role in helping companies ensure their products, because the goal of distribution is to provide goods and services that are needed and desired by consumers at the right time and place.

Place is closely related to the presence or distribution of a political institution and its ability to communicate with voters or potential voters. A political institution must be able to map the structure and characteristics of society. This mapping can be done geographically, based on population concentration, or demographically, where voters are grouped by education level, occupation, age, social class, religion, beliefs, ethnicity, and understanding of the political world.

Anies is known for his effective political communication style. His political messages are easily digested and understood by the audience because they are packaged neatly and systematically. The Anies Rasyid Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar National Team (Timnas) (AMIN) implemented several strategies to ensure their campaign messages resonated with the public:

First, the AMIN National Team is emphasizing strengthening consolidation and collaboration between militant volunteers and supporting parties. This synergy is a crucial foundation for maintaining effective coordination in delivering campaign messages, ensuring a unified voice and consistent direction at all levels. Through this consolidation, a spirit of togetherness can foster effective political communication between volunteers and party cadres on the ground.

Second, the AMIN National Team's positive and creative campaign strategy is a hallmark. They don't simply emphasize differences with their political opponents, but rather focus on spreading their vision, mission, and ideas for change through innovative approaches. One example is the installation of people's banners made from simple materials like used sacks and calico. This initiative not only demonstrates creativity but also reflects simplicity and a close relationship with the common people.

Third, the AMIN National Team strives to minimize campaign errors to maintain a positive public image of the candidate. Every step and statement is carefully controlled to avoid creating negative perceptions that could be exploited by political opponents. Consistency in conveying the main message is key to ensuring the public understands the values and goals they are fighting for.

Fourth, a direct approach to the community is being intensively implemented through face-to-face activities, public dialogues, and visits to various regions. This effort aims to reach undecided voters by offering concrete work programs that address sectoral issues such as education, the economy, and the environment.

Fifth, in the digital era, the use of social media and digital platforms has become a crucial tool. The AMIN National Team leveraged various channels such as Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, and X (Twitter) to expand the reach of its campaign messages. Through creative and interactive content, they ensured that campaign information was accessible to all levels of society, particularly the younger generation who are active online.

Sixth, vote security also received serious attention through the formation of witness teams at polling stations (TPS). These teams were comprised of volunteers and supporting political parties, tasked with overseeing the voting and vote counting process to ensure it was fair and transparent.

Conclusion

This study confirms that political marketing strategies play a crucial role in shaping public perception and voter support in the 2024 Presidential Election. Using a phenomenological approach, the study found that the Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Abdul Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) ticket successfully built political power, anchored in a narrative of change, personal integrity, and emotional closeness to the public. The implemented political marketing strategies focused not only on the election campaign but also on creating social and symbolic meanings that affirmed a political identity based on morality and social justice.

The Segmenting, Targeting, and Positioning (STP) approach and the implementation of a marketing mix encompassing product, promotion, price, and place are crucial foundations for the AMIN team's efforts to communicate their political values and ideas. The political product offered,

an image of change and support for the common people, successfully built emotional resonance across various levels of society. Promotions utilizing digital media and volunteer-based campaigns demonstrate adaptation to developments in modern political communication. Meanwhile, the price and place strategies reflect the candidate's efficiency, effectiveness, and closeness to the people, as a form of a populist political image.

Thus, Anies-Muhaimin's political marketing strategy reflects a campaign model that not only emphasizes the party's structural strength but also relies on symbolic meaning and authentic social interactions. Politics is no longer understood simply as a struggle for power, but rather as an arena for communicating values and moral struggle. The results of this study contribute to the development of political marketing theory in Indonesia, particularly in the context of democracy, which demands openness, ethics, and more substantial public participation.

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