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# The political positioning strategy of the National Democratic (NasDem) Party in the Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming Raka government

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This article aims to analyze the political positioning strategy of the NasDem Party in the context of the Prabowo Subianto – Gibran Rakabuming Raka administration after the 2024 elections. This study employs a qualitative method, with a literature review as the primary data collection technique. The findings reveal that NasDem implements three main strategies: market-oriented (aligning the party's stance with public perception), differentiation (creating strategic distance from coalition parties to establish an independent image), and functional positioning (optimizing its role in parliament as a tangible contribution). These strategies have enabled NasDem to build an image as a rational, ethical, and non-opportunistic party while maintaining long-term political flexibility. These findings contribute to studies on Indonesian political parties, particularly in understanding the dynamics of party positions outside executive power and the importance of positioning in maintaining electoral support sustainability within a complex multiparty system.

**Keywords:** NasDem Party, political positioning, post 2024 election, Prabowo Subianto – Gibran Rakabuming Raka cabinet



#### 1. INTRODUCTION

The 2024 Indonesian Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections resulted in the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket emerging as the winner with a significant margin (KPU RI, 2024). This victory altered the power dynamics within Indonesia's national political system, with political parties that were previously outside the winning coalition gradually adjusting their stances to align with the elected government. One of the most notable developments is the move by the National Democratic Party (NasDem), which, despite being one of the prominent supporters of the Anies Baswedan–Muhaimin Iskandar ticket, officially declared its support for the Prabowo–Gibran administration after the election (Dewi, 2024). This political shift has attracted attention because it reflects the dynamics of adaptive political party strategies in a complex multiparty presidential system, such as Indonesia's (Mietzner, 2013).

The NasDem Party's political support for the Prabowo–Gibran administration directly strengthens the government coalition in the Indonesian House of Representatives. Previously, the legislative strength of Prabowo's supporting parties had reached only approximately 48%. However, with the addition of the NasDem party, which won approximately 12.07% of the parliamentary seats in the 2024 elections, the coalition's strength increased to over 58% (kompas.com, 2024). This support strengthens the government's legitimacy while reducing the opposition's maneuvering space in parliament. However, the NasDem party's decision not to participate in the cabinet structure has sparked debate. NasDem Party Chairman Surya Paloh stated that the rejection of the ministerial offer was an ethical stance and long-term political strategy, where power is not solely defined as control over executive positions but rather as substantive contributions to the government from outside the formal structure (The Jakarta Post, 2024a).

The NasDem Party's political stance raises questions about its position in the coalition-opposition spectrum. Not being in the cabinet but supporting government policies demonstrates a pattern of relations known as soft opposition or constructive support (Lupu, 2016). This model allows the party to remain close to the government without being bound by specific executive responsibilities. In this context, the NasDem Party can support the government's agenda, which is considered in line with the public interest, while maintaining strategic autonomy to criticize policies that contradict the party's vision.

Instead of filling executive positions, the NasDem Party has strengthened its existence through the legislative channel. The party has secured strategic positions in the leadership of the House of Representatives, including chairing Commission II (domestic governance), Commission IX (labor and health), and Commission XIII (human rights). It has placed six cadres as deputy chairpersons of these commissions (The Jakarta Post, 2024b). This strategy shows that the NasDem Party views power not only as control over the executive structure but also as the ability to influence the legislative process and government oversight. Within the framework of Indonesia's multiparty presidential system, the legislative branch is an essential arena for creating a balance of power (Sherlock, 2010).

From a coalition theory perspective, NasDem Party actions represent a non-conventional coalition known as a supportive coalition without ministerial positions. In this typology, the party provides political support to the executive without formally committing to the distribution of government positions (Cheibub et al., 2004). This model offers political flexibility and preserves the party's organizational autonomy, shielding it from the risk of being perceived as an opportunistic party hungry for power. In the context of Indonesia's often pragmatic politics, this strategy can be seen as a form of resistance against transactional political practices and a long-term electoral investment ahead of the 2029 elections (Mietzner, 2008). Thus, this study is essential for understanding how the NasDem Party strategically and symbolically positions itself within the power dynamics of the Prabowo–Gibran administration. The NasDem Party's political position outside the cabinet, yet still supporting the government, provides an example of the flexibility of a party's position within a multiparty presidential system. This also opens up new discourse

on political ethics, the role of the legislature as an instrument of power, and positioning strategies in long-term electoral contests.

Previous research has discussed the NasDem Party in the 2024 presidential and vice-presidential elections. For example, research from Muzwardi et al., (2024) explains the NasDem Party's political campaign strategy. The results show that each pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidates nominated by the NasDem Party used political campaign strategies through push, pull, and pass political approaches. Meanwhile, Silitonga and Tampomori (2024) discuss how media conglomerates supported Anies Baswedan, who was endorsed by the NasDem Party. Support was provided during the prenomination, nomination, campaign, voting, and ballot counting stages at the Polling Station (TPS).

Based on this, there has been no comprehensive research discussing the positioning of the NasDem Party after the 2024 presidential elections. Thus, this study offers a new perspective on this issue. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the NasDem Party's political positioning strategy in the Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka cabinet.

#### 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In political science, political positioning refers to the way political parties position themselves within the spectrum of power and policy, encompassing both executive and legislative actors and the broader community. Political positioning is not only determined by participation in government but also by attitudes, communication strategies, and alliances formed in response to the existing power configuration (Mair, 1997). Political positioning is crucial in the context of a multiparty presidential system, such as Indonesia, where governing coalitions are often not based on ideology but rather on pragmatic power considerations (Tomsa, 2012).

According to Sartori (2005), political parties in democratic systems serve as agents that articulate and aggregate interests. Hence, their choice of political position reflects a balance between ideological principles and electoral needs. In this context, parties can take several political positions: (1) as a government party, (2) as an active opposition, (3) as a soft or constructive opposition, and (4) as a balancing or independent party. These choices are influenced by many factors, including election results, inter-party relations, opportunities for office, public perception, and long-term calculations (Lupu, 2016).

In a multiparty presidential system, coalition politics plays a significant role in discussions of political positions. According to Cheibub et al., (2004), parties in a presidential system often form coalitions not only to form a government but also to ensure the continuity of their policy agenda. However, not all parties in a coalition must be in the cabinet. This phenomenon has given rise to the model of a supportive coalition without cabinet posts—a coalition that supports the government in parliament without formally participating in the executive branch. The theoretical framework of political positioning must also consider symbolic and electoral aspects. According to Panebianco (1988), modern parties have two organizational dimensions: instrumental and expressive. Parties not only pursue positions but also build political image, voter loyalty, and long-term bargaining power. In other words, parties may choose to reject cabinet positions to maintain moral symbolism or consistency of values in the eyes of their voters, even though they continue to support government policies in practice (Bergman et al., 2013).

Furthermore, party positioning can be viewed as a strategic approach to political communication. In this approach, positioning refers to how parties construct their image in the public mind, whether as agents of change, protectors of the people's interests, or as a counterbalance to power. This aligns with political marketing theory, which posits that positioning is integral to a strategy for maintaining voter segmentation and differentiation from other parties (Lees-Marshment, 2008). In practice, this strategy bridges the gap between political reality (e.g., losing an election) and voter expectations (maintaining the party's integrity or values). Positioning is a key pillar of political marketing. In this context, political

positioning refers to a party's strategy to determine the ideological position and image it wants to build in the minds of voters, differentiate itself from other parties, and attract specific voter segments with a distinctive image, issues, and communication style. According to Lees-Marshment (2008), positioning is not only about policies or programs but also encompasses symbolic aspects such as political stance, responses to national issues, and strategic alliances.

Based on the perspectives above, the theoretical framework of political positioning in this study is used to analyze how the NasDem Party strategically positions itself in the post-2024 election power landscape. This approach emphasizes the party's political rationality in choosing to remain outside the cabinet while still supporting the government legislatively, as a form of dualism strategy between power and political ethics.

#### 3. METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) with a case study approach (Creswell, 2016). The case study for this research is the NasDem Party. Library research was selected as the primary data-collection technique. Library research was chosen because the primary focus of this study is to understand and analyze the political position of the NasDem Party within the context of the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka administration through the examination of secondary data sourced from documents, publications, and relevant scientific literature. According to Mann (2015), library research is a data collection technique that involves examining books, scientific journals, articles, news, official documents, and digital sources relevant to the study's focus. This technique is suitable for research aimed at exploring sociopolitical phenomena based on the interpretation and analysis of conceptual and factual data that is already available.

The data used in this study are secondary data obtained from official documents, including election results, parliamentary composition data, official statements from political parties and government press releases. The scientific literature encompasses books, journal articles, and academic papers that discuss political party theory, multiparty presidential systems, coalition theory, and the concept of political positioning. Reliable media sources, such as The Jakarta Post, Kompas, Tempo, and other online media, present news reports, interviews with figures, and political opinions related to the NasDem Party's position after the 2024 election. Policy papers and opinions from political analysts, including reports from policy research institutions such as the CSIS and the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). These online media sources were selected based on their credibility and reputation. Furthermore, these online media outlets extensively reported on topics relevant to this research.

The data analyzed in this study uses descriptive qualitative analysis, which involves examining and interpreting data based on conceptual categories such as political position, soft opposition, coalition without office, and long-term electoral strategy. The analysis was conducted through issue classification, tracing party strategy patterns, and mapping the NasDem Party's position in the post-election power structure. The stages of analysis included data reduction, which involved selecting relevant data that answered the research questions. Second, data presentation involves grouping data based on conceptual categories such as attitudes toward the cabinet, positions in parliament, and NasDem party political communication. Third, the study compiles theoretical interpretations of the NasDem Party's political positioning strategy in the context of the Prabowo–Gibran administration.

#### 4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1 Market-Oriented Positioning of the NasDem Party in the Prabowo-Gibran Cabinet

According to Lees-Marshment (2008), a market-oriented party is a political party that responds to public desires by adjusting its programs, policies, and political image based on the preferences of voters that have been identified. This approach focuses not only on selling the "product" (the party's ideology or program) but also on how the needs of society and public perceptions shape the party's political offerings. Market-oriented parties actively conduct research, absorb aspirations, and develop a political image that is "ordered" by the public rather than determined by the party's internal ideology.

Following the 2024 elections, the NasDem Party positioned itself as a supporter of the elected Prabowo–Gibran administration but chose not to take ministerial positions in its cabinet. This is a strategic move that can be interpreted as a form of market-oriented positioning, where the party calculates its response to public expectations that are fed up with transactional politics. NasDem Chairman Surya Paloh stated that this decision was made based on political ethics: "We are not seeking ministerial positions because we know we were not part of the initial struggle of this pair" (Putra, 2024). This statement shows how the NasDem Party reads the political market, which values integrity and political values over the mere pursuit of power. In this context, NasDem demonstrates its sensitivity to voters' perceptions of clean and transparent politics.

Data from a public survey conducted by LSI Denny JA (February 2024) shows that more than 62% of young voters expressed disappointment with political parties that immediately sought seats of power after the election (Farisa, 2024). This trend indicates the emergence of a new political "market" that wants parties to prioritize not only power but also ethics and substantive contributions. The NasDem Party's decision to avoid ministerial seats while still supporting the government is an adaptation to these aspirations. In the terms of Lees-Marshment (2008), this shows that the party is not only selling a political product but also adapting it based on evolving voter preferences—thus, the strategy falls under the category of market-oriented rather than product-oriented or sales-oriented.

The NasDem Party also appears to use market data to design its political image and communication. This is reflected in the consistent narrative conveyed by party elites, who want to strengthen oversight functions in the legislature and focus on substantive policies rather than executive positions. NasDem party Vice Chairman Saan Mustopa emphasized in an interview that: "We chose to remain outside the cabinet so that we can be more effective in our oversight function and not get caught up in political pragmatism" (Rahmawati, 2024). This reflects an important element of a market-oriented strategy, namely, adaptation and strategic responsiveness to external dynamics and constituent expectations.

In the long term, this market-oriented strategy has the potential to strengthen the NasDem Party's position in the national electoral arena. By positioning itself as a party that upholds values rather than power, NasDem can reach young voters, the educated middle class, and groups apathetic toward traditional politics. This is in line with Lees-Marshment's (2008) finding that market-oriented parties tend to have higher political resilience and build public trust through consistency between perceptions, messages, and political actions. This strategy can also create electoral value by strengthening the credibility of the reformist party.

However, this strategy carries risks. First, if the NasDem Party fails to demonstrate tangible contributions in parliament or only makes symbolic appearances, the public may perceive this strategy as cynical branding. Second, the party risks losing access to power resources if it does not play a role in the executive branch, which could hinder its political influence at the bureaucratic level. Therefore, a dynamic balance between ethical idealism and power calculation must be maintained.

Referring to Lees-Marshment's (2008) classification, the NasDem Party during this period exhibited characteristics of a market-oriented party because it adjusted its political positions and decisions based on the dynamics of public opinion after the election. It does not dictate the market with ideology but rather devises tactical steps based on the needs and perceptions of the community. It actively manages its political image to strengthen its long-term position, rather than simply seeking short-term power.

# 4.2 Differentiation Positioning of the NasDem Party: Keeping Distance from the Government Coalition

In political marketing theory, differentiation positioning refers to a political party's strategy to differentiate itself from its political competitors by highlighting values, policies, or attitudes that are unique and not shared by other parties (Lees-Marshment, 2008). The main objective of this strategy is to build an exclusive image that can attract certain segments of voters dissatisfied with the main or dominant political choices. Parties that adopt this approach do not merely sell political products but actively create differentiation to position themselves as a "different" and "better" alternative.

Following the 2024 elections, the NasDem Party openly declared its support for the Prabowo-Gibran administration despite initially backing the Anies Baswedan–Muhaimin Iskandar ticket. However, NasDem refused to join the cabinet structure, unlike other parties in the Indonesia Maju Coalition (KIM), such as Gerindra, Golkar, PAN, and Democrat, which immediately took part in the government (Tempo.co, 2024b). The decision not to accept executive positions is a clear signal of differentiation. In the context of Lees-Marshment's theory, this is a form of differentiation positioning, where the NasDem party consciously creates symbolic and structural distance from the core of power, despite continuing to support the government's programs. This move positions NasDem as a party not entangled in patronage politics and the "quid pro quo politics" often associated with ruling parties. Thus, the party offers a more "independent," principled, and consistent image in terms of political ethics.

Unlike the main coalition parties, the NasDem Party does not automatically approve of all Prabowo-Gibran's political moves. For example, in discussions regarding revisions to the Broadcasting Law and cybersecurity policies, NasDem Party members adopted a critical stance in parliament(Yudis, 2025). Although not openly opposing the government, NasDem maintains a selective approach to its support, refusing to serve as the government's "political stamp" (Tempo.co, 2024c). This is a deliberate differentiation strategy. In its differentiation positioning approach, NasDem offers the public a party that is not fully co-opted by power but does not become a hardline opposition. This strategy accommodates voters who are critical of power but are also skeptical of extreme opposition.

The NasDem Party also strengthens its differentiation through strategic positions in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI). Although not part of the cabinet, the party holds several important positions, such as Chair of Commission II (Politics and Domestic Governance), Commission IX (Labor and Health), and Commission XIII (Tempo.co, 2024a). Thus, the NasDem Party maintains high political bargaining power without being part of the executive circle. Within the Lees-Marshment framework, this represents the creation of political added value through alternative channels, namely the legislative branch, by emphasizing professional, technocratic, and substantive policy capabilities. NasDem communicates that political contributions do not only come from the cabinet but also from the quality of parliamentary work.

According to a Charta Politika survey (April 2025), 38% of respondents view NasDem as a party that is "different" from other ruling parties because it is perceived as less pragmatic and upholds integrity. This indicates that NasDem's differentiation efforts resonate with the public, particularly among middle-class and urban voters, who tend to avoid large parties involved in power compromises. However, the same survey also shows that 24% of respondents still view NasDem's position as confusing and

opportunistic for supporting the government without joining the cabinet. This indicates that differentiation strategies always carry the risk of ambiguity that can be exploited by political opponents.

Strategically, this differentiation can be interpreted as the NasDem Party's attempt to establish a long-term position ahead of the 2029 elections. By not merging into the current power structure, the NasDem Party can maintain its political flexibility, including opening options to form a new axis, build an alternative coalition, or emerge as a center party capable of serving as a national unifier amid polarization. According to Lees-Marshment (2008), differentiation positioning is a way for parties to create a loyal "niche market" that is resistant to external dynamics. The NasDem Party is attempting to build a loyal constituent base by offering a consistent political identity that differs from the status quo.

Through its differentiation positioning strategy, the NasDem Party positions itself as a political entity that is neither entirely inside nor outside the government's purview. It creates its own space by maintaining distance from the governing coalition while continuing to play a role in the public policy process through legislative channels. This strategy strengthens the party's image as an independent and integrity-driven actor, although it poses challenges in clearly explaining this position to voters. If managed consistently, this differentiation could become a significant electoral and strategic asset in the future of national politics.

Moreover, from an economic and political perspective, the NasDem Party has considerable power, thanks to its chairman, Surya Paloh. As a result, the NasDem Party had the courage to reject President Prabowo Subianto's offer of ministerial positions. Usually, political parties' financial resources are boosted when their cadres are given ministerial positions. Furthermore, political networks become much stronger when they join the cabinet. However, the NasDem Party has Surya Paloh, who possesses both qualities but has not entered the cabinet. Surya Paloh's bargaining power lies first in his media resources as "structural power." Surya Paloh controls the Media Group (Metro TV, Media Indonesia, Lampung Post, radio networks, and digital channels). Control over the media ecosystem provides the capacity to frame the agenda, maintain the party's visibility, and build direct communication channels to the public and elite without relying on the executive stage. This creates symbolic and reputational capital reserves that reduce the need for "compensation" in the form of ministerial seats (Fahrudin, 2013).

Second, diversification into non-media businesses. Institutional media studies (ISEAS; academic analysis) and public corporate mapping place Paloh's portfolio beyond media—property (hotels/resorts), catering/industrial services, and commodities. This diversification enhances the financial autonomy of the party chairman and the party in funding political operations, issue campaigns, and structural consolidation, thereby reducing dependence on government rents. In the logic of political economy, financial autonomy enhances credible commitment to not exchange support for positions (Fakhriansyah, 2023).

Third, historical political networks. Paloh is a long-standing actor in the establishment axis (former Golkar elite) who understands coalition architecture and the "opportunity costs" of entering the cabinet. This experience reinforces the calculation that brand differentiation is more valuable in the long term than temporary "access." Surya Paloh political-economic bargaining power—a combination of control over the media ecosystem, financial autonomy, and network capital—gives NasDem a rational option to take the differentiation route: supporting government programs in parliament, remaining outside the cabinet, and cultivating a "policy-driven, not office-driven" brand. Refusing a ministerial seat is not an anomaly but a long-term reputation strategy supported by a relatively independent power structure from position distribution.

# 4.3 Functional Positioning — NasDem Party's Contribution Through the Legislature

Within the framework of political positioning theory, according to Lees-Marshment (2008), functional positioning refers to the way political parties prove their usefulness and capabilities in the

political system through the functions they perform, both in government and in opposition. In other words, the primary focus of functional positioning is not on image or differentiation but on actual performance—how the party meets public expectations through actions that directly impact the legislative process, oversight, and representation.

Following the 2024 elections, the NasDem Party demonstrated a strong commitment to playing a strategic role through the legislative channel, rejecting cabinet seats, but actively contributing to parliamentary functions. This strategy affirms the NasDem Party's functional positioning as a party that remains relevant and productive without being part of the executive structure. The NasDem Party secured several strategic positions in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) as a result of the distribution of parliamentary committees (AKD) for the 2024–2029 period. The NasDem Party holds leadership positions in Commission II (politics and domestic governance), Commission IX (labor and health), and Commission XIII, as well as several vice-chair positions in other commissions (Tempo.co, 2024a). In this context, the NasDem Party leverages its legislative power to initiate and oversee public policies aligned with its agenda, such as bureaucratic reform, improving health insurance for workers, and budget transparency at the local level. This strategic position serves as the primary channel for the NasDem Party to demonstrate its functional role in practice, in line with Lees-Marshment's concept of functional positioning, which involves proving "value for voters" through substantive institutional work.

In the early sessions of the 2024–2025 DPR, the NasDem Party faction was actively involved in discussions on the Draft Law on Digital Personal Data Protection, an issue relevant to technological developments and public needs for information security. This initiative is seen as a representation of the party's commitment to good governance and the protection of citizens' rights (Medcom.id, 2022). In addition, the NasDem Party demonstrated a critical but constructive oversight function toward ministries/agencies. Through Commission II, for example, the NasDem Party highlighted plans to revise the Election Law and encouraged broad public involvement to avoid the dominance of large parties in the democratization process (FraksiNasDem.org, 2025). These activities show that even though it is not part of the executive structure, the NasDem Party maintains its political relevance by demonstrating substantive contributions to state governance.

The NasDem Party's decision not to take ministerial positions but to continue supporting government programs has created a unique functional position within Indonesia's multiparty system. On the one hand, the party does not openly display opposition. On the other hand, NasDem Party refuses to become a follower party without control over the power agenda. The concept of functional positioning, as outlined by Lees-Marshment, emphasizes the importance of real functions in constructing public trust. In this case, the NasDem Party uses parliament as the main forum to showcase its expertise in policy formulation, public advocacy, and control over the executive branch. This creates political credibility that is built not on symbolic positions but on the results of legislative work and advocacy.

According to the national survey by Indikator Politik Indonesia (June 2025), 44.2% of respondents rated NasDem party performance in parliament as "fairly good," and 21.8% rated it as "good." This figure is higher than the average perception of other non-coal parties. This finding shows that NasDem's functional approach is accepted by a segment of the public that values political effectiveness not only from positions of power but also from substantive contributions to the state process.

By remaining active in its legislative function, the NasDem Party seeks to build a professional, substantial, and solution-oriented party identity, thereby strengthening its political legitimacy in the long term. This approach is oriented toward the sustainable formation of public trust rather than merely short-term electoral gains. This strategy is important for building a long-term perception that the NasDem Party is a modern party based on performance, not just power calculations. According to Lees-Marshment (2001), successful functional positioning must be based on a party's internal capabilities and consistency

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in fulfilling its promises and public interests. The NasDem Party appears to have adopted this principle in its post-2024 election strategy.

The NasDem Party uses a functional positioning approach to show that it continues to play a vital role in the political system, despite being outside the cabinet. By strengthening its legislative function, the NasDem Party contributes to public policy formulation, government oversight, and advocacy on strategic issues. This strategy enables NasDem Party to present itself as a relevant and credible party in the eyes of the public, while reinforcing its image as a politically substantive actor rather than one focused solely on positions. With consistent performance, this positioning has the potential to become an electoral and institutional asset in future political contests.

#### 5. CONCLUSION

This study shows that the NasDem Party has carefully positioned itself in Indonesia's political landscape after the 2024 elections through a strategy that is neither confrontational nor completely subordinate. By not joining the Prabowo-Gibran cabinet but still supporting the elected government, the NasDem Party has taken a soft opposition approach that is both adaptive and strategic. Through an analysis based on Lees-Marshment's (2001) political positioning model, it was found that the NasDem Party utilizes three main approaches: market-oriented positioning, where the party adapts to public perception and distances itself from the image of being power-hungry. Differentiation positioning, by maintaining political distance from the main coalition parties. Functional positioning is achieved through the optimization of the legislative role as evidence of real contributions to democracy and governance. These three positioning strategies indicate that NasDem is not merely building an image but also instilling political values that reflect professionalism and long-term orientation. In the midst of a multiparty system that is often pragmatic and transactional, the NasDem Party's political positioning provides an example of how non-executive strategies can still generate significant political influence, both at the policy level and in public perception.

This study enriches the literature on political parties in Indonesia by emphasizing the importance of strategic political marketing in the context of a multiparty system. The concept of political positioning is not merely a campaign tool but also a framework for understanding a party's stance in post-election dynamics. The Lees-Marshment model is applicable in analyzing a party's adaptive strategies outside the executive branch. Furthermore, this research opens up space for broader follow-up studies, such as comparing the positioning strategies of other parties in the cabinet or examining the impact of the NasDem Party's positioning on long-term electability. In addition, an in-depth study of constituents' perceptions of the soft opposition model is important for understanding the dynamics of representation in Indonesian democracy.

## **Ethical Approval**

Not Applicable

#### **Informed Consent Statement**

Not Applicable

#### Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

#### **Data Availability Statement**

The data presented in this study are available on request from the corresponding author due to privacy reasons.

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#### **Notes on Contributors**

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