

YOUTH MOBILIZATION IN THE 2019 ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN WEST JAVA, INDONESIA (STUDY OF THE GERINDRA PARTY, THE INDONESIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF STRUGGLE, AND THE PROSPEROUS JUSTICE PARTY)

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ABSTRACT. West Java has the largest number of voters including young elections, but there are symptoms where political parties have rarely been placed as subjects in elections by political parties. This study aims to describe the strategies of the Gerindra Party, PDIP, and PKS in mobilizing youth support in the 2019 elections in West Java and to analyze research phenomena based on the theory used so that it is hoped that new concepts will be obtained in mobilizing youth support during the election momentum, especially in implementing strategies mobilization that places the youth segment as a political subject, not only as an object of party strategy. The research method in this study used qualitative methods and descriptive techniques including literature review and in-depth interviews with party members and youth activists,. The research results show that in the 2019 Election the Gerindra Party, PDI Perjuangan, and PKS used several strategies in mobilizing youth support. However, not all strategies are carried out optimally. For example, the PKS does not utilize volunteers or its party wings in mobilizing youth due to differences in views within political parties, the use of mass media is not yet optimal, as well as the use of election data in formulating strategies is not optimal.

Keywords: mobilization; young voters; political party campaign; election

INTRODUCTION

Society is multidimensional, composed of various structures and layers, and has different characteristics from one another (Firmanzah, 2012). In political event contestation, political parties, and candidates identify various groups in society. Thus, they can understand the characteristics of each of these groups. Like the UK case, political parties in England use segmentation by dividing voters into three categories: conservative party loyalists, labor party loyalists, and swing voters (Lilleker, 2003). To win the votes, voter segmentation is carried out so that political parties or general election contestants can formulate the right strategies or programs (Firmanzah, 2012).

Zuhro (in Maruf, 2018) argues that the political objects whose votes are contested the most in elections in Indonesia are generally floating masses. Firmanzah (2008) argues that the floating masses are groups of people whose voices will be contested by political parties and candidates contesting in elections. The floating mass segment includes youth voters who do not easily tie themselves to a political party ideology, but are more interested in ideas or ideas that support their lifestyle (Nugraha, et al, 2016). Thus, one way to get youth support is to understand the interests or trends developing among youth groups and adjust party strategies and programs to support ideas that are developing among these circles.

Today, although youth groups are categorized as a floating mass, this goes hand in hand with youth groups becoming increasingly critical of government performance, both towards the executive, legislative

and judicial bodies (Nugraha, et al, 2016). Because of this, their attitude tends to be skeptical of political parties or politics in general, so few youths choose not to use their voting rights or become white groups (Abstract) in elections. This skeptical attitude can be proven by a survey which showed that as many as 53.23% of the total 1039 respondents stated that they were absent from exercising their voting rights (Movanita, 2014). Thus, political parties and candidates need to formulate the best strategy to gain youth voters' support.

Law No. 40 of 2009 Article 1 Paragraph 1 explains that youth are Indonesian citizens who are entering an important period of growth and development aged 16 (sixteen) to 30 (thirty) years. Anggraini (in Jurnaliston, 2018) stated that the number of voters in the 2018 regional head elections in 171 regions was around 160 million, more than 40% of whom were voters under the age of 40. Yasa, et al (2022) explained that there was an increase in the number of youth voters in 2019 of 86,001,519 people. In 2014 there were 20,440,862 people. Thus, the voice of youth voters becomes very significant in every momentum of the political event. The struggle for youth votes also occurred in the 2019 elections in West Java, this can be illustrated by the number of voters and young people in West Java. The General Election Commission released data on the Final Voter List for West Java Province totaling 33,270,845 people. Then, the West Java Provincial Government through the Population and Civil Registration Service released data on the young population in West Java in 2019 totaling 11,134,134. Thus, the votes of youth groups have become a strategic target that has played

a role in determining the votes acquired by political parties in West Java.

Firmanzah (2008) argues that in determining a strategy or program, political parties or candidates need to place voters or constituents as political subjects so that the programs created are oriented toward solving various problems by constituents. However, in general, voters in developing countries are only used as political objects and have no active role for the community in determining the programs or policies of political parties (Firmanzah, 2008). Likewise, the condition of youth voters in West Java in 2019, whose participation was not counted by the government. This can be reflected in the results of the ranking of the Youth Development Index in West Java, which ranks 34th out of 34 provinces throughout Indonesia (Gumilar, 2019).

Placement of youth as political subjects can provide political education for youth, so that they are aware of playing an active role in the development of the country, such as determining attitudes and participating in providing support for a party or candidate program in a political event. Youth groups that have determined their attitude and support for a political party or candidate can endeavor to continue to develop by being mobilized so that there are efforts to influence each other among youth voters. Therefore, this research seeks to examine more deeply the phenomenon of youth mobilization in political campaigns. It is expected to add to the treasury of developments in the study of political science, both practically and theoretically.

A large number of votes for youth voters should receive the attention of political parties in West Java, especially the political parties that dominate the seats of the West Java Regional People's Legislative Assembly for the 2019-2024 period. The number of seats in the Regional Representatives Council of West Java Province is 120 seats. Based on this number, three parties occupy the most seats; Gerindra Party with 25 seats, PKS with 21, and PDIP with 20 seats. Because the three parties managed to get more seats than the other parties, then this research is focused on analyzing the strategy of mobilizing youth support that they are implementing.

In addition, the 2019 Election event consists of two momentums, namely the Presidential Election and the Legislative Election. During the presidential election, party support is generally directed to the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs supported by a coalition of parties. Meanwhile, in the legislative elections event, party support can be divided because each legislative candidate is not only competing with contestants from other parties but also with contestants within his party.

The process of distribution of party support, especially in terms of mobilizing youth support, is interesting for further study.

Previous research discussing youth mobilization strategies in elections was conducted by George Washington University (2007) that mobilizing youth was carried out by utilizing volunteers, forming trained teams, making relevant issues, collaborating with political groups and parties, creating and continuing updating the agenda, maximizing scrutiny of voter data, and using the internet and social media. Then, research from Ibrahim (2019) examines the strategy of the Khofifah-Emil pair in mobilizing Pancasila Youth support in the 2018 East Java local election. He explains that the mobilization strategy used a persuasive one-command system and provided welfare. Furthermore, research from Azmi, et al (2020) describes an approach to winning youth votes through building nodes with youth leaders, as well as political contracts. Thus, resulting in a commitment to support the candidate.

Based on the previous research above, research from George Washington University describes techniques for conducting political mobilization of the youth segment. Furthermore, Ibrahim describes the approaches candidates can take to mobilize the support of community organizations. Meanwhile, Azmi explained the method that can be taken to gain support from the youth segment in regional elections. The State of the Art of this research is on the focus of researchers in elaborating the youth mobilization strategy carried out by the Gerindra Party, PDIP, and PKS in the 2019 Elections in West Java, as well as the distribution of youth support in the Presidential Election in West Java. Thus, this study describes that youth are not only used as political objects in elections but can also act as political subjects who can determine the direction of the party's winning strategy in winning the 2019 elections in West Java.

Several previous studies discussed more about one or two strategies in mobilizing youth support, from this research this time seeks to discuss more strategies that political parties can use in mobilizing youth support in elections in West Java by adopting theories used.

Cangara (2009) explains that strategy is crucial thing in the context of political contestation. In campaigning, it needs good handling so that the determination of the strategy is not wrong because it can have a big effect on the vote result. Mistakes in determining strategies for political parties and candidates can lead to various losses, both material and non-material, the most serious loss is the loss or reduction in vote acquisition.

Observing this competition, Porter (1998) explains that strategy is needed in political competition, especially competition that arises from new entrants and between previous competitors. It is because new competitors or competitors with similar principles or platforms aim to win votes from the same segment. Hence, intense political competition requires political parties or candidates to formulate appropriate strategies to maintain and expand the voter base.

Based on the explanation above, candidates need to formulate the best strategy to win youth votes, such as the strategy formulated by The George Washington University based on lessons learned from the 2006 US Election, namely Utilizing volunteers, forming a trained team, making relevant issues, collaborating with political groups and parties, creating and continuing to update agendas, maximizing scrutiny of voter data, using the internet and social media (The George Washington University, 2007). Thus, this paper will provide an overview and data on the seven strategies that can be used by political parties in mobilizing youth.

METHODS

The design and research methods selected in this study used qualitative methods. As the research title attempts to describe youth mobilization in political campaigns, the context of 'mobilization' in this case is the formulation of tactics and their implementation in mobilizing youth support. The process of mobilizing youth support is part of a qualitative research study. Then, the research data consists of primary data and secondary data. The data collection techniques used in this study used Creswell's strategy (2010: 266-270) in collecting research data, namely through library research, interviews, and documentation.

Researchers do not limit the number of informants until the data collected is sufficient to answer the research problem formulation. Informants were selected using purposive techniques, starting with the researcher determining appropriate criteria such as the informant must be someone involved in decisions within the political party, the informant must also be a person involved in the youth sector within the political party, apart from that the informant is a member of the party involved. In winning elections, equipped with informants from party wing organizations. Key informants for this research are the Chairpersons of the West Java Gerindra Party, West Java PDIP, and West Java PKS in the 2019 elections in West Java. Technically in obtaining informants, researchers interviewed key informants. Next, the researcher asked for recommendations

from informants who were relevant to the research phenomenon. After the data was obtained, the next important step to ensure that the data collected and used in research is accurate, reliable and relevant, the researcher validates the data using triangulation techniques. The validation method is by combining data from interviews, observations and documents to get a more complete picture and confirm the findings. The final step is to analyze the research data that has been obtained.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section attempts to describe and present an analysis of research results from the use of strategies by the Gerindra Party, PDI Perjuangan, and PKS Party in mobilizing Youth in the 2019 Elections in West Java which were formulated by The George Washington University based on lessons from the US Elections in 2006, consisting of the seven strategies include (a) Utilizing volunteers, (b) forming a trained team, (c) making relevant issues, (d) collaborating with political groups and parties, (e) making and continuously updating the agenda, (f) maximizing scrutiny of voter data, (g) using the internet and social media.

Strategy for Utilizing Volunteers Who Voluntarily Want to Participate in Winning the Party in the 2019 Election

Based on interview results, the Gerindra Party, PDI Perjuangan, and PKS consider youth as a potential segment for political party support. Therefore, almost all parties compete and try to get support and participation from the youth group in their party. This is what causes the three parties to feel the need for a strategy to gain the sympathy of young voters. One of them is they use volunteers who can carry out a mobilization strategy for this segment of young voters.

The three parties studied stated that they had official volunteers. The volunteers are a form of mass organization as wing party organizations. Wing party organizations are officially recognized in institutional law in Indonesia. The first time this wing party organization was regulated in Law Number 2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties article 12 letter (j) states that; "one of the rights of a political party is to form and own political party wing organizations."

Gerindra Party has volunteers called Tunas Indonesia Raya (TIDAR). It is a special wing party organization to respond to the aspirations of young groups. Within the Gerindra Party, the role of the wing organization is explained in the Bylaws in Chapter

VII, article 23, paragraph 1 which states that “The Wings Organization as a source of members formed by the Gerindra Party plays a role as a supporter of the Party to help the struggle of the Gerindra Party through the implementation of the Party Program in the life of society, nation, and state.” Along with the issuance of the 2008 Political Party Law. Tidar itself is a wing of the party that stood at the same time as the founding of the Gerindra Party, namely in 2008. Specifically in West Java, the Gerindra DPD assigned Tidar as one of the party wings to embrace youth in West Java.

According to the general secretary of the People’s Representative Council from the Gerindra Party, the existence of TIDAR as a wing of the party has made a major contribution to gaining support from youth groups in the 2019 elections. Since 2008, it has been continuously developed. Hence, in West Java TIDAR has been formed at the Provincial level or City level. The Gerindra Party has made Tidar the vanguard to seek sympathy, recruit and prepare the younger generation to be ready for politics in the future. In general, in terms of coaching potential future leaders from Gerindra, Gerindra has another party wing as volunteers, namely Gerindra Masa Depan (GMD).

PDI Perjuangan considers itself to be a party that is very concerned about youth and seeks to win the support of youth groups in every general election contestation, so in the Regional Budget/Bylaws of the PDI Perjuangan, it is emphasized that within PDI there is a party wing related to youth. The PDI Perjuangan party has youth-oriented party wing organizations, namely Banteng Muda Indonesia (BMI), Red and White Cadets (TMP), and Volunteers for the Democratic Struggle (Repdem). However, Banteng Muda Indonesia is a wing party organization that participates actively in the 2019 election agenda. Not without reason, BMI is an organization that is directly protected by the Regional Budget/Bylaws of the PDI Perjuangan and is the longest-serving youth party wing organization. One of the ways to mobilize youth in the 2019 elections carried out by PDI Perjuangan is to use organizations, both party wings and external organizations. BMI with its youth focus held several activities in collaboration with several parties such as youth organizations and the Indonesian Youth National Committee. The activities also vary, ranging from social activities to the arts. On the other hand, PDI Perjuangan sees opportunities for youth. What is meant is that youth is not only an object but also a subject. As Waras Wasisto said, he was an honorary member of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) and recruited

HMI administrators in West Java from 2009, 2014 to 2019. They were placed as commissioners of the West Java General Election Commission. This has become a strategy in itself to be able to secure party votes when in an institution, especially the General Elections Commission. In addition, the participation of external organizational management is expected to give influence fellow youth.

PKS has PKS Muda which is a movement (not an organ) that supports PKS activities. The things that are done are creative and active in student movements, spirituality, and mentoring only. However, this is precisely not in line with the expected political path. In addition to the existence of a party wing organization, PKS sees that to manage youth support by helping the needs of each group or by holding events. Mr. Haru said that there are several youth communities that ask for assistance with their activities and the party usually helps them at least by providing food, places for activities, and transportation. If the candidate is elected they will be invited to recess. PKS also feels that youth participation, both passively and actively, is still lacking. However, PKS’s efforts to attract youth included recruiting former student activists (HMI, KAMI (Indonesian Student Action Union), youth activists), content creators, and stand-up comedians. In addition, working with organizations outside the party such as youth organizations and the Indonesian Youth National Committee. This effort was only carried out after the 2019 election, while the 2019 election PKS admitted that they had not optimized the support of young voters.

In contrast to the Gerindra and PDI Perjuangan parties, which have been consistent enough since their inception to optimize youth support. According to sources, PKS was born from the initiative of youth groups. In the 2019 election, PKS did not optimize youth support in West Java and it seemed as if a generation had been cut off or had not regenerated.

Whereas in the 2013 West Java Governor Election which was won by Ahmad Heryawan, according to the source, this was the contribution of the youth group. At that time, PKS also made one of the youth party wings volunteers voluntarily support Aher’s victory, the party’s wing is Gema Keadilan (GK).

Echo of Justice (Gema Keadilan) as a youth wing is one of the backbones of Kang Aher’s victory and is also at the forefront. At that time, Gema Keadilan in particular once made the “Saung Kang Aher” program to bring together young people so that this young man became the front guard for Kang Aher’s victory at that time. Comparing these two

conditions, the source explained that currently PKS is starting to become more concerned about youth in West Java and has begun to reactivate the wing of the Gema Keadilan party as a channel for PKS programs related to youth.

Meanwhile, Gerindra has a wing party organization. The wing party is Tunas Indonesia Raya (TIDAR). It has movements included in the TIDAR program. However, speaking of Gerindra volunteers, especially in the 2019 Election, there is a lot of voluntary support. Not only movement but also financially. There is a tagline #2019GantiPresiden that is also a part of the volunteers. Not only that, they created posts for Prabowo-Sandi's victory. As quoted from the results of an interview by the Head of TIDAR, "Even when I created posts in the sub-district they came asking 'What can we help?', at the mosques, 'What attributes can we get?', 'What can we do?'".

With the convenience of information technology, social media has become a platform for volunteers, such as WhatsApp groups. According to the Head of TIDAR, there are two kinds of volunteers. First, volunteers who work directly, and second, volunteers who work on social media (cyber army). Management of volunteers by encouraging them to enter WhatsApp groups first. If Gerindra has activities that are still in the same area as them, they can be informed and also inform relatives who want to attend. Broadcasting is also one of the ways used to disseminate information. The group's existence also aims to encourage volunteers to attend victory posts, where there will be data collection and directions from the leadership for young people to enter TIDAR. Furthermore, TIDAR will record and divide the youth according to their respective talents that will be related to the programs that will be implemented. Volunteers are managed by involving them in the party wing. External organizations such as HMI and the Indonesian Youth National Committee are also involved in mobilizing to win the 2019 elections.

Regarding the 2019 Election, apart from the presence of volunteers from the party and outside the party, each candidate for legislative and executive members has volunteered. Management is at no charge for each candidate. Volunteers can take the form of successful teams, communities, and others. However, from the three parties, the mobilization of youth support is carried out by involving youth organizations. Both organizations are from within the party (wing party) and outside the party. Of the three parties, there are two external party youth organizations that are often mentioned, namely HMI and the Indonesian Youth National Committee. Their

participation can be directed by providing strategic places to support the party's goals in elections and holding activities that raise the attention of related organizations and the public towards the party.

If we observe how these three parties gain support from the youth, it is by utilizing their party wings which are specifically formed to gain the support of the youth segment. It means that as stated in the research results of The George Washington University (2007), it has become a concern of the three political parties who are aware that youth, including students. It is an effective strategic segment to serve as volunteers to win elections. This is because youth volunteers can access things beyond the reach of the winning team, such as touching the community at the grassroots level and other youth segments on campus and other places. Therefore, this segment can be a priority to be recruited into the team.

The strategy of forming a team that is trained in influencing and developing youth voices

According to research by George Washington University (2007), the important thing in winning youth votes is that the winning candidate and team need to provide a special time to train and coordinate with volunteers. Thus, candidates need a trained team to carry out their duties in expanding the network of volunteers. Hence, they can win the votes of youth voters. Based on research results from the three political parties, all three have election-winning bodies in their respective parties, but what is different is the relationship between the bodies or teams winning political parties and volunteers as referred to in the research of The George Washington University.

The 2019 election is an important event for every party participating in the election and for candidates for council members who are competing to win the election, parties, and candidates for council members who are fighting are required to be able to compete even with candidates from their party, and they also need to have a trained team which can help the party to develop tactics and strategies in winning the election. Likewise, the Gerindra Party, PDIP, and PKS West Java formed a trained team or an election-winning team to mobilize youth support for the 2019 elections in West Java.

The winning team will be related to the regeneration carried out by the party. Winning teams from parties can come from the Election Winning Body, party wing organizations, volunteers, and party officials. The education of the winning team about the election is carried out in party cadre education. PDI Perjuangan has regeneration from the primary, middle, and primary levels. Apart from that, political

education discussed winning strategies held from the village level to the national level. It's the same with the Gerindra Party that held training in Hambalang. Every three months, Gerindra looks for young people, including people who have just graduated from school. The training held in Hambalang is one of the efforts to mobilize youth through Gerindra Masa Depan regeneration. One of the opportunities for people in the millennial age who have not or do not have the opportunity to continue their education to the university level. The regeneration was led directly by the general chairman of Gerindra, Mr. Prabowo. Likewise, PKS has member coaching. Where all party officials (PKS) will be given training and guidance related to political ideology and strategy.

From the three parties, it can be concluded that training for election preparation is not only when an election is about to be or is taking place. Far from that, preparations were made starting from the internal party through cadre formation, both party cadre formation and party wings.

The strategy uses relevant issues to attract the sympathy of youth groups

Using relevant issues to get support is very much needed. Especially in gaining the support of youth who have creative, independent, and interconnected characters. In terms of mobilizing youth support through issues, each party has its views. According to the results of an interview with Mr. Haru, one of the proofs that PKS focuses on youth issues is the youth sector or youth wing. PKS also pays attention to interest in youth talent. Trying to communicate related to identity, develop interests, and realize their existence. In addition, the issue of leadership was also discussed. 1) What is the interest of youth towards the government sector and the private sector? Media issues are also the third issue brought up by PKS. 2) Where PKS sees that young people are more active on social media, and there are differences in how media are used between parents and young people. Including actively participating as a PKS volunteer on PKS social media. As well as training in digital marketing.

Based on the results of an interview with Mr. Waras from the PDI Perjuangan, West Java is the region with the largest population, "if you win in West Java, you will win nationally." It makes every party try to win West Java and the youth segment. It is important because they account for almost 25% of the total population in West Java. The issues raised are also related to interests and talents. An event related to this will be held, and young people interested

in art will be invited. Apart from that, social and entrepreneurial issues are also being paid attention to by the PDI Perjuangan. Moreover, recently PDI Perjuangan held a Trisakti Exploration activity, where young people were invited to climb together. To increase youth awareness of the environment and love of nature. The next issue brought up is radicalism. PDI Perjuangan distributes talents and educates the youth to be independent, and helps to get scholarships.

Gerindra is also concerned about youth issues in terms of talent. This is implemented by holding activities or events that can be a forum, such as sports competitions or music events. Besides that, according to Gerindra, the issue of the large number of unemployed at a young age is also something that must be considered.

Interests and talents are issues that are the main attraction in being able to mobilize youth in the 2019 elections. It is not without reason that youth tend to be more interested in things that are not too related to practical politics, are easier to do (instant), and are in accordance with what they want. It is also easy for the party to realize the development or accommodation of interests and talents through youth activities such as conducting competitions and art events. However, the issue of political education for youth is not visible to these three parties. Those who receive direct political education are party officials and wings party. Even though youth needs to know how politics work, political participation, and what impact they will receive from policies (political tools) made by political elites. Parties tend to think more about how votes are obtained for the victory of the candidates and the party itself. Although, the party also argued that the activities they held were soft selling of political education.

The strategy of working with various youth groups and youth organizations of the Wing party

In an attempt by parties to attract youth votes in West Java for the 2019 elections, parties have their ways. One of them is by hooking up and working with youth organizations. In PKS, it tried to hook up former student activists, youth groups, ex-motorbike gangs, and youth who were often active in spiritual activities at the high school and university levels. In addition, PKS in West Java carries out various activities to attract the attention of youth by actively communicating regularly. The communication between PKS and youth groups contains the interests of the youth the most. From the communication results, PKS found several interests held by youth groups. The result is youths are interested in leadership, entrepreneurship, and even photography.

After the communication, PKS formed forums for youth to carry out activities according to their interests, like Leadership Class, Entrepreneurship Class, Digital Marketing Class (Social Media), and Photography Class for photography groups. The forum is tailored to the interests of each group and is part of the collaboration between PKS and youth groups.

PDIP has a wing party that consists of youths called BMI. BMI itself existed long before the 2019 election was held. BMI often carries out youth activities as the wing party was formed to mobilize youth. Before the election, BMI usually cooperates with the Party to attract youth votes and hold beneficial activities for youth. For example: holding tryouts ahead of the National Examination, holding mountain climbing events together, and holding E-Sport competitions.

In addition, the PDIP party openly recruits candidates ahead of the Legislative Election. The party recruits candidates who were not previously members of the party. Usually, parties attract candidates that are famous in their environment and become prominent figures. For example, the chairman of Karang Taruna (an Indonesian youth organization), someone who is active, or a student activist during college. In activities to mobilize youth support, the PDIP Party has a special division to attract youth votes. This division contains party members and volunteers who are relatively young.

In winning the Gerindra Party in West Java in the 2019 elections, it collaborated with several wing parties, including SATRIA (*Greater Indonesia Volunteer Units*, Satuan Relawan Indonesia Raya) to act fast to help the disasters, etc. For women, we have PIRA (*Women Indonesia Raya*, Perempuan Indonesia Raya). There is for religious affairs Greater Indonesia Christian Movement. There is also the Greater Indonesia Labor Movement. The wing of the party is formed according to the segment that is the target of winning the Gerindra Party.

The wing party is registered as a mass organization in the West Java KESBANGPOL (National and Political Unity Agency). According to Muhammad Alhadad, the reason Gerindra registered these mass organizations is they are more legal, and their movement can more freely enter areas that cannot be touched by political parties such as schools. It is because the wider the network of party wings, the more support for the Gerindra party will be. TIDAR, PIRA, SATRIA, those will be party wings whose cadres are prepared for the next generation of leaders. The wing party provides education and provisions to become leaders so that they are trained

in society and are ready to become candidates for legislative members.

One of the strategies carried out by the Gerindra wing party is involving members of its wing party in youth organizations and occupying positions in these youth organizations. An example is being on the board of KNPI (Indonesian Youth National Committee), HMI, and so on. However, they are required to play a role in the organization and be able to provide solutions to problems in the organization. The Gerindra Party, to capture youth votes, utilizes the party's wing to provide cadre education and training for youth who have graduated from high school. It is being done by the Future Movement Gerakan Masa Depan (GMD). Members who carry out regeneration education are usually young people who cannot continue their education at university after graduating from high school. Besides that, Gerindra itself has also attracted youth members from community organizations such as KNPI, HMI, etc. In addition, Gerindra helped attract youth votes through the party wing and provided a platform for the activities of youth organizations.

Efforts to involve youth in campaigns were successful, especially in increasing the base of candidates from youth circles (Blodget, et al: 2008). Gerindra Party, PDI Perjuangan, and PKS got this. Recruiting quality youth leaders or leaders of youth organizations to increase youth support for these parties, such as is the case with Gerindra and PDI Perjuangan which utilize youth-based wing parties to gain youth support, and these wing parties take approaches that are considered appropriate to the personality and talent interests of youth groups, exploring young entrepreneurs who are currently viral, conducting online game competitions, and others. Meanwhile, the PDI Perjuangan wing party is doing almost the same thing as Gerindra, and the two parties have continuity between the party program and the party wing. And this is different from the PKS in the 2019 election, where PKS Muda activities have nothing to do with political parties. However, they are only involved in activities at the wing party.

The strategy is to formulate a campaign agenda that is adjusted to the trending youth activities

West Java is known as a region that has a large number of voters from youth. For this reason, parties are competing to attract youth votes through social media which is loved by the young generation. PKS Party, to attract youth votes in the 2019 Election, Optimizing Social Media: Facebook, Instagram, and Youtube as a means of campaigning. In addition, to accommodate the interests of teenagers and hold

activities that are popular among teenagers. One of the activities is holding a flash mob to attract youth to carry out mentoring activities at school. PKS also helped form a youth movement called PKS Muda to coordinate activities that young people liked.

Meanwhile, PDI, to attract youth attention, in its campaign agenda held events that were currently of youth interest; E-Sport Competition, Band Competition, and MC Competition. In addition, legislative candidates are given special classes to be able and fluent in social media to attract youth voices and interest in social media. Gerindra attracts youth by bringing up issues that are currently popular among the community, especially youth. Apart from that, Gerindra, through its wing of the TIDAR party, also participates in youth activity programs such as e-sport competitions, etc. Form a volunteer team that focuses on social media (Cyber army) and volunteers that focus on helping work directly.

The strategy is to look at voter data in segmenting and formulating strategies for the floating masses in the constituency

According to research by George Washington University (2007), maximizing voter data aims so that candidates can map the number of votes that should be won to win political contests. Thus, candidates can formulate strategies and targets that should be achieved, especially in registering youth voters so they can win their votes.

Based on information in the field, both the Gerindra Party, PDI Perjuangan, and PKS, in the 2019 election, used voter data from the West Java General Election Commission to develop a strategy to win their election. If one looks closely, not all parties utilize voter data to develop youth mobilization strategies. PKS, for example, in the 2019 election, that they scrutinized voter data so they could help mobilize elections, but did not focus specifically on developing a youth mobilization strategy. Because the results on the ground showed that the desire of the secretary of the West Java PKS Regional Leadership Council and the Party Wing to prioritize votes Youths faced obstacles from the general chairman of West Java who said that there was no need to only focus on youth but had to focus on all segments, especially the women's segment which was considered to be the biggest supporter of PKS.

The form of utilization of the Fixed Voters List by PKS is to create a strategy of one constituency and one segment in society. In addition, the party cross-checked the data from the General Election Commission, and the Department of Politics and the Government wrote a letter to the Regional

Leadership Council to the Regional Representatives Council so that each member of his sympathizers checked whether they had been included in the Final Voters List.

PDI Perjuangan said the party collected data from the General Election Commission and Bawaslu by utilizing networks. So that the party has its data which will be useful in forming a campaign strategy. However, they did not explain how they carried out the mobilization strategy through the data they collected.

On the other side, the Gerindra Party utilizes and scrutinizes voter data from the West Java General Election Commission. According to the informant's narrative that the placement of candidates from Gerindra is not based on the candidate's choice. For example, in the case of informants who are in the category of the younger generation are no longer placed in electoral district 1 which has more youth support for Gerindra, but the basis is assigned based on the level of position of the party officials. However, by re-electing resource persons in different electoral districts, it can be concluded that voting behavior is still based on figures.

Apart from this, the Gerindra Party has a division that deals with permanent voter data. The division is called BAPILU (Election Support Agency) owned by Gerindra, one of his tasks is to map data on population, gender, and employment. This is done to minimize or streamline campaign performance.

Strategy The use of the internet and social media to exert influence and gather political support, especially among the youth

The use of social media or the internet, this tool can be a means for candidates and teams in recruiting participants for an activity. In addition, the media can be used to organize volunteers, educate and interact with voters.

In the 2019 simultaneous election contestation, the use of campaigns on social media already has regulations. Election Commission Regulation Number 23 of 2018, which was last amended by Election Commission Regulation Number 33 of 2018, defines social media as "a collection of communication channels in the internet network used for interaction and sharing of community-based content". This regulation regulates the implementation of campaigns in the 2019 elections.

According to news from the General Election, Commission reported on kpu.go.id, unfortunately, apart from being used as a medium that can bring election participants closer to their constituents, social media can also be used as a medium for spreading

hoaxes and hate speech. Ahead of the 2019 Election, 91.8 percent of the hoaxes spreading in society were hoaxes on socio-political issues (Tirto. id, 2018).

At the 2019 General Election event, the PKS Party had indeed begun to use social media as a party campaign tool. The party has a special team that focuses on media and social media by utilizing various platforms such as the party's official website and other social media channels such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and Youtube. Meanwhile, for applications such as Tiktok itself, the 2019 General Election event has not been massively used. Meanwhile, individual social media optimization of the legislative candidates themselves has also been massively carried out, they have a special team as well as their volunteers to take care of matters related to social media, especially in providing information regarding the profiles of legislative candidates through Facebook Ads, as well as other paid advertising means. Not only that, usually media teams from parties and media teams from legislative candidates provide information to each other, both information related to data from legislative candidates to be uploaded on the party's official social media as well as information related to issues that will be raised by the party.

Meanwhile, PDIP made use of use of the internet and social media to help mobilize youth support. PDI-P has specifically formed a team that focuses on optimizing social media as a form of their campaign strategy. The team conducted special training related to social media, especially in training administrators in raising an issue or doing branding related to the existence of the party. In fact, in this case, the social media of the administrators will continue to be monitored by the party so that if there is an issue that needs to be raised, they will jointly use social media to help spread the issue. Not only that, even in the realm of legislative candidates, legislative candidates are given special classes to be able to optimally use social media to attract youth votes and interest in social media.

In the 2019 election, the Gerindra Party has not fully utilized social media as one of its campaign tools. It is because movements on social media have not been structured by the party. The Gerindra Party only uses volunteers to help counter hoax news and negative comments and help raise a particular issue. The Gerindra Party, in mobilizing youth support for the 2019 elections in West Java, only used platforms such as Whatsapp to gather their presence. These youths will usually be gathered in several groups so that their movements can be well organized and the delivery of information can be received more easily and quickly. Moreover, through the use of social

media such as the Whatsapp application, the youths were then directed to attend winning posts in their respective areas to then collect data and be directed to youth party wing organizations (OSP) such as TIDAR.

As for the 2024 election, the Gerindra Party has started to organize in a structured way regarding the use of social media as a means of their campaign. The party started recruiting to create a special team that was selected to focus on optimizing social media. More than that, the Branch Leadership Council from each region is obliged to send several envoys to be trained regarding the use of social media as a means of party campaigns. Thus, in the future, they can help understand issues in the media to help counter the spread of fake news. So, for the General Election in 2024, the Gerindra Party has indeed focused on social media as one of their main campaign tools by continuing to be active in social media, including training certain people to master the use of social media.

Obstacles faced by political parties in West Java such as Gerindra, PDI Perjuangan and PKS in increasing youth participation in elections

Based on the research results, several problems faced by political parties were obtained in developing strategies for mobilizing young people to support the parties and candidates they support. Some of these obstacles include:

1. *Political Apathy.* There are still many young people in West Java who feel apathetic towards politics because they consider it unrelated to everyday life and doubt the impact of their voices in influencing change.
2. *Lack of Engagement and Representation.* In West Java there are also many young people who feel underrepresented in the party structure which is dominated by older members, giving rise to a perception of a lack of understanding or attention to the problems of young people.
3. *Distrust of Political Parties.* The high level of distrust towards political parties due to corruption and scandals involving politicians has made the younger generation skeptical of the intentions and integrity of political parties.
4. *Inability to Utilize Digital Media.* Although many young people are active on social media, political parties often struggle to use digital platforms effectively to communicate and interact with them, with content that is not interesting or relevant to them. Even though during the 2019 election, many political parties started to look at social media as a campaign medium.

5. *Irrelevant Issues and Messages brought up during the campaign.* Political parties often fail to address issues relevant to the younger generation, such as employment, education, the environment and technology. This disconnect causes the younger generation to feel disconnected from the party's messages
6. *Limited Resources.* Parties may have limited resources to organize events or activities that can attract the interest of the younger generation, thus requiring funds, time and energy that are not always available. so that in winning the youth vote, especially in the election of DPRD members, it is mostly left to political parties.
7. *Stigma and Negative Stereotypes.* Stigma and negative stereotypes towards politics and politicians make the younger generation reluctant to get involved, viewing politics as a dirty world and full of intrigue.
8. *Competition with Other Activities.* Young people in West Java are probably the same as in other areas, many of whom are more interested in other activities compared to political activities. young people's focus is more on other things such as education, work, entertainment and social activities, which makes politics less interesting or a priority for them.
9. *Lack of Political Education.* The lack of political education in schools and educational institutions causes the younger generation to lack understanding of the importance of political participation, thus contributing to their low interest and involvement in the political process. During the 2019 election period, political parties began to embrace youth organizations and form volunteers, but not for political education and were only deployed more to mobilize youth for their parties and for the candidates they promoted.

Political parties need to overcome these challenges and it can be a concern for political parties to gain youth support in the upcoming general elections requires coordinated efforts from political parties to understand the needs and aspirations of the younger generation, as well as develop effective communication and engagement strategies. Innovation in approach, including the use of technology and digital platforms, as well as a focus on issues relevant to younger generations, is critical to building trust and support from this demographic.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion in substance, the Gerindra, PDIP, and PKS parties in West Java in the 2019 election used

various strategies to gain support. It is including to gain support for the youth segment, one of the efforts to reach this youth segment is shown by the existence of a youth sector in the management of Gerindra, DPD PDI Perjuangan Jabar, and the West Java PKS Regional Leadership Council, besides the two parties have special wing parties to embrace youth such as TIDAR which is the wing of the Gerindra Party, BMI or Indonesian Young Bulls (Banteng Muda Indonesia) which is the wing of the PDI Perjuangan party and Gema Keadilan which is the party wing of the PKS. However, each party does not specifically mobilize the youth segment to support the candidate promoted by the party. Because support for the candidate is left to the candidate himself. The party also does not distribute support specifically for youth or other segments, so conflicts often occur between candidates within political parties. However, the researchers will analyze further the data we have obtained to get a more accurate conclusion. However, this research is important to do to understand the concerns of political parties on youth issues.

Here are some specific recommendations to improve youth mobilization strategies in future election campaigns that should be carried out by political parties (1) Political parties should utilize social media platforms, mobile-friendly campaign websites, and other digital communication tools to spread campaign messages. (2) Political parties can build strong local communities so that they can increase youth participation in campaigns. (3) Political parties also need to continuously conduct voter education campaigns by socializing the importance of participation in elections and its impact on the future of the country to young people. (4) Political parties should start collaborating with Youth Influencers or famous figures who have a good reputation among young people who can help expand the reach of the campaign. (5) Parties should focus their campaigns on issues that are relevant to young people, such as employment, education, the environment, and mental health. (6) Volunteer Mobilization by inviting young people to get involved in volunteer campaigns. By providing prior training (7) Political parties with party wings must have the same vision and mission so that they support each other and give trust to party wings to create creative activities to gain youth support. By combining digital, community and political education approaches, future election campaigns can be more effective in mobilizing young people to participate in the democratic process. Technically, the difficulty of this research this strategy is because there are secret things that cannot be disclosed to the public, and we also have to dig deeper using secondary data.

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