

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION OF WEST JAVA DPD PDIP IN WINNING THE 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: POST-JOKOWI EFFECTS

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Abstract. In the last centuries, the development of democracy cannot be separated from the role of political communication. In West Java, political communication of DPD (Regional Representative Council) PDIP (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*) in winning the 2024 election requires structured and strategic planning in the contemporary political context. Effective politics can mobilize support, shape public opinion, and influence election outcomes. In the 2024 election, PDIP got a drastic drop in votes, namely being in fifth place with the badly loss of Ganjar-Mahfud in this province. This study aims to analyze the political communication of the West Java DPD PDIP in winning the 2024 election with the post-Jokowi-Effect. This qualitative study used a descriptive analysis. The results of the study showed that the political communication of the West Java DPD PDIP in winning the 2024 election was optimal in terms of communication elements such as the communicator, message content, media used, target audience, and final effect. The decline in PDIP votes in this province and the bad loss of Ganjar-Mahfud were caused by other factors, not by the political communication, namely the strong Jokowi-Effect in the use of "Jokowi Elements", the elite power factor of former PDIP and the performance of regional heads from PDIP. They all cause the poor work of this political party machine.

Keywords: Political Communication, elections, political parties

I. INTRODUCTION

Elections and political parties in a democratic political system always go hand in hand. Political parties are one of the keys to electing people's representatives to represent interests in forming policies, while the electoral system is an arena for political contestation and a mechanism for constitutionally institutionalizing power. Syamsuddin Haris in M.Haboddin (2016) stated that elections and political parties are the most important elements in running a democratic government system. PDIP or PDI-Perjuangan is a political party that won general elections twice in a row. Indeed, this part took part in the 2024 election. The DPP PDIP instructed all party structures to fight for a hatrnick victory. In carrying out this task, the West Java DPD PDIP plays an important role as a determinant of the party's policy direction and strategy to succeed in the 2024 election in this province.

The development of democracy in the last few centuries cannot be separated from the role of political communication. Political communication of DPD PDIP in winning the 2024 election requires structured and strategic planning in the contemporary political context. The key to a party's political communication strategy is planning and creating messages in political communication. Effective political messages can mobilize support, shape public opinion, and influence election outcomes. Nimmo in Khalik (2018) explains that political communication channels consist of mass communication, interpersonal communication, and organizational communication. Harold D. Lasswell (1948) proposed a

famous political communication model called the Lasswell model. This model covers five questions, namely Who, Says What, In Which Channel, To Whom, and With What Effect (2004). The act communication formula expressed by Lasswell can determine the scope of communication studies, namely, political communicators (who), political messages (what to say), political audiences (to whom), political communication media (through what channels), and political effects (what are the political effects).

This study adopts the political communication theoretical framework proposed by Lasswell. This aims to analyze the political communication practices of the West Java DPD PDIP in the 2024 election, especially in response to the post Jokowi Effect phenomenon. Lasswell's Communication Theory correlates with this study as it contains elements of communication, namely communicator, message, media, communicant, and influence/effect. They also represent the communication process of the West Java DPD PDIP to the public in winning the 2024 election. The interesting empirical phenomenon in the field is the continuous decline in the PDIP vote in West Java after the 2014, 2019, and 2024 general elections. In the 2024 general election, the PDIP vote and the presidential election vote dropped drastically, even though PDIP has the highest number of votes in a row nationally. The formulation of the problem in this study is "How is the political communication of the DPD PDIP in winning the presidential election in 2024 after the Jokowi Effect".

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study used qualitative methods with a descriptive analysis. This study used both primary data and secondary data. The primary data were obtained from interviews and observations regarding the social media activities and sentiments of the West Java DPD PDIP in the 2024 Presidential Election. The secondary data were obtained from documentation studies of materials relevant to the research topic to support the primary data. The secondary data covered news articles, media publications, official statements, press releases, and other documents related to West Java PDIP political communications during the 2024 presidential election as well as important events related to the campaign and political dynamics in that period.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

West Java DPD PDIP Votes in the 2014, 2019 and 2024 Elections

In West Java Province, PDIP got the highest number of votes in the 2014 Legislative Election. The head of the General Election Commission (KPU) of West Java, Yayat Hidayat (2014) explained that PDI-P was superior in 16 districts/cities in West Java with the total vote reaching 4,159,404 (19.63 percent) meaning that this party was the most voted party in the 2014 Legislative Election. However, this number was contradictory to the vote of the Presidential Candidates promoted by PDI-P, namely Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla who lost 19.56 percent to Prabowo-Hatta (2014). Then, the situation changed in the 2019 election, where the PDIP's vote declined. The Gerindra Party received the highest number of votes, followed by PDIP and PKS. KPU (2019) reported that PDIP received 3,510,525 votes or 14.38 percent. This means that the PDIP's vote declined from 2014 (by 19.63 percent) to 2019 (by 14.38 percent). This decline also occurred in the next promoted presidential candidate, namely Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin the political opponent of Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno. The Jokowi-Ma'ruf candidate received 10,750,568 votes or 40.07 percent, while the Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno got higher votes, namely 16,077,446 votes or 59.93 percent (2019). Meanwhile, in the 2024 election, the PDIP's vote in West Java dropped drastically overtaken by Golkar, Gerindra, PKS, and PKB. The results of the KPU recapitulation published in *Republika* showed that PDIP was in fifth place with 1,273,522 votes or 11.03 percent, losing to Golkar with 1,913,834 votes or 16.58 percent, Gerindra with 1,793,038 votes or 15.53 percent, PKS with 1,383,034 votes or 11.98 percent, and PKB with 1,348,282 votes or 11.68 percent. The votes for presidential and vice-presidential candidates of Ganjar-Mahfud are lower than Prabowo-Gibran and Anies-Muhaimin

West Java DPD PDIP Political Communication in the 2024 Presidential Election

In political communication, planning and creating messages is the key strategy. Effective political messages can mobilize support, shape public opinion, and influence election outcomes. Indeed, political communication requires communicators who can convey messages to the public. Ono Surono, a DPD communicator, actively distributes messages

formulated by West Java DPD PDIP or the Ganjar-Mahfud winning team. In this province, the Ganjar-Mahfud presidential election-winning team has a special team that handles political communications. It is in line with the Secretary of the West Java PDIP Election Winning Agency, Imam Haryo, "Each candidate has a team for formulating and creating messages for the campaign teams, including in West Java." One of Bekasi PDIP cadres, Fatan Fahriyadi, stated that the DPP PDIP instructed every party structure at every level to establish a media team. This team focuses on political communication for producing political content and managing party media. Even the DPP PDIP routinely carries out training in mastering social media, mastering issues, and distributing issues at every level of the party. PDIP has a party school, one of which focuses on mastering social media, distributing issues, and others. The message distributed or conveyed to the public regarding Ganjar prioritizing his figure as a humanist, populist, and egalitarian figure with all his achievements in leading Central Java for two periods. This was also conveyed by Fatan Fahriyadi, a PDIP cadre.

The West Java DPD PDIP uses social media to distribute messages/information. Besides, they also convey the message face-to-face through campaigns or volunteer consolidation. In terms of social media, the West Java DPD PDIP Instagram actively informs various DPD activities and programs. Its communicator and chairman of the DPD, Ono Surono, uses social media such as YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, and websites as a means of communication. In addition, the DPD PDIP intensively makes campaign speeches to channel its Presidential Candidate's programs. Fatan Fahriyadi, a PDIP cadre, revealed that Ono Surono as chairman of the West Java DPD PDIP succeeded in frequently bringing Ganjar Pranowo to visit West Java to campaign. This campaign is a political communication channel. One of the grand campaigns by Ono Surono for Ganjar Pranowo was in the Bandung and Cirebon Cities. *Detikjabar* reported that Ganjar-Mahfud carried out a grand campaign on 21 January 2024. This campaign was successfully participated by 3,000 people in Bandung including the motorbike community. *Kompas.com* also reported that Ono Surono succeeded in bringing the Presidential Candidate of Ganjar-Mahfud to a grand campaign in Cirebon with the theme "People's Celebration" on 27 January 2024. Fatan Fahriyadi explained that one of the political communications was in the form of carrying out internal party consolidation at all levels including DPD, DPC, PAC, Branch, and Sub-branch. Political communication was also carried out with several religious leaders, community leaders, traditional leaders, etc. This is in line with communication expressed by Nimmo in Khalik (2018) that political communication channels consist of mass communication, interpersonal communication, and organizational communication.

The campaign's perceived target voters are the young generation. A total of 55% of voters in 2024 were dominated by the young generation. Thus, PDIP targeted millennial voters in 2024. This can be seen in their strategies in appointing the young chairman of the Party's Election Winning Agency (BAPILU), for example, Yogi Yolanda for West Sumatera. It is

in line with Tempo.co that the younger generation is the main target in the 2024 elections. To attract millennial voters, PDIP mobilized youth organizations in every region including West Java, namely Banteng Muda Indonesia (BMI) as a wing organization of PDIP whose role is to distribute messages. BMI is active in social activities, youth discussions and even helping PDIP campaigns. Kompas.com reported that Mochamad Herviano as General Chair of the BMI DPP stated that to achieve a hat-trick victory, BMI focuses on embracing the young generation as they dominate the number of voters in the 2024 election, namely around 60 percent.

Based on a series of political communication processes carried out by the West Java DPD PDIP which is in accordance with Lasswell's political communication model, the effects after the official announcement of the General Election results by the KPU, PDIP had to swallow the bitterness of the drastic decline in votes and the lack of superiority in the votes of the presidential and vice presidential candidates. In West Java, PDIP was in 5th place, overtaken by Golkar, Gerindra, PKS, and PKB. The results of the KPU recapitulation published in *Republika* showed that PDIP is in fifth place with 1,273,522 votes or 11.03 percent, losing to Golkar with 1,913,834 votes or 16.58 percent, Gerindra with 1,793,038 votes or 15.53 percent, PKS with 1,383,034 votes or 11.98 percent, and PKB with 1,348,282 votes or 11.68 percent. The votes for presidential and vice-presidential candidates of Ganjar-Mahfud are lower than Prabowo-Gibran and Anies-Muhaimin. This is an anomaly as the PDIP's voice is superior nationally and the political communication carried out by the West Java DPD PDIP is quite good. On the other hand, the final result was a decline in party votes and presidential election votes.

Jokowi-Effect Factor

Some factors cause a decline in the PDIP's vote in the 2024 election. First, the Jokowi effect, President Joko Widodo, who tends to support presidential candidate number 02, has influenced the PDIP's vote in West Java to drop drastically. The Secretary of the West Java PDIP BAPILU, Imam Haryo, said "There are many factors, and one of them is that the President is biased towards one of the candidates so that the party's performance is battered. His enormous power causes the PDIP's votes to erode including in West Java. The use of 'Jokowi elements' or the palace power makes the field unbalanced and he explained that this election is like the field in a soccer game which is slanted to one side. This is strengthened by some empirical facts that before the election, Joko Widodo was increasingly active in visiting regions, including West Java. Tempo reported that Joko Widodo paid a working visit to West Java on 3 February 2024. Jokowi's visit to Bandung inaugurated the revitalization of Leuwipanjang and distributed land certificates at the Jalak Harupat stadium. Then, he left for Batujajar to inaugurate the Callender Hamilton Bridge and hold a friendly gathering with PNM-assisted participants in the Building a Prosperous Family Economy program. As stated in the palace press release, Mrs. Iriana Joko Widodo accompanied President Joko Widodo to distribute 3,000 land certificates to people in Bandung District, precisely in the Hall of the Jalak Harupat Indoor Building. This is one of the palace powers referred to by the Secretary of West Java

PDIP BAPILU. Every time Jokowi visits a region, he is considered to be endorsing candidate number 02. Fatan Fahriyadi stated that usually after activities, many of the teams indicate that they have to choose 02. He added that this usually happens when distributing social assistance, where RT, RW, and the Village Head mobilized their residents to vote for 02.

Along with Jokowi's visit, the Padjadjaran University academic community voiced criticism of Jokowi's actions. Padjadjaran University called for "Save a democratic rule of law with ethics and dignity." The criticism also highlights the president's acts of nepotism and political cheating in determining his support and the politicization of social assistance as the tip of the mountain of neglect of the quality of institutions in Indonesia's development process. Furthermore, the Jokowi effect can also be seen in the Cirebon area where Cirebon Raya Volunteers ensures that its political direction remains solid in supporting Jokowi's chosen presidential candidate. Detik.com reported that Jokowi's volunteers ensure compliance with Jokowi's political decisions in 2024. The work of these volunteers has an impact on Ganjar-Mahfud's votes, which are left behind in Cirebon, or not directly proportional to the party's high votes. In Cirebon, PDIP received 17.7 percent, accounting for the highest vote share. However, Ganjar-Mahfud's votes were defeated by Prabowo-Gibran and Anies-Muhaimin. Kompas.id referring to the results of the Kompas R&D Presidential Election's quick count with an incoming sample of 95 percent as of 15 February 2024, Ganjar Mahfud's vote was 16.23 percent, lower than Anies - Muhaimin's vote with 25.25 percent and Prabowo - Gibran's vote with 58.52 percent. Hadi Kusmanto, the Executive Director of the Center for Statistics and Data Analysis of the Cirebon Survey Institute, explains that Ganjar - Mahfud loss in the PDIP's areas is caused by some factors. First, the votes of Ganjar-Mahfud and Prabowo-Gibran come from the same niche, namely from the public who are satisfied with Jokowi's performance. Prabowo-Gibran is superior because of Jokowi's political direction which supports them, although it is not stated clearly, the public already understands this. Second, the party's performance is less solid internally.

The Influence of Party Elites Who Have Left the Party Structure

The decline in PDIP votes in West Java is also caused by the influence of PDIP elites who have left the party structure and influenced regional heads who came from PDIP such as Subang's Regent, Ruhimat who followed in Maruarar Sirait's steps. Detik.com reported that Ruhimat said goodbye to the PDIP by returning his Membership Identification Card to the Subang PDIP DPC office, even though at that time he was the Chairman of the Subang PDIP DPC Advisory Council. Ruhimat also stated that he followed the political direction of Jokowi and his mentor, Maruarar Sirait, which means he supported Prabowo-Gibran. He said, "Wow, supporting Pak Prabowo, I believe that Pak Prabowo is the only candidate that we know side by side with Pak Jokowi's son, who I am proud of, so that's automatic. Whatever the reason, this requires continuity for Indonesia's progress, so I follow Pak Jokowi and Bang Ara's direction."

After Ruhimat openly followed Maruarar Sirait's political direction, CNN Indonesia quoted that on Saturday 27 January 2024, presidential candidate number 02 carried out a big campaign accompanied by Ridwan Kamil as West Java TKD, Maruarar Sirait and Ruhimat as former PDIP cadres. At the event, Ruhimat familiarly called Kang Jimat led a declaration of support and invited all the people of Subang to vote for Prabowo-Gibran to continue Jokowi's performance which was considered successful. This is a part of political communication. According to Swanson, political communication consists of political actors and institutions that produce many forms of political messages channeled into several forms, such as campaign speeches.

Performance Factors of Regional Heads from PDIP

The vote canvassing by Maruarar Sirait and Ruhimat former PDIP obtained good results. In Subang, Prabowo-Gibran's votes were higher than Ganjar-Mahfud. Based on the updated KPU results released by detikjabar, Prabowo - Gibran won with 715,639 votes, followed by Anies-Muhaimin with 162,150 votes and Ganjar Mahfud with 89,562 votes. The influence of the Jokowi-Effect on the 2024 election has made it difficult to participate in the contest. The performance of regional heads can influence the vote of the supporting party, including the choice of presidential candidate promoted by the party. As the main communicators in political communication, regional heads play a major role in influencing the public and mobilizing support. Statistics Indonesia (BPS) stated that in 2023 Cirebon was one of the areas with extreme poverty in West Java. This becomes one of the factors that Ganjar-Mahfud got low votes in Cirebon. Kompas.id also reported that Ganjar-Mahfud received 16.76 percent of the vote, which is lower than Prabowo-Gibran with 63.4 percent and Anies-Muhaimin with 19.85 percent. This is in line with a statement by Hadi Kusmanto, the Executive Director of the Center for Statistics and Data Analysis at the Cirebon survey institute that "The performance of the Cirebon District Government led by PDIP people can also be influential. He said, "If the regional government performs well, it will affect the public's choices for presidential candidates and political parties." This is in line with the failure of other regional heads from PDIP cadres, such as Indramayu, led by Nina Agustina, with the highest poor population of 12.13%. Republika.co.id reported that in Indramayu, Ganjar-Mahfud received 174,026 votes losing to Prabowo-Gibran with 716,780 votes. Cianjur District has the lowest HDI level in Indonesia which is led by Herman Suherman. This is one of the factors influencing the vote acquisition of parties and presidential candidates from PDI-P.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of an in-depth analysis and discussion, it can be concluded that first, the political communication carried out by the West Java DPD PDIP in winning the 2024 presidential election has been very good and optimal. Referring to Lasswell's models with 5 questions of Who, Says What, In Which Channel, To Whom, and With What Effect, West Java PDIP intensively carries out political

communication, one of which is carried out by Ono Surono as a communicator. Political communication uses social media, newspapers, or face-to-face campaigns. The message distributed or conveyed to the public is about Ganjar's political product by prioritizing his humanist, populist, egalitarian figures with all his achievements of leading Central Java for two periods. However, the final results of the series of political communications do not have a major impact on PDIP's vote in Ganjar-Mahfud's votes in West Java. PDIP votes in this province drastically drop to fifth place and Ganjar-Mahfud has the lowest votes than Prabowo-Gibran and Anies-Muhaimin. Second, some factors causing the decline in PDIP votes in West Java are: 1. Jokowi - Effect is one of the factors causing the decline in PDIP votes and Ganjar-Mahfud's votes in West Java. Structurally, the DPD PDIP has maximally carried out planned and structured political communication but it has collided with the power of the palace with "Jokowi Element" which causing the field unbalanced. 2. The party elites who have left the party structure and influence regional heads who come from PDIP such as Subang Regent, Ruhimat who follows Maruarar Sirait's step. The vote canvassing carried out by Maruarar Sirait and Ruhimat as former PDIP provides good results where Prabowo - Gibran's votes are significantly higher than Ganjar - Mahfud. Based on the KPU update, Prabowo - Gibran significantly win with 715,639 votes in Subang followed by Anies-Muhaimin with 162,150 votes and Ganjar Mahfud with 89,562 votes. 3. The performance of regional heads who come from PDIP makes the people dissatisfied. As the main communicators in political communication, regional heads play a major role in influencing the public and mobilizing support. Some regional heads from PDIP cannot mobilize higher votes for Ganjar-Mahfud such as in Cirebon, Indramayu and Cianjur. Statistics Indonesia (BPS) data mentions that Cirebon is one of the areas with extreme poverty in West Java. Indramayu which is led by Nina Agustina has the highest poor population, namely 12.13% and Cianjur District led by Herman Suherman has the lowest HDI level in Indonesia. Indeed, this affects the vote acquisition of the supporting party.

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