

## Political Education amid the Revivalism of Youth Political Volunteers

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### ABSTRACT

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Political education is very important in the life of the state. Practically, the contestation for the regional head election is an opportunity for implementing political education especially for young Manggarai people. As a result, they will have a participatory awareness in building the nation state. This study aims at exploring the basic motivations of young people when joining volunteering communities, analyzing the extent to which socio-political education plays a role in building critical awareness in young people in Manggarai, and offering a form of projection on the sustainability of the transformation of youth participation, from the politics of contestation to the politics of participatory builders. The benefits of this research are providing socio-political education to young people about the importance of involvement in local, regional and national politics, which is based on critical awareness; second, emancipating the critical awareness of the Manggarai community and political stakeholders, in understanding, responding and critically assessing praxis involving youth. This study uses the qualitative method of social criticism of which aims to study the motivations of young Manggarai people when joining the political volunteer community, the nature and goals of the volunteer community and the way volunteers work. Data were obtained through personal/group interviews, photo documentation on social media (facebook, youtube) and online mass media, as well as several field activities involving the author. The data were analyzed qualitatively with a triangulation pattern on phenomena, interviews, and documentation processed from social media and online media reports.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Education acts as an instrument of human transformation, development and direction to become the ideally expected human being, who has the ability to carry out the function of the caliphate on earth and return to God. Education should focus on preparing young people with a number of preparations to be able to live their best role as civilizational holder and become leaders in the next generation. Young people become one of the backbones in democracy. The history of the struggle for democracy has been

continuing since Indonesian independence until today. During the transition era in 1998 to modern democracy, and from modern democracy to contemporary, the role of young people is inseparable. Critical thinking, relevant and militant fighting makes the role of young people very strategic and taken into account every time a political struggle of democracy takes place. In addition to the enormous electoral segment, the potential for strong political legitimacy, young people also have their own characteristics in determining their political choices (Komara, 2015). The rational and emotional characteristics make young people have different criteria and ways in choosing public leaders of national, regional and local scales.

According to the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI), about 30-40% (80-95 million) of Indonesia's 185 million voters are young people between the ages of 17-35 (tirto.id). While the results of TokoKOPI research processed from the Central Statistik Agency (BPS, 2019), there were 37.7% of young voters in the election in 2019. Meanwhile, data from the General Election Commission (KPU) said that there were 107,531.64 voters in 2020 were young people, consisting of novice voters and young people aged over 25-35 years (cnnindonesia.com). The large niche of young voters made many politicians try to gain sympathy, legitimacy, and increase the electoral coffers from this segment (Jurdi, 2014). The assumption is, who wins the hearts of young people, then the politician is most likely to win political contestation.

Youth political voluntarism is a new phenomenon in the history of politics in Manggarai with the emergence of several volunteer communities. Positively, the presence of voluntarism became the momentum of the rise of young people and gave new meaning to the local political culture in Manggarai. Young people are so enthusiastic about joining political activities, even struggling to fight for political choices with tactical, pragmatic and systematic political work. They integrate with the volunteer community with both ideological and non-ideological goals and intentions. However, the important question: first, in terms of socio-political education, the extent to which the involvement of these young people has an impact on the awakening of critical awareness in itself, and in the people of Manggarai generally. Second, how about continued political movement of these young people? Is it incidental and temporal in the interests of local political contestation alone? These two questions became a formulation of the problem in exploring the phenomenon of the rise of young people-based political volunteers in the December 9, 2020 election in Manggarai. Because in the context of ideal and dignified politics, critical awareness must be the 'intermediate' goal in all forms of community involvement in democratic politics. The development of critical awareness should be an indicator of the involvement of young people in politics, at national and local level. While the 'end' goal of political activity is the creation of a justice and prosperous of Manggarai society. The ongoing movement of young people will become a social force in building the justice and welfare of society.

To examine the phenomenon of revivalism of young people's political voluntarism in the city of Ruteng-Manggarai, the authors made critical social research aimed at: first, exploring the basic motivations of young people when joining volunteer communities; Second, analyzing the extent to which socio-political education plays a role in building critical awareness in young people in Manggarai. Third, it offers a form of projection on the sustainability of the transformation of youth participation, from the politics of contestation to the politics of participatory builders. While the benefits of this critical social research, namely: first, provide political education to young people about the importance of involvement in local, regional and national politics, which is based on critical awareness; Second, anticipating the critical awareness of the Manggarai community and political stakeholders, in understanding and critically assessing the political praxis that support young people.

## 2. METHODS

This research used qualitative approach methods, by capturing various phenomena that occurred during the process of candidacy and contestation of Manggarai election on December 9, 2020. The phenomenon was based on data collected through personal/group interviews, documentation (photos) on social media (Facebook, YouTube) and online mass media, as well as some field activities involving the authors. Theoretically, the method of criticism was developed by the German Frankfurt School

(Frankfurter Schule). The method of criticism is based on several theories of public criticism (Eine Kritische Theorie der Gesellschaft), which is further packaged by Popper and Adorno in the logic of the social sciences (Verhaak & Haryono, 1989). Horkheimer and Adorno developed this method of social criticism with the aim of dismantling the ideological mask of manipulative-exploitative behavior towards society, and anticipating the critical consciousness of society (Magnis-Suseno, 1992). In this research, social criticism methods were used to make a study of the motivations of young Manggarai people when joining the community of political volunteers, the nature and purpose of the volunteer community and the workings of volunteers (Magnis-Suseno, 1992: 165). In order to investigate the positive and negative sides of the pattern of youth involvement in politics, as well as how the projection of the existence of this volunteer community post-election, the author made some critical notes.

### 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 3.1. Educational Perspective on the Revival of Youth Political Volunteers

In general, the revival of Manggarai's youth in the form of the emergence of a community of political volunteers indicates that young people are no longer a-political. From a socio-psychological point of view, Manggarai's young people are no longer allergic, ignorant and indifferent to politics. Meanwhile, from a socio-philosophical angle, being a participant in the world of politics gives the impression that young people are not skeptical of political activity. In this case, in addition to experiencing a significant gradation of political awareness, there is also an increase in trust in local-political contestation, compared to previous years.

The image of local politics is starting to experience a more positive and meaningful renewal graph. This positive image of politics has implications for political perceptions and preferences in young people. Of course, the positive image of politics in young Manggarai people, not self-harm. This positive image is also the impact of national political conductivity (Permana, 2016). A good national political culture, quite influential on the good image of local politics. From a structural approach, national geopolitics is very similar to local geopolitics. In a systemic perspective, as a unity that cannot be separated from each other, local geopolitics becomes part of the national geopolitical image. Maintaining national stability is essential, but if it is not supported by local political stability, it will be a serious threat (Huntington & Nelson, 1990). Conducive and constructive political stability at the local level will greatly determine the situation and state of national politics.

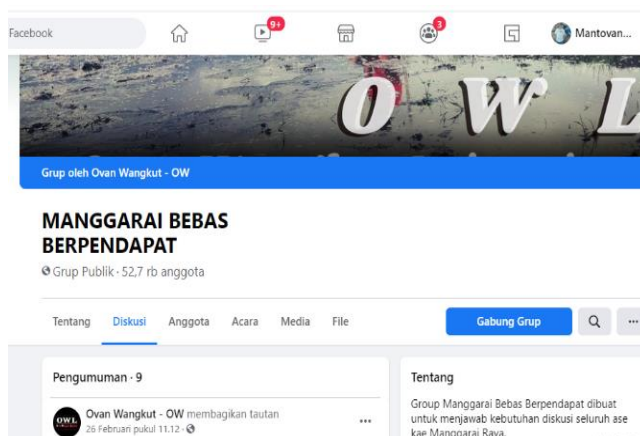


Figure 1. Facebook group 'Manggarai Free of Opinion' (MBB)

1. Revival bag this each other pretend the beginning of critical awareness in young people Manggarai. As a basis in knitting social change and transformation, critical awareness is

very decisive. Critical awareness becomes the basis of power in designing social order or construction that leads to the creation of welfare and social justice. (Tamanna, 2018; Diemer, - Li, 2011). When politics on essentially Aimed at improving well-being and social justice, critical awareness is part of the trigger. The critical awareness of young Manggarai people towards politics is seen in the content of arguments when considering political choices or preferences. In conversations on facebook facilitated by a group titled "Manggarai Free to Argue (MBB)", each other



**Figure 2. Foreder Wing "Granat" and Laskar 88 are spraying disinfectant and sembako aid to the poor**

members (followers) 52.712 people, it is clear the various forms and content of critical argumentation of young people. Even though each other false and anonymous accounts, which were not a few of the members posted vulgar and sporadic contents, but did not prevent the presence of a positive view. A positive outlook arises when there were enough young people that talked critically in group of MBB and other media.

2. The rise of critical awareness of manggarai young people, linear with the growing function of community control over the performance of government and other public positions. Today, young Manggarai people can be relied upon as effective and critical mouth pieces in glaring at the performance of executive, legislative and judicial public officials (Saud & Ida, 2020). The open access to digital devices, making young people quickly respond to all forms of irregularities and abuses of regional, provincial and central public officials (Mohamad, et.al., 2018). Besides getting political control from official institutions, society through this young person can be an effective social 'escort' and inherent to the performance of public officials. The function of political supervision still runs in the formal space, but the function of social supervision can also be run by young people.
3. The political involvement of contestation in Manggarai is the momentum of community recognition of the existence of young people. Behind this political movement, there is recognition from the general public and political parties, that young people can be a milestone in determining the direction of political movements, both national, regional and local (Herdiansah et al., 2018). With this recognition, the greater and stronger the bargaining position of young people in the development of politics (Berthin, 2014). Young people are no longer seen as one eye in these two things: (1) The ability of socio-political engineering in determining local, regional and even national leadership. The determination of young people towards the composition of local leadership, is very strong, other than because of the quantity factor, but the critical rational quality. The number of young people is almost comparable to the contents of the head and its militancy. The energy of change and reform in him, should make many people also take into account them in designing and deciding political policies in the sectors of economic, social, cultural, health and education development. (2) The ability to lead people's perception of political choices. An effective and efficient instrument, which many young people use in influencing society is social media. The mastery of young people on social media reaches 80-85%. In politics, building perception is the entrance when knitting political preferences. And, young people are so good at playing the rhythm of the formation of perceptions of society today, especially by utilizing the stimulasi and responding to digital technology (Saud et al., 2020).

4. The emergence of concern for the social environment. The involvement of young Manggarai people in the community of political volunteers also has an impact on the growing sense of social care. During the campaign, there were many social activities carried out by volunteers such as cleaning garbage, spraying disinfectants to prevent the transmission of Covid-19, distributing free masks to the general public, providing sembako assistance, etc. Regardless of political intentions, at least with these social activities, young people learn to care for others. With this social activity, enough change. The public view that volunteer activities were not purely on political activities, but also social activities that were beneficial to the general public.

In addition to the positive critical notes above, the authors also look at the negative side as the result of a proportionate and objective intellectual study. There are several negative critical notes in the revival of Manggarai's young people in the local political stage, among others:

1. The rise of young Manggarai people in the local political stage, on the one hand is very constructive and contains various optimism, but on the other hand, if this awakening is not followed by good political education, it will stab precedent (Harnom et al., 2019). This bad precedent appeared on several things, among others: (1) There were some young people who did not understand properly, what was the purpose and purpose of various political activities. Whereas ideally, an understanding of the various intentions and objectives of involvement in politics should be a basic choice (fundamentalist option), so as not to be misguided, delineate and destructive. (2) In addition to not understanding the intentions and objectives of moving in the political sphere, not a few young people who have not understood the substantive meaning in political movements. These two bad precedents have derivative impacts in the form of euphoric and artificial behavior. Some of them participate insipasi just to have fun and fun to fill the vacancy time (wasting time). So, when asked what is the motivation to join politics, they cannot answer and explain it confidently and clearly.
2. There was a phenomenon of political exploitation and commodification of the power of young people. This tendency may not be realized by all parties, including the young people involved. The tendency of exploitation and commodification was carried out by individuals, both candidates and political parties or their wings. So potential was the power and ability of young people, making them have their own attraction to the political interests of the person. In politics, involvement, utilization and empowerment became legally formal legitimate activities, but it became unethical if the energy of these young people was solely used for the sake of political power, without being balanced with political awareness and education activities (nasional.kompas.com, 2019). The opportunity for exploitation and commodification becomes great, when there were certain young people being pragmatic, artificial and not ideologically character (Fimmastuti et al., 2018). When some young people lack of the idealism of struggle in politics and are caught up in materialistic pragmatism, then the tendency of exploitation and commodification can be opened widely. Exploitation and commodification of young people for the sake of power, even becomes a new phenomenon in national, regional and local politics (Sumartono, 2018; Noor, 2014). Imperative, empowerment, and involvement of young people are followed by education, so that political ideology can be rooted in him. Grounded on this political ideology, they can achieve the idealism of their struggle with passion, direction and measured.
3. Ideally, so that political ideology can grow and develop in young people, then one of the instruments that can be utilized is to institutionalize it legally. With legal recognition, volunteer activities become a politically permanent social force. Which can actually happen after the election, these volunteer forces slowly disappear without a trace. If that is the case, while it can be assessed, the patterns and schemes of youth movement in Manggarai are still incidental and temporal, just for the sake of the electoral. In fact, if the volunteer nodes are immediately consolidated in a sustainable manner, so can become a new social force. Instituting it legally is one of the policy choices, so that they can work organically and structured to support regional development. If it turns out that the youth movement is only for the electoral benefit of the election, and there is no will to institutionalize the youth movement as a social force in helping regional development, then

it can be judged as a serious ethical abuse of young people. It becomes an ethical issue, if there is no political will from policy makers to involve young people in future development.

4. The philosophical problems suspected can arise in any incidental and not ideologically based movement namely, the trap of pseudo-political idealism and utopianism. Idealism and absurd utopian are drawn from unrealistic attitudes towards the circumstances and circumstances of the surrounding environment. The high expectations and political demands of elected regions, without considering proportionally the financial capabilities of the region, the potential of the region and demographics, will make it only limited to wishful thinking and expectations. Comparing disproportionately with other regions, without considering the condition of the region itself, causes a disparity in mindset in young people. When idealism and utopian are too far-fetched, and unable to be realized, it will lead to a crisis of social trust (Gauthier, 2003). This crisis of trust will have an impact on social discomfort, and have a domino effect on government performance and regional development.
5. Politicization of virtual space that creates discourse opportunism and behavioral vulgarism (Fatah & Fatanti, 2019; Tapung et al., 2019). In the Manggarai election, discourse opportunism is very escalated at the time after the registration of candidate pairs in the Manggarai KPU. The form and manifestation of discourse opportunism can be the production of statements minus argumentation and not according to the rules of straight thinking, precise and true, about political realities, candidates and successful teams of rivals. There are several formulations of statements delivered during the campaign, both face-to-face and on social media, that are based on perverted, hyperbolic and sarcastic assumptions and conclusions. Scattered various productions of 'posts' and 'memes' on social media with the intention of attacking the personal of other candidates, his family, successful teams and volunteers. Everything was delivered so vulgarly, with no instruments of control. Sometimes, if there is a political statement that is nuanced criticism of the hotshot candidate, it will be replied sporadically and vulgarly, with word choices (dictions) outside the dictionary of polite and ethical Indonesian. The buzzers of each volunteer are usually used to attack anyone who becomes the antithesis of his hero. The uncontrolled production of vulgar statements on social media and when face-to-face, makes the community sultry and disturbed. Public figures and religious leaders have issued an official moral appeal to the public, so that words and deeds during the campaign do not lead to the creation of chaos and social discomfort. They asked candidates, successful teams and volunteers to wherever possible control volunteers and supporters, for the sake of conducive order and comfort of the people of Manggarai.

From the point of education, the presence of young people in the stage of the opportunity of local, regional and national leaders gives new optimism that they do not act apathy and stupid times with the problems of the nation and the region (Pontes et al., 2019; Saroha, 2016). They are a potential generation that is the backbone of the nation's future. Although in the volunteer community, there is no systematic curriculum on educational materials, but by participating in various political activities, young people will be informed that contributes to adding to the treasures of knowledge and understanding about the life of the nation state (Sanusi, et al., 2016). They will also realize how important it is to choose a qualified leader, integrity, and education. According to Magnis-Suseno, with the participation of all elements of society, there is a critical awareness that elections are not made just to choose the best leader, but prevent bad leaders, in power (geotimes.co.id, 2019). In line with this, KristiYanto (2008) mentions that politics is a sacrament (sacramentum-Latin, which means 'holy'; 'Save'). The parties involved in politics are saints on a mission to save others from adversity to good; from misery to happiness. Therefore, in order for holiness and holiness to remain attached to political actors, it is necessary to undergo a process of discernment. Purification is a method of making a decision to be fully involved in the world based on critical awareness. This critical awareness-based purification presupposes human sensitivity to the various feelings, thoughts, and desires that fill his inner space. People who perform critical awareness-based purification, are able to capture, sort through, and choose the feelings, thoughts, and desires that fill their inner reality. He will choose an ideal goal, and that ideal goal becomes a hope for the good of all people (Indraswara, 2019). Despite

the fact, politics is not as easy as distinguishing black and white, sometimes gray, often also friends become opponents, opponents become friends. However, there remains a moral standard in the political struggle, which is based on the common good (*bonum commune*). Whatever the world of politics, of course, must still be carried out with moral principles, such as distinguishing good, bad, right and wrong. One of the moral principles that can be spirited when involved in the space of political movements, namely: hall us in a way, but strong in principle (*fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*).

### 3.2. Educational Perspective on Motivational Engagement

Young people who join various communities of political volunteers to support candidates' spouses in Elections of Manggarai has several shape motivations. Interview results of the writing team on November 15-30, 2020 with some young people representing community Foreder and Laskar 88, explicitly or implicitly express the types of motivation . RU (21 years old) a high school graduate who becomes a member at Foreder since December 2019, revealed that he joined with the community of political volunteers because of a friend from similar residence. When he first joined, RU himself did not know what the purpose and purpose of his presence.



Figure 3. Declaration of 88 and Foreder Warriors Volunteers somewhere in Ruteng City

In this community. It was only after several activities that he began to understand the core the spirit of volunteer in Foreder community's struggle, namely, winning the DM package of the elections on December 9, 2020. This experience was in line with ATE (19 years old), a young man who joined the volunteer community of Laskar 88. ATE revealed, at first, the motivation to join Laskar 88 was only because of his uncle's invitation, and encouraged because the family relationship is close enough with the candidate. At first, he did not know the purpose of joining the community. After following several meetings with successful teams and candidates, then ATE understood about the purpose of Laskar 88 volunteer movement, which won the H2N package at the regional head election on December 9, 2020.

Furthermore, TIN (24 years old), a private teacher at one of Ruteng city high schools, gave an idea that he joined the volunteer community of Laskar 88, because of an interest in the profile of the candidates being championed. According to him, the candidate championed by Laskar 88 is a young person who has the spirit and leadership style of millennials. Meanwhile, LEKS (27 years old), a young



Figure 4. During the H2N and DM campaign attended by Laskar 88 and Foreder

motor vehicle motorcycle taxi driver, admitted to fusing with the Foreder volunteer community because of his sympathy for the candidates who were championed. According to him, the candidates contested by the Foreder community are very wise and have a fatherly nature. When asked about the time and energy they devote to these political interests, TIN and LEKS both replied that it was already a consequence of his political choices. In fact, they are willing to spend money and use their own vehicles when going down with successful candidates and teams, when socializing in the community. They are also willing to sacrifice time and buy data packages to socialize programs and activities from their candidates on social media.

JIF (23 years old) and TER (26) were two students who studied at two courses' high at Ruteng, that choose They work in these two volunteer communities. JIF joined Foreder Reveal motivation, the candidates who are championed have leadership experience, are qualified, clean from corruption and morally good. Experienced qualified, never Corruption and morality good be size Him To be a leader in Manggarai. While TER describes, candidates championed by the Laskar 88 community, in addition to having experience, but also offering type Leadership visionary-millennial. A couple who foughtRated clean and have programs each other-platform millennial, in accordance with the needs of the people in the era of revolution 4.0. Regarding time and energy, JIF and hope So that the candidates inwhiz win. This spirit is what make both Willing to leave college and first set aside some campus assignments. With volunteer community friends, almost every day they come down. to the community with candidates and teams' success. Like TIN and LEKS, JIF and TER are also actively surfing in social media. Both self-help buying packages, to socialize the work programs and campaign activities of the candidate, or to reply to a comment when exist Post content that Questioning candidatehis.

From the results of this interview, the researchers concluded several things. First, the interest of young people to mix with the political community is because of the artificial motivation. They only follow the invitation of friends and family. Second, both because of artificial, emotional and rational motivation, the fusion of young people in this volunteer community becomes an interesting phenomenon. With the growth of the spirit of volunteerism, militancy and solidarity, it gave the impression that young people deserve to be considered participating in every electoral stage. Third, political volunteerism in young Manggarai people, no longer at a conventional level, but has entered the modern scale, where they began to be actively involved, indifferent (indiferent) to the world of politics. With various forms of initiation and creation, they showed their political will. The phenomenon of youth participation in some political volunteer communities was a signals that politics is no longer a monopoly and the dominance of old-age people or political parties alone. It has developed in the last two decades on the local political stage of Manggarai.

In relation to this phenomenon of revivality, Anderson (2010) mentions that a person's motivation to engage in politics is influenced by three factors (Kuncoro, 2018), namely: (1) the emergence of personal trust in a particular person or group/ organization; (2) the existence of internal political efficacy, supported by the belief that its participation will provide personal and social benefits; and (3) a sense of community. This sense of belonging will develop militancy, solidity and solidarity among members in the community. In relation to political movements, these three factors are interconnected with each other in determining the pattern of one's political participation. The 'Sense of community' has asignificantinfluence on political participation, if supported by internal political efficacy and personal beliefs. While internal political efficacy and personal trust play a direct role in the formation of a militant, solid and solider 'sense of community'(Arianto, 2014). The development of personal trust, political efficacy and a sense of community, were also the factors that encouraged young Manggarai people to be actively involved in political work on December 9, 2020 election.

According to Indraswara (2019), the participation of (young) people in political movements has three constitutive dimensions. These three-dimensional constituency are very coloring his movement when affiliated in one community of political volunteers. The three constitutive dimensions are: corporeal, affective, and intellectual. (1) The corporeal dimension is excstumed in the form of a person's physical presence in a particular community, without being based on an understanding of the intent and purpose of his or her involvement. A person may be a physical member, but not necessarily have

emotional and ideological ties to his or her affiliated community. But the physical presence of each member becomes a prerequisite for stating to the public about the existence of a community. Without the physical presence of members, the community or organization becomes absurd and could be delegitimized from society. The physical presence of members, especially in large numbers, will certainly affect public perception of how strongly the community can strive to achieve its political goals. (2) The affective dimension plays out in the realm of emotionality that breeds solidier, solid behavior and militancy among its members. Not only the physically present, members of a community already have emotional attachment. This emotional cohesion has made them one big family that shares the goal of struggle. Thus, if anyone tries to disrupt this bond, both from the inside and from the outside, it will make the bond more solid. They are trying to fight all forms of threats that seek to divide their communities. The bond of communizer will become stronger if its members have blood relations, similarities in region, profession similarities, and common goals. (3) The intellectual dimension appears in the activities of members who always prioritize academic discussions on global, national, regional and local politics. Intellectual members usually research several politically related matters, including tactical, pragmatic and systematic political work. His motivation for being in the political community is more about empowering intellectual experience and knowledge and adding insight. In this regard, its affiliation in political movements becomes part of the intellectual consciousness to educate the self, comrades and society. Members of the community who have an intellectual character are reluctant to play in areas of discussion that are minimal analysis, without valid data and information. They are quite attached and faithful to scientific studies on elegant and dignified winning ways, and brave enough to reject negative and destructive patterns in achieving victory.

### **3.3. Educational Perspective on the Nature and Purpose of the Volunteer Community**

The political volunteers of Manggarai youth, have several purposes. This purpose also describes the nature of the community. NKH (37 years old) as Foreder coordinator revealed that Foreder was formed to win his candidate on December 9, 2020 cada pill, also has a medium-term goal. The medium-term target, namely: first, if the candidate is elected, young Manggarai people should be actively included in building Manggarai. The components of young people ranging from villages / villages and sub-districts should be given space in discussing the Regional Medium Term Development Plan (RPJMD). Second, the government must pay attention to the creative communities of young people by facilitating the availability of employment. RM (35 years old) coordinator laskar 88 conveyed the same thing as in the NKH stutter. If a new government is elected, young people as the backbone and future of Manggarai must have room when formulating and drafting regional development policies.

Regarding the other objectives, NKH and RM both want that the Manggarai election on December 9, 2020, is the momentum of the formation of critical awareness of young people in politics. Young people, according to them, must contribute to building the area by getting enough space for him to express and actualize themselves. With the revival in this form of voluntaristic work, NKH and RM are very hopeful that the Manggarai regional government makes these political volunteer communities as a basis in designing policies that are pro-youth. They imagine, after the election, these communities are transformed into creative and innovative work communities that are incorporated, both in the fields of economics, agriculture, entrepreneurship, education, and health. Creativity and innovation become a priority in the current work of the community, in accordance with the results of revolution 4.0. Both also hope that these communities will be facilitated by the government tagar made of law (notary deed), so that it becomes a formal juridical basis when making proposals to the central, provincial and regional governments. These proposals are submitted to the government in order to finance productive activities in the fields of economy, agriculture, entrepreneurship, education, and health.

On another occasion, as one of the initiators, when asked about the purpose of the establishment Laskar 88, LOR (29 years old) replied that Laskar 88 has no specific purpose except to win the regent candidate / wAkil regent. Finish Elections, Warriors 88 too. follow finish. Exactly the same as the opinion of LOR, AGR (30 years old) who became one of the forming members Foreder said that it's done Elections everything come to an end. Both LOR and AGR recommended that this community was

formed only for political purposes. The community's struggle was in choosing a leader who was considered fit to lead Manggarai for the next five years. Leader Featured hotels He is the leader of all Manggarai people, not the leader of a group of people. According to both, in behind the struggle of volunteers, there is no political intention of reciprocity or bargaining positions bid interest. Everything is done solely by the interests of choosing the best leader for Manggarai at the time Downloadcome. But in above everything, LOR and AGR hope to the leader Featured hotels Wherever possible Take seriously the need family young Manggarai, especially in create jobs, generate creativity and innovation in welcoming the development of digital technology today.

Based on the results of this interview, the author concluded two things: first, the community of political volunteers in the Manggarai election has an ideological purpose and nature. This ideological purpose and nature appear in the picture of young people's bargaining positions when the candidate is elected. This bargaining position becomes one of the images that the struggle of these volunteers is



**Fig 5. The author had a political discussion with the volunteers**

very ideological. Positively, it is this ideological goal that often evokes militancy of struggle and group solidarity. They are willing to give up school, college, work, family and even money to win the candidate. The solidity and solidarity of the struggle grows well, when the people who diffuse have similar ideological goals. Those who fall into groups with this ideological purpose and nature always try to equate their identity with the identity of the group.

Negatively, cohesiveness, solidarity and solidity become a force for acting and behaving defensively and offensively against opposing political volunteers. This offensive and defensive attitude comes to the fore when socializing / campaigning in the community, as well as when 'at war' on social media. During the period before the campaign and during the campaign, leading up to election day and even after the election, offensive and defensive actions and behaviors were eskalatif on social media. Some volunteers devote themselves as 'marketers' to doubling the 'political branding' and political promises of the candidate of their choice. Some of them act as 'buzzers' (buzzers) on social media with various anonymous accounts. Some fake accounts (fake accounts) also enliven the conversation on Facebook and YouTube. These fake accounts are used to attack the opposing communities, suskes teams, even candidates. Militancy, cohesiveness, solidarity and solidity make volunteer members very 'insistent' in designing 'air' attacks (social media) and 'ground' attacks (when face-to-face with the community). This eskalatif condition makes Manggarai included in one of the districts of six districts in Indonesia with a very high level of electoral ape (kupang.tribunnews.com, 2020; ditpolkom.bappenas.go.id,2018).

Second, the volunteer community has a non-ideological purpose and nature. The initiator of the forming of the community and some members in it, has no specific purpose when joining the community of political volunteers. The only goal is to win the candidate who has become the choice. In contrast to ideological groups, those who are able to do so with non-ideological goals have less fer modalcy, solidity, and solidarity. Because they do not have certain political targets and 'deals' with candidates, then they usually play comfortably and adem. Non-ideological groups are not much affected by offensive and defensive patterns, either when social media, or when engaging in face-to-face activities with the community. Groups with this non-ideological purpose, on average have views, whoever is elected, then the regent and vice regent belong to all communities (Djuyandi & Herdiansah,

2018). Their basic spirit is in line with the philosophy of the Manggarai people who reveal that politics is incidental (*salang tuak*), while bonding as one large manggarai family, is eternal forever (*salang wae*). Politics should not create social segregation in society due to the ideological interests of certain groups.

Related to this ideological and non-ideological nature, Farrell & Petersen (Kuncoro, 2018) reveals four factors namely: (1) Trust. High trust in the community will tend to increase its communal activities. People who joined the nation believes, activities in the community will have an impact on achieving the goals that have been mutually agreed upon. (2) Efficacy. Efficacy is a perception built to influence each other, because it is believed that his political activities will benefit themselves and others. Those with high efficacy tend to have active attachment and participation in a variety of community or organizational activities. (3) Investment. A person who has invested heavily in an organization, whether in the form of capital, knowledge, or costs, will be very emotionally attached to the organization. Because the sense of belonging of the organization is thick, these people fight in carrying out organizational activities, in order to achieve organizational goals and return the capital that has been invested. While they invest small, less or even have dependability with the organization. They do not want to take risks in doing political activities that are not legitimized. (4) Alternatives. If a person is dissatisfied with his organization, then he can change his behavior or political choices. He busesa move to another community, or chooses to be passive. The emergence of this alternative factor, in addition to internal insatiability, but also because of insufficient ideologically in the individual person.

### 3.4. Effectiveness of Volunteer Work

Based on the interview of the researchers with NKH (37 years old) coordinator Foreder and RM (35 years old) volunteer coordinator of Warriors 88 talked about the effectiveness of volunteer work in winning his choice. Effectiveness in summary in some schema work politicsthat were: tactical, pragmatic and systematic.



Figure 9: Masa Laskar 88 and Foreder march with candidates

First, tactical work. Tactical work aims to gain voice by fully engaging in conducting socialization, consolidation and penetration activities, both to the general public and to young people. This tactical work is in the form of dividing leaflets containing programs and candidate promises to the public, or becoming influencers on social media to propagandize their work programs. Because it requires mobility and intensity, tactical work is very effectively done by young people who are energetic, and ideological in the struggle. They dare to get into different segments of the electorate, such as novice voters and parents who have not made a political choice. According to NKH, tactical work requires its own strategy and creativity in running, so as not to be known by other camps. Silent and invisible strategy (invisible way) became the mainstay of both camps in carrying out this tactical work. One of the riskiest forms of tactical work according to the NKH, namely being a disguise (pretending to be a sympathizer) with the aim to get as much information from the opposing camp as possible. This tactical work is also utilized by successful teams and candidates to pick up surveys held by several institutions to measure the level of popularity and electability. In addition, tactical work is also related to 'political branding' and 'political marketing' to bring candidates closer to the community. 'Political branding' and 'political marketing' seek to be engineered on various channels (locus), such as social media (Facebook,

YouTube, etc.) and other mass media (Khoerrunnisa, et.al., 2020). The purpose of 'political branding' and 'political marketing', so that the candidate is a hotshot become the subject of discussion on social media and the public. Popularizing candidates with various media and instruments became one way(mode)and target(focus)of the tactical work of young volunteers in the2020 election in Manggarai.

Second, pragmatic work. Pragmatic work becomes one way to reap votes from various circles. Positively, this pragmatic work uses elegant and polite ways (soft approach) in gaining sympathy from the voting public. This polite approach is carried out by volunteers in a 'door to door' way, in order to convince the voting public to make choices to their candidates. According to RM (35), the pragmatic work of Laskar 88 volunteers is run with a pattern of coffee visits from house to house. The pattern of drinking coffee from house to house is very effective to convey the profile of the candidate and socialize the political promises of his hero. However, this pragmatic work can also be interpreted as negative work. Volunteers influence voters by dividing various materials in the form of sembako, T-shirts, giving sweet promises and making informed bad things (black campaign) about other candidates to the public (Makhasin, 2016). Just like RM, NKH also agreed that negative pragmatic work like this, was never done because it risked making violations and was very unethical when made by volunteers. As volunteer coordinators, they always give directions to work with a polite and civilized pattern in winning the hero package, both when surfing on social media, and when socializing in the community.

Third, systematic work. This systematic work relies on effective coordination and communication with the parties, both internal and external. The internal parties in question are, among others, the party component, the successful team, the secretariat, the media team, the volunteer community, and other political infrastructure. This internal political work is increasingly being carried out to boost the level of electability of candidates ahead of election day. While cooperation with external parties, among others with the organizers, the election commission (KPU) and Bawaslu Kab. Manggarai, related to the election stage, formal procedures, and prevention of election violations that have an impact on mild and severe sanctions. According to RM and NKH, success in the struggle is largely determined by good coordination and communication and synergy with these components, especially related to field work and influence in mass media / social media. Accurate and valid information becomes an important basis in establishing effective communication among components. This systematic work is increasingly emphasized ahead of the month before the election. The focus of this systematic work, especially related to validates and Manggarai voter data numbered 171,497, spread across 12 sub-districts, 145 villages, 850 villages and village children. Voters with 171,497 voters are registered at 724 polling stations (TPS). In addition to the validity and accuracy of the data, systematic work is also strongly supported by campaign props (billboards, stickers, ballot specimens), witnesses at polling stations, and political costs ahead of election day.

In an effective winning process, systematic work schemes cannot stand on their own. Systematic work needs to be supported by tactical and pragmatic patterns of work. The effectiveness of systematic work, also determined by tactical and pragmatic work schemes (Ekowati, 2019). Although the period between candidate registration and election day is only 2.5 months, but if the work of these volunteers is effective, supported by various elements of winning, then the results will certainly be satisfactory. RM and NKH acknowledge that the political costs for volunteer work from successful teams or candidates are minimal. These costs are usually for the procurement of T-shirts, hats, binary and other attributes of volunteers, or for transportation purposes when going down the field. Capitalizing on idealism, militancy and armed with a voluntaristic spirit, volunteers move independently while still coordinating and communicating with relevant parties. With 1669.42 km<sup>2</sup> of Manggarai region and the harsh topographic and geographical conditions, it requires volunteers to extra work in gaining sympathy and people's fondness for their hotshot candidates. To overcome these obstacles, volunteers often work outside the system and line of command of certain political authorities, such as political parties and successful teams that have been listed in the KPU. For this reason, more people are encouraged to work tactically and even pragmatically, in order to get electoral coffers for their candidates.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The revival of the youth of Manggarai in the contestation stage of the election on December 9, 2020 became a new phenomenon. Political activity driven by voluntaristic spirit becomes a sign that the potential of young people should be taken into account in the local political scene. Aside from the large niche in terms of voter turnout, militancy, solidity and solidarity of volunteer work become social capital that can be utilized for political winning purposes. With a spirit of tactical, pragmatic, and systematic work, these young people can become their own electoral leverage in winning election contests. According to the perspective of education as a movement that is incidental and temporal and dominated by emotional and rational motivation, it is ideal if the participation of young people is transformed into a socio-political force for the benefit of regional development. Energy, idealism and prospective ways of thinking of young people become social capital, which can be utilized for development purposes, both in rural areas, sub-districts, and districts. The political movement communities in transformation become communities that can engage in socio-economic, entrepreneurship, education, health and environment, aimed at improving the welfare of themselves and the people of Manggarai. The election is over, the task of the elected leader is to embrace all young Manggarai people to be involved in activities to advance the Manggarai area, so that it becomes an advanced and leading district at the regional and national level. The author realized, research with this method of social criticism is far from perfection in analyzing the phenomenon of the rise of young people in politics in Manggarai. Therefore, I highly expect input and critical-contributive thoughts to this article. Research with deeper studies by others will greatly help complete this article.

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