

## Political Communication and Capital Toward Swing Voter Cause in Regional Head Elections 2020 in Karangasem Regency, Bali

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### ABSTRACT

A striking swing of voters marked the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem Bali. The incumbent pair, Mas Sumatri and Suari, who were predicted by a survey of 53.9% to win against Dana-Dipa by 37.2% during the campaign, actually showed a crushing defeat of 43.4% and a Dana-Dipa victory of 56.6%, according to the official results from the Karangasem General Election Commission (KPU). This study examines the phenomenon of swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem by raising the problem of capital factors as the cause of swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem and the political communication of candidates in minimising voter swing in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. This research uses a qualitative approach through observation techniques, interviews, document studies, and literature studies in its data collection. The data were analysed using capital theory in social practice. The results of this study show that the determinant factor, namely capital, occurs in the dynamics of swing voters and political communication in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem by candidates delivering their vision and mission as their political communication messages. This research contributes as a reference related to the phenomenon of swing voters and the political communication strategies of candidates who contest to minimise swing voters.

**Keywords:** *Capital, swing voter, political communication, 2020 Regional Head Election, Karangasem Regency Bali.*

### INTRODUCTION

A democratic nation must have general elections as one of the expressions of popular sovereignty and as a fundamental constitutional mandate for governing the state. This occurs in a democratic country when everyone's participation in elections catalyses examining reasonable voting behaviour and a source of legitimacy for the government. A democratic nation can operate a state system that gives the people sovereignty by looking at society's direction and community involvement in politics, both of which are determined by the definition of democracy as given by Munck (2014). According to Schumpeter (1942, cited in Cherneski, 2018), democracy is an institutional framework for reaching judgments about politics in which people benefit, so if examined further, the General Election of regional heads and deputy regional heads, often called Regional Elections, is part of the implementation of democracy (Dobski & Dustin, 2012). Regional heads are political positions that lead and move the wheels of government for the benefit of the people or the public, therefore regional heads must be elected by the people and are obliged to account for them according to the

recruitment mechanism of regional heads which is carried out politically with a selection process by the people for figures who run as regional heads, so that they cannot be separated from *power*, power, hegemony in the process. Campaigns as part of political communication are carried out by voters and constituents to communicate political messages within the frame of programs and missions to include knowledge and influence the views and behaviours of voters as political targets, as well as parties who, of course, take an interest in the usage of the campaign. According to Lilleker (2006, cited in Sulaiman, 2013), the main function of political communication is to make people think about a problem in a way that benefits the makers and senders of political messages (Pratiwi, 2024). This means that any political organisation that intends to influence the public politically, must seek to control the dominant ideas in the public sphere. It has historically been a political movement for inclusion that has encouraged political representation and developed a presence in non-governmental institutions (Djupe & Olson, 2013). Abdulgani is of the view that political struggle is not always *de kunst het mogelijke but often even de kunst van onmogelijke* (Politics is the art of the possible and the impossible) (Hamdani, 2006). Politics is often interpreted as *machtsvorming en machtsaanwending* (politics is the formation and use of force). This means that politics will always coexist with power; in this case, the dynamics that occur in Karangasem become a political reality because hegemony and capital are the main factors in politics. The elections in the regions are closely connected to the Regional Head Election (Pilkada). Since Indonesia has a presidential system of government, the regional government is a part of the central government's administration. It is impossible to detach political action from other types of human activities. People will always be involved in political activities, whether directly or indirectly.

Moreover, political mobilisation rises in tandem with the need for coordination among territorial leaders when the political environment is open, as in the case of Indonesia. Political activities are effectively communicated but have become challenging to manage. Therefore, understanding political communication is vital when conducting political campaigns. The political interface cannot be accomplished without great political communication exercises. In any case, to the degree that this political communication action is carried out, it all depends on the insights of political communicators or lawmakers who have the political interface in managing political messages and, after that, passing them to the public (Tabroni, 2012). Meadow (1980, cited in Fatima & Choiriyati, 2017) thought that legislative issues as communication confirms that the term political communication alludes to "any trade of images or messages that, to a noteworthy degree, have been moulded by or have results for the working of political frameworks". Even though the candidate has validity as a political communicator, things that are predicted in the past can happen, specifically during the elements of swing voters within the 2020 Territorial Races. The marvel of swing voters is all-inclusive since it happens anywhere, from the past to the present, and could be a common thing and cannot be isolated from common elections. According to Mayer (2007, cited in Harris, 2020), swing voters are the most powerless voters to influence since they are not completely committed to the party.

This research refers to voters whose preferences change between elections. Swing voter is a term to refer to voters who previously supported party A, but in the upcoming election may change to support party B, while undecided voters refer to a group of voters who have not made a choice. This phenomenon has occurred in every General Election in Indonesia. Swing voters can also become undecided voters (Amindoni, 2019). Along with

increasing democracy in Indonesia and increasing the political awareness of the Indonesian people, political parties are competing to win the votes of their constituents by carrying out their ideologies. In addition, there are emergence of new political parties from election to election. In 2020, six districts or cities in Bali - Jembrana Regency, Tabanan, Badung, Bangli, Karangasem, and Denpasar City - held concurrent regional elections. In Karangasem, there were swing voters, and in one region, Badung Regency, there were issues with empty ballot boxes. Some incumbents and regional leaders received fewer votes than expected compared to their new political rivals. This happened in Jembrana Regency, where the incumbent candidates, I Made Kembang Hartawan, and I Ketut Sugiasa, obtained lower votes compared to other candidates, namely I Nengah Tamba, and I Gede Ngurah Patriana Krisna. A similar incident had happened in Karangasem Regency when, before the voting of the provisional results carried out by the Ganesha survey institution, the number 2 pair, namely I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri, and I Made Sudue, was superior in electability compared to the number 1 pair, namely I Gede Dana and I Wayan Artha Dipa. At the time of voting, on the contrary, the number 2 pair lost to the number 1 pair. There was a significant shift in voter preferences during the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. The incumbent pair Mas Sumatri and Sukarena, which was predicted by a survey of 53.9% to win against I Gede Dana and I Wayan Artha Dipa by 37.2% during the campaign, actually showed a crushing defeat of 43.4% and a Dana-Dipa victory of 56.6%, according to the official results from the Karangasem KPU. In addition, political participation needs to be increased because, according to the data of the Karangasem KPU, the number of voters is 377,873, but the number of voters who exercised their voting rights is 269,501. This means that 108,372 voters did not exercise their voting rights.

The above showed how swing voters can significantly influence Indonesia's democratic process and the election results of political candidates. Targeting swing voters with a different strategy indicates that resources may play a role in the 2020 Karangasem Regional Elections. Bourdieu uses the concept of "capital," despite its economic implications because it encompasses various qualities that help explain power dynamics. According to Bourdieu, capital includes all types of assets, both tangible and intangible. These capitals can be classified into four groups, namely: (1) economic capital, which includes the means of production (machinery, land, and labour), materials (income and objects), and money that are easily used for all purposes and inherited from one generation to the next; (2) cultural capital (such as information capital, competence, skills, educational qualifications) that includes the entire intellectual qualification, including certain knowledge and expertise; (3) social capital, alluding to the social arrange possessed by the performing artist (person or group) approximately other parties who have control; and (4) Symbolic capital, counting all shapes of glory, status, specialist, and authenticity. Capital must exist in an arena so that the realm has the power to give meaning (Fatmawati, 2020; Karnanta, 2013; Koddenbrock, 2019; Syakir, 2016). This capital can support political candidates in conducting political communication in the Regional Elections in Karangasem Bali. In addition, swing voters can occur by studying and understanding political culture as one of the most important components of a political system.

Instead of reaching out to its base, the political elite will rather look for support from above. Furthermore, the emergence of a neo-patrimonialistic political culture is one of the themes in Indonesian politics. This indicates that the state still exhibits a patrimonial political culture and customs while having a contemporary and rational ATRT-like bureaucracy

(Sumartono, 2018; Mansyur, 2020). The political culture formed in Indonesian society is more likely to see the character and historical factors contained in the identity of candidates or politicians/political elites who are contesting, in contrast to developed countries, such as the United States, where the people prefer new challenges, namely new candidates who have no element of political dynastic involvement in the past. There are three reasons for choosing the research locus in Karangasem, First, during the 2020 Regional Elections, one of the candidates for regent, Mas Sumatri, whose notable is still the incumbent, turned out to be defeated, even though during the campaign his vote prediction was quite superior to his political opponents, and the political participation of voters in Karangasem was not optimal. Second, during the campaign process, the power of PDI Perjuangan as the largest political party in Bali was dominant. Third, there has been no study done on swing voters for the 2020 Karangasem regional elections. The research examines political communication and the key factors that influence swing voters in the election, taking into account background issues related to the dynamics of swing voters.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW OR RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Swing voters are relatively new to political practice in Indonesia, but they have received many studies from researchers. Sanur (2019), in his research in Indonesia, examined the massive number of various survey institutions in Indonesia that have published the results of their survey findings to the public ahead of the 2019 Presidential Election (Pilpres). Several survey results from the 2019 Presidential Election found that the level of electability and the existence of swing voters have a significant role. Based on this, Sanur's research (2019) analysed the results of the electability survey and swing voters in the 2019 presidential election. The qualitative methodology employed a literature review where the results suggest that the candidate needs to maintain credibility and attract the support of swing voters, especially young and inexperienced ones. Harris (2020) analysed to identify swing voters in the South African election. Harris' studies are among the first to explore the relationship between swing voters in South Africa. Harris' research is among the first to systematically investigate the correlation of *swing voters* in South Africa. The results stated that race, group, performance, and partisan networks influenced the likelihood of individuals becoming *swing voters*. The argument investigation in this study uses the original *exit poll* survey data from the 2016 South African local elections. The similarity with this study also examines the occurrence of swing voters with qualitative research methods, with differences in the research locus. Furthermore, Sobari (2013) examines opinion research institutions (pollsters) in Indonesia that are enthusiastic about publishing their poll results. The pollsters presented a similar trend in electability values for the three major parties. The research conducted by Sobari critically examines the fundamental logic of poll research through clarification of methodology, institutional profiles, swing voter data, political consultancy, and voter rationality. The main results of this study include, first, that the analysis of the methodology used and the profile of opinion research institutions are not strong enough to provide a convincing answer to the differences in the electability values of political parties published by pollsters.

Research from Apriani and Irhamna (2020) conducted in Bali, concluded that the phenomenon of weakening voter identification for political parties (party identification/party-id) has become a common phenomenon in the implementation of Regional Head Elections (Pilkada) in Indonesia. In the context of electoral politics, it is known

that the weakening of party-id is often seen as contributing to the increase in vote-buying practices at the grassroots level; in other words, the stronger the party-id, the lower the tendency towards money politics. This hypothesis is tried to be confirmed by examining the election of regional heads in one region that is considered to have the largest percentage of voters with the party-id in Indonesia, namely Bali.

### *Swing Voter*

A swing voter is a voter who is willing to consider changing his or her favoured party (Wong, 2013). In brief, Swing voters are the portion of the voters, and switchers are the portion of the lasting voters; hence, Swing voters incorporate not only switchers but, moreover, those who may alter their voting choice but did not switch. Evans (cited in Wong, 2013) recommends a two-step strategy for classifying swing voters. The primary step is to recognise who has exchanged their votes over the decision. This step inquires for data about the respondents voting in two continuous decisions to see if they have changed their voting choices. Voters who have changed their choices are classified as swing voters. The next step is to find out who has the potential to switch from the party they voted for inside the ultimate two long times of the choice by inquiring on the off chance that they will vote for another party in the future. A few things can influence voters' choices in common races, such as presidential and presidential decisions, authoritative candidate decisions, and Territorial Head Races (Pilkada) on the D-day races. The race gone to by the officeholder may be a record that the discernment figure of the incumbent's program and execution is exceptionally critical. Those in office who are considered capable and productive will have little trouble being re-elected. However, voters will favour a challenger who presents a work program that includes the idea of change if the current defence is seen as failing. Swing voters are levelheaded voters and care about the programs advertised by each candidate. To get swing voters' attention, candidates must consider the wants of young voters and voters who are constantly changing their minds. When the officeholder employs a protective technique, youthful individuals will incline toward candidates who bring a mission of change and assault the execution of the defence. Subsequently, one of the procedures that should be done to urge swing voters is by displaying a program that can draw in the consideration of amateur and youthful voters. Hence, the officeholder is considered to have a vision and involvement to lead. Novice voters also have a positive impact on political participation in Indonesia, although the characteristics of novice voters tend to be enthusiastic, they also tend to be less rational so they are easily influenced. Based on Amindoni (2019) The Charta Politika survey found that in making their choices, swing voters from young and novice voters tend to follow the appeal of their parents. According to the survey, as many as 10% of participants will base their decisions on parental advice.

### *Political Communication*

In 2020, the political elites running against the Regional Election Democracy Party created a political communication plan to win over voters. Political communication is crucial for their success, as it involves exchanging information about political personalities or issues in a communicative format that allows for sharing within various social contexts among people. To ensure effective communication, political elites and communicators conduct audience analysis to gain feedback from the intended audience. The consideration of political communication at first was centred on decisions and voters but has advanced into the ponder

of political behaviour, demeanours, and impact as a whole (Malka et al., 2020; Tajuddin et al., 2023); therefore, communication strategies in politics are one of the keys to success in collecting votes. Even in the era of digitalisation with increasingly massive technology, the formulation of political communication strategies is very diverse, with many social media platforms and political content that are increasingly comprehensive (Turnip & Siahaan, 2021). Political communication strategies are steps in carrying out political communication related to the creation, dissemination, receipt, and impact of information with political content, both through interaction between people and mass media. The purpose of political communication is closely related to the political message conveyed by political communicators. The reason for political communication is, in some cases, the conveyance of political data, the arrangement of a political picture, and the arrangement of an open conclusion (open supposition). Moreover, political communication points to drawing in open sensitivity to extend political support within the run-up to the common race. The triumph or defeat of a candidate is generally decided by the communication procedure carried out.

### *Capital Theory*

Objective structure is independent of the consciousness and will of the agent, which can direct and inhibit their practice or representation. The essence of Bourdieu's theory of agents and structures lies in the concepts of *habitus* and arena and the dialectical relationship between the two (Ritzer & Goodman, 2010; O'Donovan, 2017). According to Bourdieu, *habitus* is a mental or cognitive structure with which individuals relate to the social world. Individuals are prepared with an arrangement of internalised plans that they utilise to see, get, appreciate, and assess the social world. Persuasively, *habitus* is the item of the internalisation of the structure of the social world (Adib, 2012; Paramitha et al., 2022). Kleden (2005) draws seven important elements about this *habitus*, namely: (1) a product of history, as a device of disposition that lasts and is acquired through repeated practice (inculcation); (2) born from certain social conditions and therefore become a structure that has been given shape in advance by the social conditions in which it is produced; (3) this structured disposition also functions as a framework that gives birth and gives shape to a person's perception, representation, and actions and therefore becomes structuring structures; (4) Indeed on the off chance that a *habitus* is born beneath certain social conditions, he can be exchanged to another social condition and is subsequently transposable; (5) preconscious, since it is not the result of reflection or sound thinking and is more of an oblivious and inadvertent spontaneity, but it is additionally not a robotic development without any verifiable foundation at all; (6) is deliberate and designed, but does not constitute accommodation to certain directions; (7) Social connections are objective structures and subjective representations, operators, and performing artists, argumentatively interwoven, impacting each other, not denying each other, but interlinked in social harmony, among others; (1) economic capital, which incorporates the implies of generation (apparatus, arrive, and labor), fabric (salary and objects), and cash; (2) social capital (the generally mental capabilities that can be created through formal instruction and family legacy); (3) social capital or social systems; (4) typical capital (all shapes of glory, status, specialist, and authenticity that collect as a frame) (Syakir, 2016). The capital theory is used in this study to examine the factors that cause swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem Regency, Bali.

## METHODOLOGY

### *Research Approach*

According to Creswell (2018), qualitative research starts with the utilisation of an interpretive/theoretical system that shapes or impacts the thinking about investigating issues related to the meaning forced by people or bunches of issues on social or human. Based on the above, this study critically examines the factors that cause swing voters, the forms of swing voters, and the implications of swing voters on socio-politics in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. This research uses a qualitative approach, data collection in the natural environment, which is sensitive to the community and research place, as well as inductive and deductive data analysis and the formation of various themes or patterns. This research is carried out thoroughly, with the first step being to study the research problem, identify the case, collect data from various sources of information, and make a final interpretation. This study aims to analyse the traits of swing voters in the 2020 Karangasem Regional Elections. This research approach is considered the most relevant because it describes the objectives in detail based on the data obtained when the research will be carried out.

### *Data Sources*

This research obtained data through research informants, namely political observers and academics; such as Chairman of the Karangasem General Election Commission (KPU); Commissioner of the Karangasem KPU; Head of Budakeling Village; the Subagan Village Office; traditional villagers of Subagan Village; religious leaders of Pertama Village; political elites; voters who have participated in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem; and voters who have decided to become swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. In addition, this study uses descriptive analysis to provide an overview of the voting population in Karangasem through data obtained from questionnaires that have been distributed to find out the extent of *swing voters* in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. Primary data collected by researchers in this study is through observation and interviews with political observers and academics, the Chairman of the Karangasem KPU and the Commissioner of the Karangasem KPU, the Head of Budakeling Village, the Kelian of the Subagan Village Office, the Subagan Village Traditional Village, religious leaders of Pertama Village, political elites, voters who have participated in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem, and voters who decided to become *swing voters* in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. This is done to ensure data compatibility with the results of the research. Secondary data collected in this study are the results from the implementation of the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem and journals that study *swing voters*. This data is a reference related to data from the 2020 regional elections in Karangasem.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### *Profile of the Candidate*

#### *1) I Gede Dana, & I Wayan Artha Dipa*

The Dana Dipa (NADI) package pair, I Gede Dana and I Wayan Artha Dipa became one of the candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent of the 2020 Regional Election in Karangasem, Bali. I Gede Dana have been a PDI Perjuangan candidate since year 1998. He was the Chairman of PDIP DPC from 2007–2012, 2012–2019, and 2019–2024, while I Wayan Artha Dipa is a bureaucrat who served as the Deputy Regent of Karangasem in the 2016–2021 and 2021–

2024 periods. Figure 1 Profile of the candidates for regent and deputy regent number one, I Gede Dana and I Wayan Artha Dipa.



Figure 1: Profile of the pair of Regent and Deputy Regent Candidates Number One, I Gede Dana and I Wayan Artha Dipa, in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. Source: Karangasemkab.go.id (2020)

## 2) I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri, & I Made Sukerana

The number two pair, I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri and I Made Sudue (Massker), Mas Sumatri is the regent who served in the 2016–2021 period. He resumed his political career after failing to defend the position of regent in the previous election. Mas Sumatri, who currently serves as Chairman of the NasDem Party Regional Leadership Council Karangasem. The candidate for deputy regent accompanying Mas Sumatri, namely I Made Sukerana, is a politician from Kubu Village/District, Karangasem who is the former chairman of DPD II Golkar Karangasem, and deputy regent for the period from 2010 to 2015, working in the private sector. The following in Figure 2 is a picture of the pair of candidates for regent and deputy regent number two, I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri, and I Made Sukerana.



Figure 2: Profile of the pair of Regent and Deputy Regent Candidates Number Two, I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri and I Made SuKerana, in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. Source: Gelora Party Instagram account (2020)



During the campaign process by the Independent Survey Institute, votes were obtained that won the pair of Mas Sumatri and Sukerana, but the people of Karangasem were surprised by the defeat received by the number two candidate after the voting process was carried out. This is certainly a polemic that there is a swing voter that occurred in the 2020 Regional Election process. The 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem were also marked by the phenomenon of swing voters who initially chose other candidates but, at the time of voting, turned out to switch their choice to other candidates. This happened to the number two pair, I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri, and the deputy regent who contested, namely, I Made Sukerana. A survey was conducted with open-ended questions, namely spontaneous questions without a choice of names, on the choice of regent candidates, with the results following Table 1.

Table 1: Electability survey of Karangasem Regent candidates

| NO | Regent Candidates | Percentage of Open Questions | Percentage of Closed Questions |
|----|-------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | Mas Sumatri       | 31%                          | 60.9%                          |
| 2. | Gede Dana         | 7.2%                         | 18.8%                          |
| 3. | Artha Dipa        | 1.6%                         | 5.9%                           |
| 4. | Sukerana          | 0.9%                         | -                              |
| 5. | Sumardi           | 0.4%                         | 5.5%                           |
| 6. | Purwa Arsana      | -                            | 1.5%                           |
| 7. | Wayan Suryasa     | -                            | 1.3%                           |
| 8. | No Answer         | -                            | 19.36%                         |

Source: Ganesha Consulting Survey Institute (2020)

Table 1 outlines the data of 60.9 per cent of Mas Sumatri voters, when asked how confident they are to vote for Mas Sumatri and not change their choice, 8.7 per cent are very confident and 60.30 per cent are optimistic. This means that Mas Sumatri's electability before the 2020 Karangasem Regional Election is still higher than that of political elite figures as his competitors. Judging from the constituent base of political parties that own seats in the Karangasem DPRD, Mas Sumatri managed to win the most votes in all political parties. PDI Perjuangan voters, for example, Mas Sumatri earned 16.9 per cent while Gede Dana earned 15.7 per cent; Golkar Mas Sumatri 6 per cent and Gede Dana 1.8per cent; Democrat Mas Sumatri per cent and Gede Dana 0. per cent. Of the 8 sub-districts, Mas Sumatri won in all sub-districts with the largest percentage of Karangasem and Kubu. Referring to the results of the Ganesha Consulting survey, judging from the mapping survey, of the 78 villages and sub-districts, Mas Sumatri excelled in 66 villages/sub-districts, lost in 6 villages, and was balanced in 6 villages. This means that there has been a rapid increase in Mas Sumatri's electability because during the 2015 Regional Elections only 35 villages excelled. Seeing the results of the vote count from the Ganesha Survey Institute during the campaign made the successful team of the number two candidate feel happy and confident in the victory of the number two candidate, but it turned out that the defeat occurred when the final vote recapitulation after the vote resulted in the number 1 pair, I Gede Dana and I Wayan Artha Dipa as many as 56.6%, who had won the 2020 Regional Election contest in Karangasem, and the number 2 pair, I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri and I Made Sukerana, suffering defeats according to data from the Karangasem General Election Commission in Figure 3.

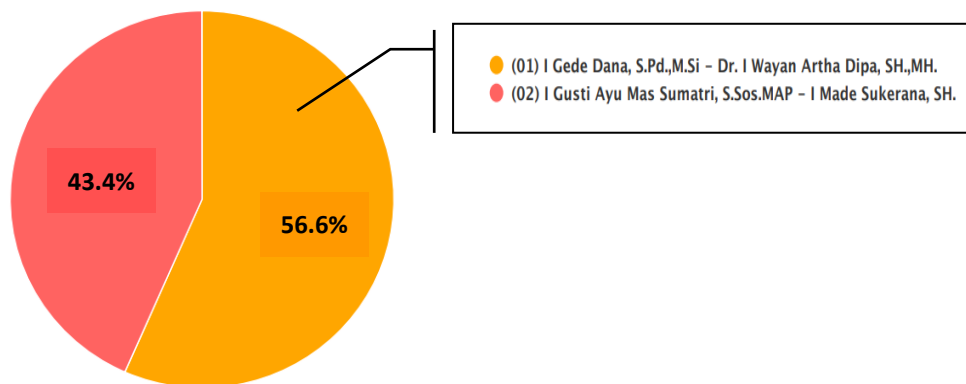


Figure 3: Total percentage of votes for candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent Candidates for the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem

Source: KPU Karangasem (2020)

This study examines the dynamics of the Regional Elections in Karangasem, Bali, especially the capital factor, or capital as a factor that causes the occurrence of swing voters. This informant from the general public also explained the reason for becoming a swing voter by changing the choice of the candidate, who was initially Mas Sumatri, to I Gede Dana because he wanted significant changes for Karangasem. Another statement was given by an informant from political observer Dr Subanda regarding the capital factor in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem:

We see that from the capital, Mrs. Mas already has quite qualified economic and social capital. He assisted the people of Karangasem in providing clean water, which of course became a consideration for the people of Karangasem to elect him as the regional head. In addition, in terms of economic capital, it is also very good, because we know that her husband is a successful businessman with various kinds of businesses and businesses carried out, so from an economic point of view, it is quite safe... (interview, June 4, 2023).

The next statement from an informant named Nyoman Rai, the traditional village of Subagan Karangasem Village, said:

The people in Karangasem are mostly unfamiliar with politics because there are militant people, meaning supporters who, from their conscience, will not waver with anything, and there are 'bears'. In other words, people enjoy the people's party served by the political elites. Whoever the political elite is present during the campaign or is about to vote, the people who need money will accept whoever is a candidate who participates in the general election. If one candidate is accepted, then another candidate is also accepted, whether elected or not... (interview, April 13, 2023).

The existence of people in Karangasem who are unfamiliar with politics, especially in the Regional Elections or legislative candidacy, makes it difficult to guess their choices. Sometimes traditional village head (*bendesa adat*) and other traditional leaders who are asked to make a proposal to apply for assistance become a big question mark, later if they

apply for assistance, for example, traditional music equipments (*gong*) assistance is submitted, and if the assistance can be approved, but in reality, in the community, the candidate who provides assistance does not get the desired vote, it is feared that there will be a conflict. Of course, traditional leaders still have doubts, because the community has not been able to fully collect their votes for the candidates who provide the assistance. According to this explanation, many traditional villages in Karangasem also responded that anyone present in terms of political "requests" could not be accepted and was handed over to each *Banjar*.

Later, the approach to each of the *banjars* and/or each *dadia* by the candidates who are present, so that they can contact each *penglingsir* (elders or respected people) in the *banjar* (the division of administrative areas in Bali or the mention is at the same level as *Rukun Warga*) and each *penglingsir* (elders or respected people) in the *dadia* (community groups that are still tied to the same blood relationship). Customary villages should not become boomerangs in the political world, because of some experiences that have happened. Some customary villages have been hit by problems by successful team members who convey something negative in nature to the officials concerned. The person said that the customary village supports this candidate, even though at all times the customary village does not take sides and collects votes for any candidate. This means that, with such an experience, that's why the traditional village until now has not accepted any candidates, successful teams, or cadres who ask to collect the votes of the community, let alone those who lure a certain amount of money. The approach and coordination are directed to each *banjar*; if later the traditional leaders or traditional leaders choose, they are afraid that it will become a boomerang because here all communities are coordinated by traditional leaders or traditional leaders. For example, if Person A chooses Party B, and Person C chooses Party D, which means that the traditional leaders or traditional leaders support Party A, this will be a boomerang that could be an opponent because the customary *bendesa* is the protector of all communities in the village, so it does not participate as the front line for vote collection in the Regional Elections or legislative candidacy. Be vigilant to avoid pros and cons and even avoid the seeds of hostility, by urging the public that politics is an art. Do not enmity because it will bring rifts and catastrophe. Informant Nyoman Rai, as the traditional *bendesa* of Subagan Karangasem Village, also added:

I have been exposed to issues that I am a successful team of one of the prospective spouses, even though I am not at all and not included in the successful team of any prospective spouses because I am also a civil servant who is not allowed to be in politics by law, so my family is seeking this explanation. This means that to that extent personal affairs are interfered with, even though none of them I have declared to vote for anyone. (interview, April 13, 2023).

Informant I, Gusti Nyoman Ngurah, 50 years old, as an official in Subagan Village, Karangasem:

If during the Regional Elections, someone uses money, if I encounter something like that, I will take a photo and report it, even if we are conflicting. I am one of the people who dare to prohibit or even report if there is an act that is not by the rules, especially since I, as the head of the environment or

killing, must protect all my communities, even though I hear that there are people who carry out dawn attacks... (interview, May 18, 2023).

According to the statement of the informant above, many Karangasem people are financially less qualified but have academic intelligence and must be able to nominate, so not only the rich can nominate while the smart poor cannot, even though these people are capable and serious about building the village. The people of Karangasem certainly want the person who leads to have a strong desire to build Karangasem. According to the results of research related to the causes of swing voters in Karangasem, the power of social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital is determinant because of the existence of a social network by each candidate pair in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem, which has strength and power in the social community. Social capital is owned by the two candidate pairs who contested the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. The number one pair of Dana-Dipa is supported by I Wayan Koster as the Chairman of the DPD PDI Perjuangan Bali Province, who at that time also served as the Governor of Bali, while the number two candidate, Mas Sumatri-Sukerana, is supported by community leaders I Gusti Made Tusan, who is also Mas's husband, and I Wayan Geredeg, the regent of Karangasem for the period 2005–2010 and 2010–2015, who is respected by the people of Karangasem. The influence of cultural capital is also, of course, contained in this study because it consists of a person's social assets (education, intelligence, speech style, and clothing). This was implemented by each pair of candidates in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem, Dana-Dipa and Mas Sumatri-Sukerana have a good educational background, but several things need to be emphasised: cognitive intelligence must be balanced with the affective and psychomotor abilities of each candidate in carrying out the psychological and sociological approach of the voters so that voters are confident in their decision to vote for the candidate. Economic Capital is also an important influence because, according to the results of the research, there was a "dawn attack" carried out by individuals on behalf of the successful team of these candidates by distributing cash to voters at the start of voting, and this incident occurred in several villages in Karangasem. This is also the cause of swing voters because voters have the view of voting for candidates who give more money compared to candidates who give less money. Furthermore, symbolic capital also affects the occurrence of swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem because it is another type of capital that is often perceived and recognised as legitimate. Symbolic capital refers to the degree of accumulated prestige, prominence, consecration, or honour owned by each candidate pair in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. In addition, the latest finding in the research is that the political capital used by the candidates is the strength in formulating and the courage to implement political tactics to get support from political parties and the public to win the fight, which is needed in the context of this research. After all, according to the observation that the Dana-Dipa candidate pair succeeded in making political tactics to seize the support of the Party coalition Hanura, the previous one supported the number two candidate pair Mas Sumatri-Sukerana, but then defected and formed a coalition with PDI Perjuangan to support the number one candidate pair Dana-Dipa. It is important to note that in the context of understanding politics, it is necessary to understand several keys, including legitimacy, political system, political behaviour, political participation, and the political communication process and it is also no less important to know the ins and outs of political parties.

## CONCLUSION

A swing of voters marked the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem, Bali. The incumbent pair, Mas Sumatri and Suari, who were predicted by a survey of 53.9% to win against Dana-Dipa by 37.2% during the campaign, actually showed a crushing defeat of 43.4% and a Dana-Dipa victory of 56.6%, according to the official results from the Karangasem General Election Commission (KPU). This study examines the phenomenon of swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem by raising the problem of capital factors as the cause of swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem and the political communication of candidates in minimising voter swing in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. This research uses a qualitative approach. Observation techniques, interviews, document studies, and literature studies collected data. The data were analysed using capital theory in social practice. The results of this study show that the determinant factor, namely capital, occurred in the dynamics of swing voters and political communication in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem by candidates delivering their vision and mission as their political communication messages. This research contributes as a reference to the phenomenon of swing voters and the political communication strategies of candidates who contest to minimise swing voters. This research contributes as a reference related to the phenomenon of swing voters and the political communication strategies of candidates who contest to minimise swing voters investigated by Tabroni (2012), which uncovered truths in genuine terms related to the behaviour designs of lawmakers and their effective groups in conducting political communication utilising mass media. In the unlikely event that the political communication handle violates morality, open media customers will suffer the consequences.

## BIODATA

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