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POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND CAPITAL ISSUES TOWARD SWING VOTER CAUSE IN REGIONAL HEAD ELECTIONS 2020 IN KARANGASEM REGENCY, BALI

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 minimizing 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 analyzed with capital theory in social practice. The results of this study show the capital game factor in the dynamics of swing voters in political communication in the 2020 Regional Election in Karangasem from the candidate's political communication in conveying the vision and mission as their political communication. This research contributes as a reference related to the phenomenon of swing voters and the political communication strategies of candidates who contest to minimize 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 nation when everyone's participation in elections serves as both a catalyst for examining reasonable voting behavior 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, 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 (Cherneski, 2018); Dobski, 2012). Territorial heads are political positions that lead and move the wheels of government for the good thing about the individuals or the open, hence territorial heads must be chosen by the individuals and are obliged to account for them agreeing to the enrollment component of territorial heads which is carried out politically with a determination prepare by the individuals for figures who run as territorial heads so that they cannot be separated from control, control, authority within the prepare. Campaigns as part of political communication are carried out by inducing voters/constituents to communicate political messages within the frame of programs, dreams, and missions to include knowledge and influence the sees and behaviors of voters as political targets as well as parties who of course take an interest within the usage of the campaign. According to Lilleker, the main function of political communication is to make people think about a problem in a way that is beneficial to the makers and senders of political messages (Sulaiman, 2013; Pratiwi, 2024). This means that

any political organization 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 also 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 that hegemony and capital are the main factors in politics. The implementation of the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) cannot be separated from the holding of elections in the regions. The regional government is part of the implementation of the central government as a consequence of Indonesia using a presidential system of government. Political action is an action that cannot be isolated from different forms of human movement. Whether straightforwardly or in a roundabout way, people will continuously come into contact with political exercises.

Besides, when the equitable climate, like in Indonesia, is wide open, political movement increases at the same time as one of the impacts of political items that require the coordination of races of territorial heads. Political exercises are communicated straightforwardly furthermore gotten to be a challenge within the bundling handle, from this, the meaning of political communication becomes exceptionally critical in carrying out political campaign exercises. The political interface cannot be accomplished without going with by 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 on them to the open (Tabroni, 2012). Meadow (1980) hought 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 molded by or have results for the working of political frameworks" (Fatima and Choiriyati, 2017). Amusingly, indeed even though the candidate has validity as a political communicator, things that are past prediction can happen, to be specific the elements of swing voters within the 2020 Territorial Races. The marvel of swing voters is all-inclusive since it happens anyplace, from the past to the display, and could be a common thing and cannot be isolated from common elections. According to Mayer, swing voters are the most powerless voters to influence since they are not completely committed to the party (Harris, 2020).

These voters are more dominant to compete for, therefore, both theoretically and empirically the novice voters in this study are those 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 (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 is a phenomenon of the emergence of new political parties from election to election. The phenomenon of swing voters also occurred in Karangasem during the simultaneous regional elections in Bali in 2020 which were carried out in six districts/cities, namely Jembrana Regency, Tabanan, Badung, Bangli, Karangasem and Denpasar City, and among the six districts/cities, there was one area that

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fought against the empty box, namely Badung Regency. Some candidates who are incumbents or who are still regional heads turned out to get lower votes compared to new political opponents. 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. The same thing happened in Karangasem Regency when before the voting of the provisional results carried out by the Ganesha survey institution that 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, but at the time of voting, on the contrary, the number 2 pair lost to the number 1 pair. The 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem were marked by a striking swing of voters. 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 exercise their voting rights is 269,501 voters. This means that 108,372 voters did not exercise their voting rights.

The description above shows that the phenomenon of swing voters in the voting process is very influential in the democratic process in Indonesia and the process of winning political candidates who contest in the Indonesian elections. The decision to choose another partner for swing voters has made the phenomenon that the existence of capital can be used as a factor in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. Capital is something that allows a person to get opportunities in life. The concept of "capital", although it is a treasure of economics, is used by Bourdieu because of several characteristics that can explain power relations. Bourdieu's definition of capital is broad and includes all goods, both material and symbolic. These capitals can be classified into four groups, namely: (1) Economic capital, which includes the means of production (machinery, land, labor), 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, alludes 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.

The political elite prefers to seek support from above rather than digging for support from its base. In addition, one of the trends in political life in Indonesia is the tendency to emerge a political culture that is neo-patrimonisalistic; This means that even though it has a modern and rational ATRT such as bureaucracy, the state's behavior still shows traditions and political culture with a patrimonial character (Sumartono, 2018; Mansyur, 2020). The political culture formed in Indonesian society is more likely to see the character and historical factor 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. Based on the description above, 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, as well as 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 research on swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. Based on the background of problems related to the dynamics of swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem, the research analyzes political communication and the capital factors that cause swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem.

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 of 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 analyzed the results of the electability survey and swing voters in the 2019 presidential election. The method used is qualitative with a literature review. The results show that the candidate needs to maintain his electability and win the votes of swing voters, especially those from young and novice voters. A similar study was conducted by Harris (2020) researching who is a swing voter in the South African election. Harris's 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 think about employment the first exit survey overview information from the 2016 South African neighborhood decisions. The comes about displays key suggestions for race and identity-based voting in South Africa and overwhelming administrations over the landmass and appears that South African races are not a racial census. The similarity with this study also examines the occurrence of swing voters with qualitative research methods but differences in the research locus. Furthermore, Sobari (2013) examines opinion research institutions (pollsters) in Indonesia who 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, 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.

a. Swing voter

A swing voter is characterized as a voter who is willing to consider changing his or her favored 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 as were switchers but moreover, those who may alter their voting choice but did not switch. Evans (in Wong, 2013) recommends a two-step strategy for classifying swing voters. The primary step is to recognize who has exchanged their votes over the decision. This step inquires for data about the voting of respondents in two continuous decisions to see in case the respondents have changed their voting choices. Voters who have changed choices are classified as swing voters. The minute step is to find 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 bad habit presidential decisions, authoritative candidate decisions, and Territorial Head Races (Pilkada) on the D-day of 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. Occupants who are seen to be fruitful and have the capacity will be effortlessly re-elected. On the other hand, in case the defense is seen as unsuccessful, the challenger who brings a work program with the concept of alter will be favored by voters. Swing voters are levelheaded voters and care around the programs advertised by each candidate. How to urge swing voters, candidates ought to pay consideration to wants of youthful voters and fledglings who mentally as youthful individuals tend to like alter. When the officeholder employments a protective technique, youthful individuals will incline toward candidates who bring a mission of change and assault the execution of the defense, subsequently, one of the procedures that should be done to urge swing voters 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. 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. The survey found that as many as 10 percent of respondents will make their choice according to the direction of their parents.

b. Political Communication

The political elites who contest the 2020 Regional Election Democracy party will formulate a political communication strategy to win the hearts of constituents to vote for them. Political communication is very important for political elites to win, but political elites or communicators certainly conduct audience analysis so that the communication messages conveyed get *feedback* or feedback from the target communicator. Political communication is for the foremost portion characterized as any interaction concerning political figures or political issues on a communication arrange where it can be shared with differing social occasions of individuals. The consideration of political communication at first centered on decisions and voters but has advanced into the ponder of political behavior, demeanors, and impact as an entirety (Malka *et. al.*, 2020; Tajuddin, 2023), therefore communication strategies in politics are one of the keys to success in collecting votes. Even in the era of

digitalization 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 (Hia & 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 fair 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 vanquish of a candidate is generally decided by the communication procedure carried out.

c. Capital Theory

Objective structure is something that 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 concept 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 a arrangement of internalized plans that they utilize to see, get it, appreciate, and assess the social world. Persuasively, habitus is the item of the internalization 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 isn't 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 hone, 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 voter in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem Regency, Bali.

METHODOLOGY

a. Research Approach

This research is qualitative research that according to Creswell (2018) starts with the suspicion and utilization of an interpretive/theoretical system that shapes or impacts the

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thinking about investigating issues related to the meaning forced by people or bunches on a social or human issue. 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 final interpretation. The object of this research is to examine the dynamics of swing voters in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. This research approach is considered the most relevant to be used because it describes the state of the object in detail based on the data obtained when the research will be carried out.

b.   Data Type and data source

This research uses a type of qualitative data, meaning that the data is obtained directly through research informants, namely political observers and academics; Chairman of the Karangasem General Election Commission (KPU), and Commissioner of the Karangasem KPU, Head of Budakeling Village; the Subagan Village Office; traditional villagers of Subagan Village; religious leaders of Pertima 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 quantitative data to show an overview of the number of voters in Karangasem, and the results of the distribution of questionnaires to find out the extent of the number of *swing voters* in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. The data sources that will be used in this qualitative research are divided into primary and secondary data sources, namely: primary data is a collection of data collected by researchers both through observation and interviews so primary data will be obtained from the results of interviews with informants 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 Pertima 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 obtain data compatibility with the results of the research. Secondary data is the data collected in this study, namely data related to the results of 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

a.   Profile of Candidate
i I Gede Dana dan I Wayan Arthal 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 has been a PDI Perjuangan cadre since 1998. He was the Chairman of PDIP DPC from 2007-2012, 2012-2019, to 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 pair of 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)

li I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri dan 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 and 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 from 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 2 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 percent of Mas Sumatri voters, when asked how confident they are to vote for Mas Sumatri and not change their choice, 8.7 percent are very confident and 60.30 percent are confident. 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 percent while Gede Dana earned 15.7 percent; Golkar Mas Sumatri 6 percent and Gede Dana 1.8 percent; Democrat Mas Sumatri 2 percent and Gede Dana 0.4 percent. 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 excelled in 35 villages. 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 much 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 as many as 43.4% suffered defeats according to data from the Karangasem General Election Commission in Figure 4.

● (01) I Gede Dana, S.Pd.,M.Si – Dr. I Wayan Artha Dipa, SH.,MH.
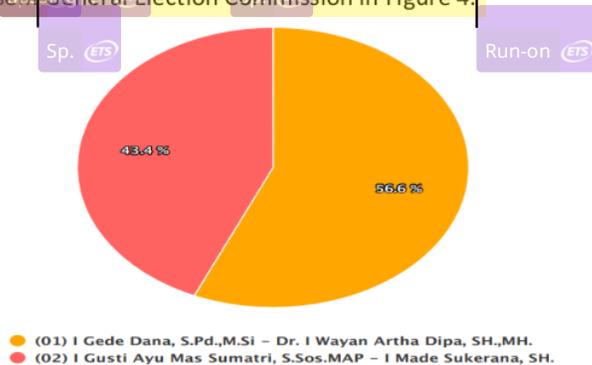● (02) I Gusti Ayu Mas Sumatri, S.Sos.MAP – I Made Sukerana, SH.

Figure 4: 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 people who are militant, 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. From one candidate is accepted, then another candidate is also accepted, whether elected or not." (interview, April 13, 2023).

The presence of community flow in Karangasem is new with political elements, particularly amid the Territorial Races or administrative candidacy. So, it is troublesome to figure that now and then the conventional pioneers and other conventional pioneers who are inquired to form recommendations apply for help, but it is still a huge address check, in the event that they apply for help, for case, gong help is proposed, but it turns out that for illustration afterward the help can be affirmed, but the reality underneath cannot vote with the candidate who gives the gong help, of course, these conventional pioneers still have questions, Since the community has not been able to completely collect their votes for the candidates who help. According to this explanation, many traditional villages in Karangasem also responded that anyone present in terms of political "requests", while this 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/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/respected people) in the dadia (community groups that are still tied to the same blood relationship). Customary villages should not become a boomerang 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, that candidate, even though at all the customary village does not take sides and collects votes to any candidate. This means that with such an experience, that's why the traditional village until now has not accepted any candidates, successful teams, 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, 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 rift 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 sought for 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, 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 nominate, even though these people are capable and serious to build 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 emphasized that cognitive intelligence must be balanced with the affective and psychomotor 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 recognized as legitimate. Symbolic capital refers to the degree of accumulated prestige, prominence, consecration, or honor owned by each candidate pair in the 2020 Regional Elections in Karangasem. In addition, what is the finding in the research that is the latest in this study is the political capital used by the candidates because of the strength in formulating and the courage to implement political tactics to get support from political parties and the public to win the fight 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 from 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 behavior, political participation, and political communication process, and it is also no less important to know the ins and outs of political parties.

CONCLUSION

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 minimizing 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 analyzed with capital theory in social practice. The results of this study show the capital game factor in the dynamics of swing voters in political communication in the 2020 Regional Election in Karangasem from the candidate's political communication in conveying the vision and mission as his political communication message, image strategy, communication strategy for the use of opinion leaders, and strategy for providing social assistance. This research contributes as a reference related to the phenomenon of swing voters and the political communication strategies of candidates who contest to minimize swing voters. investigate by Tabroni (2012) which uncovers truths in genuine terms related to the behavior designs of lawmakers and their effective groups in conducting political communication utilizing mass media. On the off chance that the political communication handle doesn't go with by morals, at that point the open as media buyers will ended up casualties.

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Prep. You may be using the wrong preposition.

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Possessive

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Verb This verb may be incorrect. Proofread the sentence to make sure you have used the correct form of the verb.