THE ANALYSIS OF NEGATIVE CAMPAIGN EFFECTS IN REGIONAL HEAD GENERAL ELECTIONS

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Abstrak
Investigasi ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji dampak kampanye yang tidak menguntungkan terhadap pemilihan umum kepala daerah dan untuk memastikan prosedur yang terlibat dalam pelaksanaan pemilihan tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dengan studi dokumentasi sebagai metode pengumpulan data. Teknik analisis data yang digunakan adalah analisis deskriptif. Temuan studi menunjukkan bahwa pemilu, sebagai proses perdagangan politik yang dilakukan dalam jangka panjang, dapat digolongkan sebagai investasi politik. Untuk mencegah terjadinya kolaborasi negatif antara pemilih dan kandidat setelah menang, yang dapat mengarah pada politik penghargaan dan kemungkinan korupsi, diperlukan politik akuntabilitas. Ini harus melibatkan pelembagaan etika politik dengan bantuan sanksi hukum positif (penegakan hukum). Tanpa terbangunnya etika politik yang baik dan benar, keberhasilan pilkada hanya akan terbatas pada proses pilkada itu sendiri (yang memakan waktu tiga bulan) dan tidak akan menghasilkan pemimpin yang berhasil membangun daerahnya setelah pilkada (yang memakan waktu lima tahun). Oleh karena itu, pemilu seharusnya tidak hanya bertujuan untuk menjamin kelancaran proses pemilu, tetapi juga menciptakan iklim politik jangka pendek yang kondusif.
Kata kunci: Kampanye Negatif, Pemilihan Umum, Kepala Daerah, Politik, Hukum

Abstract
The aim of this investigation is to examine the impact of unfavorable campaigns on the general elections of regional leaders and to ascertain the procedure involved in conducting such elections. The study employs qualitative approaches, with documentation study serving as the method of data collection. The data analysis technique employed is descriptive analysis. The study's findings demonstrate that elections, as a political trade process carried out over the long term, can be classified as political investment. To prevent negative collaboration between voters and candidates after winning, which could lead to reward politics and the possibility of corruption, a politics of accountability is required. This should involve institutionalizing political ethics with the help of positive legal sanctions (law enforcement). Without the establishment of good and proper political ethics, the success of regional elections will be limited to the election process itself (which takes three months) and will not result in successful leaders who can develop their regions after the elections (which takes five years). Therefore, elections should not only aim to ensure the smooth running of the election process, but also create a favorable short-term political climate.
Keywords: Negative Campaign, General Election, Regional Heads, Politic, Law

INTRODUCTION

The climax of demands for the democratization of regional head elections after the end of the era of centralized government was the enactment of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning regional government. If the previous Regional Government Law, namely Law Number 22 of 1999, still stipulates that regional head elections be carried out by the DPRD as the regional legislative body, the new Regional Government Law mandates that elections be carried out directly. Direct local election arrangements show a response to three fundamental and interrelated demands. First, the response to the desire to implement democratization down to the local level. Second, the formal legal response, the need to make adjustments to the new provisions. Third, a practical response is the desire to find a regional head election system model that is capable of being a practical solution to the weaknesses of the previous regional head election system, which was filled with various kinds of fraudulent practices. Implementation directly turned out to show high dynamics. In addition to the success of presenting regional leaders, direct elections in several regions were tainted by social conflicts. This dynamic raises a critical assessment of the meaning of direct election in governance. The response to these developments prompted the need for scrutiny of the rules regarding implementation. Various

aspects need to be studied, starting from the philosophical meaning of democracy to matters related to the technical implementation, such as voter registration and candidacy. This study is accompanied by an academic review of the basic principles of governance and comparisons with local government practices in other countries (Amir, 2008).

Every direct democratic event, whether it be the presidential election, regional head election, or legislative election in a number of regions, is marked by negative and black campaigns by candidates. Each candidate not only accentuates himself but also creates a negative image of the opposing candidate (Suryabrata, 2000). Some of these negative campaigns were carried out openly through open campaigns, but some were carried out in secret, for example, through leaflets or word of mouth. Negative campaigns have recently become increasingly popular in Indonesia's political vocabulary. Nevertheless, it seems that the understanding of the meaning of negative campaigns has not been carried out optimally during the post-reform direct democracy period. First, regarding the understanding of the meaning of negative campaigns. Both the public, bureaucracy, political elites, and political actors are often unable to understand what negative campaigns actually mean. The understanding of negative campaigns is often obscured or equated with black campaigns. These two terms are similar but fundamentally different and, of course, have different meanings and implications in political behavior and culture. Second, related to studies on the phenomenon of negative campaigns, it seems that not much has been done in Indonesia. Several studies that have developed in the science of political communication so far appear to have been limited to conducting an analysis of campaign strategies and tactics both in the Pilkada and the Presidential Election. Political campaigns tend to only be seen as an instrument in political contestation. Meanwhile, studies that focus on discussing negative campaigns still tend to be absent in the fields of political science and political communication studies (Ferguson, 2012).

The definition of a negative campaign, according to The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, is a campaign that includes: "an utterance or deed displaying or conveying a contradiction, rejection, or repudiation"; an utterance or deed that strongly censures someone else or others. In this context, a negative campaign refers to a political campaign that expresses, encompasses, or comprises negation or repudiation of the veracity of the information. Cleveland Ferguson defines a negative campaign as a political campaign carried out by each candidate and political party to gain profits by provide references or address the negative aspects of competitors, both candidates and parties (Sugiyono, 2007). These negative aspects can be in the form of attributes, issues, or policies related to the public interest. These negative aspectprovidingonveyed in a vaaddressingf ways, starting with making logic, to attacking and damaging the opponent's character, personality and public policies in the hope of gaining more political benefits. Phenomena in the field that often develop, negative campaigns are colored with logicalwarguments ands and tricks. Negative issues are often used to atpersonality,edia publications. In fact, negative campaigns are often carried out by combining networks and techniques from lobbying groups to carry out political attacks on opponents (Turyadi et al., 2023).

Several elections in the provinces of Southeast Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, and North Maluku were rife with negative information about the candidate (e.g., allegations of corruption, religious insults, past history, and so on), which greatly determined the preference of voters for the candidate. Those who believe negative information about the candidate tend not to vote for that candidate. On the other hand, those who do not believe the negative information tend to still vote for the candidate. This shows a picture of voters who are passive, static, and irrational, which is not always true. Voters actually check out the issues surrounding the candidate. Their belief in these issues more or less determines the candidate to be elected (Soekamto & Mujdi, 2006). However, the size of the impact of the candidate's negative information is largely determined by how many people know or have heard about it. If negative information about the candidate is only known by a few voters, that information is only elitist information, which also only has an impact on a few voters. Cleveland Ferguson argues that negative campaign advertising has long developed in the democratic tradition in America since the victory of John Adams against Thomas Jefferson in the 1796 American presidential election. There are several definitions that have developed related to negative campaign advertising. However, from the various definitions that exist, it seems that there is no fixed agreement about the meaning of negative campaign advertising (Turyandi, 2014). What is in common with the tendency of the definition of negative campaign advertising that appears is the similarity of the goals to be achieved,

namely increasing influence and the level of support in the election arena. Several definitions of negative campaign advertising, for example, were put forward by Terry Cooper. He defines negative campaign ads as a series of advertisements that contain everything that is persuasive to attack the opponent's strengths by showing various weaknesses based on existing data and facts (MD, 2000).

An interesting phenomenon in the regional head election process from the aspect of the candidates' communication strategy The Mayoral Direct Election, which took place in two rounds, has left an interesting phenomenon (Huda, 2007). Not only from the perspective of the calculation of political power and its constellation but also from the communication aspect, which is an important part of the election process. the election, which was attended by the four candidate pairs, each of which had a different campaign style. This is influenced by the candidate's background, experience, resources, and campaign strategy (Putnam, 2000). The Constitutional Court now holds jurisdiction over disputes regarding the outcomes of general elections for regional heads and deputy heads, which was previously the responsibility of the Supreme Court. This shift in authority was brought about by Law Number 22 of 2007, which covers the conduct of general elections, including those held locally. According to Article 24C of the 1945 Constitution, the Constitutional Court has the power to adjudicate disputes related to election results. Therefore, when Law Number 12 of 2008, which amends Law Number 32 of 2004 on regional government, expanded the definition of "election" to include regional elections, the handling of regional general election outcomes was transferred from the Supreme Court (MA) to the Constitutional Court (MK).

METHOD

This category of investigation employs qualitative techniques, specifically a method to comprehend the societal phenomena being examined. The information gathered is in the form of organized, factual, and precise data, which is also genuine. The technique employed to gather data is a study of documentation. The writer gathers information that can be utilized to enhance the writing, including data derived from books, periodicals, research papers, and other literature in electronic form. The method used to analyze the data is descriptive analysis, which is employed to obtain a comprehensive summary of the descriptions and information regarding the impact of unfavorable campaigns on regional head-general elections. In other words, descriptive analysis is an analysis to obtain a systematic, factual, and accurate description of the facts and information about the influence of negative campaigns in elections.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The background for the popularity of the implementation of regional head elections is the desire to create a system that is more democratic and sensitive to the aspirations of the people at the regional level. The first fundamental reason for implementing the electoral system is the desire to strengthen democratization (deepen democracy) down to the local level, one of which is through the implementation of regional head elections. Local democracy is a popular term because this form is considered to be the most appropriate solution to address specific and unique regional-level problems that are deemed inappropriate if resolved by policies made by the central government. Regions are seen as entities that have the most complete capacity and knowledge for understanding and overcoming problems or needs that arise at the local level. So, efforts to bring the government closer to its people become a necessity in the era of decentralization. As one of the arguments that illustrates the importance of local democracy in creating an effective government. In other words, the core of the implementation of local democracy is the concept of governance that is adapted to the special needs and characteristics at the local level and organizes administration and government services as closely as possible to the people at the regional level. The hope is that government functions can be carried out more effectively and efficiently because the government and bureaucratic lines that were originally very long because they had to be carried out based on central government policies can be simplified and carried out directly by the regions. Another important principle in strengthening democracy at the local level is that residents in the regions have greater opportunities, rights, and responsibilities to be involved in making public policies related to issues that directly affect their lives.

Regional head elections are local elections held at the provincial and district/city levels to elect executive officials in the area concerned based on the provisions mandated in Article 18 of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning regional government; therefore, the affirmation and re-establishment

of the function Elections in a democratic government. There is no doubt that elections are one of the main pillars of democracy. There are many writings that elaborate on this matter. However, what should be observed is that not all elections can become pillars of democracy. To be able to become a pillar of democracy, one must meet several requirements. In order for elections to be called democratic elections, in accordance with the principles of democratic elections, local elections must be able to become a channel for the circulation of power in a competitive, peaceful manner. Some of the keywords in this sentence are circulation of power, peaceful, and competitive. The circulation of power indicates the opening of opportunities for periodic replacement of officials, dismissing those who are deemed incapable and replacing them with candidates who are seen as more capable over a certain period of time that runs regularly. Peace shows the creation of a mechanism that has certain rules of the game that are obeyed by the parties involved so that it becomes a channel for power struggles and violent conflict resolution and is carried out in systemic, peaceful ways. Competitiveness requires that in the implementation of elections, both candidates and voters have the same opportunities and rights to be involved and participate in the struggle for power. This principle emphasizes that privileges that can marginalize the opportunity for other parties to participate in a fair competition for positions are not justified. The competitive system requires that everyone have the same position and rights before the law. Conceptually, these principles are implemented throughout the electoral process so as to obtain a quality and efficient process that becomes the cornerstone for the realization of effective governance.

From the scheme above, it can be seen that the initial design of the electoral system was to involve local people in the regional head election process through a fair and open electoral process. The direct involvement of the local people is in line with the concept of the importance of involving the community in efforts to strengthen democracy at the local level and to realizing the main principle of implementing local democracy, namely that it is the people in the regions who best understand what type of leader best suits the character and needs of their region. Community participation in the regions can be manifested in the design of a channel for the circulation of power that is in line with democratic values, namely a quality and efficient electoral process. Theoretically, the electoral process can be interpreted as all the stages that must be passed or carried out in an election, including nomination, administration, and supervision. Each element in the electoral process has a crucial function that will determine its overall success as a quality electoral process. So that the outline of the above scheme can be read as follows: Based on the main objective of realizing the strengthening of democracy at the local level, a regional head election process was carried out in the form of direct regional elections, which involved the local people as the party that best understood the character and needs of their region through a democratic and efficient electoral process.

The involvement of the local people in elections will ideally bring up quality regional heads who are legitimate and accountable for the results of their own people's choices, which will become the initial stepping stone for the creation of effective government. After understanding the macro-thinking framework regarding the implementation of elections, the following discussion issues whether the concept of a quality electoral process is meant in the macro-thinking framework above. The electoral process is simply envisioned as consisting of three main elements, namely nomination, administration, and supervision. Nomination includes the mechanism used to find candidates who will fight in the election market. Implementation includes determining the electoral system, voter registration, holding elections, counting votes, and the rules of the game used to determine which candidate will ultimately win the election. Meanwhile, supervision is a mechanism used to ensure that the election process runs according to the rules of the game and regulations that have been previously agreed upon, as well as to prevent and take action against violations that arise during this election process. Conceptually, in regional head elections, the entire election process is carried out based on democratic principles, so that as a whole, it creates a quality election process. In order to have a quality and efficient electoral process, these three elements must be carried out based on the basic principles of democracy. In order to become a democratic nomination system, every candidate who wants to advance to the nomination exchange must have the same opportunities and rights; in other words, there must be the principles of participation, openness, and competition in the nomination stage. This is important so that the electorate is represented by the party with the most interest in obtaining truly qualified candidates for regional heads. The implementation stage is also a phase that is no less important. Some of the crucial elements in this section include administrative readiness in supporting the implementation of elections

up to the selection of the rules of the game, including the choice of election system to be used. In order to realize democratic values in this implementation stage, in addition to handing over the implementation of the election administration to an independent institution, namely the Regional General Election Commission (KPUD), the open list proportional election system used is also one of the efforts to create a more quality and efficient election process. In addition to these efforts, there is still a supervisory process carried out by an election supervisory body that is intended to implement the values of accountability and transparency in the regional head election process. It is hoped that the combination of these three elements can create a quality and efficient election process, as expected in the macro-thinking framework of implementing direct elections. With these arguments, conceptually, it is expected to be able to become a vehicle for the expression of people's sovereignty because it is designed based on democratic principles.

Elections for regional heads have undergone evolutionary changes throughout the ages. Initially, local rulers were determined by a hereditary dynastic (family) system. This system has been formally abandoned for a long time, but in many areas, the remnants of "blue blood" descendants still heavily influence regional head elections. Strong people can still force their masters to succeed in occupying local rulers. Heredity, class, or caste are still strong preferences for viewing the social origins of political actors and, at the same time, determining the figure of a regional head. At Polling Station 9, the place for the voters Based on the results of the recapitulation at the TPS level, of the 373 ballot papers that were punched, 333 votes were for that pair. The vote counting process at the TPS went smoothly and safely, as witnessed by dozens of residents around the location. In the regional head election, candidate with serial number 3. Meanwhile, second place was occupied by candidate number 4, with 33 votes. The other candidate pairs with order number 1, received 4 votes, and order number 2, received 2 votes. Invalid votes: 5. The turnout rate of voters at TPS reached 73 percent of the total number of permanent voter lists (DPT) at TPS 03, totaling 491 voters. Until TPS closed at 13.00 WIB, voters who had exercised their right to vote had cast 373 votes. According to the head of TPS 9, the number of DPTs at the TPS was 360. Meanwhile, only 201 people exercised their right to vote. The final result of the vote count at the TPS said that pair number 4, Airin Rachmi Diany and Benjamin Davnie, won. Airin received 101 votes.

As already understood, the result of the vote was null and void. The Constitutional Court (MK) annulled General Election Commission Decision Number 43/Kpts/KPU-Tangerang Selatan/XI/2010 concerning the determination and validation of the votes for Mayor and Deputy Mayor Candidate Pairs in the 2010 Pilkada in a session chaired by Mahfud MD on Friday, December 10, 2010. The Constitutional Court accepted the lawsuit from the Yayat-Norodom and Arsid-Andre candidates. With the cancellation of the vote recapitalization by the KPUD, the appointment of the elected mayor and deputy mayor, Airin-Benyamin, was annulled. According to the rules, there should be no more campaign activities. An interesting thing happened ahead of the re-voting day, with the appearance of a negative campaign (the "black campaign), from which it is unclear. Among other things, "impromptu" ballot papers were posted at a number of gas stations. The loudest was a 16-page thin book entitled "A Record of the Hands of the Atut Family's Power". The book is very emotional and provocative. Is this campaign able to dampen the voices of Airin-Benyamin? Until this manuscript was written, this pair proved superior and pocketed 54.11% of the vote, leaving its main competitor, Arsyid-Andre, with 44.22%. Compared to the first round's gain of 46.43%, Airin experienced a sharp increase. Meanwhile, Arsyid- Andre's vote, one of the pairs that challenged the results of the first round, actually dropped from the previous 46.15%. The public saw the negative campaign, which actually increased sympathy for the Airin-Benyamin pair. Such attacks label this couple as the wrongdoers and in communication ethics, such a way is not justified. This phenomenon, however has colored the election for the first time and will be a valuable lesson in the future.

It is possible that the election is a political event, but the election process and results can also be achieved through an analysis of market mechanisms and macro- and microeconomic approaches. Success (KPUD) and winning elections (candidates for governor, regent, or mayor) require an analysis of profit and loss and accurate economic calculations, namely how to reduce socio-economic and socio-political risks. Efficiency is important in various fields, both in implementation and how to win elections (candidates, alliances, and non-collaborative support parties). The candidate's success team should think strategically and efficiently about how to reduce risks and increase profits and benefits (to minimize risks and maximize profits). This is necessary so that it can be implemented efficiently,

not just effectively by reducing the burden (economic burden) compared to the political benefits (political advantage). The two defeats and redundancies that arose were the first, that the election was not carried out efficiently, and the second, the economic and political costs of the mayoral candidates, such as the KPU's budget for the re-voting of the February 27, 2011 elections, which was IDR 13 billion. Total costs and printing funds that have an impact on the logistics procurement budget.

CONCLUSION

Elections as a political trading transaction process in the long term can be categorized as a political investment. So that there is no cohesive-negative collaboration between voters and candidates after victory is achieved, which will be conditional on rewarding politics and the potential for KKN, accountability politics is needed, namely political ethics institutionalized with the power of positive law sanctions (law enforcement). If good and correct political morals are not built, the success of the regional elections will only be in the implementation of the regional elections (3 months) but will not produce successful leaders who develop after the elections (5 years). So, elections are not aimed only at supporting a conducive short-term political climate by seeing elections run safely. What needs to be developed after the election is "fencing" the elected mayor with a legal fence so that the direction of development is in accordance with the corridors of positive law and social moral goals. The selected candidates are expected to be able to build relationships with constituents in the long term through translocal-scale networks. It is very possible that if successful (to lead well and manage administration properly), it will make it easier to build political marketing.

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