

Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman

P-ISSN 2088-9046, E-ISSN 2502-3969 http://ejournal.radenintan.ac.id/index.php/analisis DOI: http://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v22i2.14336

Volume 22. Number 2, December 2022, pp. 275-296

Smart Campaign in Local Democracy Practices and Theory of Magashid Sharia

Nadirsah Hawari

State Islamic University Raden Intan, Lampung, Indonesia sitimahmudah@radenintan.ac.id

Muntaha bin Artalim Zaim

International Islamic University Malaysia, Gombak, Malaysia muntaha@iium.edu.my

Agustam

State Islamic University Raden Intan, Lampung, Indonesia dmstours68@gmail.com

Abstract:

Smart campaigns in this study are a number of campaign activities that are educative and solutive, especially when the community is in trouble due to a pandemic. The current difficult economic conditions, limited space for candidate campaigns and the existence of favored behavior in politics can become obstacles. On the other hand, the principle of siyasah syar'iyah and kaidah ushuliyah in politics must always be maslahahoriented, especially the public interest, including the state. This study is in the form of analytical descriptive qualitative research, data collection techniques are in the form of observation, interviews, and documentation, while online media publications, documents from the success team are secondary sources, and conclusions are drawn using inductive thinking. The results of the study show that all candidates carry out various forms of smart campaigns so that the political reasoning and people's psychology remain healthy even though they are being hit by a pandemic. However, there are still some people who persist in a pragmatic style, oriented towards personal problems (al-mashlahah alkhassah) and ignore the general benefit (al-maslahah al-'ammah). According to them, accepting bribes, money politics, and distributing groceries are considered part of advancing mashlahah khasshah mudhtarrah (emergency) which can also be considered mashlahah 'ammah muhtamalah (predictive). Finally,

this clashes with mashlahah 'ammah mutayaqqanah (definite benefit), the interests of the state and society for the realization of a welfare state within the framework of Pancasila democracy which begins with a clean and intellectual political process.

Keywords: Smart Campaign, Local Democracy, Maqashid Syaria.

A. Introduction

The democratic system illustrates that *leadership shifting* is regulated in a mechanism called general election so that public involvement runs according to the expectations of the constitution. The results of a general election process place ambassadors of political parties to sit in the seats of the People's Legislative Assembly and are responsible to the community as owners of sovereignty and givers of mandates as well as representatives of the people and representatives of supporting parties. Edmund Burke referred to him as a party representative when he was still outside parliament and turned into a people's representative when he was in the executive and legislative seats, including in *local election* processes such as regional head elections (governors, regents and mayors).¹

General election is one means of political democratization in Indonesia.² Elections are a means of democracy to form a system of state power that is sovereign by the people and deliberative representatives. State power that is born with general elections is power that is born from below according to the will of the people, by the people and for the people. Elections aim to uphold the principle of popular sovereignty.³

¹ Farahdiba Rahma Bachtiar, "Pemilu Indonesia: Kiblat Negara Demokrasi dari Berbagai Refresentasi," *Jurnal Politik Profetik* 2, no. 1 (2014): 3, https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v2i1a3; See also Ida Ayu Putu Sri Widnyani, *Perilaku dan Partisipasi Pemilih dalam Pemilu Legislatif* (Sidoarjo: Zifatama Jawara, 2020), 4.

² Fajlurrahman Jurdi, *Pengantar Hukum Pemilihan Umum* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2018), 2–7; M. Karim Rusli, *Pemilu Demokratis Kompetitif* (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana, 1991), 29.

³ Siti Waridah, dkk., *Sejarah Nasinonal Dan Umum* (Yogyakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2004), 7; See also Is Susanto, "Analisis Hukum Islam dan Hukum Positif Terhadap Money Politics pada Pemilu," *Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum* 15, no. 2 (November 28, 2018): 159, https://doi.org/10.32332/istinbath.v15i2.1218.

For the State of Indonesia which is a democratic country, elections are considered very important because they are considered to be able to channel the basic political will of the nation,⁴ and Elections contain several essences: a vehicle for the upholding of democracy and law, media for the articulation of people's politics, media for social contracts between the people and their leaders, and lastly held using large amounts of funds.⁵ While the main functions of general elections are to establish the legitimacy of rulers and government, to form people's political representatives, to circulate the ruling elite, and as political education.⁶

The election process has several stages, one of which is the campaign. Campaigning is an important activity as an effort to influence people persuasively (not forcing) by carrying out rhetorical activities, public relations, mass communication, lobbying, etc.⁷ Campaigning as a means of communicating to prospective voters in democratic practices at both the national and local levels is actually a stage for showing the skills of each pair of candidates so that voters feel confident in the capabilities of the candidate pairs when they become leaders later. Due to its urgent nature, the organizers provided a long socialization period with very strict signs and restrictions, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Campaigns are not just spreading charms, making promises moreover false promises and pragmatic actions that often disappoint the public, but educational actions are expected to become the flagship program of each pair of candidates when carrying out campaigns. The problem is, how can the concept of smart campaigns

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⁴ Susanto, "Analisis Hukum Islam dan Hukum Positif Terhadap Money Politics pada Pemilu", 159.

⁵ Muhakki, "Mekanisme Suara Terbanyak Bagi Pemilu Legislatif (Studi Siyasah Dusturiyah)," *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam* 1, no. 2 (October 1, 2011): 148; See also Farid Maulana Ramadhani, "Pelanggaran Kampanye Pemilihan Umum Perspektif Fikih Jinayah," *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam* 5, no. 1 (April 1, 2015): 64.

⁶ Sanit, Partai, Pemilu Dan Demokrasi (Jakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1997), 158.

⁷ Susanto, "Analisis Hukum Islam Dan Hukum Positif Terhadap Money Politics Pada Pemilu," 159; See also Linda Astuti, "Analisis Bentuk Golongan Putih Dalam Pemilihan Umum Di Kelurahan Betungan Kota Bengkulu," *Professional: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Administrasi Publik* 7, no. 2 (December 28, 2020): 49–54, https://jurnal.unived.ac.id/index.php/prof/article/view/1278.

be applied by Candidate Pairs in supporting superior programs, brilliant ideas and interesting jargon from Candidate Pairs, especially for areas suspected of having prohibited practices in General Elections, such as money politics and black campaigns.

The practice of smart campaigns is one of the solutions considered sufficient to win general elections for Candidate Pairs. although there are other practices that support Candidate Pairs to gain votes in winning elections. This is what happened in the 2020 Metro City Regional Head Election. Some even believe that the victory of a pair of candidates in Metro City is determined by their intelligence in formulating political ideals on the campaign stage without having to make promises and sow money; this is because the fact of Metro as a city of education. However, on the other hand, not a few observers, scientists, educational and political practitioners are of the opinion that smart campaigns will never produce positive results in a democratic party, since in the end economic issues are the key to successful general elections. This is the background for the study of this article, with the hope that there will be a clear point of separation between the issues and the reality on the ground with a measurable scientific approach.

Indeed, politics in the Islamic view is an attempt to give birth to submission to the creator by maximizing all the potential that exists in humans for the common goal of achieving the salvation of the world and the hereafter. As Imam al-Mawardi emphatically said politics is the relay of leadership from prophethood with the aim of safeguarding religion and managing world affairs.⁸ From this it is very clear how political in the Islamic view is to strengthen samawi values on earth so as to give birth to servant submission within the framework of devotion and service to others on behalf of the nation's children and servants of the state. It is on this basis that a leader in the perspective of *figh siyasah* can be very noble and must be obeyed by his people and later on the Day of Resurrection will receive special protection. All of this is of course rooted in one basic rule "tasharrufu al-imami manuthun bi al-mashlahah".

⁸ Imam al-Mawardi, Al-Ahkam al-Sulthaniyah Wa al-Wilayah al-Diniyah (Saudi Arabia: al-Maktabah As-Syamilah, tt.), 3.

The political process and all stages of contestation must always lead to the principle of benefit and the common good by putting aside personal or group interests. Imam al-Ghazali emphasized that any benefit that can be accepted by *syara'*, his blasphemy can be accepted because it is part of the religion itself. This means that in something where there are benefits and the benefits are shared by *syara'*, then that is where religion and its great values must be adhered to and obeyed. The purpose of the stipulation of servants is the realization of maintenance of their religion, soul, mind, lineage and property. Abdul Malik al-Juwaini¹⁰ and Jalaluddin al-Sayuthi¹¹ also agreed with al-Ghazali that every *syara'* order always leads to benefit.

This study is a follow-up study that examines smart campaigns in local democratic practices from the perspective of *maqashid shari'ah* objectively with the aim of obtaining an element of novelty in the same discussion. Several previous studies like the results of Bambang Arianto's¹² research concluded that the emergence of creative campaign models in the 2014 presidential contest by prioritizing elements of creativity and art such as video, music, game applications and visual design supported by advances in information technology. Wahyudi and Hanifannur¹³ specifically examine the considerations of *maslahat* and *mudarat* of regional elections during the pandemic by prioritizing the rule of rejecting *mudarat* over taking the *maslahat*. Nugraha and and Mulyandari¹⁴ explicitly state that direct Regional Head Elections are aimed at realizing the benefit of democracy and people's sovereignty which are very much in line with the values

⁹ Muhammad al-Ghazali, *Al-Mustashfa*, 2nd ed. (Saudi Arabia: al-Maktabah As-Syamilah, 2001), 438.

¹⁰ Muhammad bin Muhamad al-Juwaini, *Al-Burhan Fi Ushul al-Fiqh*, 2nd ed. (Saudi Arabia: al-Maktabah As-Syamilah, 2001), 234.

¹¹ Jalaluddin al-Sayuthi, *Al-Asybah Wa al-Nazhair*, 2nd ed. (Saudi Arabia: al-Maktabah As-Syamilah, 2001), 321.

¹² Bambang Arianto, "Kampanye Kreatif dalam Kontestasi Presidensial 2014," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 19, no. 1 (April 5, 2016): 16–39, https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.10854.

¹³ Fachri Wahyudi and Muhammad Hanifannur, "Pelaksanaan Pilkada Serentak di Masa Pandemi Covid-19 Perspektif Qawaid Fiqhiyyah," *Tahkim (Jurnal Peradaban dan Hukum Islam)* 4, no. 1 (March 27, 2021): 18.

¹⁴ Alfajar Nugraha and Atika Mulyandari, "Pilkada Langsung dan Pilkada Tidak Langsung dalam Perspektif Fikih Siyasah," *Mazahib* 15, no. 2 (December 28, 2016): 234, https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v15i2.630.

of *fiqh siyasah* itself. In contrast to previous studies, the researcher touches specifically on the issue of smart campaigns in regional head elections which are weighed against the *maqashid syari'ah* theory, especially the *hifzh mal* and *hifzh al-nafs* principles, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic.

This article is a field study and library research that is descriptive-analytical in nature with a focus on issues on smart candidate campaign actions and their impact on winning the simultaneous local elections in 2020. Data collection techniques include observation, interviews, and documentation. In addition, online media publications, documents from each candidate's success team are part of the secondary sources in this study. All data will be studied and analyzed in depth using qualitative data analysis. Drawing conclusions is using an inductive way of thinking, the method of data analysis by starting from specific data, then general conclusions are drawn. ¹⁵

B. Metro City Regional Head Election

The Metro City regional head election is part of the simultaneous Pilkada in the era of the co-19 pandemic which was held on December 9 2020 with four pairs of candidates participating after being declared to have passed the administrative requirements and factual verification by the Metro City General Election Commission (KPU). The four pairs of candidates are pair number 1 -Wahdi and Qomaru, pair number 2 - Mufti and Saleh, pair number 3 - Ampian and Rudy, and pair number 4 - Anna and Frizt.

The four candidate pairs competed openly during the campaign which was carried out in the span of 26 September 2020 to 5 December 2020. Candidate pair number 1, Wahdi and Qomaru, did not carry the party as a political vehicle to win the executive seat for Metro City. Candidate pair number 2, Mufti and Saleh are supported by two political parties, PKS and Nasdem. ¹⁶ Candidate pair number 3, Ampian and Rudy are supported by three parties, PKB, Golkar and

¹⁵ Sutrisno Hadi, Metode Research II (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 2012), 42.

¹⁶ Febri, "Kendarai Delman, Mufti-Saleh Daftar Pilkada Metro Diusung Dua Partai," *lampungpro.com*, September 6, 2020.

PAN.¹⁷ Meanwhile, candidate pair number 4, Anna and Frizt, is supported by PDI-P, Demokrat, PPP, Hanura and Gerindra.

After the simultaneous Pilkada voting in Metro City, the Metro City General Election Commission (KPU) stated that independent candidate pairs were superior in obtaining votes compared to the votes acquired by candidates carried by political parties. Three pairs of candidates supported by political parties were unable to increase their vote acquisition in the City of Metro Pilkada. The vote acquisition of candidate pairs supported by political parties is lagging behind that of individual candidate pairs. This can already be known by the public after the results of *quick counts* and *real counts* published by survey institutions and success teams in the field. The individual candidate pairs, Wahdi and Qomaru, are superior to the other three candidate pairs. Wahdi and Qomaru won 29.2 percent of the votes in the 227 TPS that had been counted, out of a total of 310 TPS in five sub-districts, or around 73.23 percent of the vote.¹⁸

The victory of candidate pair Wahdi and Qomaru from the quick count or real count became stronger after the Metro City General Election Commission (KPU) open plenary meeting at the Aidia Grande Hotel on Monday 14 December 2020. The Metro City General Election Commission (KPU) officially determined the highest score obtained won by candidate pair number 1, the pair Wahdi Sirajudin and Qomaru Zaman with a vote of 28,894 votes, and then appointed candidate pair number 1 as the elected Mayor and Deputy Mayor of Metro Lampung City for the 2021-2024 period. 19

The superiority of individual candidates over the domination of political parties in the regional elections for Metro City is considered a new phenomenon in Metro City and Lampung in general. Political observer and academic from Metro City, Oki Hajiansyah Wahab said that "Independent candidates who were not taken into account before

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¹⁷ Febri, "Daftar Pilkada Metro Diusung Tiga Partai, Ampian-Rudi Targetkan Raih 50 Persen Suara," *lampungpro.com*, September 7, 2020.

¹⁸ Tri Purna Jaya, "Pilkada 2020 Kota Metro Lampung, Calon Perseorangan Ungguli 3 Calon dari Parpol Halaman all," *kompas.com*, December 13, 2020.

¹⁹ Tim Diskominfo, "Wahdi dan Qomaru, Resmi Menjadi Walikota dan Wakil Walikota Terpilih Kota Metro - Informasi Pemerintah Kota Metro," *info.metrokota.go.id*, December 14, 2020.

succeeded in defeating the domination of candidates supported by big parties". Oki said that the performance of the winning teammet with citizens' dissatisfaction with the performance of party cadres so far was accumulated as support for independent candidates who also have sufficient resources. This shows that Metro residents have special characteristics related to their political choices. He added that what was no less important was when an independent candidate who did not have a big burden moving the party machine managed to optimize it by paying more attention to voters who were experiencing economic difficulties during the pandemic.²⁰

The victory and existence of individual candidates is a real form of democracy built by the people of Metro City, and then provides many choices of prospective leaders for the community while at the same time answering people's doubts and anxieties about the credibility of political parties. Thus, the existence of individual candidates in the Regional Elections of Metro City is clear evidence of one form of implementation of the political and democratic system in Metro City.

C. Forms of Candidate Smart Campaign Activities

Campaigns are an integral part of elections. It is the campaign that conveys information to voters who in turn use it to reach individual and collective judgments about the relative merits of the candidates. Campaigns are persuasive efforts to invite other people who don't agree or aren't sure about the ideas candidates offer, so they are willing to join and support them. Campaigns aim to gain support milestones, which is generally proclaimed by the Candidate Pair team in order to succeed in the campaign to obtain election results

 $^{^{20}}$ Jaya, "Pilkada 2020 Kota Metro Lampung, Calon Perseorangan Ungguli 3 Calon dari Parpol Halaman all."

²¹ Richard S. Katz and William Crotty, *Handbook Partai Politik* (Bandung: Nusa Media, 2014), 237.

²² Hafied Cangara, Komunikasi Politik: Konsep, Teori, Dan Strategi (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2009), 223; Firda Firmansyah and Iswahyu Pranawukir, "Implementasi Kampanye DPAPMK Pada Program Kampung Keluarga Berencana Di Kota Depok," Petanda: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi Dan Humaniora 4, no. 1 (December 30, 2021): 12–23.

²³ Sawitri and Pujiyana, *Budaya Kampanye pada Masa Pandemi Covid 19* (Jawa Tengah: Penerbit Lakeisha, 2021), 59.

that are in line with expectations. This is where the importance of smart campaigns for Candidate Pairs to win general election contests.

Based on a review of field data, data was obtained that a smart campaign was carried out by all Candidate Pairs in the simultaneous regional elections for Metro City in 2020, all of which referred to one winning effort which was considered to provide a good process of political education for citizens. Among the forms of smart campaign action as follow:

1. Smart Campaign in the Form of Presenting Vision and Mission of Candidates

Every candidate running in the 2020 Metro City local elections has formulated the grand vision and mission of their struggle so that the people of Metro City can understand and remember it. Various posters, billboards, banners, stickers and other campaign props were scattered in various places throughout Metro City in accordance with the rules and conditions that applied in the campaign. More than that, each candidate tries to create political jargon and keywords in the campaign, such as Candidate Pair number 1 with the Metro Ceria jargon, Candidate Pair number 2 with the Metro Happy jargon, Candidate Pair number 3 with the Metro Berjaya jargon, and Candidate Pair number 4 with Metro Superior jargon.²⁴

Each Candidate Pair always conveys his vision and mission in every campaign and in meetings with residents. This is seen as important because residents really need to get complete information regarding the main vision and mission of the candidate they will vote for. Pair of Wahdi and Qomaru always convey their vision and mission at every opportunity, such as during a visit to their TMII Waterboom. Similarly with pair of Mufti and Saleh when both of them had the opportunity to meet Metro residents, including in the candidate debate event with the Metro Bahagia jargon and also the activity of greeting residents.

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²⁴ Zuli Ardiansyah, "Jika Terpilih, Hari Pertama Pemerintahan WaRu Realisasikan 5 Program Untuk Masyarakat," *lampungtoday.com*, December 4, 2020.

²⁵ Admin Radarcom, "Warga Berfoto dengan Dokter Wahdi, 'Semoga Menang Pak," *radarcom.id*, October 25, 2020.

²⁶ Admin pks lampung, "Mufti Paparkan Program Metro Bahagia, Seperti 'Suka Sate," pks.id, October 2, 2020.

Pair of Ampian and Rudy also often convey their vision and mission to residents in every visit and activity carried out, such as when the two of them greeted the residents of Kebun Cengkeh.²⁷ During the candidate debate, Ampian and Rudy expressed their desire to make Metro a superior, intelligent and prosperous city of education towards sustainable development. Pair of Anna and Frizt carried out the same thing in conveying the vision and mission to the residents, both in the candidate debates and *door-to-door* visits which are usually carried out using the campaign slogan Metro Superior, Smart and Religious.²⁸

Referring to the description above, it can be seen that the four Candidate Pairs that are advancing in the simultaneous Pilkada for Metro City in 2020 carry out an education process for citizens in a campaign or smart campaign, where a smart campaign is carried out by outlining the vision and mission of the candidates and inviting residents to participate in Metro city regional head elections.

2. Smart Campaign in the Form of Action to Care for the Pandemic and Citizens' Health

Referring to data sources in the field, the author sees that all pairs of candidates running in simultaneous local elections in the city of Metro participate in the success of the government's and society's efforts to survive from the pandemic. Some of the equipment distributed was Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and masks. The Wahdi and Qomaru couples, represented by Efril as the Head of the Winning Team, said that Team number 1 had distributed 15,000-20,000 masks during the campaign to the people of Metro City. ²⁹ This distribution is intended as a form of concern for the candidates for residents during a pandemic, including maintaining the stamina of residents by distributing vitamins and takjil when breaking the fast. ³⁰

²⁷ Lampung17, "Dukung Ampian-Rudy, Masyarakat Kebun Cengkeh Ingin Pemimpin Asli Warga Metro Bukan Pendatang," *lampung17.com*, October 15, 2020.

²⁸ Reza, "Anna Morinda Sampaikan Visi Misi di Metro Utara Secara Lugas," buanalampung.com, December 5, 2020.

²⁹ Bambang Pamungkas, "Empat Paslon Calonkada Metro Komitmen Perangi Covid-19," *lampost.co*, November 2, 2020.

³⁰ Redaksi, "Tim WaRu Bagikan Takjil Hingga Vitamin Kepada Tukang Becak Kota Metro," *madani-news.com*, April 30, 2020.

The health care action was also carried out by the Mufti and Saleh Couple, where this couple distributed 12,000 masks and 8,000 hand sanitizers; this was stated by the leader of the winning team Ahmad Khusaini.³¹ The Ampian and Rudy couples also took part in distributing masks so that residents would avoid the Covid-19 outbreak.³² As well the couple Anna and Prizt took part in the health care action by distributing masks and hand sanitizers.³³

3. Smart Campaign and Education in Candidate Debates

Each pair of candidates is required to participate in open candidate debates which are aired by the TVRI television station and covered by electronic and print media. The Metro City General Election Commission gives two opportunities in open debate and all pairs of candidates are given time to convey their vision, mission and superior programs if they are later elected as Mayor and Deputy Mayor. The Wahdi and Qomaru couples carry the main theme Metro Ceria with derivative programs that touch all aspects of people's lives, including education, health, welfare and others.

The Mufti and Saleh couple carrying the Metro ceria jargon with a series of excellent programs to create a happy Metro with a superior infrastructure improvement program, opening 22,000 new business fields for residents, a flood-free and bright Metro.³⁴ Also with the couple Ampian and Rudy, with the Metro berjaya jargon by sending out nine excellent programs which are expected to make Metro city more authoritative in the future, strengthening the quality of 9-year basic education, infrastructure, information technology towards Metro Smart City.³⁵ Meanwhile, the Anna and Frizd couple with the slogan Metro Unggul described various programs that were no less great

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³¹ Indra Simanjuntak, "Semua Calon Wali Kota Metro Mengaku Bagikan APD Selama Kampanye," *tribunlampung.co.id*, November 2, 2020.

³² Redaksi, "Lawan Covid-19, Ampian-Rudy Berbagi Masker di Kota Metro," headlinelampung.com, April 12, 2020.

³³ Royhes, "Cegah Penyebaran Covid 19, Tim Militan Anna-Fritz Bagikan Hand Sanitizer Kepada Warga," *lampungsai.com*, March 22, 2020.

³⁴ Admin pks lampung, "Mufti Paparkan Program Metro Bahagia, Seperti 'Suka Sate'".

 $^{^{35}}$ Lampung
17, "Dukung Ampian-Rudy, Masyarakat Kebun Cengkeh Ingin Pemimpin Asli Warga Metro Bukan Pendatang".

than the other couples, including digitalization of services, free 12-year schooling, infrastructure improvements, fast and cheap public services and also *urban farming*.³⁶

The descriptions above are several forms of educational campaigns (smart campaigns) carried out by candidates during the simultaneous local elections in Metro 2020. All steps and strategies for educative campaigning have been carried out by the four candidates and their winning team. However, in the end, the independent candidate succeeded in defeating three other candidates who advanced through the political party route. However, there is still something that needs to be re-examinedrelated to the pure 2020 Metro City Election contestation campaign practices without involving pragmatic political movements. In this case Moh. Thamrin believes that the work program is very decisive for the election of a candidate in the local election contest.³⁷

There are many reasons that encourage residents to vote for candidate pairs in the regional head elections for the city of Metro. Some research results show that regional proximity sometimes has an influence on the electability of candidates. According to Bakri, emotional relationships also affect the attitude of voters, especially first-time voters, towards certain candidates in determining the decision to choose a candidate pair of candidates. However, for the people of Metro, the domicile factor is not the only variable in regional head elections because it is possible for immigrants from outside to win when the candidate can play the party machine and do good political work as experienced by Ahmad Pairin (Mayor of Metro 2015-2020) who actually came from outside the city of Metro.

The processed results of the researcher's questionnaire data strengthen Bakri's opinion, where only 12.6% agreed with the area of origin of candidate was from the city of Metro and the majority of

³⁶ Admin, "Anna – Fritz: UMKM dan Urban Farming Jadi Program Unggulan," *lidik.id*, November 30, 2020.

³⁷ Moh Thamrin, "Program Pembangunan Kandidat Kepala Daerah dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Persepsi Konstituen dalam Pemenangan Pemilukada," *Prosiding Internasional Seminar Good Governance in The Policy Implementation Proses and Public Communication* 1, no. 1 (2015): 3.

respondents did not agree with that.³⁸ Surely this does not apply equally in all regions because Rasyid's research in Gayo Lues Regency concludes that the emotional closeness factor has a big influence on winning regional head elections, since all regions have their own characteristics.³⁹ The opinion above was further strengthened by a questionnaire analysis which concluded that as many as 96.4% of respondents agreed that the candidate's mastery of the problems of the people of Metro City and their ability to find solutions is the main benchmark for them to make their choice.

The questionnaire data analysis is also in line with the researcher's initial assumption that the educative campaign steps of candidates for citizens, capable of solving problems even though they do not have experience in the Metro City government bureaucracy remain the main reason for citizens to cast their political choices on the pair of candidates. The achievement of the questionnaire percentage of 91.9% is strong data for the initial conclusions above and this is in accordance with Eta Yuni's research. According to him, there are many factors that determine the success of a candidate including the clarity and actualization of the candidate's vision and mission when elected, the candidate's background (education level, religion), social factors or the candidate's closeness to the community, the candidate's good performance when he was the previous mayor (for incumbent candidates), and performance at work, track record of candidates, character factors (honest, trustworthy, populist, and never been involved in a legal case).⁴⁰

According to the results of the questionnaire data analysis, data was obtained that theoretically 72.1% of Metro residents would vote

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³⁸ Marno Wance and Bakri La Suhu, "Partisipasi Pemilih Pemula dalam Menentukan Pilihan Politik pada Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Maluku Utara," *Journal of Government (Kajian Manajemen Pemerintahan dan Otonomi Daerah)* 4, no. 2 (June 30, 2019): 114.

³⁹ Hasimi Al Rasidi and M. A. Ubaidullah, "Analisis Perilaku Pemilih Pada Pilkada Serentak Tahun 2017 Di Kabupaten Gayo Lues (Study Kasus: Kemenangan H. Muhammad Amru – Said Sani)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial & Ilmu Politik* 5, no. 1 (January 7, 2020): 1.

⁴⁰ Eta Yuni Lestari and Nugraheni Arumsari, "Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Pemula pada Pemilihan Walikota Semarang di Kota Semarang," *Integralistik* 29, no. 1 (2018): 71, https://doi.org/10.15294/integralistik.v29i1.14602.

for a candidate supported by a political party, but in fact it was the independent candidate who won the regional head election for the city of Metro. This is in line with the results of Huwae's research in Bitung City which shows that political party support does not have a significant impact on a candidate's vote acquisition in a regional head election contestation, considering that the candidate appears with a personal figure with all his campaign methods. ⁴¹ Various speculations arose in response to the results of this analysis, including the worst and extreme such as the issue of massive *money politics*. However, this was denied by Oki Hajiansyah Wahab. According to him, Wahdi and Qomaru's victory in Metro City was more due to the performance of the winning team as well as residents' dissatisfaction with the performance of party cadres and also the candidates have sufficient resources ⁴²

D. Smart Campaign for Regional Head Elections for Metro City in the Perspective of *Maqashid Syari'ah*

The smart campaign carried out by all the candidates in simultaneous regional head elections for Metro City of 2020 actually reflects the substance of the smart campaign, an educational campaign towards a quality democratic process. In the language of *ushuliyah* rules, the candidates' smart campaign actions are in line with the *maqashid syari'ah* theory. This can be seen from the frequent visits by candidates to residents, greeting directly, and even helping to ease the burden of the pandemic, providing health education, social services, cheap markets, sharing free masks, conveying vision and mission, open debates, meeting communities and much more. another educational activity. From this, it appears that all of these prospective leaders are trying to apply the principle of "*tasharruf al-imam manuthun bi al-mashlahah*" (the activities of a leader must lead to problems) which are oriented towards the five main objectives of religion, especially the three specific objectives, *hifz al-'aql* (guarding

⁴¹ Christian Huwae, "Peran Partai Politik dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Secara Langsung (Suatu Studi di Kota Bitung)," *Governance* 5, no. 1 (February 10, 2013): 41–49.

⁴² Tri Purna Jaya, "Real Count KPU 100 Persen, Calon Perseorangan Unggul di Pilkada Kota Metro," *kompas.com*, December 15, 2020.

common sense), hifzh al-maal (guarding property) and hifz al-nafs (guarding the soul). However, if we examine in more depth the results of the questionnaires and interviews with several informants, it is also difficult to deny that there is still deviant behavior by politicians or success teams during campaigns. What's even more unique is that the residents who accept them honestly think that gifts, money politics, and gift giving by candidates are considered real assistance from the ruling candidates for people who are in trouble due to the pandemic. According to them, this gift contains maslahah, benefits and efforts to save the economy when times are difficult, there are maslahah khasah (personal problems) which when combined with other recipients can represent many people so that they fall into the maslahah 'ammah category.

The two arguments above seem to be true and difficult to weigh with the objective scales of *figh siyasa* and *magasid syari'ah* theory. Receiving gifts from people who are able (candidates) in the form of something that is really needed by residents and is not specifically binding, only certain appeals are interpreted by some residents as a gift, alms on the political stage. They have never thought for long term and pondered that there is no free lunch, everything has a price, sooner or later, directly or indirectly and for sure it comes from the state's source of money for the people. The bad impact is that the welfare state agenda is difficult to materialize because the authorities think more about political costs and efforts to pay off political debts. Second, the damage to the existing political and democratic system is due to deviant behavior in the form of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) and other *money politics* practices. This is where a clash of interest occurs between the two benefits, mashlahah khashah (limited goodness) from a small number of citizens and mashlahah 'ammah (goodness of the country). If it is said that many residents have been helped by the gift and the urgent economic conditions, then consider this part of the mashlahah 'ammah in the Metro context. If we agree that the practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) as well as money politics during the pandemic have mashlahah 'ammah there, then this is purely only mashlahah 'ammah muhtamalah ghairu muttharidah (relative subjective assumptive

benefit). Meanwhile efforts to eradicate corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN) as well as money politics in order to create political conditions and a democratic atmosphere that are humane and progressive are certainly bigger and become *mashlahah 'ammah mutayaqqinah* (certain public benefit) and have a positive impact on political and democratic development.

Deviant behavior in political practices mentioned above is a common problem, because it is a social disease in the political realm and can even become a crime. It's just that, the weak rule of law, and the difficulty in presenting evidence in money politics cases have worsened the image of Pancasila democracy itself to this day. The frequency with which the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) conducts Hand-Catching Operations (OTT) on regional heads or council members both at the central and regional levels is a strong sign and evidence that political adventurers are still so easy to play on the Pancasila political stage. Samuel Murary's idea that proposed the imposition of criminal sanctions for campaign violations in regional head elections could be the right choice to address this problem. 43 In fact, the concept of dar'ul mafasid muqaddamun 'ala jalb al-mashalih (rejecting harm is prioritized over taking advantage) which is the essence of magashid syari'ah from a democratic party must always be instilled by every element of the democratic process itself. On the other hand, the election process cannot be stopped since it is part of the mandate of reform and the constitution. What we can change is how to make the political process (election of regional heads) prioritize common sense, wise political reasoning, intelligent and authoritative politics, including tasharruf of political costmust also refer to the concept of hifz maal (safeguarding assets) not redundant, wasteful, money laundering, against the law and justify any means to achieve goals and victory in politics.

⁴³ Semuel Murary, "Pengaturan Kampanye Dalam Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 10 Tahun 2016," *Lex Administratum* 6, no. 1 (July 19, 2018): 171.

E. Conclusion

Candidates and successful teams in the 2020 Metro City Pilkada have tried to present a smart and educational campaign. The educational campaign approach carried out by the candidate or successful team has succeeded in convincing the majority of residents to vote for them in the contest. This can be seen from the even distribution of the votes obtained by each candidate with not too much difference. On the other hand, there are pragmatic campaign practices from the winning team that try to shake the confidence of the voters. The result shows that there are some residents who think that gifts are grants, assistance from politicians, political gifts in the midst of a difficult economic situation so that they can be accepted and tolerated under the pretext of maslahah Khasah Mudhtarrah (urgent personal benefit). On the other hand, for the organizers (KPUD), efforts to eliminate the practice of money politics, the distribution of groceries is a must to stabilize the democratic climate towards the desired welfare state. If someone claims that the common needs of citizens who are experiencing economic difficulties then receive assistance on behalf of the regional elections and candidates and then consider it part of the mashalah 'ammah muhtamalah, then the answer is that the *maslahah 'ammah mutayagganah* takes precedence over the mashlahah 'ammah muhtamalah ghairu mttharidah). As a result, money politics and deviant behavior in regional election contests and campaigns remain a mistake that cannot be tolerated both in positive law and *figh siyasah* principles, including from the perspective of *magasid shari'ah*.

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