



Solidarity Relations in Winning Pairs of Regional Head Candidates in Pacitan Regency

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the role of kinship and group solidarity in determining the success of the pair of regional head candidates in Pacitan Regency in the 2020 Regional Head Election (Regional Election). This study uses a descriptive approach with a qualitative method that involves the analysis of secondary data from electronic media, scientific documents, and interviews with selected sources. The results showed that kinship solidarity, which involves emotional connections between family members, and group solidarity, such as religious and professional communities, played a significant role in building political support. The figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as a local figure with national influence is a key element that drives support through social networks and ethnopolitical values. Structured and adaptive campaign strategies, utilizing digital technology and a community-based personalization approach, have succeeded in increasing voter participation despite the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. These findings highlight the importance of social capital and solidarity networks in shaping political legitimacy at the local level, with implications for more inclusive and representative democratic practices.

INTRODUCTION

The competition process in the election of regional heads (Pilkada) is inseparable from the existence of capital. Capital ownership and utilization have a very important role in the political fight (Dwinugraha, 2020). Capital provides great power and power to help candidates win the competition in the Regional Elections. However, having capital is not enough, what is more important is how to use the capital effectively to support the campaign. One type of capital that is considered crucial in the context of the Regional Elections is social capital. Various experts have given explanations about the concept of social capital. James S. Coleman explains that social capital is part of the structure that supports the actions of individuals who are members of that structure (Coleman, 1988; Sastrawati, 2020). Robert D. Putnam proposed that social capital is related to social life which includes networks, norms, and beliefs. Francis Fukuyama stated that social capital is the ability of individuals to work together in a group or organization to achieve a common goal (Fukuyama, 2006; Spicer, 2007). Meanwhile, Pierre Bourdieu defines social capital as a collection of actual or potential resources connected to the ownership of a network, which survives through more or less organized relationships of knowing or appreciating each other (Triyana & Ikhwan, 2019).

This concept of social capital is the basis for understanding how a prospective leader utilizes the social capital he has during the process of selecting regional heads (Bexell & Jönsson, 2019; Tréré, 2016). However, the definition of social capital according to Putnam is more concrete in describing the use of social capital in political contestation. Putnam describes social capital as a network, value, and trust that develops among community members (Fisher & Hamilton, 1996), which serves to facilitate relations and cooperation for mutual benefit. Thus, in a political context, the network formed between the regional head candidates and the voting community, whether from family relationships, organizations, or businesses, can affect the level of support received by candidates in the Regional Elections.

In the context of political decentralization, Pacitan Regency shows uniqueness in political dynamics influenced by the popularity of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as the founder of the Democratic Party and the 6th President of the Republic of Indonesia. This is evident from the results of the legislative election in 2019, where the Democratic Party won by obtaining 14 seats out of a total of 45 DPRD seats, with a total of 96,925 votes (BPS, 2021). SBY's character in Pacitan has a strong attraction for voters in determining their choice in every political event. In the direct regional head election in 2020, candidates supported by the Democratic Party managed to win the election by a significant margin. The pair of Indrata Nur Banyuaji (Democratic Party) - Gagarin (Golkar Party) obtained 72.1% of the votes or as many as 226,741 votes, defeating the pair of Yudhi Sumbogo (PDIP) - Isyah Anshori (PKB) who only won 24.2% of the votes or 76,077 votes.

The attractiveness possessed by SBY not only affects voters, but is also able to attract the attention of the coalition of political parties in Pacitan Regency. This can be seen from the large coalition that supports the pair of candidates for regent and deputy regent in the 2020 Regional Elections,

involving the Democratic Party, Golkar Party, PPP, PKS, Gerindra, Hanura, and Nasdem. SBY is known as a political figure who has great influence at the national level and has many supporters. In the context of the 2020 Pacitan Regency Elections, SBY is likely to play an important role in attracting support from political parties and forming a coalition that carries a pair of candidates for regent and deputy regent. Several parties involved in the election have close ties to SBY and the Democratic Party, which is led by SBY.

SBY's presence in the national political scene has attracted public attention since the 2004 presidential and vice-presidential elections, and he was re-elected in the 2009 election. During his leadership period, SBY highlighted a leadership style that reflected the "Javanese" character in every political action and policy aimed at improving the welfare of the community (Suetha, 2021). The characteristic "Javanese" refers to the assumptions, values, and commitments that shape a person's view of the reality of life (Asad, 1993; Berenschot & Aspinall, 2020; Nuradhawati, 2019). That is, every individual has a way of looking at the world, but the assumptions underlying that view are often not directly visible. These profound and hidden elements of culture can be described on two levels: surface and depth (Asad, 1993; Nisar et al., 2022). At the surface level, what is visible is a person's behavior patterns, which are closely related to a deeper level of depth (Hiebert, 1985).

In this article, SBY's leadership characteristics adopt more "Javanese" societal values, where in politics, manners are placed above all actions (Suetha, 2021). Based on this discussion, this study uses sentiment analysis (Prabowo & Thelwall, 2009) To show how conformity with social rules affects voters' decisions in choosing one of the candidates in the regional head election. The decision can then be extended to the choice of political parties that are considered to be able to voice their aspirations and become a bridge to the welfare of the community. The normative implications of this study will enrich the discourse on democracy, considering that social conformity plays an important role in determining the outcome of elections. Therefore, the results of the election of regional heads are not only a product of choice, but also the result of deep reasons by considering the influence of social actors in society (April et al., 2024; Gaol & Hutasoit, 2021).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The victory of Indrata Nur Banyuaji and Gagarin in the 2020 Pacitan Regency Regional Election has raised a debate about the main factors underlying the success, whether it is more driven by kinship-based solidarity or group solidarity. Kinship solidarity refers to relationships that are established between family members or close relatives, while group solidarity includes relationships within a broader community scope (Saefuddin, 2015). In this context, there are indications that kinship makes a significant contribution to the couple's victory. However, support from political parties is also an important factor that also affects the results of the Regional Elections (Hkimat, 2014; Humaedi et al., 2018; Kurniawan, 2020). Influence in the world of politics is often formed and regulated through complex structures. This structure

involves various elements, such as political parties, community leaders, and other interest groups. In Pacitan Regency, one of the main factors affecting the results of the Regional Elections is the support that comes from various political parties. In addition, the role of community leaders is also very significant in influencing voters' choices. In politics, solidarity can be maintained through the context of local solidarity, which is the relationship between individuals in a certain region who have similarities in culture, language, and history. This article will discuss comparatively the analysis of political party support coordinated by SBY, coupled with his charismatic influence as a public figure, strengthening the position of the Indrata Nur Banyuaji and Gagarin pair in the 2020 Regional Elections. Thus, solidarity relations both within kinship and groups are one of the keys to the couple's success, which is rooted in closeness with figures like SBY.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a descriptive approach, namely describing and comparing patterns in actions, activities and behaviours (groups and individuals) in the process of regional head elections in Pacitan Regency in 2020 (Sugiyono, 2009). The social capital identified in this study is the study of the networks and social relations formed within the group, such as political parties, social organizations, and religious institutions that support candidate pairs, as well as the intensity and depth of these relationships. The writing of this article was carried out with a qualitative approach with data collection methods through electronic media, scientific documents, and interviews with a number of resource persons (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Data search was carried out through online media and electronic journals as secondary data, while interviews were conducted by selecting a number of informants purposively as primary data sources. This research is located in the Pacitan Regency area as one of the regions that held the Simultaneous Regional Elections in 2020.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Kinship Solidarity and Group Solidarity in Determining the Victory of the 2020 Pacitan Regent Candidate Pair

1. Kinship

Kinship and group solidarity in Pacitan played a significant role in determining the outcome of the 2020 Regional Elections, where family relationships and extensive social networks were the main bases of political support, with the figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) acting as a political patron who mobilized support through emotional bonds and social loyalty (Aspinall & Sukmajati, 2015). This study shows that in a society with a strong family culture, solidarity becomes a political force that significantly influences voter preferences and election dynamics. However, it is important to ensure that this solidarity does not lead to nepotism or favouritism, but rather is directed towards building inclusive and interest-oriented public policies that are oriented towards the interests of the wider community by paying attention to the principles of meritocracy and transparency, so that political decisions can

represent the public interest, not just the interests of a particular group or family.

Kinship and kinship relationships also strengthen political support through active participation. This support can be provided in a variety of ways, such as participating in political campaigns or activities, providing financial support, or simply showing moral support. Family participation in political campaigns creates a more solid environment for the candidate or party it supports, as extended families can work together in disseminating information and mobilizing society. Moral support from family also plays an important role in building motivation for candidates or family members involved in politics. The active involvement of families in political activities provides a significant boost to candidates, and is often a determining factor in the success of campaigns. This active participation shows how the family is not only a spectator in politics, but also serves as an actor who directly influences the political process through active and sustained engagement.

Furthermore, political identification based on kinship and kinship relationships also plays a big role in determining individual political choices. This political identification refers to the tendency of individuals to choose candidates or parties that share their values and views with their families. With the compatibility of views between individuals and families, individuals feel a strong emotional attachment to the political choices made. This creates consistency in political support, where individuals tend to maintain the same choices as extended family as a form of solidarity and loyalty. This political identification also strengthens family cohesion in a political context, as all family members feel involved in supporting choices that are perceived to represent their collective interests. This identification not only creates short-term loyalty, but also forms a long-term commitment to shared political values.

Kinship and familial relationships also have a direct impact on voters' decisions in general elections. Political decisions are often made based on the views and support provided by family and relatives. In many cases, individuals feel more comfortable choosing a candidate or party that is supported by the family, because they believe that the choice reflects shared values. Political choices based on family influence give individuals a sense of security, as they feel they have the support and approval of the immediate social environment. Voter decisions influenced by family show that kinship not only plays a role in shaping political opinions, but also becomes a determining factor in the final choice in the voting booth. With the support of the family, individuals feel that they have a strong basis in choosing a candidate or party that is in line with their aspirations and desires as part of the family group.

In addition, kinship and kinship relationships help in forming a solid political community. These political communities are made up of family members and relatives who share the same political views, and often work together in supporting the candidate or party they choose. In this kinship-based political community, individuals can share ideas, strategies, and resources that can be used to influence the political process. These communities not only strengthen political support at the individual level, but also create a strong

social network in support of candidates or parties collectively. The existence of this political community strengthens social bonds among its members, and provides space for individuals to feel involved in the political process. Thus, political communities formed through kinship and kinship relationships have the potential to significantly influence election outcomes, as members of these communities are actively involved in voicing support and influencing public opinion.

Overall, kinship and kinship relationships are important instruments in the formation and strengthening of political support. The emotional and social influences that come from the family create a solid basis for individuals to form political preferences. Family and relatives are also reliable sources of information, providing insights that help individuals understand and evaluate their political choices. The active participation of the family in political activities, moral and financial support, and the formation of kinship-based political communities show that the family not only influences individual choices, but also has a direct role in the political process. In addition, strong political identification between individuals and families creates a solid loyalty to a candidate or party that is perceived as representing shared values. In the context of elections, family influence is often a determining factor in voter decisions, as individuals feel more confident in voting based on the support they receive from the immediate social environment.

Therefore, kinship and kinship relationships have a significant role in the political process. They are not just passive influence, but also serve as key drivers in shaping opinions, strengthening support, and influencing political decisions. Understanding the role of kinship and kinship relationships in politics allows us to see how political support is not only the result of individual preferences, but also of the social networks that are deeply rooted in the family. Thus, this relationship shows that politics is a part of social life that involves shared relationships and values, thus strengthening deeper and more sustainable political support.

2. Group

The results of the study show that group solidarity played an important role in the victory of the 2020 Pacitan Regent election, transcending kinship boundaries and encompassing diverse social, religious, and professional groups. The winning candidates were able to align their vision and commitments with the values and interests of these groups, especially with religious figures and religious organizations, thus securing majority support. Religious groups in Pacitan, for example, exert significant influence due to the moral and social leadership they have, which increases the legitimacy of the candidates. In addition, professional groups such as farmers, fishermen, and teachers also showed decisive influence, where candidates who managed to get closer and show a real commitment to their specific issues were able to consolidate strong support. The synergistic interaction between kinship solidarity and groups results in a broader and stronger support base, building social legitimacy as well as the success of political campaigns at the local level.

This solidarity includes social communities formed based on common identities or interests, such as religious and professional groups. Religious groups, for example, play a dominant role in local politics with religious figures serving as moral and social leaders. Support from religious groups is often based on aligning spiritual and ethical values with the candidate's vision. Candidates who are able to demonstrate a commitment to these values through open dialogue, attendance at religious events, and participation in social activities, gain strong legitimacy in the eyes of voters.

In addition to religious groups, professional groups such as farmers, fishermen, and teachers also make significant contributions to the direction of political support. Each of these groups has specific needs, such as access to resources for farmers, sustainability policies for fishermen, and improved welfare for teachers. Candidates who show genuine concern and commitment to these needs tend to have broader support. Through direct interactions, such as open discussions and field trips, candidates not only understand community issues but also build a more personal relationship with voters.

Synergies between various groups create a structured and sustainable network of political support. Group solidarity makes an important contribution to the stability of support by forming loyal voter blocs based on common values and aspirations. Candidates who successfully embrace these diverse groups not only expand their support base, but also create broader political legitimacy. This shows that local politics depends not only on campaign promises, but also on the ability of candidates to understand and champion the aspirations of the community.

The study also found that group solidarity has a strong emotional dimension. When candidates are actively involved in group activities, such as dialogue with religious leaders or listening directly to the complaints of the professional community, voters feel valued and heard. This kind of interaction creates a deeper closeness between candidates and groups, reinforcing voters' sense of trust and loyalty. As a result, support from the group is not only temporary, but also continues to grow even after the election is over.

Thus, group solidarity is a key element in building strong and meaningful political support. Candidates who understand these social dynamics can leverage group solidarity to strengthen their legitimacy, create closer relationships with communities, and increase their chances of winning elections. This research confirms that in local politics, active engagement with various social groups is an important strategy to build political support that is not only broad but also deep.

3. Distribution of Support

The results of the study show that the distribution of support in the 2020 Pacitan Regent election is influenced by social dynamics, kinship, and group identity in the community. Support is not only dependent on the candidate's popularity or program, but is also influenced by kinship proximity, group affiliation, as well as emotional attachment to local political figures, such as Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who play a significant role in mobilizing support in various regions. The victory of the pair of Indrata Nur Bayuaji and

Gagarin was supported by a large coalition of parties and personal branding of SBY, which managed to win the sympathy of voters in traditional bases and regions with strong emotional attachments. On the other hand, the pair of Yudi Sumbogo and Isyah Ansori tried to mobilize support in the PDI Perjuangan vote pockets, but lost in terms of coalition strength and the influence of SBY figures. This research emphasizes the importance of political collaboration, support of local figures with national influence, as well as kinship and group solidarity in building the distribution of support and influencing the results of the regional head election in Pacitan.

The distribution of political support in the 2020 Pacitan Regional Election is greatly influenced by social, cultural, and political factors that are typical of the local community. Kinship and group solidarity is the main pillar in determining the direction of support, where emotional bonds in extended families and relationships in religious- or professional-based communities strengthen the stability of support for candidates. The presence of national figures such as Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who has an emotional bond with the people of Pacitan, provides additional influence, increases local legitimacy and a sense of pride, and helps mobilize support widely.

Kinship solidarity creates a moral responsibility for extended families to support candidates associated with them, while group solidarity, which includes religious and professional groups, allows communities to voice collective aspirations and ensure the candidate's attention to their specific needs. This makes political support in Pacitan not only an expression of choice for political programs or promises, but also a reflection of upheld social values.

In addition to the solidarity factor, political preferences in Pacitan are also influenced by the level of political education, political experience, and perception of the performance of the previous government. People who have political education and political experience tend to be more critical and rational in choosing candidates who are considered competent and able to bring about changes that are in accordance with local needs.

The synergy between kinship solidarity, group solidarity, the influence of SBY figures, and the education and political experience of the community resulted in a wide and organized support network, which was a key factor in the victory of the Indrata-Gagarin pair. This success emphasizes the importance of a deep understanding of social and cultural contexts in local campaign strategies. This study shows that local politics in Pacitan is the result of a complex interaction between strong social bonds and collective aspirations, rather than merely programmatic campaigns, opening up opportunities for further study of the influence of social aspects on voter behaviour.

4. Voter Participation

The results of the study show that voter participation in the 2020 Pacitan Regency Regional Election is influenced by various factors, including political awareness, access to information, and social mobilization carried out by the KPU and the candidate's success team. The Pacitan KPU uses a contextual cultural and social-based approach, by utilizing local leaders, religious communities, and professional groups to increase voter awareness and

participation, especially in remote areas. Kinship and group solidarity also plays a big role in mobilizing voters, creating a sense of responsibility and social loyalty in supporting certain candidates. The involvement of local leaders as opinion leaders is an important element in conveying political messages, which is strengthened by direct socialization in villages and communities. This approach is in line with ethnopolitical and social mobilization theories, which emphasize the importance of identity and social networks in determining voter behaviour. However, challenges such as limited resources and changing preferences of young voters require the KPU to adapt to digital and social media strategies to reach a wider segment of voters.

The importance of voter participation as an indicator of community involvement in the democratic process in the 2020 Pacitan Regency Regional Elections. The level of voter participation in Pacitan is influenced by several main factors, such as political awareness, access to information, kinship and group solidarity, as well as the active role of the Pacitan Regency KPU in increasing participation through social and cultural-based strategies. Political awareness and access to information play an important role in increasing voter participation. The Pacitan KPU seeks to build this awareness through voter education, direct socialization to remote communities, and the use of social media to reach the younger generation. This cultural and social-based approach takes advantage of kinship and group solidarity, as well as the role of local leaders as leaders of opinion trusted by the community, so that political messages can be received more effectively.

Kinship and group solidarity is also an important catalyst in encouraging voter participation, where support from family and community plays a role as a moral encouragement to participate in elections. The KPU utilizes social networks and community leaders to reach out to the community in a more personal way, strengthening their commitment to the election process. While these social and cultural-based strategies are effective, the study also notes the challenges faced, such as reliance on local figures and the need for large resources to reach remote areas. In certain situations, such as the pandemic, the KPU needs to adopt digital campaigns to reach voters, especially the younger generation. So, this study shows that the Pacitan KPU has succeeded in increasing voter participation with an inclusive and contextual-based strategy. This approach ensures a representative democracy and can serve as a model for other regions with similar social and cultural characteristics, although the KPU needs to continue to adapt to answer existing challenges and increase political participation in the future.

Influence Structure Built and Organized, as well as Solidarity Relations Maintained for the Victory of Regional Head Candidate Pairs in Pacitan Regency in 2020

1. Campaign Organizational Structure

The results of the study show that the organizational structure of the campaign and solidarity relations in the 2020 Pacitan Regional Election played an important role in winning the candidate pair, especially with the challenges

presented by the COVID-19 pandemic. The hierarchical and coordinated campaign structure from the district level to the volunteers in the village ensures that each layer has clear roles and responsibilities, allowing for effective coordination. The campaign team leveraged the influence of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as a central figure to create emotional connections and build political legitimacy through a symbolic political approach and local identity. The use of digital technology, such as social media and online communication platforms, is also maximized to reach voters effectively without violating health protocols, so as to maintain connectivity and solidarity with voters. This adaptive strategy allowed campaigns to run safely and efficiently, resulting in increased voter participation despite physical restrictions due to the pandemic. This approach proves that with an adaptive structure and the use of technology, political campaigns can still be effective in challenging conditions.

The importance of a structured and adaptive campaign organizational structure in supporting the success of candidate pairs in the 2020 Pacitan Regional Elections. The hierarchical and organized organizational structure of the campaign allows for effective coordination at all levels, from the core team at the district level to volunteers and sympathizers at the village level. With this structure, each campaign role can function synergistically and efficiently, ensuring that the campaign runs according to plan and reaches all levels of society. In the face of the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic, the campaign structure showed flexibility by switching to a digital approach, leveraging social media, WhatsApp, and webinar platforms to maintain interaction with voters. The use of this digital technology allows campaign teams to communicate effectively and inclusively without violating health protocols, expanding the reach of campaign information to remote areas. This approach also allows campaigns to respond to feedback from voters in real-time, making campaigns more responsive and participatory.

In addition to the digital approach, the campaign also incorporates personalized strategies at the local level through volunteers who maintain direct contact with the community and build emotional bonds with voters. This approach is reinforced by the use of symbolism by national figure Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who has strong historical and emotional ties to the Pacitan community. Political branding that associates candidate pairs with SBY's political legacy has succeeded in creating voter loyalty, making support for candidate pairs a form of respect and a continuation of SBY's political vision. With a combination of digital, personal, and symbolic approaches, the campaign structure ensures broad engagement and creates an emotional bond with voters, even in pandemic situations. This adaptive structure not only supports the success of candidate pairs, but also demonstrates the responsibility of the campaign in creating a safe and inclusive electoral process.

2. Support Network

The support network in the 2020 Pacitan Regional Election is organized with a structured and adaptive approach, involving community leaders, local organizations, and digital volunteers to overcome the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. A coordinated hierarchical structure from the district to the

village level ensures an effective flow of communication and coordination, with sub-district and village coordinators acting as the main liaison. Campaigns use a personalized approach through small gatherings and direct communication to leverage the social capital that already exists in the community, while digital platforms are leveraged to expand the reach of campaign messages, educate voters, and keep active engagement safe. The figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as a local figure is also used as a political symbol to build an emotional narrative and strengthen the legitimacy of the candidate pair. This strategy has succeeded in building strong relationships between voters and candidates through a combination of personal and digital communication, as well as the use of relevant local symbols, demonstrating high effectiveness in mobilizing support and voter participation even in the midst of pandemic conditions.

It was emphasized that a structured, inclusive, and adaptive support network plays an important role in the success of the 2020 Pacitan Regional Election campaign. By utilizing community elements such as local leaders, community organizations (CSOs), political parties, and digital volunteers, the campaign has succeeded in creating a strong and responsive support network. The hierarchical structure implemented allows for clear and efficient communication from the core team at the district level to the coordinators at the sub-district and village levels, ensuring that campaign messages and strategies can be executed effectively on the ground. An adaptive approach is the key to success in facing the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. Coordinators at the sub-district and village levels are given autonomy to adjust campaign tactics based on local conditions, such as utilizing digital technology in urban areas or holding small meetings in rural areas with limited internet access. This flexibility ensures that the campaign continues to run safely according to health protocols, as well as reaching people in various segments.

The existence of community leaders and mass organizations in the support network adds legitimacy to the candidate pair. Local figures with a good reputation are trusted by the public to spread the campaign message, creating a strong emotional bond between candidates and voters. In addition, digital volunteers are leveraging social media and other communication platforms to reach young voters as well as connected communities online, expanding the reach of campaigns amid physical restrictions due to the pandemic. In addition to the operational aspect, the campaign also utilizes social capital and a symbolic approach by associating the candidate pair with the figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), a respected Pacitan-born figure. This strategy strengthens the emotional connection between voters and candidates, which fosters voter loyalty through a symbolic bond to the values that SBY carries. So, this well-organized support network allows the campaign to run in an inclusive, efficient, and responsive manner to conditions on the ground. The adaptive structure, collaboration with local figures, the use of digital technology, and a symbolic approach show that the 2020 Pacitan Regional Election campaign is able to present a safe, effective, and high-impact campaign in a challenging situation.

3. Campaign Strategy

The campaign strategy implemented by the Democratic Party in the 2020 Pacitan Regency Election shows that a combination of traditional approaches based on grassroots campaigns and digital technology innovation is the key to success in gaining voter support. Grassroots campaigns, which leverage kinship networks and personal proximity to voters, have succeeded in creating strong emotional bonds through face-to-face interactions and face-to-face meetings. The use of symbolic figures such as Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) strengthens the campaign narrative and increases the candidate's legitimacy in the eyes of the local community. On the other hand, the integration of digital technology through social media and online platforms allows the campaign to reach a wider audience, especially young voters and more digitally connected urban communities. The use of interactive content, videos, and data analytics allows for the dissemination of relevant and effective political messages, expanding the candidate's support base. This synergy between traditional and digital approaches demonstrates the importance of flexibility and adaptation of campaign strategies to reach different voter segments, as well as ensuring consistency of political messaging across communication channels, both offline and online.

The Democratic Party's campaign strategy in the 2020 Pacitan Regency Election is an effective combination of traditional approaches and digital innovations aimed at building emotional closeness with voters and strengthening the legitimacy of candidates. By relying on grassroots campaigns through the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) kinship network and supported by in-person activities, voters feel a strong personal bond with the candidate, reinforcing the belief that the candidate represents local values that are valued by the community. On the other hand, the utilization of social media and digital platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube allow campaigns to reach a wider audience, especially young voters and urban communities, through interactive content and engaging visuals. This combination of grassroots strategies rooted in local values and digital technology reflects the Democratic Party's deep understanding of the characteristics of the Pacitan community, as well as their adaptation to technological developments in the digital era. This synergy between offline and online approaches allows the Democrats to maintain their traditional loyal support base while attracting new groups of voters, making them a solid force in the Pacitan Regional Elections.

4. Mass Mobilization

Mass mobilization in the 2020 Pacitan Regency Regional Election shows the effectiveness of campaign strategies that integrate field approaches, social networks, and digital technology. Campaign teams utilize field activities such as face-to-face meetings, blusukans, and grand meetings, supported by an effectively organized organizational structure, to ensure active voter participation and expand the support base. This approach is strengthened by the use of local and religious leaders as key opinion leaders (KOLs), which serves to strengthen the legitimacy of candidates and build public trust through their social authority. KOLs are used to bridge the relationship between candidates and voters, creating an emotional attachment that is based not only

on political programs but also on social trust and legitimacy. In addition, the use of digital media as a means of communication and mass mobilization allows campaigns to reach a wider audience, including young voters and urban communities. This strategy demonstrates the importance of synergy between traditional approaches, such as field campaigns and social engagement, with technological innovations to maximize the reach and effectiveness of mass mobilization in political campaigns.

Research on mass mobilization strategies in the 2020 Pacitan Regency Regional Election campaign highlights the success of contextual, adaptive, and synergistic approaches that combine kinship and group-based social mobilization with digital technology. Kinship and group solidarity plays an important role as a solid foundation of political support, with the figure of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as a social patron who mobilizes loyal-based support and emotional closeness. In addition, the role of religious leaders and community leaders as key opinion leaders strengthens the credibility of candidates and increases voter participation through their social authority. The hierarchical organizational structure of the campaign, from the district to the village level, allows for efficient coordination and responsiveness to local needs, which is increasingly relevant amid the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. The use of digital technology also adds a new dimension to campaigns, enabling direct interaction through social media and online platforms that reach young voters and urban communities. The integration of traditional strategies, such as face-to-face meetings and field activities, with digital technologies creates a balance between grassroots approaches and modern innovations, ensuring inclusivity and sustainability of support. On the other hand, the Pacitan KPU also implements a local culture-based approach to increase participation, by utilizing local leaders and community networks to bring the political process closer to remote communities.

The overall strategy supports the concept of adaptive local governance, where the success of a political campaign is determined by its ability to combine traditional values with technological innovations to build deep social and emotional closeness with voters. This approach, which combines traditional and digital elements, shows that contextual and adaptive political campaigns can build a strong political support base and sustainable legitimacy, even in the midst of social challenges such as the pandemic.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusion of this study shows that kinship and group solidarity has a big role in strengthening local political stability and increasing political participation. However, the dominance of emotional loyalty over rational judgment can threaten the integrity of a healthy democracy. The findings also highlight that political patronage reinforced by ethno-politics-based social networks can significantly shape and mobilize voter behavior. The novelty of this study lies in the comprehensive elaboration of how the influence of political patronage and social networks can provide new strategic insights to develop effective political campaigns, based on social values held firmly by local

communities. In addition, this study reveals the importance of the role of kinship in building political solidarity that not only strengthens support for candidates or parties, but also creates social cohesion at the community level. However, kinship relationships that are too dominant can cause voters to get stuck in a pragmatic mindset that prioritizes the interests of the group or family, thereby reducing objectivity in voting based on broader policies and visions. Therefore, there needs to be a balance between social solidarity and rational assessment in the election process, to keep politics prioritizing the principles of justice, inclusivity, and the sustainability of a healthy democracy.

The research suggests several important aspects for governments, political parties, election organizers, and other researchers. The government is advised to initiate political education programs that increase voter awareness in choosing candidates based on quality and vision, as well as strengthen regulations to prevent the practice of money politics. Political parties need to combine a community-based approach with technology in their campaigns and select candidates with strong social commitments. Election organizers (KPU and Bawaslu) are asked to tighten supervision of money politics and develop campaign guidelines that pay attention to ethics and local wisdom. Other researchers are advised to conduct further studies on ethnopolitics and social mobilization in local politics, as well as explore the influence of pragmatism in political behavior to provide new insights into its influence on election outcomes and more rational political awareness.

FURTHER RESEARCH

This research still has limitations so further research is still needed on this topic "Solidarity Relations in Winning Pairs of Regional Head Candidates in Pacitan Regency".

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