

Perspective Analysis of Social Capital "Duit Ora Payu" Social Movement Rejecting Vote Buying in Narukan Village

Analisis Prespektif Modal Sosial "Duit Ora Payu" Gerakan Sosial Menolak Jual Beli Suara di Desa Narukan

Arissy Jorgi Sutan  ¹, M. Wira Anshori  ², Dinda Rosanti Salsa Bela ³, Azira Novia Rizal ⁴, Revi Jeane Putri ⁵, Uswatun Asiah ⁶

^{1, 3, 4, 6}Goverment Science Study Program, Faculty of Law, Universitas Jambi, Jambi, Indonesia

^{2, 5}Political Science Study Program, Faculty of Law, Universitas Jambi, Jambi, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: arissyjorgisutan@unja.ac.id

Abstract

This study analyzes the social movement "duit ora payu" (money doesn't work) as a grassroots rejection of vote buying in the Village Head Election (*Pilkades*) of Narukan Village, Rembang Regency. This phenomenon is significant because it presents an electoral anomaly in which local communities collectively resisted money politics, contributing to contemporary studies on village democracy and electoral integrity. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, this research draws on literature studies and digital data to examine the dynamics surrounding the election. The findings show that the high level of social capital possessed by the elected candidate, Gus Faruq, built through strong social networks, public trust in integrity, and sincere civic engagement, became the decisive factor in defeating opponents suspected of distributing money in a structured manner. His close relationship with prominent religious figures, especially Gus Baha, further strengthened moral credibility and reinforced anti-money politics norms in the community. The study concludes that value-based social capital can effectively counteract corrupt electoral practices and offers a replicable model for promoting clean grassroots elections.

Keywords

Money doesn't work; Social capital; Social movement.

Abstrak

Studi ini menganalisis gerakan sosial "duit ora payu" (uang tidak berharga) sebagai penolakan akar rumput terhadap praktik pembelian suara dalam Pemilihan Kepala Desa (Pilkades) Desa Narukan, Kabupaten Rembang. Fenomena ini penting karena menampilkan anomali elektoral di mana komunitas lokal secara kolektif menentang politik uang, yang berkontribusi pada studi kontemporer tentang demokrasi desa dan integritas pemilu. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif, penelitian ini mengacu pada studi literatur dan data digital untuk menganalisis dinamika seputar pemilihan. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa tingkat modal sosial yang tinggi yang dimiliki oleh calon terpilih, Gus Faruq, yang dibangun melalui jaringan sosial yang kuat, kepercayaan publik terhadap integritas, dan partisipasi sipil yang tulus menjadi faktor penentu dalam mengalahkan lawan yang diduga mendistribusikan uang secara terstruktur. Hubungannya yang erat dengan tokoh-tokoh agama terkemuka, terutama Gus Baha, semakin memperkuat kredibilitas moral dan memperkuat norma anti-politik uang di komunitas.

Kata Kunci

Duit ora payu; Modal sosial; Gerakan sosial.



DOI: [10.35967/njp.v24i2.861](https://doi.org/10.35967/njp.v24i2.861)

Submitted: 5 August 2025

Accepted: 15 January 2026

Published: 16 January 2026

© Author(s) 2025

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons Attribution-
NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0
International License.

1. Introduction

This study aims to analyze the phenomenon of *duit ora payu* as a social movement to reject vote buying in Narukan Village, Rembang Regency, using an adapted social capital theory. *Duit ora payu* which means money doesn't work in this context, is a slogan used by Narukan Village residents after the victory of Gus Umar Faruq or Gus Faruq in the 2022 Narukan Village Head Election. In this case, it shows that social movements can have a significant impact on local village head elections. In addition, this case shows that villagers still have the courage to reject vote buying (Earl et al., 2022; Flesher Fominaya, 2020; Kavada, 2020). In this case, we can conclude that the phenomenon of vote buying and money politics occurs even in local environments such as villages (Misran et al., 2021; Still & Dusi, 2020).

Based on a report by the Indonesian Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), there were significant cases in the 2019 Indonesian elections. The report states that in 2014, there were 709 cases of administrative violations and 8,388 cases of criminal election violations. In another case in the 2019 Indonesian elections, there were 582 cases of administrative violations and 16,134 cases of criminal election violations. Data from the Indonesian Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) is presented in Figure 1.

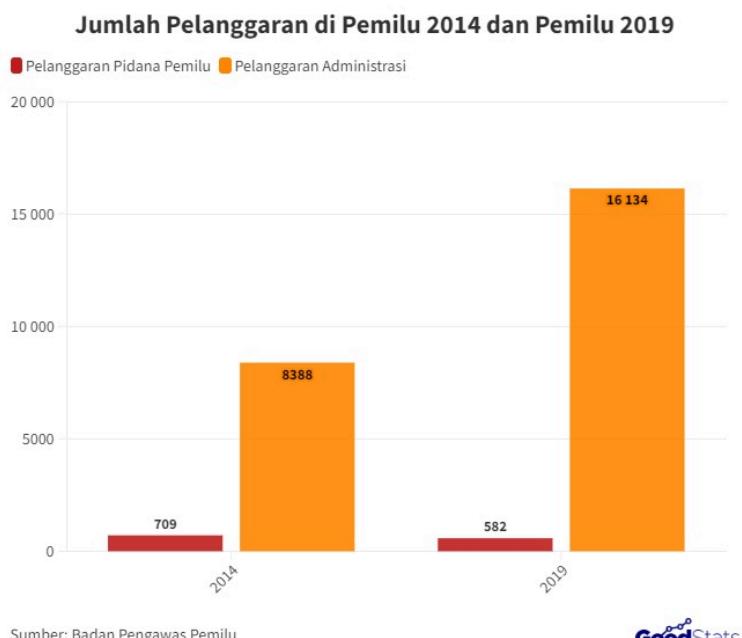


Figure 1. Cases of Election Violations in Indonesia in the 2014 and 2019 Elections by BAWASLU

Source: Badan Pengawas Pemilu, 2024

On the other hand, Figure 1 shows that in the discussion of the 2019 Indonesian elections, election violations emerged during the last two elections in Indonesia (Marinova & Anduiza, 2020; Zhao, 2022). In other cases, the magnitude of election violations in Indonesia indicates that the political climate is a high-cost political climate (McCarthy & Santucci, 2021; Pemunta, 2020). With this high-cost political climate, the situation in Indonesia can impact money politics at every level of the Indonesian political landscape (Hajnal et al., 2022; Mureşan, 2021). When money politics infiltrates small spheres, such as village head elections, it becomes a nightmare (Hajnal et al., 2022; Invernizzi, 2023).

The phenomenon of election violations is not only apparent at the national level but is also clearly visible in the electoral dynamics in Rembang Regency. The findings of the Rembang Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) reveal a few important issues that illustrate weak procedural compliance in each stage of the

election process. One notable case was the recommendation for a re-vote at several polling stations, including TPS 01 in Narukan Village, after it was discovered that voters with non-local ID cards who were not registered in the additional voter list were still able to cast their votes. In addition, Bawaslu Rembang also documented 868 cases of procedural flaws in the matching and research process (coklit) in 183 villages/subdistricts and nearly 2,995 violations of campaign material placement (APK). These findings show that administrative and technical violations are still quite dominant, even in regencies that are considered relatively politically stable ([Budi, 2024](#)).

More specifically, the case in Narukan Village shows how procedural weaknesses at the micro level can have direct consequences for the legitimacy of voting. The recommendation for a re-vote at TPS 01 shows that errors in updating voter data and verifying identities are not only technical issues but also have the potential to change the election results at the village level. This situation reflects that Narukan Village is not an area free from electoral vulnerabilities but rather presents a concrete example of how procedural inaccuracies can affect the entire election process. Thus, the empirical justification from Bawaslu Rembang confirms that the study of election dynamics in Narukan Village is highly relevant to understanding the challenges of local democracy, particularly in ensuring the integrity and accountability of election administration at the village level.

As we know, villages are part of local government in Indonesia. Village head elections, or "*Pilkades*," in Indonesia are grassroots elections in which villagers elect their village heads. These elections usually take place every six years and are important for local government, as they ensure that community leaders are elected by the people they serve, thereby fostering a more democratic and participatory form of local government ([Hidayaturrahman et al., 2022](#); [Tjahjoko, 2022](#)). The process involves various stages, including voter registration, a campaign period, and the actual voting process, which is often conducted simultaneously in several villages (Simultaneous *Pilkades*) to streamline the election process and improve efficiency. Despite challenges such as voter data collection and money politics, these elections play an important role in maintaining the integrity and legitimacy of local government in Indonesia ([Daun Rara, 2024](#); [Harits Anugrah et al., 2022](#); [Pravidjayanto, 2024](#)).

On the other hand, there are several requirements that candidates must meet, such as ([Kurniawan & Findawati, 2021](#)) :

1. Eligibility: candidates for the position of village head in Indonesia must usually be residents, ensuring they have a direct connection with the community they wish to serve. In addition to residency, candidates are often required to meet certain educational qualifications, which may include a minimum level of formal education, such as a high school diploma or higher. Age requirements also play an important role, with candidates typically needing to be at least 21 years old, reflecting standards that promote maturity and responsibility in leadership roles. These criteria are designed to ensure that candidates have the necessary knowledge and understanding of local governance and community needs ([Nurpadliya et al., 2022](#)).
2. Voting Process: voting process for village head elections is characterized by a direct voting system in which villagers actively participate in electing their leader. This process often involves community meetings and discussions ahead of the election, fostering an environment of engagement and transparency. Villagers gather to discuss candidates' platforms and qualifications, which helps inform their decisions. On election day, voting usually takes place at designated polling stations where community members cast their votes in person. The process is overseen by a Selection Committee that ensures compliance with electoral

standards and regulations, which aim to maintain fairness and integrity during the voting ([Nugroho & Phahlevy, 2022](#)).

3. Significance: village heads play a crucial role in local development as they are responsible for managing community resources and implementing policies that directly affect the lives of villagers. This includes overseeing local infrastructure projects, coordinating social services, and facilitating community programs aimed at improving the quality of life. Village heads act as a bridge between the government and the community, advocating for local needs and ensuring that residents have a voice in governance. Their leadership can significantly influence economic development initiatives and social cohesion within the village.
4. Challenges: despite the importance of these elections, several challenges can undermine their integrity. Issues such as electoral fraud, where irregularities like vote buying or manipulation can occur, pose a significant threat to fair results. Furthermore, a lack of transparency in the electoral process can lead to distrust among voters regarding the legitimacy of the results. Political competition among candidates can also create tensions within the community, potentially leading to conflicts that disrupt the electoral process. These challenges highlight the need for ongoing reforms and oversight mechanisms to improve electoral integrity.
5. Impact: elected village heads have considerable influence over local governance, shaping policies that affect social services and community engagement. Their decisions can determine how resources are allocated for education, healthcare, and infrastructure development in the village. In addition, effective village heads can encourage greater community participation in governance by motivating residents to engage in local decision-making processes. This makes village head elections not only important for rural democracy but also crucial for promoting sustainable development and improving the overall welfare of rural communities in Indonesia.

Vote buying is a form of electoral malpractice in which political parties or candidates distribute money, goods, or services to voters in exchange for their votes. This practice undermines the integrity of elections and harms democratic governance ([Davies, 2021](#); [Guerra & Justesen, 2022](#)). As we can see, vote buying involves the exchange of economic incentives, such as cash, goods, or services, for political support. This is often referred to as electoral clientelism or patronage politics. This phenomenon undermines the democratic process and can have several negative effects ([Accinelli et al., 2022](#)):

1. Erosion of Trust: vote buying significantly undermines public trust in elections and government. When voters feel that their choices are manipulated through financial incentives, it erodes fundamental beliefs in the fairness and legitimacy of the electoral process. This erosion of trust can lead to widespread disillusionment with the democratic system, potentially resulting in lower voter turnout and less engagement in future elections. Furthermore, it undermines the idea of free and fair elections, which are essential for the stability and progress of democracy ([Berenschot et al., 2021](#)).
2. Inequality: vote buying exacerbates existing social and economic inequalities within society. Wealthier candidates often have greater resources, allowing them to engage in vote buying more effectively. This skews the electoral playing field, creating an unbalanced competition in which less wealthy candidates are at a significant disadvantage. Resource gaps can lead to situations where only those with substantial financial backing have a realistic chance of winning, thereby limiting opportunities for marginalized groups and smaller parties. This perpetuates a cycle of inequality in which those who are already disadvantaged become further marginalized through the electoral process ([Ichino & Nathan, 2022](#)).

3. Short-Term Focus: the lure of immediate rewards can cause voters to prioritize short-term gains over the long-term needs of the community. When voters are offered cash, goods, or services in exchange for their votes, they may make decisions based on immediate gratification rather than considering the broader implications for their communities. This short-term focus can result in poor decision-making for future governance, as policies and leaders chosen solely for personal gain may not address the underlying issues affecting the community. As a result, this can lead to a lack of sustainable development and poor governance, which ultimately harms the long-term welfare of the community ([Tunmibi & Olatokun, 2021](#)).
4. Legal Consequences: although illegal in many countries, including Indonesia, vote buying remains a significant challenge for democratic governments. Enforcing anti-vote buying laws can be particularly challenging, especially in rural areas where resources and infrastructure are limited. The lack of effective enforcement mechanisms allows vote buying to persist, undermining the rule of law and perpetuating a culture of corruption. In Indonesia, for example, laws prohibiting vote buying are in place, but the rural context often makes it difficult to monitor and prevent such practices. This highlights the need for a strong institutional framework and robust anti-corruption measures to effectively combat vote buying ([Denemark, 2023](#); [Pellicer et al., 2022](#)).

On the other hand, social movements can be formed by a sense of collective injustice. The residents of Narukan Village feel that money politics is unfair in local political contests ([Effendi et al., 2020](#)). *Duit ora payu* social movement in Narukan Village emerged as a grassroots reaction to the rampant problem of money politics in Indonesian elections. This movement represents the collective dissatisfaction of the community with corrupt practices that undermine the democratic process and local government. The name "*duit ora payu*", which translates to "money doesn't work," encapsulates the central message of the movement: rejecting the influence of money in politics and advocating for a fairer electoral system. Based on this case, *duit ora payu* can be classified as a grassroots response to prevent and reject money politics in Narukan Village ([Sulaksono et al., 2024](#)).

One of the main characteristics of Southeast Asian social movements is their grassroots foundation. Many of these movements are initiated and organized at the community level, where local leaders rally residents around specific issues such as land rights, environmental degradation, and labor exploitation. For example, the struggle of farmers in the Philippines and land rights activism in Cambodia demonstrates how communities are fighting against the encroachment on their livelihoods and advocating for their rights. These grassroots movements typically rely on building solidarity among affected individuals, fostering a sense of collective identity and purpose ([Sutan et al., 2021](#)).

On the other hand, Gus Faruq's victory can spread through the social and personal capital he possesses. There are three fundamental dimensions of social capital: bonding, bridging, and linking. Bonding social capital involves relationships and connections within close-knit groups, such as family, friends, or ethnic communities. This type of capital strengthens bonds and provides emotional support but can also limit broader engagement with diverse groups. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, encompasses relationships between different social groups, promoting inclusivity and the sharing of resources and information across boundaries. Linking social capital expands these networks by incorporating connections with institutions and authorities, thereby facilitating access to resources and power structures ([Putri & Ikhwan, 2021](#)).

Social capital theory emphasizes the importance of trust and social norms in promoting cooperation. Trust between individuals and within communities can

increase civic engagement and participation, leading to stronger social bonds and better collective outcomes. Communities with high levels of social capital often exhibit lower crime rates, better health outcomes, and more effective governance, as residents are more likely to collaborate in addressing shared challenges ([Hadi & Purwati, 2020](#)). Based on the Scopus Database with the theme of Social Movements and Elections, there are 535 documents, as illustrated in Figure 2.

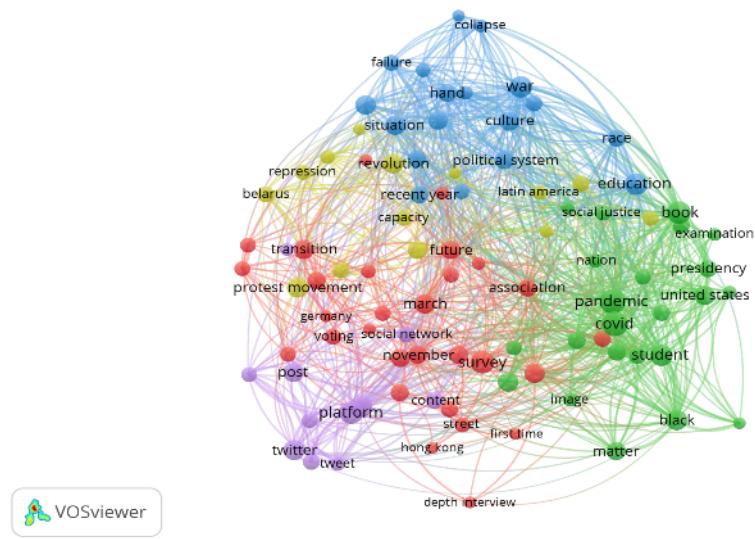


Figure 2. VOSviewer Analysis of the Scopus Database

Source: VOSviewer, Processed by Authors, 2025

Based on Figure 2, it shows that the research conducted focused on specific themes such as protests, movements, elections, political structures, social justice, and other themes relevant to social movements and elections. There is a gap in the literature from previous studies that did not focus on the use of the social capital perspective in local cases of social movements in village head elections (Ahmad et al., 2024). This study examines local social movements through a social capital perspective, focusing on the *duit ora payu* phenomenon in a village head election.

The phenomenon of *duit ora payu* in Narukan Village is relevant to be studied in the context of the broader dynamics of democracy and electoral politics in Indonesia. This case directly highlights the discourse on the quality of regional elections (Marta & Asrida, 2021) and can be seen as a manifestation of the important role of civil society in overseeing the democratization process and demanding clean government (Asrida et al., 2021). Moreover, this phenomenon is interesting because it highlights the qualitative aspect of political participation, where the community is not only measured by its presence at the ballot box, an issue that is often highlighted in relation to voter participation gaps (Rizaldi & Marta, 2021), but also by its collective awareness to reject transactional practices. Ultimately, movements based on social capital to overthrow incumbents can be analogized as a form of "political disruption" at the local level, challenging the old order and aligning with the challenges faced by new political forces in the current era (Barokah et al., 2024).

2. Methods

This study adopts a qualitative approach [Dalkin et al., \(2021\)](#) with a descriptive-analytical method to deeply analyze the phenomenon of *duit ora payu* social movement in Narukan Village. This approach was chosen to understand the meaning behind collective community actions and how social capital works in rejecting money politics, a phenomenon that cannot be measured solely by numbers.

The research process began with the identification of problems through initial observations of the dynamics after the village head election, followed by literature and digital data searches, field data collection, data analysis, and inductive conclusion drawing.

Data collection was carried out using two main techniques, namely digital data search and field studies. Digital data included local media archives, discourse on social media related to this movement, and village public documents. Meanwhile, primary data was reinforced through participant observation and in-depth interviews. The technique for determining the research subjects used purposive sampling, in which informants were selected based on their direct involvement and in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon being studied. Key informants in this study included: (1) Local religious leaders (including those affiliated with Gus Baha), who contributed data on the moral and theological legitimacy of the movement; (2) Activists of the *duit ora payu* movement who provided data on mass mobilization strategies; and (3) Narukan villagers as rational voters who provided perspectives on the shift in voting preferences from transactional to trust-based. The data contributions from these informants were crucial to verifying how social capital was converted into political capital.

Data analysis was conducted using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, which includes data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing or verification. Data collected from various sources (digital and interviews) was sorted to separate relevant information and was then presented in the form of a logical narrative linking social capital theory with practice in the field. Data validity was tested through source triangulation, comparing informants' statements with digital traces and related literature to ensure that the conclusions drawn were an objective reflection of the social reality in Narukan Village.

3. Results and Discussion

This study argues that the success of *duit ora payu* movement in Narukan Village was not merely a reactive emotional response to vote-buying, but a strategic activation of value based social capital. The victory of Gus Faruq demonstrates that when a candidate possesses strong moral credibility (trust) and cultural religious networks, these intangible assets can effectively delegitimize financial incentives. Consequently, this research posits that social capital serves as a decisive political currency capable of neutralizing transactional politics at the grassroots level.

This section is defined by two main analyzes, namely: first, the Analysis of *duit ora payu* social movement from a Social Capital Perspective. Second, the analysis of the role of social media in the *duit ora payu* social movement. From a social capital perspective, social networks, trust, civic engagement, and shared norms and values are fundamental pillars that strengthen the structure of society and collaboration among its members. Social networks represent the structure and intensity of relationships between individuals or groups, which are reflected in the size of the network, the frequency of interactions, and the diversity of connections. Trust between members strengthens cooperation and collaboration, creating a conducive social climate. Active participation in community activities such as local organizations, meetings, or voluntary activities reflects high civic engagement, which indicates strong social capital. Shared norms and values, such as reciprocity, mutual assistance, and public responsibility, form a normative framework that regulates social behavior. These four elements interact with each other in building social capital that underlies the collective capacity for action in the community.

The formation of social movements can be analyzed through several classical and contemporary conceptual frameworks. [Tilly \(1998\)](#) argues that social movements are created through "sustained challenge to powerholders in the name

of a disadvantaged population". According to Sidney Tarrow, mobilization will arise when the political opportunity structure changes, opening opportunities for systematic collective action. Meanwhile, Manuel Castells highlights that modern social movements grow out of shared experiences of injustice expressed through social networks and public spaces, including digital spaces. On the other hand, Alberto Melucci emphasizes that social movements are also a process of collective identity formation: solidarity is formed not only because of shared interests, but because actors feel "bound to each other to make sense of what they are doing" ([Suwardi, 2006](#)). This theoretical perspective describes social movements as the result of interactions between social capital (networks and trust), political structures that open up spaces for action, and the formation of collective identity through symbolic networks and public communication.

By synthesizing these frameworks, this study posits a central thesis: the *duit ora payu* movement was not merely a spontaneous reaction to financial bribes but a deliberate mobilization of normative social capital. While the incumbent attempted to use financial capital (transactional), Gus Faruq successfully countered it by activating 'bonding ties' rooted in religious-cultural loyalty. This research argues that in traditional societies like Narukan, moral trust and kinship networks act as a more potent 'political currency' than money, effectively neutralizing the influence of vote-buying through the collective enforcement of shared ethical values.

3.1. Analysis of Gus Faruq's Social Capital Network in the *Duit ora Payu* Social Movement

This analysis attempts to explore Gus Faruq's social networks in the *duit ora payu* social movement, showing Gus Baha's networks in the community. Gus Faruq has relationships with several influential religious figures in the Islamic community, such as Gus Baha. This can increase his credibility and reputation within the community. The strong ties he has with religious figures in Narukan Village can also enhance his credibility and reputation. In addition, strong family ties not only with Gus Baha but also within the Narukan Village community, which is known for its strong family culture, contribute to the bond between Gus Faruq and the local community in Narukan Village ([Fathy, 2019](#)).

Our primary data confirm this cultural bond, as noted by local resident Zainul Umam Nursalim, the community's loyalty was non-negotiable: 'Gus Faruq is part of our family here. We see the family of Gus Baha as our spiritual guides. Accepting money to vote against them would not just be a political betrayal, but a spiritual one.' This interview snippet clarifies that the 'strong family ties' mentioned in previous literature manifest in a deep-seated sense of communal obligation that transcends material incentives.

Furthermore, the influence of KH. Maimoen Zubair's legacy, as mentioned in media reports, was verified through our discussions with local youth activists. They explained that the *duit ora payu* slogan was a way to honor the values of honesty and independence taught by their elders. Zainul Umam Nursalim: 'We wanted to prove that Narukan is a village of students (santri), not a village that can be bought.' This primary evidence demonstrates that the social network was not just a passive structure but an active mechanism for moral resistance.

In addition, the support from religious groups and the community can have an impact on increasing Gus Faruq's credibility and popularity in the Narukan village head election. This is a form of support that can be seen as directly related to the positions of religious and traditional leaders, which can significantly influence support for certain individuals ([Kharisma et al., 2020](#)). In this context, the strong family ties with Gus Baha will have a significant impact on Gus Faruq's support and credibility.

In addition, Gus Faruq is a member of Gus Baha's family, and Gus Baha himself is a student of KH. Maimoen Zubair, the leader of the pesantren, is a charismatic figure who is highly respected. Therefore, all decisions are entrusted to him. Apart from being an important figure in leading the pesantren, he is also a role model for the students. His students can emulate his many admirable qualities. "Honesty, simplicity, integrity, humility, freedom of thought, innovation in knowledge, fairness, and independence are some of his qualities (Sudja'i et al., 2022). This analysis shows that Gus Faruq has strong and deep ties with civil society and religious groups in Narukan Village.



Figure 3. Gus Faruq during the Election Voting in Narukan Village

Source: <https://jateng.tribunnews.com/tag/duit-ora-payu>

3.2. Analysis of The Aspect of Trust in Gus Faruq as Part of Social Capital

This analysis shows that trust can be one aspect of social capital. In this context, Gus Faruq is described as a highly respected figure in Narukan Village. The respect for Gus Faruq tends to align with the positive stigma held by the local community regarding his character. Thus, Gus Faruq is described as a highly respected individual with a strong understanding of religious knowledge. As a result, the community's perception of Gus Faruq has a relatively positive impact, thereby increasing his electability (Rombi, 2021).

In this context, there is a demonstration of respect and positive social stigma towards Gus Faruq, positioning him as a figure with positive values and one of the most respected individuals in Narukan Village, Rembang Regency. With this positive social stigma, Gus Faruq's electability increases.

The researchers triangulated the data through news documentation and field photographs. Various regional media outlets presented consistent narratives regarding the community's trust in the figure of Gus Faruq. Khalfani (2022) reporting, for example, through an article entitled "*Adik Gus Baha's Menang Pilkades, Warga: Uang Tidak Laku! Rocky Gerung Puji Habis*" shows how residents spontaneously paraded Gus Faruq while shouting *duit ora payu* (money doesn't work). This phenomenon shows that the moral legitimacy given by the community emerged sincerely without any indication of transactional mobilization while also confirming the findings of the interviews regarding perceptions of candidate integrity.

The consistency of these findings is reinforced by the report (Hanafi, 2022), which confirms that social capital has been historically built within Gus Faruq's family. Through the statement that social relations have been established "since my great-grandparents' time," the news shows that public trust is sustainable and

rooted in cross-generational social interactions. This supports the analysis that trust does not emerge suddenly but is the result of a long and stable social process.

Furthermore, documentation from [Wardoyo \(2022\)](#), which reviews the phenomenon of *duit ora payu*, even though the incumbent is said to have distributed up to Rp 700,000 per voter, provides empirical evidence of collective rejection of money politics. This fact reinforces that the public's trust in Gus Faruq is value-based, where moral integrity is valued more than material incentives. In this context, trust becomes the main parameter of citizens' political preferences, not merely a response to economic stimuli.



Figure 4. Gus Baha' Casting His Vote in The Village Head Election in Narukan Village

Source: <https://radarkudus.jawapos.com/rembang/691649558/adik-gus-baha-menang-pilkades-di-desa-narukan-kragan-ini-sosoknya>

Finally, [Rokhim \(2022\)](#) also provides an important socio-religious dimension by showing that the pesantren culture attached to the figure of Gus Faruq contributes greatly to the formation of public trust. This socio-religious background is in line with field findings regarding citizens' respect for pesantren figures, thereby strengthening the argument that socio-religious structures are a significant foundation for the formation of public trust.

In this case, positive social stigma can be a crucial aspect for politicians to build their own brand. In political branding, this plays an important role as one of the factors that contributed to Gus Faruq's victory in the Narukan *Pilkades*. By presenting his simple and down-to-earth character, Gus Faruq was able to highlight his identity through his actions. In addition, the natural relationship he built with the community, beyond just the election, can be seen as a positive aspect of his branding. Furthermore, the positive stigma built around him can be a significant factor in his branding, thereby increasing his electability.

In this case, it shows that trust in Gus Faruq is one of the positive stigmas associated with him, which is an aspect correlated with public trust based on feelings and social stigma. On the other hand, the aspect of trust shows that personal and individual qualities can influence society and social movements ([Putro et al., 2022](#); [Syofian et al., 2020](#)). Trust enables individuals to collaborate more efficiently towards common goals. It reduces uncertainty and increases the predictability of each partner's actions, promoting cooperation and coordination within communities and organizations.

3.3. Analysis of Civil Engagement in Gus Faruq as Part of Social Capital

This analysis attempts to explore Civil Engagement from a specific social capital perspective, in which civil engagement encompasses the various ways individuals

contribute to their communities and political processes. This involves activities such as voting, attending town hall meetings, volunteering, joining community organizations, and participating in discussions about local issues.

Civil engagement in the social movement surrounding the figure of Gus Faruq can be understood through the social capital that has formed organically in Narukan Village. The social closeness between Gus Faruq and the community stems from consistent daily interactions, whether through religious activities, recitations of the Quran, mutual assistance, or informal communication spaces. This social participation reflects strong bonding social capital, where the structure of relationships between residents is built on emotional closeness, family values, and trust that has grown from a long history of interaction. Gus Faruq's participation in these activities is not merely an instrumental act but part of his identity as a villager who is culturally and religiously connected to his community.

Another dimension of civic engagement can be seen in the non-electoral political participation that developed before the *Pilkades*. Residents turned to Gus Faruq as a reference point when discussing village issues, which demonstrates bridging social capital, the ability to connect various community groups through dialog and openness. Public trust in Gus Faruq was not built through political campaigns, but rather through his social reputation and moral integrity, which had long been recognized by residents. This shows a strong value orientation in the social movement, where civic engagement is not driven by material incentives or political mobilization, but rather by the norms of sincerity, care, and social service that are considered inherent to him.

In the context of fostering community closeness, Gus Faruq's actions are inherently more likely to occur naturally. As a resident of Narukan, Gus Faruq has succeeded in building a sense of closeness with the surrounding community. This achievement is significant because it underlines that Gus Faruq's efforts in building community relations are not solely driven by elite political connections, but by sincere interactions between the community and its members within the framework of coexistence. In Gus Faruq's specific case, the development of community closeness is a natural process, unburdened by the pursuit of a mass base, and it also reflects the organic manifestation of interactions between individuals and groups. This shows that there was no hidden motive to manipulate the *Pilkades* (village head elections) exclusively during the campaign period (Rafi et al., 2024; Uddin et al., 2022).

In this case, it is evident that the bonds maintained by Gus Faruq represent sincere and natural interactions among group members, without any tendency to engage only during the *Pilkades* political campaign. This phenomenon stems from long and intense social interactions, which is understandable given that Gus Faruq is also a resident of Narukan Village in Rembang Regency. Therefore, the social impact of this civic engagement is evident when residents show collective solidarity, including rejection of money politics "*duit ora payu*" and strengthening community participation after Gus Faruq took office. This phenomenon shows that civic engagement has resulted in significant changes in social norms, where leaders are seen as moral and social representatives of the community, not as distant political actors. Thus, the measurement of civic engagement in Gus Faruq's case shows that the strength of the social movement does not rely on electoral strategies, but rather on natural social capital, deep trust, and collective awareness built from sincere and sustained social interaction.

3.4. Analysis of Gus Faruq's Norms and Values as Part of Social Capital

This analysis attempts to analyze the norms and values or principles brought by Gus Faruq to the Narukan Village Head Election. During his campaign, Gus Faruq

focused on addressing local issues and improving the welfare of his constituents. His efforts to promote community development and involve residents in decision-making helped him gain support from the local community. Gus Faruq aimed to address local issues and improve the welfare of the community in Narukan. By emphasizing community involvement and addressing local challenges, he was able to garner support from the community. This shows that his campaign focused on advancing the welfare of the local population in Narukan. The more he raises awareness about local issues, the more support he receives from the local community in the political contest (Iskandar, 2022; Putro et al., 2022).

The main difference between the values and norms practiced by Gus Faruq and those of other contestants, especially the incumbent, lies in their attitudes towards money politics. Gus Faruq practices politics that focus on local issues, community involvement, and is firmly anti-corruption. He relies on social capital, moral integrity, and value-based trust from the community. This is in stark contrast to the incumbent candidate, who has been reported to have used money politics on a massive scale, allegedly distributing up to Rp 700,000 per voter. Gus Faruq's victory was accompanied by the phenomenon of *duit ora payu*, which demonstrates the community's rejection of vote buying and selling and their preference for leaders based on integrity rather than material incentives.

Furthermore, Gus Faruq has reportedly rejected such practices and advocated for fair and transparent elections. His anti-corruption stance reflects his approach to tackling corruption in the village. By maintaining his independence from corrupt practices, Gus Faruq has been able to garner support from the local community in Narukan. His firm stance against corruption in government operations and during village head elections can strengthen local support for him. This shows that Gus Faruq has used norms and values as part of Social Capital in the village head elections. In this case, personal image can be beneficial for politicians, but on the other hand, Gus Faruq is more natural as part of Character. This analysis shows that building character is very important in the political game.

4. Conclusion

In this case, it shows that social capital is essential to Gus Faruq's victory in the Narukan village head election. An examination of Gus Faruq's social capital highlights its significant impact on the *duit ora payu* social movement, particularly in the Narukan community. His relationship with key religious leaders, especially Gus Baha, enhances his credibility and reputation, strengthening community ties that are deeply rooted in family bonds. This extensive network, combined with the support of local religious and traditional authorities, increases his chances of success in the village head election.

Trust is a fundamental aspect of his social capital, marked by a favorable social perception of his character and religious expertise. This recognition not only enhances his public image but also encourages community cooperation toward common goals. Gus Faruq's active participation in civic issues reflects a sincere commitment to local concerns, demonstrating his dedication to the welfare of the community beyond mere electoral ambitions. Furthermore, his campaign prioritizes local welfare and transparency, positioning him as an ethical candidate who opposes corruption. In short, Gus Faruq's character and principles are at the core of his political approach, illustrating that genuine engagement and strong social relationships are essential for cultivating effective political capital in Narukan Village.

However, this study has several limitations that must be acknowledged. First, the study's focus on a single village with "santri" sociological characteristics, or a very strong religious base (affiliation with the charismatic figure Gus Baha), makes

it difficult to generalize these findings to villages with more heterogeneous or secular social structures. Second, the qualitative approach used emphasizes the meaning behind the phenomenon, so it cannot yet measure the statistical significance of the correlation between social capital variables and vote acquisition.

Given these limitations, future research is recommended to conduct a comparative study between santri-based villages and abangan/nationalist villages to determine whether social capital has the same effectiveness in counteracting money politics in different cultural contexts. In addition, further research can explore the specific role of social media in greater depth as an intervening variable that strengthens or distorts traditional social capital in modern village political contests.

References

Accinelli, E., Martins, F., Pinto, A. A., Afsar, A., & Oliveira, B. M. P. M. (2022). The power of voting and corruption cycles. *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, 46(1), 56–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0022250X.2020.1818077>

Ahmad, Z. H., Anshori, M. W., & Pratama, G. (2024). The Influence of Abdullah Sani as a Candidate for Deputy Governor in Winning the Voice of the Muslim Community in the 2020 Jambi Provincial Elections. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 23(2), 159–169. <https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v23i2.719>

Asrida, W., Marta, A., & Hadi, S. (2021). Civil Society , Demokrasi dan Demokratisasi Civil Society , Democracy and Democratization. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 20(02), 131–142. <https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i2.225>

Barokah, F., Maryanah, T., & Darmasturi, A. (2024). Political Disruption: Opportunities and Challenges of New Political Parties Ahead of the 2024 Election. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 21(01), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v21i1.273>

Berenschot, W., Capri, W., & Dhian, D. (2021). A quiet revolution? Village head elections and the democratization of rural Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2021.1871852>

Budi, E. W. (2024). *Ribuan alat peraga kampanye (APK) di Rembang nabrak aturan pemasangan*. Disway Muria. <https://jateng.disway.id/disway-muria/read/702657/ribuan-alat-peraga-kampanye-apk-di-rembang-nabrak-aturan-pemasangan/15>

Dalkin, S., Forster, N., Hodgson, P., Lhussier, M., & Carr, S. M. (2021). Using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS; NVivo) to assist in the complex process of realist theory generation, refinement and testing. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 24(1), 123–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1803528>

Daun Rara, D. I. (2024). Building Inclusive Political Citizenship in the Aftermath of Village Head Election through Amos Yong's Hospitality Concept. *KINAA: Jurnal Kepemimpinan Kristen Dan Pemberdayaan Jemaat*, 5(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.34307/kinaa.v5i1.159>

Davies, A. E. (2021). Money politics in the Nigerian electoral process. Dalam R. Ajayi & J. Y. Fashagba (Ed.), *Nigerian politics*, 341–352. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-50509-7_18

Denemark, D. (2023). Clientelism and Distributive Politics in Australia: Comparing Partisan Pork Barrel with Contingency-Based Vote-Buying. *Political Parties and Electoral Clientelism*, (pp. 10–31). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-37295-7_2

Earl, J., Maher, T. V., & Pan, J. (2022). The digital repression of social movements, protest, and activism: A synthetic review. *Science Advances*, 8(10). <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.abl8198>

Effendi, M. I., Sugandini, D., & Istanto, Y. (2020). Social Media Adoption in SMEs Impacted by COVID-19: The TOE Model. *The Journal of Asian Finance, Economics and Business*, 7(11), 915–925. <https://doi.org/10.13106/jafeb.2020.vol7.no11.915>

Fathy, R. (2019). Modal sosial: Konsep, inklusivitas dan pemberdayaan masyarakat. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*. academia.edu. <https://doi.org/10.26740/jupe.v9n3.p84-89>

Flesher Fominaya, C. M. (2020). *Social Movements in a Globalized World*. (2 ed.) Bloomsbury Academic.

Guerra, A., & Justesen, M. K. (2022). Vote buying and redistribution. *Public Choice*, 193(3–4), 315–344. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11127-022-00999-x>

Hadi, S., & Purwati, A. A. (2020). Modal sosial dan inovasi terhadap kinerja bisnis UMKM. *Journal of Economic, Business and Accounting (COSTING)*, 4(1), 255–262. <https://doi.org/10.31539/costing.v4i1.1522>

Hajnal, Z. L., Kogan, V., & Markarian, G. A. (2022). Who Votes: City Election Timing and Voter Composition. *American Political Science Review*, 116(1), 374–383. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000915>

Hanafi, U. (2022). *Adik Gus Baha Menang Pilkades Narukan Rembang, Pendukung: Duit Ora Payu*. berita.murianews.com. <https://berita.murianews.com/umar-hanafi/321788/adik-gus-baha-menang-pilkades-narukan-rembang-pendukung-duit-ora-payu>

Harits Anugrah, E., Lambali, S., & Nur indar, I. (2022). Bureaucracy Neutrality In The 2018 Regional Head Election In Indonesia Case Study In Makassar City. *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, 6(7), 4784-4790. <https://journalppw.com/index.php/jssp/article/view/12378/8024>

Hidayaturrahman, M., Sudarman, S., Ubaid, A. H., Elazhari, E., Wibisono, A., & Alfian, F. (2022). Covid-19 and Vote Buying in Direct Regional Head Elections. *Journal of Islamic World and Politics*, 6(1), 136–149. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jiwp.v6i1.14185>

Ichino, N., & Nathan, N. L. (2022). Democratizing the Party: The Effects of Primary Election Reforms in Ghana. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(3), 1168–1185. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123421000028>

Invernizzi, G. M. (2023). Antagonistic Cooperation: Factional Competition in the Shadow of Elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 67(2), 426–439. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12712>

Iskandar, Y. (2022). Pengaruh Modal Sosial, Kapabilitas Finansial, Orientasi Kewirausahaan Terhadap Daya Saing Bisnis Berkelanjutan Serta Implikasinya Pada Kinerja UMKM Industri Kuliner di Kota Sukabumi. <https://senmabis.nusaputra.ac.id/>

Kavada, A. (2020). Creating the Collective: Social Media, the Occupy Movement and Its Constitution as a Collective Actor. *Protest Technologies and Media Revolutions* (pp. 107–125). Emerald Publishing Limited. <https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-83982-646-7-20201009>

Khalfani, A. (2022). Adik Gus Baha' Menang Pilkades, Warga: Uang Tidak Laku! Rocky Gerung Puji Habis. herald.id. <https://herald.id/2022/10/07/adik-gus-baha-menang-pilkades-warga-uang-tidak-laku-rocky-gerung-puji-habis/>

Kharisma, B., Remi, S. S., Wardhana, A., & Minarso, D. (2020). Modal sosial dan kemiskinan di Jawa Barat. *Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Bisnis*. <https://doi.org/10.24914/jeb.v23i2.3303>

Kurniawan, A., & Findawati, Y. (2021). Design of E-Voting Information System for Website-Based Village Head Elections (Case Study: Cemandi Village, Sedati, Sidoarjo, East Java). *Procedia of Engineering and Life Science*. <https://doi.org/10.21070/pels.v1i2.1045>

Marinova, D. M., & Anduiza, E. (2020). When Bad News is Good News: Information Acquisition in Times of Economic Crisis. *Political Behavior*, 42(2), 465–486. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-018-9503-3>

Marta, A., & Asrida, W. (2021). Assessing the Quality of Pilkada in Pandemic Era (Study in Indragiri Hulu Regency, Riau). *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 20(01), 59–67. <https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i1.169>

McCarthy, D., & Santucci, J. (2021). Ranked Choice Voting as a Generational Issue in Modern American Politics. *Politics & Policy*, 49(1), 33–60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12390>

Misran, Nurmandi, A., Mutiarin, D., Suswanta, & Salahudin. (2021). How Does Social Media Affect Money Politics Campaign Rejection in the 2020 Regional Head General Election Social Media? A Case Study of Indonesia. *Advances in Intelligent Systems and Computing*, 511–522. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-71782-7_45

Mureşan, M. (2021). From "Original Democracy" to Euro-Atlantic Integration: Foreign Policy Issues during the Romanian Presidential Campaigns (1990–2004). *Hiperboreea*, 8(1), 96–117. <https://doi.org/10.5325/hiperboreea.8.1.0096>

Nugroho, I. P., & Phahlevy, R. R. (2022). Eligibility of Village Head Elections in the Midst of the Covid-19 Pandemic in the Perspective of Human Rights in Sidoarjo Regency. *Indonesian Journal of Cultural and Community Development*, 13. <https://doi.org/10.21070/ijccd.v13i0.804>

Nurpadliya, N., Amancik, A., & Ardipaliza, A. (2022). Dispute Settlement Of Simultaneous Village Head Elections Based On Law Number 6 Of 2014 About Villages In Seluma Regency. *Bengkoelen Justice: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 12(2), 204–219. <https://doi.org/10.33369/jbengkoelenjust.v12i2.25203>

Pellicer, M., Wegner, E., Bayer, M., & Tischmeyer, C. (2022). Clientelism from the Client's Perspective: A Meta-Analysis of Ethnographic Literature. *Perspectives on Politics*, 20(3), 931–947. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S153759272000420X>

Pemunta, N. V. (2020). An Evaluation of European Union Development Aid to the Democratization Project in Cameroon. *Democracy and Security*, 16(1), 1–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2018.1555706>

Pravidjayanto, M. R. (2024). Breaking Barriers: Women's Political Mobilization in Rural Village Head Elections. *International Journal of Law Dynamics Review*, 2(1), 45–53. <https://doi.org/10.62039/ijldr.v2i1.31>

Putri, D. G. , & Ikhwan, I. (2021). Modal sosial pedagang durian Kelurahan Limau Manis Selatan Kecamatan Pauh Kota Padang. *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai*, 5(2), 4650–4657. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31004/jptam.v5i2.1619>

Putro, H. P. N. , Rusmaniah, E. W. A. , Subiyakto, B. , & Putra, M. A. H. (2022). Peran modal sosial dalam pengembangan UMKM kerajinan di Kampung Purun. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Lingkungan Lahan Basah*, 7, 203–209.

Rafi, S. A., Nurmandi, A., & Fridayani, H. D. (2024). Penyampaian Produk Politik Calon Presiden dalam Kontes Pilpres 2024. *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 23(2), 183–196. <https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v23i2.699>

Rizaldi, A., & Marta, A. (2021). Voter Participation Rate Gap (PILKADA Riau 2018 with the Election 2019 in Riau). *Nakhoda: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan*, 20(02), 143–151. <https://doi.org/10.35967/njip.v20i2.219>

Rokhim, A. (2022). Adik Gus Baha' Menang Pilkades di Desa Narukan Kragan, Ini Sosoknya. radarkudus.jawapos.com. <https://radarkudus.jawapos.com/rembang/691649558/adik-gus-baha-menang-pilkades-di-desa-narukan-kragan-ini-sosoknya>

Rombi, S. (2021). Voters' Motivation for Selecting the Party Leader: The Case of the Italian Democratic Party. *Frontiers in Political Science*, 3. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2021.742232>

Still, C., & Dusi, S. (2020). Vote buying and 'Money-Politics' in village elections in South India. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 58(1), 100–119. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2020.1700021>

Sudja'i, Issalillah, F., Khayru, R. K., Darmawan, D., & Amri, M. W. (2022). Hubungang Modal Sosial, Modal Psikologi, Modal Diri Karyawan dan Stres Kerja . *Jurnal Baruna Horizon*, 4(2), 84–88. <https://doi.org/10.52310/jbhorizon.v4i2.61>

Sulaksono, T., Suswanta, S., Sutan, A.J., & Alqarni, W. (2024). Winning without vote-buying: A Q-DAS analysis towards the 2022 Narukan Pilkades based on Powercube theory. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4782383>

Sutan, A. J., Nurmandi, A., Mutiarin, D., & Salahudin, S. (2021). Using Social Media as Tools of Social Movement and Social Protest in Omnibus Law of Job Creation Bill Policy-Making Process in Indonesia. *Advances in Digital Science: ICADS 2021*, 261–274. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-71782-7_24

Suwardi, A. C. (2006). Peran Gerakan Perempuan dalam Reintegrasi Perempuan Eks-Kombatan Pasca Konflik: Studi Atas Liga Inong Aceh (LINA). *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional*, 4(1), 12–22. <https://doi.org/10.18196/hi.2015.0062.12-22>

Syofian, S., Sujianto, S., & Handoko, T. (2020). Modal Sosial Kelembagaan Petani Karet di Kabupaten Kuantan Singingi. *Gulawentah: Jurnal Studi Sosial*, 5(1), 52–59. <https://doi.org/10.25273/gulawentah.v5i1.6388>

Tilly, C. (1998). Social movements and (all sorts of) other political interactions-local, national, and international-including identities. *Theory and Society*, 27(4), 453–480. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1006857416146>

Tjahjoko, G. T. (2022). Contesting the Independence of Village Head Election Organizers with E-voting. *Journal of Governance and Public Policy*, 9(2), 148–160. <https://doi.org/10.18196/jgpp.v9i2.14744>

Tunmibi, S., & Olatokun, W. (2021). Application of digits based test to analyse presidential election data in Nigeria. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2020.1834743>

Uddin, H. R., Ruhadi, & Maulana, F. (2022). Analisis Peran Modal Sosial pada Kelompok Tani dalam Upaya Meningkatkan Potensi Unggulan di Kabupaten Brebes. *Formosa Journal of Applied Sciences*, 1(2), 77–84. <https://doi.org/10.55927/fjas.v1i2.813>

Wardoyo, P. (2022). *Viral fenomena Duit Ora Payu di Pilkades: Calon baik tumbangkan petahana yang sebar tembakan sampai Rp 700.000 per kepala*. Joglosemar News. <https://joglosemarnews.com/2022/10/viral-fenomena-duit-ora-payu-di-pilkades-calon-baik-tumbangkan-petahana-yang-sebar-tembakan-sampai-rp-700-000-per-kepala>

Zhao, X. (2022). Democracy, Enlightenment, and Revolution: Cantonese Marxists and Chinese Social Democracy, 1920–1922. *Modern China*, 48(1), 167–196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0097700420954771>