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Contestation of Marga Primordialism in Pakpak Bharat Regency Elections (Study on The Election of The Regent and Vice Regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020)

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Abstract: Primordialism is a view or understanding that holds fast to things that are brought from childhood. Primordialism is one of the factors that often becomes a tool in political battles. Likewise in the Pakpak Bharat Regency area, clan primordialism is an inseparable part of every regional head election. The history of the government of Pakpak Bharat Regency shows the magnitude of the influence of local clans in winning candidates for regional heads. This research was conducted to find out how much influence the clan had in the 2020 Pakpak Bharat district election and how the process of fighting for primordialism took place. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach. The technique used in data collection is by conducting interviews and document data from various agencies. Interviews were conducted to find out how the community’s perspective on the influence of the struggle for clan primordialism in the elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency. Then the document data obtained from the agency/institution is supporting data regarding the history, culture and population of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency. The results of this study describe the clan contestation in the 2020 Pakpak Bharat Regency election and the consequences of this contestation in the life of the Pakpak Bharat Regency community. The position of regional head which has always been won by the Berutu clan for the last 15 years has made its own strength and pride for the Berutu clan, and being the strongest political opponent in the last 10 years was the Tumangger clan and the clan political battle was repeated in 2020 and was won by the Tumangger clan and broke the chain of victories of the Berutu clan for the last 15 years. The contestation of clan primordialism led to clan political wars and reduced harmony between different clan groups.

Keywords: Primordialism, Pakpak Bharat Regency Election 2020, Clan Politics

1. Introduction

According to KunMaryati, et al (2014), Primordialism is a person’s bonds in social life who strongly adhere to things that are brought from birth in the form of ethnicity, belief, race, customs, birth area and so on. In social life, the politics of primordialism often becomes a realm of struggle in the attainment of power. The potential for primordialism political struggles usually occurs because of the phenomenon of ethnicity, regionalism, sultanate and adat in the political stage (Haboddin, et al 2009).

The people of Pakpak Bharat Regency, North Sumatra Province are mostly inhabited by the Pakpak tribe. The Pakpak tribe is a cultured society and has very strong kinship relations. The strength of the kinship is motivated by the identity of the clan. The clan owned by a person is inherited or based on patrilineal relationships contained in the descendant system of the Pakpak tribal community.
Pakpak Bharat Regency, North Sumatra Province is one of the regencies that participated in the simultaneous election of regents and deputy regents in 2020, along with 270 regions in Indonesia with details of 9 Provinces, 224 Regencies and 37 Cities. In the 2020 regent and deputy regent election event for Pakpak Bharat Regency, two candidates determined by the General Election Commission (KPU) of Pakpak Bharat Regency were pair number 01 (Franc Bernhard Tumanggor and Mutsuyhito Solin) with the support of 7 political parties, namely the Golkar party (GOLKAR), the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI P), the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), National Democracy (NasDem), the National Awakening Party (PKB), Greater Indonesia Movement Party (GERINDRA) and serial number 02 (Sonny P. Berutu and Ramlan Boangmanalu) with the support of 1 political party, namely the Democratic party.

Political support from the clans that inhabit Pakpak Bharat Regency declared their support for a candidate they believe can bring about change for Pakpak Bharat Regency. Clans declare their support for candidates who are supported through clan institutions. Medan radar, 2020 in the post said that SulangSilimaMarga Solin BerruBereBuberena consisting of fourteen (14) Lebbuh (villages), Saturday 19/09/2020 located in Tinada village, Tinada sub-district, officially declared themselves together to make a vow to give political support to the candidate pair for regent/deputy regent on behalf of Franc benhardtumanggor and Dr, H Mutsuyhito Solin MPd.

The use of the sara issue was also very widely used in the Pakpak Bharat district election and posted on social media. This can be seen when there are people who post sara issues on social media. His post threatened the Karo tribe who live in Pakpak Bharat Regency. The person who posted the sara issue was arrested by the North Sumatra police. Tagar.id, 2020 in its news said the North Sumatra Police officially detained EM alias Mak Lolo, a suspect for spreading SARA issues through social media related to the 2020 Pilkada in Pakpak Bharat Regency. The suspect said that he would expel the Karo tribe from Pakpak Bharat Regency if they did not choose the Berutu clan in the 2020 election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency. Problems like this bring bad effects to the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency.

Over time, the use of clans has become very important and has become a powerful force in the local elections in Pakpak Bharat Regency. In the election of Pakpak Bharat Regency, the clan became an important thing and was often used in politics. The clan has a large mass so that it is often used to gain victory in the election of regent and deputy regent in Pakpak Bharat Regency. In the elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency, the use of religious issues was not too prominent in the elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency because the majority of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency were Christian and the candidates for regent who nominated were always Christian and made representatives who were Muslim so that each candidate had similarities so that religious issues were not used too much in context. political struggle in Pakpak Bharat Regency.

The struggles that occur in the life of society based on primordialism lead to the emergence of divisions so that people's lives tend to only think about the interests of their own group. This also happened in the election of the regent and deputy regent in Pakpak Bharat Regency where the division was seen in the community in carrying out their daily lives. The results of the initial observations of researchers saw that there was a division in the community. The results of the researchers' initial observations carried out in November, 2020 saw that people in Laelangge Namuseng Village, SiteluTaliUrangJulu District, Pakpak Bharat Regency, North Sumatra, saw that the stalls that provided basic necessities were only bought by fellow voters who had the same choice as well. with a shop selling coffee.

In the initial observations of researchers conducted in January 2021 after the election was completed, it also had an impact in the realm of custom, at weddings held by different parties who were not invited to the traditional event. L Berutu's wedding which was held in Laelangge, which supported the candidate pair 01, Franc Bernhard Tumanggor and Mutsuyhito Solin, did not invite the Laelangge community who had different choices from him, nor did the people who voted for the NO 02 pair, Sonni P Berutu and Ramlan Boangmanalu, replied that they did not invite voters. 01 at the wedding of L. Berutu / LM Simangunsong. This creates groups and divisions in society, there are found camps that are created in the midst of society.

The election of regional heads gave rise to clan battles. The identity of the clan becomes an aspect of political interest in the elections. When Pakpak Bharat Regency was separated from Dairi Regency, North Sumatra province, the position of regent as the number one person in Pakpak Bharat Regency was always the Berutu clan who had been regent for the last 15 years.
In the elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency during the regent election for the last 15 years, the Tumangger clan also ran for election but always lost during the elections. In the 2020 elections, the Tumangger clan again ran for regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency and the political opponent was the Berutu clan. Thus the political contestation in Pakpak Bharat Regency can be seen how the existence of the Tumangger clan with Berutu is fighting for the number 01 position in Pakpak Bharat Regency. In the election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020 the political contestation was won by the Tumangger clan and decided the victory of the Berutu clan which had been maintained for the last 15 years.

The battle of clan primordialism in the election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency that occurred between the Berutu clan and the Tumangger clan became a very interesting matter to be investigated further. The pattern of clan power relations is an object of study that needs to be studied in depth. The clan is meant to be a realm of political tools in achieving the interests of the rulers. The strength of kinship relations based on clan and blood relations will be an object that really needs to be investigated in the battle for the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency.

2. Research Methods
This research is a quantitative research using a descriptive qualitative approach. The main location of this research is in Pakpak Bharat Regency, North Sumatra Province. The primary data in this study are the results of interviews with people with the surname Tumangger and Berutu, traditional leaders/marga leaders and pairs of candidates for regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency and the results of interviews and documentation conducted by researchers and secondary data in this study including books references, journals, research, scientific magazines, archives, previous research theses and internet sources that are relevant to the focus studied in the research. The sampling method was carried out by purposive sampling technique, namely the sampling technique with certain criteria and using data collection techniques, namely interview and documentation techniques. The data analysis technique used is data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing.

3. Results and Discussion
3.1. The Primordialism Battle Process of the Clans in the Election of Regent and Deputy Regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020
In the process of fighting for clan primordialism in the Pakpak Bharat Regency election, the first process that must be passed is to meet the criteria for candidates for regent and deputy regent in general in accordance with PKPU NO. determined by the election organizers for the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency. Then the screening and examination of the requirements file is then carried out, then the results of the screening are filtered. Requirements to become Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor, Regent and Deputy Regent,

After the first process is passed, the second process is to complete the nomination documents for the regent and deputy regent and register with the Pakpak Bharat Regency KPUD. If someone who is nominated already meets the criteria and requirements that have been described previously, it is necessary to prepare the form files contained in PKPU NO. Bharat.

3.1.1. The Process and Stages of Registering the FBT-MO Pair (The Candidate Pair for the Regent of the Tumangger Clan) to The KPUD of Pakpak Bharat Regency
The Candidate Pair (Paslon) for Regent Franc Bernhard Tumanggor and Deputy Regent Musyuhiito Solin (FBT-MO), officially registered with KPUD Pakpak Bharat. The FBT-MO pair wearing white shirts arrived at the Pakpak Bharat KPU office at around 11.00 WIB accompanied by the Chair and Secretary of the supporting political parties, namely the Golkar Party, PDI-P, Nasdem, Gerindra, PKB, PKS and PAN. MO.

The mass of supporters followed the procession for registering the candidate pair starting from the Franc family’s house in Simpang3ambu, Siempat Rube District. They then convoy roadfooto the Pakpak Bharat KPU office in Salak. Before going to the KPU, inhousewhich is called the sapomerarih, the candidate pair briefly conveys the vision and mission to the mass of supporters. The slogans for the FBT - MO candidate pairs, namely unite, fight, win, fight. Also giving a speech were Franc’s father Bernhard Tumanggor, Master Parulian Tumanggor, Regent of Dairi Regency for the 1999-2009 period. Master is the leader of the expansion of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2003. To the supporters of FBT-MO, Master advised not to be arrogant, and to speak well to
everyone. The master hopes that the mass of supporters will win the pair.

"I ask for prayers from all of you. I hope that for the rest of my life, I will be able to see this child that I brought to build Pakpak Bharat," To Franc, Master asks to serve as a perkebas (servant) in the community, Franc, devote yourself, so that what papa aspires for Pakpak Bharat we can see well, be a perkebas (servant) for the community, "he said during his speech before registering with KPU (speech 5 September 2020).

The arrival of the group of FBT-MO pairs along with political parties supporting and supporting volunteers was welcomed by KPU chairman Pakpak Bharat, Basra Munthe along with a number of KPU commissioners including Ahmad Maulidin Berutu, Kamidia Berutu, and KPU Secretary Bustanul Cibro. Paslons and political party leaders who carry before entering the registration room are required to wash their hands first, and KPU officers check body temperature before entering the room. Meanwhile, the mass of supporters waited outside the KPU office in an orderly manner and always complied with health protocols and rules implemented by security officers. And appealed to the masses to make sure to wear masks, to avoid the spread of the Covid-19 virus.

After the registration event, the FBT-MO pair invited all mass supporters and volunteers to the SapoMerarih Command Post at SimpangJambu, to celebrate and express gratitude for the official registration.

### 3.1.2. Registration of candidates for Sonni P Berutu-Ramlan (candidate for regent from the Berutu clan) Boangmanalu to the KPUD of Pakpak Bharat Regency

After going through research conducted by the Pakpak Bharat KPU and the nomination requirements were met, the registration of the prospective pair (Bapaslon) Sonni Berutu and Ramlan Boangmanalu (SORA) was accepted by the Pakpak Bharat KPU. SoniBerutu and RamlanBoangmanalu, for completeness, especially the completeness of the nomination requirements and candidate requirements, all are declared complete, as well as the candidacy requirements are declared complete and valid, and the candidate requirements are also complete, "said Basra. However, on the completeness of these requirements, Basra said his party will conduct verification and research on its validity. This means that, because the nomination requirements have been met, the registration of the intended candidate pair (Sonni-Ramlan) will be accepted,"

Fatherslon Sonni-Ramlan headed to the Pakpak Bharat Regency KPU wearing traditional Pakpak clothes and accompanied by high-ranking political party officials, as well as thousands of supporting communities. Arrived at KPU Pakpak Bharat, around 14:56. SonniBerutu, after registering, said that all the requirements had been completed and were valid. So the next step, of course, is a health check, we are waiting for a letter from the Pakpak Bharat Regency KPU, we will follow it and complete it, we, the SORA National Election Committee, would like to thank the commissioners of both KPU and Bawaslu and all the people who were so enthusiastic about sending us to this registration, concluded SonniBerutu (PAKPAKBHARAT | SUMUT24.co, 2020 at the link: https://www.sumut24.co, 2020 at the link: https://www.sumut24.co).
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Regency KPU accompanied by sympathizers and supporting parties. (Photo Source: Sumut 24.Co/Braniko Cibro,2020)

Meanwhile the mass of supporters waited outside the KPU office in an orderly manner and always obeyed the health protocols and rules implemented by security officers, and always urges the masses to make sure they wear masks, to avoid the current spread of the COVID-19 virus. After completing registration, the Sonni-Ramlan pair left the room The Election Commission of Pakpak Bharat Regency, thousands of people happily welcomed and cheered Sonni-Ramlan would win, after that the Barason couple invited thousands of people to walk to the Waris Hotel post/Barason winning team post to celebrate the success of the candidacy of the Sonni P Berutu-Ramlan Boangmanalu pair.

3.2. The Nomination Process of The Tumangger and Berutu Clans to Become Candidates for The Regent of Pakpak Bharat

3.2.1. Process in The Tumangger Clan

A. Mersungkun Sipanganen (Family Discussion)

Mersungkun deviation is the first step carried out by the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan. In this mersungkun deviation stage, the people who join this association are the nuclear family of candidates for regent/deputy regent and traditional leaders of the Tumangger clan who are gathered in a traditional event. In mersungkun this deviation, the candidate will discuss with the traditional leaders of the Tumangger clan regarding his candidacy in the elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency and ask for advice (advice) from the traditional elders of the Tumangger clan.

B. Magahken with Sibeltek (Tell Relatives and Relatives)

After determining the candidate for regent/deputy regent at the mersungkunSimpanganen event, the next step carried out by the candidate for regent/deputy regent from the Tumangger clan is magahkenmidengansibeltek. At this stage, the descendants of the Tumangger clan who received support and support to run for regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency notified their relatives of the same clan, namely the Tumangger clan in Pakpak Bharat Regency.

C. Sign Abe (Introduced Myself)

After the magahken midengan sibeltek stage was carried out, the next event carried out by the Tumangger clan was the sign of Abe to relatives and other clans in Pakpak Bharat Regency.

The party who will nominate himself will invite the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency to a meeting and provide a banquet together and prepare transportation to pick up relatives and other clans who are willing from every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency. It was at this meeting that the Tumangger clan who was running for regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency said that he would run in the contest for the election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency and then asked for support from the general public and his family members to support the 2020 election.

D. Magahkenmi with Every Lebuh(Tell Relatives in Every Village/Village)

The next stage is magahkenmi with each lebuh. At this stage, the main target is all clans (general public) and making their relatives into perkebas (event committee) in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency. The candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan will visit all villages in Pakpak Bharat Regency, considering that Pakpak Bharat Regency is not so wide and only consists of 52 villages so all of them can be visited. In this stage, candidates from the Tumangger clan will promote and notify that they will advance to the election of regent and deputy regent of the district in 2020.
E. Plunder The Table Noodles from The Pemungkah Kuta (Pig Rimage to Village Ancestral Graves)

After the magahkenmi with stage for each lebuh, the fifth stage is the stage of jahahn noodles in the village of pemungkah kuta. At this stage, the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan asks for prayers and blessings from the ancestors of the Tumangger clan so that all affairs can be carried out and be blessed by the ancestors of the Tumangger clan. The pilgrimage to the Tumangger ancestral tomb is carried out by the nuclear family of the candidate for regent and deputy regent as well as traditional elders who are chosen to participate in traditional ritual events at the Tumangger ancestral graves because they are believed to have magical powers and contain the spirits of the Tumangger clan ancestors.

3.2.2. Stages of The Berutu Clan

A. Merpulung Close to The Silima of The Berutu Clan (Holding an Association with The Berutu Clan Organization)

Merpulung close to the clan is the first step carried out by the Berutu clan. The candidate for regent from the Berutu clan gathers the administrators of the sulangsilima of the Berutu clan (the organization of the Berutu clan) in a meeting at the residence of the candidate for regent from the Berutu clan. The gathering of the core members of the Sulangsilima of the Berutu clan was carried out to notify the candidacy for the regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020 and at the same time ask for direction and political support from the extended family of the Berutu clan. In addition, the core management of the Berutu clan sulangsilima is expected to be able to provide information to the public and family members in each village regarding the existence of the Berutu clan who is running for regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency.

B. Meet Pamili Sada Empung (Meeting Relatives of The Berutu Clan)

After carrying out the merpulung stage near the sulangsilima of the Berutu clan, the second stage is the kijumpaipamilisadaempung stage. This stage was carried out by the Berutu clan to ask for political support from the Berutu clan relatives. The Berutu clan met the Padang clan and the Solin clan because they were still relatives of the clan and had a common ancestor with the Berutu clan. The candidate from the Berutu clan informed the Padang clan and the Solin clan about their candidacy for regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency.

C. Discussing Karina Marga Magahken Candidate for Regent (Inviting Every Clan to Notify if You Want to Be Regent Candidate)

The third stage is the stage of inviting each clan from each selected village to attend a meeting at the house of the candidate for regent from the Berutu clan. The person chosen from each village is the person who is influential in the village. The purpose of this stage is so that members of each clan in Pakpak Bharat Regency know who will become a candidate for regent as well as want to ask for support from every clan in Pakpak Bharat Regency.

D. Mengido Tamiaing Mi Sukut Nitalun Every Kuta (Ask for Blessing from The Traditional Leaders of Each Village)

Each village is owned by a group of clans and makes the village the ancestral land of the ancestors of each clan and elects a clan leader who becomes the kuson king in each village/village. The Berutu clan will visit the traditional elders of each village to ask for their blessing and support. And a communal meal was held in the village as a whole which had time to

Figure 4. Candidate pair Sonny P Berutu and RamlanBoangmanalu ask for prayers and blessings in Bandar Baru village, Sitelu subdistrict, taliurangjiehe (Photo source: Ist, 2020)
attend without limitation. Each village community can join and eat together in the event.

E. looting the noodles of the Berutu clan (visit to the tomb of historical relics/artifacts of the Berutu clan)

After the stage of sidotangiang noodles sukutnalun every kuta, then the fifth stage is the stage of jarah noodles mienganberutu.

Picture 5. Sonny P Berutu while on a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Berutu clan heritage/artifact (Image source: talk indonesia/ist, 2020)

At this stage, the candidate for regent from the Berutu clan asks for prayers and blessings from the ancestors of the Berutu clan so that all affairs can be carried out and be blessed by the ancestors of the Berutu clan. The pilgrimage to the Berutu ancestral grave is carried out by the nuclear family of the candidate for regent and deputy regent as well as traditional elders who are chosen to participate in traditional ritual events at the Berutu clan ancestral graves because they are believed to have magical powers and contain the spirits of the Berutu clan ancestors.

3.2.3. Forms of Campaign Implementation Carried Out by Family Members Candidates for Regent and Deputy Regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020

A. House to House Campaign

Campaign techniques like this are often found in villages, namely by meeting family or close relatives. This kind of campaign can be seen clearly in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency, where the success team selected by the candidate for regent and deputy regent visited their family or relatives directly to their homes. As did the success team from the prospective Tumangger clan, they met their clan relatives, especially people who were newcomers there. There are also those who dare to meet the clans in the village, even though they clearly know that their political opponents are running in the same direction. The Berutu clan he met was a person who still had a close kinship relationship because of the marital relationship between the immigrant clan and the local clan.

Not only the success team from the Tumangger clan, the success team from the Berutu clan also met all the people in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency. The success team of the Berutu clan candidates appealed to the immigrant clans to choose their candidates in the upcoming regent and deputy regent elections because the Berutu clan is the original clan from the simsim land of Pakpak Bharat Regency.

B. Campaign at The Coffee Shop

The campaign carried out by the success team for each village for the election of the regent and deputy regent of the Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020 is not only from house to house, but the success team also campaigns where they rest or spend their free time, namely in coffee shops. As we know that coffee shops are places where people clash with politics. Because in Pakpak Bharat Regency there will be elections for regents and deputy regents, coffee shops are one of the right places for a successful team.

But not all coffee shops in the village are made into places for campaigning, especially for the success team from the Tumangger clan because the Tumangger clan is not a clan from the Simsimsuak but from the Kelasensusuk and is an immigrant clan in Pakpak Bharat Regency. So in this case, clan primordialism will be seen, where the success team from the Tumangger clan are not free to campaign in various places, they only campaign secretly for fear of the success team of the Berutu clan which has the status of a local clan.

3.2.4. Organizations Influential in The Election of Regents and Deputy Regents of Pakpak Bharat Regency

A. Silima Clan Toast Organization

In the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency, the semarga organization has a fairly strong influence.
Because in essence the Pakpak ethnic group has very strong kinship, although basically the formation of this organization is not to be a tool or a means of campaigning. But in reality, clan organizations also make a big contribution to politics. This is motivated by the feelings or blood ties between fellow members. For example: in the life of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency, clan organizations have each member and have a lot of mass. If there are candidates for regent who are involved and active in clan organizations, it is certain that most of them will get political support from their clans.

"Starting getting the election for the regent of PerjoloNikusoimya clan of his clan, tah lot with the clan of self, Ima mo chose, because you might not choose another clan, starting with the candidate of clan name itself. But with a note that you have to choose candidates like a vision of a missionary close to a boisada with a goal in accordance with the ideals of the clan". Because it is impossible to choose another clan if there is a candidate with the same clan as us. But with a note that a candidate with the same clan should be worthy to be supported, there are similarities between the vision and mission of the clan's ideals"

In addition to Mr. ThinkTumangger Mr. MonangBerutu as chairman of the traditional institution of SulangSilima of the Berutu clan also gave his response about the clan's political support in the 2020 election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency. The following are the results of an interview with Mr. MonangBerutu as the chairman of the traditional institution of SulangSilimaBerutu clan, namely:

"Wrong close to oda, mispronounced Mipodi, morebakedMijolo, did you use the word sisada with sibeltak, did you know what was left of the word clan sukutnitalun. At first, my brother or sister, the future simermarga, will definitely support it because I think it's ngodarohi. right or wrong, we must support each other and cooperate with each other in the future, we must be united among our brothers and sisters, if there is a brother or sister who is a candidate with the same surname, they must be supported because of strong blood ties".

The essence of the conversation with Mr. Tikkit Tumangger and Mr. MonangBerutu showed the existence of primordialism towards their own clan. The primordial enthusiasm of the community is so strong that it is believed to be able to protect the groups and interests of the group. The diverse clan organizations in Pakpak Bharat Regency make the competition to win the election visible. We can see in the events held by every clan organization during the campaign period. Organizations with more members are definitely more lively and lively than organizations with fewer members.

B. Union Please Help

The help union institution is an institution that exists within the community which is also influential in the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency. Please help union membership is quite diverse. Ethnic backgrounds, religions are united by the neighborhood. This causes the influence of the mutual aid union in politics to be less than that of the sulangSilimamarga institution. The diverse backgrounds of members make this organization the main target for candidates for regent and deputy regent to gain additional support. Candidates often make various forms of donations to this group to get them to vote for that candidate. However, in principle the unanimity of one candidate cannot be ensured.

C. Youth Group

The influence of youth organizations in the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency is also present, but it is still inferior when it comes to the number of votes compared to the SulangSilimamarga institution. Youth groups consisting of various backgrounds were targeted by candidates for regent and deputy regent. This is because of the background and goals of the organization. The organization of this youth group is also open, so there are no restrictions on any candidates who come to visit and stay in touch.
3.2.5. The Form of Primordialism Contestation in
The Election of Regents and Deputy Regents
of Pakpak Bharat Regency In 2020

A. Meet with Sibeltekdeketaleale (Visiting Family and Close Relatives)

The kinship system of the Pakpak tribe is patrilineal (according to the father's lineage). Pakpak people refer to their clan members as sibeltek. For example, Tumangger, Tinambunan, Anakampun, Maharaja, Turuten and Pinayungen are members of the clan who were born from the same womb and the Berutu, Solin and Padang clans are also born from the same womb. In the life of the Pakpak community, with the same position as siblings, in their daily activities they form their organizational groups. This kinship group is closely related to the running of a good and harmonious kinship. However, this kinship relationship is closely related to politics so that it is vulnerable to conflict between the people themselves.

One of them is the battle in the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020. The election of the regent and deputy regent in Pakpak Bharat Regency often takes advantage of clan kinship relations, blood relations, or kinship relations. The kinship relationship that is most commonly involved by the Pakpak tribal community in political matters is kinship with a sibeltek background, namely blood relations. Candidates for regent and deputy regent of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency involve two clans, namely the Tumangger clan and the Berutu clan. The Berutu clan is a local clan in Pakpak Bharat Regency which is actually a local clan from the Simsir clan. However, the Tumangger clan is a clan with the status of an immigrant clan in Pakpak Bharat Regency. The Tumangger clan not only remained silent, the Tumangger clan also visited their family relatives in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency. Not only the clan is the same as the Tumangger clan, they also visit their families even though they are from other clans to support candidates from the Tumangger clan. With words as material for consideration for his relatives. The candidate from the Tumangger clan (Father Franck Berhanrd Tumangger) said:

"We, one clan, must unite and embrace other clans to win our clan in the election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency, we must unite and be united and compete in a healthy manner." Interview results November 11, 2020.

With these words, the candidate from the Tumangger clan also invites his relatives to always stick together and be a winning team in each village and campaign for candidate pairs from the Tumangger clan to other clans and invite them to vote for him in the 2020 election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency.

B. The Tumangger clan organizes a meal together in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency

In getting votes There are many techniques and ways that a person uses to achieve something he wants. Such is the technique used by one of the candidates for regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency with the surname Tumangger, namely Mr. Franck Bernhard Tumangger. One example that happened in Pakpak Bharat Regency, the technique he made was like holding a group meal in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency. In this event, the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan invited all his relatives, namely the Tumangger clan in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency to attend thanksgiving in each respective village.

At this event, he informed and asked for blessings from his relatives as well as dispatched him to run for regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency. At this event, he also invited the Sukutnitalun from every village. In the Pakpak tribe, SukutNitalun are people who are respected and are elders. In addition to inviting clan relatives and Sukut Nitalun, he also invited his family who had kinship relations with him, such as from the Beru party. Beru’s party is a party from another clan who is married to BeruTumangger. In this case, the clan is the thing that the Pakpak tribal community uses the most in political battles, so conflicts often occur between clans when there is political contestation.

4. The Clan Will Hold a Departure Event for Candidates in Each Village

The history of the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency from
the Berutu clan to the clan that has always won the election of the regent and deputy regent for the last 15 years. The Berutu clan is sure that they can repeat the history they made in the last 15 years. During the departure ceremony, a joint prayer was held for the candidate for regent from the Berutu clan, which was carried out by relatives of the clan and other clans invited from each village. This departure was carried out in villages in Pakpak Bharat Regency. The candidate for regent from the Berutu clan visited every village to ask for blessings and political support from the village community. His family members are tasked with preparing the place and leading the blessing ceremony for the candidate for regent from the Berutu clan.

The blessing ceremony was carried out by giving the Pakpak tribal special food, namely pelleng. Pelleng is the food of the Pakpak tribe given to people who want to merge (to fight with other clans to defend the clan’s territory) and migrate. The giving of pellets is done to give enthusiasm and strength to win a political battle. Not infrequently the events carried out by the Berutu clan coincided with events carried out by the Tumangger clan at the same time and in the same village so that conflicts and provocations often occur from the success teams of the two candidates.

3.2.6. The Influence of Contest of Clan Primordialism on Community Life in Pakpak Bharat Regency

A. Community Social Interaction in Pakpak Bharat Regency

The contestation of clan primordialism in the election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020 turned out to have an impact on people's interactions in everyday life. The strength of kinship based on clans in society is very strong. There are only two candidates for regent and deputy regent, but because of the different clan statuses, the end comes to the lives of ordinary people and people outside the clans of the two candidates. This is indeed unavoidable especially in the life of the Pakpak tribe who live in the village which cannot be separated from their shared life and close relationship through clan identity.

The election of the regent and deputy regent, which was followed by two candidates with different clans, led to a political war. Actually, the Tumangger and Berutu clans are competing and competing to be regent/deputy regent, but in reality there has been a clan identity battle. This means that all of the Tumangger clan and their relatives and all of the Berutu clan and their relatives together show the strengths of their respective clans. In this election, the Tumangger clan tried to seize power in the Pakpak Bharat Regency government from the Berutu clan as a clan that was essentially influential in Pakpak Bharat Regency and became the clan that has always won in the last 15 years.

The social interaction of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency changed completely after the election of the regent and deputy regent. Community life that was once comfortable and harmonious between different clan groups has now disappeared. The living system has become like the life system of the urban community, neighbors showing their abilities and discommunication occurs. The life of the village community, which is thick with customs and good communication relations, is no longer reflected in people's lives. The following is the narrative of one community member who did not want to reveal his identity when interviewed. He was afraid that some people would not accept this statement. The following are the results of the interview:

Unity and peace no longer exist. Neighbor life is not well established, let alone life with the people in the villages. Sometimes the people in the village are not aware. Two people became candidates for regent and deputy regent but the entire community of each village was divided into two camps. The Tumangger clan camp and the Berutu clan camp are definitely at odds. If you think about it, people like this are wrong. Healthy competition should be good so that peace and harmony in the midst of society can be well established.

B. Community Cultural Interaction of Pakpak Bharat Regency

Good interaction among community members will create a good kinship as well. In
people’s lives, interaction is an important thing in every formal or informal activity that will involve interaction between interested parties and the wider community (Bisuk M Pasaribu, 2017). Interactions that occur, for example, are social and cultural interactions. The cultural interaction of the Pakpak Bharat Regency community will be seen when there are work events and bad work. Good work is a traditional and cultural party such as a wedding party, harvesting, marking the year, entering the sapo, while evil work is a traditional and cultural event such as a death custom.

However, after the political struggle, namely the battle for the election of the regent and deputy regent, cultural interactions in Pakpak Bharat Regency underwent a change. Where in the period before the battle between the Tumangger clan and the Berutu clan during the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020 ago, every time there was a traditional event, every member of the community in each village was always invited each other and always attended the party. But after the fight, every time there is a traditional party, only some attend it and some don’t even invite fellow community members when there are traditional and cultural events. Changes that occur as a result of the struggle for primordialism continue so that the harmony between the people is reduced.

As the case of a wedding that took place in the village of Laelangge, namely the wedding party of Mr. Lieutenant General Berutu. At his wedding, his family did not invite people who had different choices from him considering that the candidate he supported was originally from the son of the village of Laelangge. Two months after the marriage of Mr. Lieutenant General Berutu, the people who supported the Tumangger clan held the wedding, namely Mr. Lorencius Berutu. At this wedding, he immediately responded by not inviting the family of Lieutenant General Berutu to his wedding, but even though he was not invited, some of his family still attended and shook hands and then left the wedding ceremony.

C. The Economic Level of the Pakpak Bharat Regency Community

The economic system can increase or accelerate the rate of economic growth in the region. The source of the economy of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency mostly comes from agriculture. The income of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency is still below the average so that business investors are needed to support agriculture in Pakpak Bharat Regency. With the contestation of clan primordialism in the local elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency, the stalls in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency became divided into boxes, between the stalls supporting the Tumangger clan and the stalls supporting the Berutu clan.

In addition to the shop, this also happened to the frankincense toke. Tapping frankincense is one of the mainstays of the livelihood of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency. Supporters of the Tumangger clan sell their incense crops to toke supporters of the Tumangger clan, and vice versa is done by the Berutu clan, even though before the primordialism contestation, all clans and people are free to sell their incense products wherever they want and agree on a set price. In this case, when there are supporters who have different choices with him who sell the results of the incense, they are not immediately rejected, but those who sell and buy feel awkward because they have different political choices.

3.2.7. The Analysis of The Primordialism Contestation of Clans in the 2020 Pakpak Bharat Regency Elections Using Ferdinand Tonnies’ Theory, Namely the Association Theory (Gemeinshaft)

This study uses the association theory (Gemeinshaft) with the aim of analyzing the contestation of clan primoralism in the local elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency. The basis for the formation of the community is a sense of love and a sense of inner unity which has been ordained by God Almighty. This shared life is real and true in the form of an association as it can be likened to a structured and organized human body organ. Then in everyday life the form of community can be found in families, kinship groups, pillars of stairs and so on.

The Pakpak ethnic group is known as a strong ethnic group in its family, especially since the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency live in rural areas. Rural communities are known for their hospitality and family. The Pakpak tribal community will form an association in order to preserve the Pakpak tribal customs and cohesivenes in the midst of society. Pakpak tribal communities form associations that aim to make them
more solid and compact, including: clan associations, associations sadaclay, Berubereibeber association, simatah meat or youth association, ibages or father parent association, ibalepartua association or mother association, peparensadaempung association. Associations like this make the Pakpak tribal community more intimate and cohesive with each other. Social group theory says these associations are called paguyuban.

Lubis in kolopaking (2014) says that an ethnic group has a distinctive identity that is different from other ethnic groups, it is easily seen from the way they express or articulate culture, including in terms of how they conceptualize, organize and manage and control natural resources, , economics and politics). Based on this explanation, it can be said that basically there is a relationship between actors and their ethnic groups, where this relationships influenced by values and norms that are conceptualized based on mutual agreement.

Clans become an important identity for the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency when it comes to clans, they will fight for their respective clans so that they become clans that are known and respected in the community. The clan association will move to fight for its clan so that it can compete with other clan associations. In the political arena, clan contestation is very visible if there is one candidate for regent/deputy regent who nominates himself and even other clans whose clan does not nominate themselves will still be seen as active in politics, they will support one candidate in accordance with the goals of his clan.

In order to find out the contestation of clan primordialism in the elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency in the study of the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020, based on the results of the study, the specific theory used in this study is the association theory. According to Toonies in Seokanto (2015) the association has several main characteristics including Intimate, Private, Exclusive.

A. intimate

Intimate it is an intimate overall relationship between groups. The Pakpak tribal people who live in Pakpak Bharat Regency are always compact and friendly, especially people who have the same clan. This friendly and compact relationship led them to be dominant in choosing the candidate for regent/deputy regent who had the same clan as him. However, it is possible that some of them chose candidates for regent and deputy regent outside their clans, but only a small part. Those who did not choose one clan because some of them followed the clan of their wives and there were also quarrels in their clan association. This shows that the contestation of clan primordialism in the elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency tends to support candidates for regent/deputy regent who have the same clan with him.

B. Private

Private is a personal relationship as happened to the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency. As a society that has many clans, they also have things that are personal to their clan groups. Among other things, the regulations in the Pakpak tribal system and regulations made by the clan, only apply to the Pakpak ethnic group and fellow clans only in the sense of being personal to ethnic groups and clan groups and not to people outside the clan.

In particular, the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency choose things that are private as well. Thanks to these personal matters, the desire of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency to support candidates for regent/deputy regent who has the same clan identity in the election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020. The people of Pakpak Bharat Regency want the regent/deputy regent with the same background to lead Pakpak Bharat Regency and who can understand the privacy interests of his clan groups.

Based on the results of the research, the contestation of clan primordialism in the local elections of Pakpak Bharat Regency is influenced by identity politics. The most important consideration of identity politics in Pakpak Bharat Regency is based on clan similarities. The tendency to vote cannot be separated from the identity of the clan in the candidate, things that are private will contribute to the contestation of clan primordialism in politics. As people who are aware of the existence of private, they can identify their fellow community members just by looking at their last name or seeing it from a person's clan.

C. Exclusive

Exclusive is a group that builds relationships with the principle of relationships built only for "us" and not for others outside "us". Based on the results of research, the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency created a strong, harmonious,
compact community. With this association, the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency can be connected to each other.

The Pakpak tribal people who live in rural areas are known to be compact and harmonious and have the term "mulaboidenggo we kasapanakenahkalak" (if we can still do it why should someone else.) It means that the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency form a network where each clan wants to be a leader, and use it as a political machine to lead one clan to become a leader. Why choose other people/other clans if there are still some of our own. If you look at the term Pakpak tribal community, it further proves that the Pakpak Bharat Exclusive Regency community means that relationships are built only for them, not for people outside the group. The existence of the Pakpak Bharat Regency community association as a forum for gathering and socializing values in general is a means of helping and exchanging information.

3.2.8. Innovation in The Fight Against Primordial Politics

The formal concept of democracy highlights two main aspects, namely the political equality of citizens and the idea of good governance (Local Political Discourse, 2015). Political equality is not only limited to equality of opportunity and space for expression of political choices, but also political protection as the main mechanism to be developed, and must always be fought for as well as the belief that minority groups must receive protection in all their political expressions. The characteristics of local elections that are local in nature greatly influence voter preferences, various practices so far have shown the temptation of campaigns/publications with packaging to encourage primordial sentiments. Concretely on this issue, in general it becomes a mantra or tagline as a representation of the sons of the region, indigenous tribes.

The politics of primordialism creates division in the midst of society and makes interactions in society disharmonious. Another common situation that needs to get the attention of all parties is the practice of hate speech which leads to ethnic, religious, racial and inter-group discrimination which is also part of the politics of primordialism. The understanding of primordialism that is too excessive can lead to discriminatory attitudes towards other parties who have different cultures. That way, they will tend to discriminate against everyone from other groups.

The following are some innovations and steps that can be taken to fight the politics of primordialism, namely:

A. Law Enforcement

Encouraging objective and impartial law enforcement with the snares of the Criminal Code, Law Number 40 of 2008 concerning the Elimination of Racial and Ethnic Discrimination, as well as the Law on Information and Electronic Transactions.

B. Smart Voter Education

The government and political parties must be required to have responsibility for political education to the public, including the candidate pairs who will take part in the contestation. Work programs and brainstorming should be displayed by the candidate pairs for regional heads or their success teams. The vision and mission conveyed are commitments as well as parameters for the direction of development that will be carried out if elected. Residents actively participate in determining the direction of development for the next five years, as well as monitoring.

C. Foster a Sense of Love for Diversity

The diversity that Indonesia has must be encouraged to become the epicenter of strengthening ties and togetherness as a nation, not being a "fuel" that continues to be produced to create primordial politics. Diversity needs to be encouraged to be presented and realized in daily practice, not limited to the momentum of regional head elections, but to be a spirit of uniting and sharing roles. The manifesto is presented as an implementation of the principles of equality, interdefendance, universality and non-discrimination (Agus Suntoro, 2018).

D. Educate The Public About Strengthening Cultural Values

This cultural diversity learning aims to develop, enrich, and strengthen national identity, as well as strengthen the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation. Concrete steps for learning cultural diversity can be in the form of visiting museums, cultural-based...
tourism objects, traditional games, singing folk songs, and organizing cultural activities.

5. Conclusion

Primordialism is a person's ties in social life who strongly adhere to things that are brought from birth in the form of ethnicity, belief, race, customs, place of birth and so on, KunMaryati, et al (2014). Primordialism is also a deep emotional bond formed by the construction of historical conditions to maintain the integrity of group solidarity. Excessive loyalty to the subnational culture can threaten social integration because primordialism reduces the loyalty of citizens to the national and state culture, thereby threatening state sovereignty, Bisuk M Pasaribu, (2018).

The Berutu clan is a local clan that has power and is quite influential in Pakpak Bharat Regency. Based on historical background, the Berutu clan became the winning clan in the contestation for the election of the regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency for 15 consecutive years from 2005, the first election of Pakpak Bharat Regency until the 2015 election. The election of regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020 became the arena for the struggle for clan primordialism. This is because there are other clans that are running for regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency, namely the Tumangger clan. Besides that, there is also the Berutu clan who is running for office. In the election of the regent and deputy regent, there was a struggle for the power of the Pakpak Bharat Regency government between the local clan, namely Berutu, and the immigrant clan, namely Tumangger. The Berutu clan is referred to as a local clan because the Berutu clan is a clan of the Simsipakpak tribe and its territory is the territory of the Pakpak Bharat Regency. Meanwhile, in the Berutu clan, there was a split between the clans, the primordialism that has been strong in politics for the last 15 years in the 2020 Pakpak Bharat Regency election, there was a split in the choices of the Berutu clan. It was seen that the Berutu clan supported the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan, with the reason why they chose another clan over their clan, because the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan was an influence on the OTT of the regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency. The Berutu clan was defeated by the Tumangger clan in the Pakpak Bharat Regency elections of 2020 compared to their clan. with the reason why they chose another clan over their clan, because the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan was an influence on the OTT of the regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency. The Berutu clan is referred to as a local clan because the Berutu clan is a clan of the Simsipakpak tribe and its territory is the territory of the Pakpak Bharat Regency. The Berutu clan was defeated by the Tumangger clan in the Pakpak Bharat Regency elections of 2020 compared to their clan. with the reason why they chose another clan over their clan, because the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan was an influence on the OTT of the regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency. The Berutu clan is referred to as a local clan because the Berutu clan is a clan of the Simsipakpak tribe and its territory is the territory of the Pakpak Bharat Regency. The Berutu clan was defeated by the Tumangger clan in the Pakpak Bharat Regency elections of 2020 compared to their clan. with the reason why they chose another clan over their clan, because the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan was an influence on the OTT of the regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency.
Berutu clan. There is disappointment in the community with the surname Berutu over this case, so there are certain considerations to choose another clan in the election of Pakpak Bharat Regency compared to their clan. with the reason why they chose another clan over their clan, because the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan was the biological son of the expansion figure of Pakpak Bharat Regency, the son of Master Parulian Tumangger, who was a former regent of Dairi Regency who is the parent district of the division of Pakpak Bharat district. In addition, another reason is that there was an influence on the OTT of the regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2018, who was the regent of the Berutu clan. There is disappointment in the community with the surname Berutu over this case, so there are certain considerations to choose another clan in the election of Pakpak Bharat Regency compared to their clan. because the candidate for regent from the Tumangger clan was the biological son of the expansion figure of Pakpak Bharat Regency, the son of Master Parulian Tumangger, who was a former regent of Dairi Regency who is the parent district of the division of Pakpak Bharat district. In addition, another reason is that there was an influence on the OTT of the regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2018, who was the regent of the Berutu clan. There is disappointment in the community with the surname Berutu over this case, so there are certain considerations to choose another clan in the election of Pakpak Bharat Regency compared to their clan.

Likewise with the Berutu clan, they hold various events just like when the Berutu clan was the previous candidate for regent, namely holding a blessing and order event in every village of Pakpak Bharat Regency. Social organizations that exist in the life of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency are also a medium for candidates for regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency to get closer and get support. The social organizations include: SulangSilima clan organization, the Helping Union and youth groups. The membership system of this organization makes candidates dare to enter it. Therefore, candidates often use various means to gain support from the group of organizations in question. The social organization is open, they welcome any candidate who wants to come to them. In stark contrast to the SulangSilimaMarga organization, for example, the candidate for the Tumangger clan would not dare to join the Berutu clan organization to gain support. Likewise with the Berutu clan, he will not be able to enter and influence the Tumangger clan group who is part of the si 6 coden clan group to support him in the election. In stark contrast to the SulangSilimaMarga organization, for example, the candidate for the Tumangger clan would not dare to join the Berutu clan organization to gain support. Likewise with the Berutu clan, he will not be able to enter and influence the Tumangger clan group who is part of the si 6 coden clan group to support him in the election.
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The battle for clan primordialism that occurred in the election of the regent and deputy regent of Pakpak Bharat Regency in 2020 had a great influence on the lives of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency. The village life system that was once based heavily on family relationships has disappeared. Harmony and peace are no longer manifest in people’s lives. Has worked on inner conflicts between the community between supporters of the candidate for regent and deputy regent. Even though the election has ended, the impact has reached all levels of society. The main reason for this to happen is a primordial sense of one’s own clan. The influence of the struggle for clan primordialism in the election of regents and deputy regents also has an impact on the economic system, cultural customs, social interactions and the welfare of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency. Social interactions in the daily life of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency are also influenced by the struggle of clan primordialism in the election of regent and deputy regent. The society that initially had friendliness between one another has now diminished. The social interaction of the community in Pakpak Bharat Regency changed completely after the village head election took place. The life of the village community that used to be comfortable and harmonious between different clan groups has now disappeared. The social interaction of the community in Pakpak Bharat Regency changed completely after the village head election took place. The life of the village community that used to be comfortable and harmonious between different clan groups has now disappeared. The social interaction of the community in Pakpak Bharat Regency changed completely after the village head election took place. The life of the village community that used to be comfortable and harmonious between different clan groups has now disappeared.

The system of life has become like the life system of the urban community. Neighbors show each other their abilities and discommunication occurs. In cultural life, the influence of clan primordialism in the election of the regent and deputy regent can also be seen. Where in the period before the battle between the Berutu clan and the Tumangger clan at the time of the election of the regent and deputy regent in 2020 ago, every traditional event in every member of the community would definitely be united and attend each other when there was a traditional wedding party in every village in Pakpak Bharat Regency. After the fight, every time there is a traditional party held by one of the parties from the two clans, the two do not invite each other. This happened at a wedding in LaelanggeNamuseng Village, supporters of 01 did not invite supporters of 02 and vice versa, supporters of 02 also replied that they did not invite supporters of 01 to their wedding. The primordialism of clans in the life of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency is certainly a big threat to the harmony of the people of Pakpak Bharat Regency. Bad attitudes and tolerance between different clan groups will tend to have a negative influence.

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