CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

Various militia groups turned out to be a concern by various parties when ahead of elections both the legislative elections, presidential election, until the election of regional head. Police chiefs in various regions anticipated the impact of militia involvement against security disturbances and hold meetings regularly with various elite militia for coordination. His involvement in politics by showing the support to one of the candidates as they face the challenge of a rival oganization (contestation) in the contested of state patronage.

This also happened in the United Development Party (PPP) in the City of Yogyakarta. There are several young wing organizations of PPP in the City of Yogyakarta, such as Ka'bah Youth Movement (GPK), (AMK), Ka'bah Youth comunity (HAMKA), Ka'bah Youth front (BMK), JOXIN , Hamka darwis. Every the young wing of the PPP in the city of Yogyakarta has a militia that exists in each area selection (Dapil), up to the level of the village with the typical name with the symbols of islam. With their actions, these militias became popular in the community. The party wing or underbouw is followed by young sympathizers who are still studying in the high school. According to the release of the Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies of UGM, there are several school gangs affiliated with militia groups or PPP party wing groups symbolized by Islam, such as Muhammadiyah School 1 (OESTAD) raised the issue of anti-Christian. However, in the otherwise the Christian school gangs like Bopkri are affiliated with the Qzruh militia group (underbouw Indonesian democratic party struggle). These two groups resulted in conflicts in the community either during the election or the anniversary of the party from the underbouw of these two groups.

This research will be discussed about the militia of PPP or PPP wing party is GPK. Ka'bah Youth Movement (GPK) is one of the 'civilian

militias' underbow of the United Development Party (PPP). Nationally, GPK was established in Jakarta since April 1982. GPK (Ka'ba Youth Movement) is the largest civilian militia in Yogyakarta. GPK is also a youth underbow movement supporting the PPP (United Development Party). GPK in Yogyakarta province is the largest compared to other substation, as there are 3000 GPK formal members in this region. While other civilian militia has only about 50-700 members. . Most of the GPK members live in four Islamic villages known as 4K, Kauman, Karangkajen, Kotagede and Kuncen, plus another Islamic village, namely Notoprajan. This militia group among the people became a group that often made a commotion on the highway. Sweeping action, violence for groups different of opinion with GPK, violent action by GPK Militia group to seek existence.

The ka'bah youth movement one of the wings the United Development Party which formally has a Legality Law Number 3 of 1975 on Political Parties and which was later amended by Act No. 3 of 1985 on Political Parties and, as well as Law No. 2 of 1999 on Political Parties, has not been explicitly regulating the existence of the wing organization in the party. In 2017 of Yogyakarta has been carrying out party democracy 5 annual regional head election, followed two couples the incumben before him had served as mayor and vice mayor in Yogykarta city.

Political action GPK in the election of the mayor experienced a break-up support after the PPP party suffered a management split in the center or dualism of leadhership, as well as the appearing of statement by DPC PPP to refuse support one of chairman of PPP and refused to follow candidacy for mayor of Yogyakarta. Although the party officials planned not to participate in the mayoral election process, the GPK as wing party organization carried one of the GPK figures in the nomination of the mayor of Yogyakarta. But in carrying one of the GPK figure experienced problem in internal and failed candidate for mayor in the registration, effect in only two candidate pairs. The behavior and actions of GPK cadres is very interesting to discuss because of internal divisions in the

GPK experienced support to one candidate for mayor of Yogyakarta after GPK failed to nominate one of figure GPK in mayoral election of Yogyakarta . Is there a political treaty which resulted in the break-up of support.

That should be known to GPK members to control the land for parking to living income, which certainly can not be separated from the patronage with elite politic.

This research is very interesting in the discuss due to exposing political influence within the kabah Youth Movement affecting young Voters, candidates, and affect society in the election of Mayor of Yogyakarta.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the background above, then the problem formulation in this research is how and by which manner the Ka'bah Youth Movement (GPK) contribute to political influence in the process of mayoral election in the Yogyakarta 2017?

C. RESEARCH PURPOSES

1. To understand any political influence of the GPK (Ka'bah Youth Movement) in the Yogyakarta mayor election
2. To determine the effect of GPK in influencing young voters/members to choose one candidate for mayor of Yogyakarta
3. To find out how the GPK influenced the mayoral candidate of Yogyakarta in the pre-election
4. To find out how the GPK influenced the voters in general in mayoral elcetion of Yogyakarta

D. BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH

1. Theoretical Benefit

   This research can be useful to make a contribution, and new insights in the field of science.

2. Practical Benefit

The results of this research can be a useful input and consideration material, especially for the people of Yogyakarta in knowing how big the influence of GPK (Ka'bah Youth Movement) in the general election of regional heads in the city of Yogyakarta.

E. LITERATUR REVIEW

Ahmad Asroni, et.al (2013) did research about islamic organization contribution of political parties for the muslim community in the Yogyakarta. Theye focus how explain the influence of the wings party GOLKAR and PDIP looking for a voice over religious activity. Wing party golkar namely MDI (Majelis dakwah Indonesia), and wing party PDIP namely BAMUSI (Baitul muslim Indonesia). This research shows the function of a wing party that is keep the sympathies by way of religious activities. religious existence is enabled to stem non-religious stigma aimed at Golkar party and Pdip. BAMUSI and MDI have a aktivity like read of the Qur'an, training da'i , study about hadi'st.

However, this research does not explain whether there are instructions from party leaders to elect party members who follow elections like legislative and executive. And this research do not give of data about success of the wings party in helping political parties in general elections in the legislative and executive.

Finally, It should give an overview in detail whether BAMUSI and MDI influential in helping a political party to win elections. And and should provide data on the number of members of MDI and BAMUSI in yogyakarta city.

New research was conducted by Dzihnatun Nabilah (2015) to see the role of the Organization wing tidar (Tunas Indonesia Raya) In the expansion of Gerindra Party members in central java province. Focus how Tidar (Tunas Indonesia Raya) able to the expansion of Gerindra party members in central java Province. This research explains. tidar was wing of the party Gerindra. And it has the aim to absorb and channel the aspirations of the youth in Indonesia. The effort Tidar (Tunas Indonesia Raya) in the an expansion of members in the central of java through internal and eksternal. Internal effort is invite someone to join or choose one candidate for election. Eksternal effort is open activities such as social service, blood donation, etc. This research also explain TIDAR has the intruction from DPD Political party Gerindra to find members and vote for legislative candidates and candidates for governor or mayor from gerindra.

However, this research does not eplains whether this wing of the party has been influential in helping prospective politicians of the party gerindra. And does not explain whether TIDAR can make a change for the political party. Finnaly, this research should be able to explain how effectively the wing party is helping the political parties in the general election. And explain how strategy Gerindra party the keep sympatisan party in the central of java.

Tirto Saputro (2016) did field research to street politic and youth : study about Ka'bah Youth Movement in Yogyakarta. This research explains Gpk's behavior in acts of violence such as sweeping, LGBT attacks and political behavior that often create chaos in the community. This study focuses on observing the behavior of young people in acting politically and even in life. And shows the background of the establishment of this GPK. The GPK was established with a view to voting in elections. This research does not explain in detail how their political participation in elections. And did not explain the factors they failed to nominate GPK figure in Yogyakarta. Finally, this research should be able to explain how their actions are to support figures of the GPK to

gain power in the Executive and legislative. And what factors make them look for violent excitement.

In the etnoghrapy aproach, PM Laksama and etc (2000) explains the history of violent groups labeled political parties on the streets. These groups often create chaos on the highway. The focus of this research is the function of roadways in use as seeking identity exitence to get votes in the general election. And this study focuses on the sociological factors of people in the group on why they commit acts of violence.

This research does not explain the political behavior of violence groups in Yogyakarta. And do not explain in detail what factors affect them to commit acts of violence on the highway. This research should be able to provide information on what factors make these groups violence on the highway.

From the above research on the wings party above the research explains the influence of the wing party in seeking votes to win the General election. The influence pf the wings party is soft and does not cause chaos in the region. In contrast to my research. The research in my thesis explains the influence of the GPK in the mayoral election in Yogyakarta under conditions of internal division. And explain how the intruction of comander's GPK to support one of candidate mayor in the Yogyakarta city year 2017. Then explain GPK one of the wings PPP that has many members and control the streets in violent acts , however failed to nominate GPK figure in the mayoral election.

F. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK
1. Political power

Power is a central concept in political science. Power will relate to the political struggles of two interconnected sciences. Power is the opportunity of a person or group of people to awaken the community to its own will, by applying to the actions of resistance from certain people or groups. Power always exists in every society, no matter how earthy, big, or complicated it is (Ebyhara, 2016). Power as the ability or expertise of a

person in influencing the behavior of a person or other group in such a way that the behavior of a person or group can follow as desired from people who have power (Budiardjo, 2008). This definition is more emphasis on the concept of "influence" or actions affect. That is, it refers to the process or activity to get the power.

In addition, according to Rudi Gunawan in the book political thuggery that influence was power exist or arise from something, either a person or an object and so on in power or magnitude and effect on other people. The politics of power and influence is a component that is inseparable in politic.

A phenomenon that occurs in the politics power and influence

a. Patronage

Patronage in Indonesia is very popular in Indonesia in the context of negative things in the struggle for power. Patronage is a benefit sharing among politicians to distribute something individually to the voters, workers or campaigners in getting political support from them. (Shefter , Martin, 1994). Patronage is the giving of cash, item, services, and other economic benefits (such as a job or project) that is distributed by politicians, including the benefits intended for individuals (for example, the envelope containing the cash) and to groups/communities (for example, a new soccer field for the youth in the village) (Hutchcroft ,2014)

There are several variations according to Edward Aspinal in the book the Money politic

1. Voting Buying

Voting buying is as distributions of cash payment or item from the candidates to the voters by systematic way a few days before the election with the implicit expectation that the recipients will respond by voting for the giver. In Indonesia, many terms are used in voting buying practices of this kind that called as *serangan fajar.*

2. Individual Gifts

To support the efforts of more systematic vote-buying, the candidates often provide various forms of private giving to voters. Usually, they do this practice when meeting with voters, whether during home visits or at campaign time.

3. Service and Activities

Like the giving of cash and other material, candidates often provide or finance the activities and service to voters.

4. Pork Barrel Project

The strategy of the candidates in order to win votes are privately funded (either by the candidates themselves or private donors, although we also see that often the majority of the sources of funding for such activities comes from a corruption of State money). This term is different in the form of patronage, the definition is the governmental projects aimed for certain geographical area.

In the sense above it can be conclude that the political patronage is a dispensation of a success that has material value or prestige and something of value derived from a patron (someone who controls the dispensation) to his colleague (client).

b. Clientelism

Clientelism is a relationship between politicians and voters or supporters. Clientelism is a personalistic power relation (Hutchcroff 2014). According to Scott, clientelistic relation is a face-to-face relationship.

Hicken explains that there are 3 definitions of clientelism, namely: First, contingency or reciprocity; the giving of goods or services from one party (patron or client) is a direct response to the giving of the benefits of the other party. Second, hierarchical; there is an emphasis on unequal power relationships between patrons and clients. Third, aspects of repetition; clientelistic Exchange takes place continuously.

According Mada sukamajati in the book Money politiv In Clientelism there is a common name called the mobilization network of voters or Brokers. This broker is very needed in finding a vote or perform political lobbies. There are three basic forms of vote brokerage networks in use in Indonesia, namely:

1. Successful teams. A successful team is a network of broker votes is most commonly used by candidates. Mostly, the serious candidates to contest in the general election have a successful team.

2. Social Networking Machine. Social network machines using the successful teams are organized based on territory, the candidates also often get support from the influential community leaders.

3. Political Party. Political parties play a very minimal role in organizing a grassroots campaign in support of the candidate.

c. Militia / semi-military

The History of civilian military began since the japanese era in Indonesia. Japan made semi-military groups to help japan in the war in Asia. Example of civilian military during japanese i.e Seinedan , Funjinkai, Heiho, and Keibodan.

The militia is a civilian group organized like the military to assist the state in guarding the security posts (FX Rudy Gynawan: 200). These groups are committed to acts of violence to defend the interests of groups or ideologies even to personal interests.

According to PM Laksana in the books *Permainan tafsir* militia or civil military in Indonesia usually became a political interest. The militias were given jobs to defend the political elite. Their presence can be a symbol of religious, racial, and ideological identity. The militias are a group of civilians who resemble the military but do not use weapons and have proximity to the military.

d. Political violence in the election

Intimidation to the voters is a form of political corruption which is one of political violence. Other forms of political violence in elections are the destruction of physical facilities in elections, beatings and killing of political opponents, and political turmoil.

The viewpoint of the development of political life categorize the political violence as a transitional political process to the war. Cause of violence as the interaction of power no longer bargain argumentation, public opinion, bargaining and approval of the main mechanism. According to Ahmad Suhaedy, political violence in the literature is divided into several types or forms. First, the primordial violence that occurs among the communities of religion, ethnicity, race (ras), region, and language. Second, revolutionary violence that is motivated by radical and fanatical reformers. Third, the violence by the group of forced transfer of state power.

2. Political influence

According to Rudi Gunawan in the book political thuggery that influence was power exist or arise from something, either a person or an object and so on in power or magnitude and effect on other people. The politics of power and influence is a component that is inseparable in politic

According to David easton is politics is "the authoritative allocation of values for a society." Easton's definition is widely accepted, but I dislike it for two reasons, one pragmatic and the other conceptual (Shue, 1990)
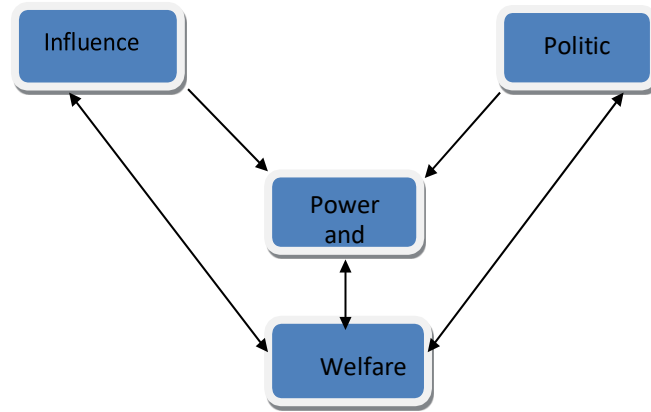
Politics is the art to influence groups or someone to follow the behavior that is in want to achieve a common goal (Subakti, 1992). Politics and influence could not be separated because when talking politics then would talk the influence

Political influence is an art to create groups and the public to follow the will of the maker's influence in order to achieve the goals which are in want

Political influence perspective of bureaucracy is the art of influencing component employees to follow orders of superiors in order to create an

appropriate policy with the leader. (Kutsal Yesilkagit & sandra van thiel, 2008)

Figure 1.1 Political influence according to Lewis

Source : *Adopted from Lewis , D,E (2003) in the book Presidents and the politics of agency design. Political institutions in the United States government bureaucracy*

3. General Election

The General election are free and fair is one of the procedural indicator as the foundation of democracy in a state. The general election is a tool that the services should not result in the destruction of the values of democracy and even cause damage to the community. however the general election as a means of choosing the leader of the way democratic and bring change for the community (Marsono, 1996). An election is a formal group decisin-making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office. Election may fill offices in the legislature , sometimes in the executive and judiciary , and for regional and local government (Kellner, 2016).

According to law No. 10 year 2008 about the election on the election of members of the House of representatives, the regional representative Council, and Representatives of the region, the head of the Region, said that the election is a means of implementing the people's sovereignty in the country the unity of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the UUD 1945. The election was held in a democratic and transparent, honest and fair with the granting and voting

in directly, general , free, and confidential. So based on the Law the election uses the principles namely, honest, Fair, direct, general, free, and confidential

In the election, voters in the election also called constituents, and to offer them the participants election promises and its programs during the campaign. The campaign made during his time, ahead of polling day. A phenomenon that occurs in the general election : Money politics is a slightly different with the patronage and clientisme. The term of money politics is used to describe such practices as mentioned above, since democratization in Indonesia began at the end of 1990s. Money politics to describe practices that refer to the distribution of cash.

Definition Money politic is a form of granting or bribing someone so that person does not exercise his right to vote or execute its due in a certain way at the time of the general election. Purchases can be made using money or goods. Money politics is a form of campaign violation. Money politics is generally conducted by sympathizers, cadres or even political party officials before the election day. The practice of money politics is done by giving in the form of money, nine basic necessities such as rice, oil and sugar to the community in order to attract the sympathy of the community so that they can vote for the party concerned. (Aspinal:2015).

According to Rudy Gunawan, there are two patterns of money politics there are several kinds such as politic practice include: component of actors, strategies, and value system that moves (Actors of money politic or broker). Secondly, money politics practices taking place extensively increase participation in formal elector. However, participation is a pseudo (pseudo-participation) for nir-rationality.

G. DEFINITION OF CONCEPT

Conceptual definition is an attempt to explain the limitation of understanding between one concept with another concept in order to avoid misunderstanding or confusion. Definition of the concept is briefly from a group of facts or phenomena, or concept is the abstraction of a phenomenon that is

formulated on the basis of generalization of a number of characteristics and Genesis. The conceptual definition in this research is as follows;

1. Political power

    Power and politics is a unity that can not be separated. Where politics is one of the forms to obtain power "how to get the power"."When we discuss politics we are actually talking about a strategy of how to get power. Power is the energy possessed by a person or a group to smooth the goal it wants to achieve. Power in politics means that gathers energy and puts everyone in the group to gain power in a smooth and achieve the goals you are going to learn.

2. Political Influence

    Political influence is an art to create groups and the public to follow the will of the maker's influence in order to achieve the goals which are in want

3. General election

    Definition of the general election is a process to choose the people who will occupy the seat of Government. The elections are held to create a democratic country, where leaders are elected by majority vote.

H. DEFINITON OF OPERATIONAL

The operational definition is an indication of how a variable is measured. The operational definition in this research is as follows:

a. Political Influence

    The influence of Ka'bah Youth Movement influencing youth voters is likely to be very large for choosing candidates for mayoral candidates, then the Ka'bah Youth Movement elite also has an interest to influence candidates for mayoral candidates for group interest and personal interests.

b. Patronage

Because every GPK support should have feedback for personal or group interests.

c. Clientalisme

Network between people who have social, economic and political ties that contain iterative elements, inequality and reciprocal status. Later, clientelism is also the power relation between patron and client that is personalistic, reciprocity, hierarchy and iteration in which it contains mutual reciprocal relations. There is a possibility of the influence of the relationship between Heroe poewardi as a cadre muhammadiyah and the GPK elites who are possibly muhammadiyah cadres in Yogyakarta.

d. Role Figure

The role of the figure in the body of the GPK, one of figure GPK namely Syukri Fadholi as founder The Ka'bah Youth Movement.

I. METHODS

This research is a descriptive research using qualitative approach. Descriptive research is research methods that are fixe//d on solving the problems that exist at the present time or focusing on solving those problems, the data collected, compiled, described, and then analyzed (Surachman, Winarno, 1990)

Qualitative research method is a research method based on postpositivism philosophy, techniques data collection are conducted in triangulation (combined), data analysis is inductive / qualitative, and qualitative research results more emphasis on the meaning of generalization (Salim, 2006). Qualitative research has the following characteristics, (1) research data obtained directly from the field, and not from the laboratory, (2) searching data is done naturally, making visits to the subject's natural situations, (3) to gain a new meaning in the form of answer categories, the researcher must develop a dialogical situation as a scientific situation (Sugiyono, 2013). This research took the object of research at the office of Ka'bah Youth Movement of Yogyakarta city.

1. Type of data
    a. Primary data

    Primary data is all information about the concept of research (or related to it) that we get directly from the unit of analysis that serve as the object of research. Primary data was obtained by interviewing the leaders and members of Ka'bah Youth movement of Yogyakarta city which later will be generalized as a conclusion. Primary data are collected from:

    a) Observation

    Observation is a technique of collecting the data by looking directly what is happening on the field without engineered. Observations that will be conducted by researchers in the neighborhood of people who are members of Ka'abah Youth Movment of Yogyakarta City.

    b) Interview

    Interview is a technique of collecting the data Interviews are a method of collecting data by asking questions about the concept of research (or related to it) to the individual human being into the unit of research analysis or to the individual human being who is considered to have data on the unit of research analysis.

    Interviews were conducted to find out the things from the more in-depth respondents, to find out more in-depth about the participants in interpreting the situation and the phenomenon that occurs, which can not be found through observation. Interviews are made based on the instruments that the authors list on the conceptual and operational definitions table.

    In this context, researchers interviewed some of the communities that have been determined through purposive sampling in order to support the research. The names to be interviewed are:

- Fuad Andreago as a coordinator of GPK
- Deny as a Head of GPK in the City of Yogyakarta
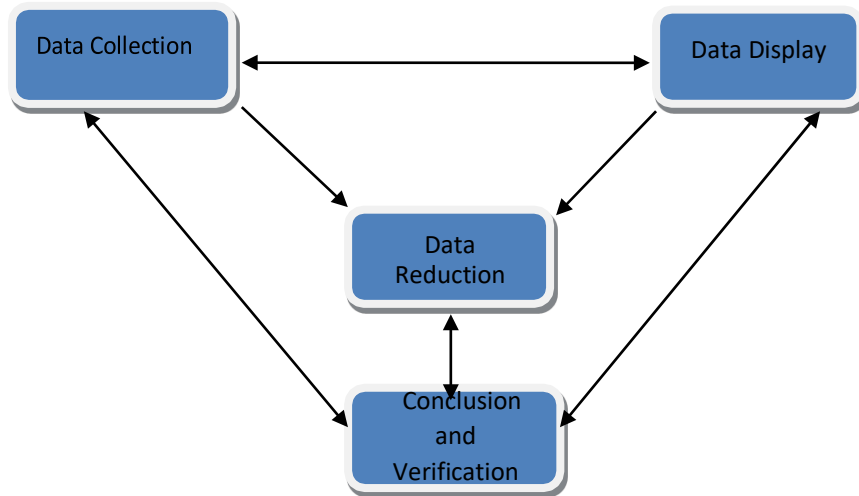- Saipul as a member of GPK in the City of Yogyakarta

b. Secondary data

Secondary data is all the information we gained indirectly, through documents that record the State of the research concepts (or associated with it) in an analysis unit made an object. Secondary data is obtained from literature study, complementary to primary data and literature related to this research, such as through mass media, internet, law and related document

Documentation Technique of studying data that supports research that can be obtained by using documentation techniques, namely by using existing documents as literature material that can be obtained from books, journals, mass media, and other relevant sources related to the problem.

2. Data Analysis Techniques

According to Bogdan dan Biglen (in Moleong, 2012: 248) qualitative data analysis is an effort done by working with data, organizing data, sorted them into a manageabel, synthesizing it, search and find the patterns, finding the important things and what is learned, and decide what can be told to others. (Salim, 2006: 20).

Figure 1.2 Data Analysis Model Of Interactive Components

Source: Adopted from Matthew B. Miles dan A. Michael Huberman (1992, in Salim, 2006: 22)

The processes of qualitative data analysis can be explained as follows:

a) Data Collection, is collecting data on field research conducted b researchers using a predetermined method.

b) Data Reduction, is the selection process, focusing attention on simplification, abstraction, and transformation of rough data obtained in the field of study.

c) Data Display, is a description of a set of arranged information that allows to withdraw conclusions and taking action.

d) Conclusion drawing and verification.

From the process of collecting data, the researcher are looking for the meaning of every phenomenon obtained in the field, noted the regularity or pattern of possible explanations and configurations, causality flows, and propositions. (Salim, 2006: 22