

## CHAPTER III

### DISCUSION

The Ka'bah Youth Movement is an Underbouw militia of the United Development Party in Indonesia. The Ka'bah Youth Movement was established in April in 1982. The purpose of the Ka'bah Youth Movement is to assist the United Development Party in winning the election in Indonesia, especially among youth. GPK also has a purpose for amar ma'ruf nahi munkar.

Ka'bah Youth movement in Yogyakarta has its own uniqueness from other cities in Indonesia. It was militancy and euphoria of different campaigns. According to Tirto in his thesis said that militancy in favor of the Ka'bah Youth Movement became a guideline for their life and became a pride in the members of the GPK

The term of one command is very famous in the internal Ka'bah Youth Movement. The term is used to honor the elite of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in making political policy. The role of GPK figures is very strong in making any decision.

#### 1. The role of the GPK Elite Figure in influencing the GPK cadres

Roles Leaders figure is required by every organization, the role of each leader figure will produce influence for its members and sympathizers, "Influence is the power that exists or arises from something (person or thing) that contributes to characters, beliefs or actions of a person or group. There are several expert opinions regarding the notion of influence (Surbakti, 1992)

According to Robert Dahl said that influence means A has an influence over B as far as he can cause B to do something that will not really B do. In essence the influences of a leader to influence its members are used for the common good and achieve common goals.

The role of the Ka'bah Youth Movement Yogyakarta is very strong in influencing the GPK cadres in any policy. Especially for young cadres of Ka'bah

Youth Movement is very respects GPK figures like Syukri Fadholi , Muhammad Fuad , Deny , Rubi. These names became central figures for Ka'bah Youth Movement cadre Yogyakarta in determining the direction of the Underbouw party policy. These three figures are like Muhammad Fuad, Deny, ruby, a figure who is respected among members of the Ka'bah Youth Movement who is headquartered in the Ngabean Parking in Yogyakarta. According to the results of the interview there is a division of the roles of these three figures is:

1. Muhammad Fuad Manage of things that bureaucracy directly confused with the government
2. Deni as chairman of Ka'bah Youth Movement took the role to strengthen the power of the Ka'bah Youth Movement members so that one commando
3. Rubi manage parking area in Ngabean Yogyakarta

Muhammad Fuad was the one of figure who became a role model for young cadres among the Ka'bah Youth Movement. He had background of a person who has martial ability and always gives Islamic nuance for young cadres Ka'bah Youth Movement resulting in many young people who had negative behavior habits change toward positive behavior. The term young mujahedeen was pronounced by Muhammad Fuad to burn the youthful spirit of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in Yogyakarta. This role model can come into with the theory of influence figures. According to Pleffer said that the power of influence on a community and organization cannot be separated from the leadership and charismatic a person

Muhammad Fuad was also the Leader of the Islamic Forum whose members were mostly cadres of the Ka'bah Youth Movement itself. The influence of Muhammad Fuad in multiplying hundreds of people was proven during the sweeping bill of UKDW (Catholic University Duta Wacana) students who wear hijab. According to Fuad muhammad when interviewed by CNN Indonesia said the Installation banner UKD of veiled students is a harassment for the FUI which consists of 120 people (Setiawan, 2016)

Muhammad Fuad's personal figure was a great for changing the behavior of sympathizers of GPK who had a bad background into an Islamic personality or a Muslim nuance. This character that makes Fuad figures' wants the Ka'bah Youth Movement into an underbouw who fight for amar mahruf nahi mungkar or underbouw that upholds the personality of Islam. Muhammad Fuad, one of the young Ka'bah Youth Movement figures prepared to become a PPP political cadre in the future, can be analyzed every activity PPP Muhammad Fuad always present and give the idea of politics of Islam in the future.

“According to the interview with sympathizers GPK influence Muhammad Fuad is very strong in influencing sympathizers and cadres GPK is charismatic and communication Muhammad Fuad who gives the feel of Islam and Muhammad Fuad has been able to help provide work to the sympathizers and members of the GPK”

In this interview analysis, that can be seen that the communication made by someone very good and strong figure in influencing the sympathizers or members can be categorized as political communication. Three important parts of political communication by Norris are the production of messages, message content and message effects. The process of producing messages is how messages are generated by politicians such as parties or interest groups, and then transmitted using direct channels (such as political ads) or indirect channels (such as newspapers, radio and television). Message content includes the number and form of political reportage featured in television news, partisan balance in the press, reviews of specific campaigns and events in elections, agenda setting reporting on political issues, and minority representation in media coverage. The effects of the message pay attention to the community level. The key issue focuses on analyzing the potential impacts that may arise in society such as on political knowledge and public opinion, political attitudes and political values, as well as on political behavior.

Political communication is a process of conveying information or transmitting political messages and constructions of meaning by political actors through media that have influence and effects in social and political interactions. In its development in the field, political communication conducted in a

directional, effective and permanent that can build public opinion and able to form an individual or group attitude. Political communication is the whole act of spreading action, meaning, or message related to the function of a political system, involving elements of communication (communicators, messages, media, communicants and securities). Analyzing the power and influence of Muhammad Fuad in influencing investigators and cadres lies in good charismatic and expertise in conveying positive messages to sympathizers and GPK members

Syukri Fadholi is also an important figure in the Ka'bah Youth Movement. Syukri Fadholi is the founder of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in April 1982. In Thesis of Tirto Saputro said that the title Ka'bah Youth Movement was created to meet the needs of PPP in politics in the region as well as nationally (Saputro, Politik jalanan dan kaum muda : Studi Tentang Gerakan Pemuda Ka'bah, 2016).

Syukri Fadholi is a cadre of Muhammadiyah, Syukri Fadholi had been the one of chairmans of Muhammadiyah Youth Movement part of Suronatan since 1970 until 1975, the chairman of Muhammadiyah Youth Movement in Yogyakarta since 1979 until 1984, the chairman of Muhammadiyah Youth Movement national since 1984 until 1989.

“According to an interview with one of the members of the Ka'bah Youth Movement and also one of the members of the KOKAM Muhammadiyah. , Symbol of Syukri Fadholi a Muhammadiyah cadre resulted in many Muhammadiyah youth who were inspired by the Syukri Fadholi, Culture Aproach Syukri Fadholi Very Good with Muhammadiyah cadre especialy Youth Muhhamadiyah in Yogyakarta. Shukri fadholi became the father of sympathizers and GPK cadres, such an example that can be attributed to the influence of one's background”

According to Pleffer said that a person or group can follow a leader by looking at the track record, symbol, and background of the leader. This charismatic influence made Syukri fadholi gain power within his special Unite Development Party Underbouw of the Ka'bah Youth Movement. According to Markus Power said the ability that a person or group possesses to influence another individual or another group. The power one possesses will place the person in a higher position than the other person affected. Generally power will

create a vertical relationship within an organization. Power will also determine who is appropriate and should take decisions (decision making) within an organization

“According to the parking at the Ngabean in conducting interviews say drunken activity and the sympathizers GPK has turned to read Holy Qur’an and prayer. Every Sunday night the entire GPK elite and members and sympathizers conduct a joint read Holy Qur’an at Muhammad Fuad's house”

According to the facts this recitation exist and in content by the popular ustad - ustad in Yogyakarta. The contents of the meeting are usually discussed about morals and explain the purpose of Ka’bah Youth Movement is amar mahruf nahi mungkar. The process of migrating among young Ka’bah Youth Movement is inseparable from the influence of Muhammad Fuad as a young man who broadcast about young Islamic mujahidin who defend the interests of religion. The figure of Muhammad Fuad inspires young people in Yogyakarta to join the Underbouw Unity Party Development. The influence of Muhammad Fuad as the Ka'bah Youth Movement field coordinator is very strong and has leadership power in the Ka'bah Youth Movement internally. The theory proposed by French and Raven states that leadership comes from power within groups or organizations. In other words, the person or people who have access to a source of power within a particular group or organization will control or lead the group or organization itself. The source of power itself there are three kinds, namely position, personality and politics. This personality element makes the figure of Muhammad Fuad followed by sympathizers and the Ka'bah Youth Movement cadres in doing the Ka'bah Youth Movement activity.

“When conducting interviews with members of the Ka’bah Youth Movement who are sitting in a Muhammadiyah school in Yogyakarta said that they join because of their own conscience and there is no coercion and they like the figure of Muhammad Fuad who has a martial arts background and always defend Islam. They also like the fond of a motorcycle campaign or parade tauhid by the GPK.”

According to facts, nearly 70% of sympathizers and GPK members come from high school and college. The interest of youth to join in GPK is very interesting in observing when using the theory. According to Kavanagh stated that marketing symbol is an action that attacks the dogma of human thinking to invite and join in an organization or invite and buy a product in the symbol.

In this research analysis the role of figures in influencing members and sympathizers is needed by an organization. Strength of the figure makes organizational piety to be solid in running the activities of the organization. The Ka'bah Youth Movement has elite who is a figure in the organization such as Shukri Fadholi and Muhammad Fuad who always become the qibla of its members. The power of influence of this figure can be in the analyst when the GPK builder instructions to his cadres to choose one of the candidates for mayoral candidates.

Dependency with a figure causes the failure of regeneration in an organization or group. According to Winarno, a dependence on a leader figure will make romanticism towards his members and sympathizers and lead to the minimization of a leader's regeneration. The figure of Muhammad Fuad, Syukri Fadholi, Deni Yusuf, and Rubi are very influential in influencing his cadres, but when this figure is no longer in the GPK body it does not rule out the members of the GPK to be divided and the cessation of religious syiar in the internal body GPK. The possibility of sympathizers and GPK members who have turned into positive behavior will return to negative behavior because of the absence of a figure in the GPK body

The Ka'bah Youth Movement is one of the political Underbouw which, according to the analysis of this stu And the lack of empowerment of leadership skill in every member or sympathizer of GPK cadres. As a result, sympathizers do not develop scientifically and only become followers or just as political objectsdy, is the absence of systematic cadre. The sympathizers of the Ka'bah Youth Movement joined in this underbouw only by reason of seeing a figure of Muhammad Fuad and syukri fadholi

## 2. Existence of Symbols and the occurrence of Patronage

Existence in Latin is emergence or existence is real, existence in the perspective of political symbols is a necessity for the group, to show its existence in the midst of society. The context of the political existence of symbols is needed for every party organization or social organization. According to Satrawati stated that the existence of symbols are require of every organization to give the cultivation of public thought about the existence of each organization and used to attract public sympathy (Satrawati, 2015).

Patronage is common in Indonesia, 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). This patronage that makes political conditions in Indonesia is not developing. The money factor becomes the winner in the legislative and executive election process.

Existence in the Latin is appearing or its existence is real, Existence in the perspective of political symbols is a necessity for the group, to show its existence in the midst of society.

“According to the command of Ka’bah Youth Ka’bah Jetis in Yogyakarta said that the Ka'bah Youth Movement is one of Underbouw's United Development Party which has about 11,000 members”

The existence of the Ka’bah Youth Movement has a positive and negative response. According to the facts in the field of tauhid parade campaign conducted by Ka’bah Youth Movement aims to inform the public that Islam has troops willing to die in defending religion. In showing the symbols of the Ka'bah provide information that Muslims should prostrate facing the Ka'bah

“According to an interview with one of the commander of the Ka'bah Youth Movement of Jetis Town Sub-district Yogyakarta they merged into the Ka'bah Youth Movement on the basis of being an Islamic ummah born by being heard by the voice of the Adhan and being taught to worship the prayer facing the Qiblat or Ka'bah. It is our duty to defend Islam and enforce amar maruf nahi mungkar. The Tauhid parade with hundreds of

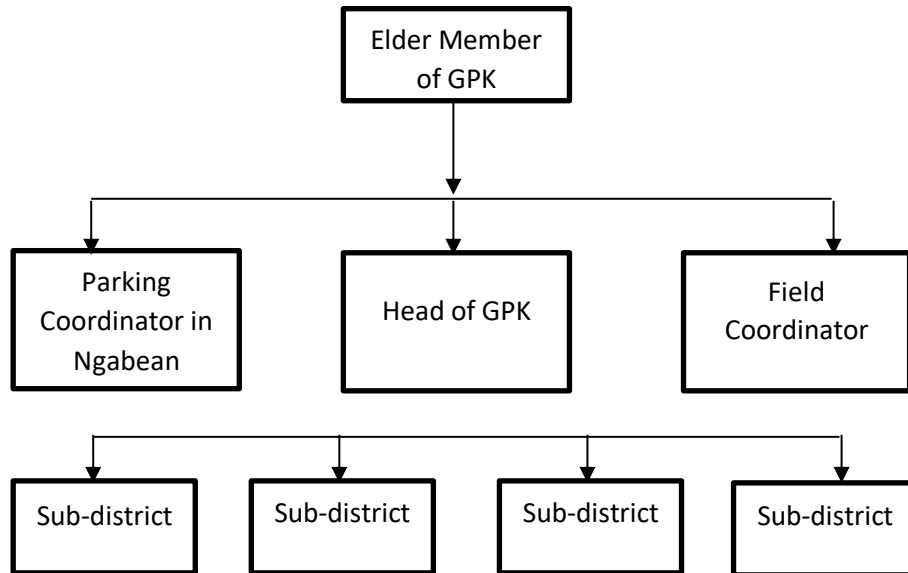
motorcycles by flying the flags of the Ka'bah is proud because it is one way to inform all citizens that the existence of this group establishes amar maruf nahi mungkar. Fanaticism is a phenomenon that happens to sympathizers and cadres of GPK”

Fanaticism is a belief or behavior that shows an overwhelming interest in something, defines fanaticism as, "multiply your efforts when you forget your goals," A fanaticism cannot change the mindset and not will change course. It can be said that a fanatic has a strict standard in his or her mindset and is inclined not to listen to opinions or ideas he considers to be contradictory (Brown, 1998)

The term one commando is a term that is much embedded in the hearts of the cadres of the Ka'bah Youth Movement and sympathizers. When the leaders of the Ka'bah Youth Movement perform the instructions then all members will follow the direction of the leader. The role of the elite of this Ka'bah Youth Movement became a very big influence in wooing the sympathizers to perform actions such as sweeping. Take action against the LGBT, and the tawheed parade. A single command line can burn cadres and sympathizers of GPK in performing GPK activities, the effect of sentences can affect an organizational behavior and actions.



Figure 3.1 Structural Strengthening Scheme Ka’bah Youth Movement



The table map shows the strength of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in making its political action in Yogyakarta.

“According to interviews with members of the Mantijeron District Kaaba Youth Movement Syukri Fadholi is a central figure or father for the sympathizers and leaders of the Ka'bah Youth Movement. But the figure of Tris Ngabean is also influential for now Tris ngabean namely Fuad, Deny, Rubi can be said that the protector for all the members of the Ka’bah Youth Movement”

This Party's Underbouw action has a negative impression on the people of Yogyakarta. One of them is one of Elanto activist in Yogyakarta in writing in social media said that Underbouw this Party cannot provide good education for society. It gets a strong response from the sympathizers and members of the Ka’bah Youth Movement. This negative public opinion is based on the behavior and actions of the GPK that once committed acts of violence. Stigma is a very broad attribute that can make individuals lose confidence and can be a daunting thing (Goffman dalam Major & O’Brien, 2005). Tipe according major:

- a. The existence of negative treatment and discrimination directly

The negative stigma will occur when a group or person performs actions that harm others or is discriminating. Discrimination refers to the unfair service of a particular individual, in which the service is based on the characteristics represented by that individual. Discrimination is an occurrence commonly encountered in human society. It is because of the human tendency to discriminate others and when a person is treated unfairly because of the characteristics of the tribe, integrality, sex, race, religion and belief, political flow, physical condition or other characteristic that is suspected to be the basis of discrimination. Direct discrimination occurs when laws, regulations or policies clearly mention certain characteristics, such as gender, race, etc., and inhibit the same opportunities. Indirect discrimination occurs when neutral rules become discriminatory when applied in the field

- b. The emergence of stereotypes automatically

Stigma can be a process through activation of automatic stereotypes negatively in a group. This stereotype is due to the public's view of the symbols, actions, or behavior of an organization that reflects violence and harm society

In Ka'bah Youth Movement analysis, stigma are the thoughts and beliefs as well as the phenomenon that occurs when individuals are labeled, stereotyped, separated and subjected to discrimination affecting the individual as a whole. Looking at the history of the actions of the Ka'bah Youth Movement during the new and post-reform era is very interesting to note in the context of violent campaign of Ka'bah Youth Movement.

In the book of tafsir that written by P.M laksama in 1997 there was a dispute between the citizens and Ka'bah Youth Movement campaign participants located in Sosrowijayan city of Yogyakarta. This action resulted in injuries by campaign participants and citizens. The cause of this clash is due to the parade of Ka'bah Youth Movement campaign that is not orderly on the highway.

Sparking citizens' emotions and throwing stones at participants of the United Development Party's Underbouw campaign on May 1, 1997- May 10,

1997. There were a gripping situation occurred in Yogyakarta because the murder of the United Development Party sympathizers by Golkar sympathizers made the Ka'bah Youth Movement strike the campaign at that time. They make a death cage and inscribed Untalen negoro iki in English eat this country (Laksana, 2000). This violence that makes the stigma of society become negative, intimidation and violence makes Ka'bah Youth Movement become one of the underbouw that get negative label by society. According to Rudy's theory of violence is

a. Individual Factor Theory

Some scholars argue that any group behavior, including violent behavior, always begins with individual behavior. Causes of violent behavior are personal and social factors. Personal factors include mental disorders. Social factors include household conflicts, cultural factors and mass media factors.

b. Group Factor Theory

Individuals tend to form groups by prioritizing identity based on racial, religious or ethnic equality. It is this group identity that tends to carry when someone interacts with others. The clash between different group identities is often the cause of violence.

Considering the above factors of violence in Ka'bah Youth Movement analysis, Group factors are the basis of Ka'bah Youth Movement often intimidation and violence when conducting their activities. In general, Violence committed by a person or group is often said to be a continuation of the social conflicts that occur in society

At the time of the new order of violence groups or commonly called thugs had come and became a new color during the New Order era. Usually this group gets jobs from the government to maintain the security of the country. Violence becomes the legitimacy of a group to maintain the exclusion of power interest groups. According to Weber said that it is 'legitimacy' that sets the state apart in its use of violence from other violence-wielding groups and individuals. What is it that makes state violence legitimate and legitimate to whom? Weber considered

the state as the product of struggles for domination in which legitimacy emerged as the product of the capacity of one group to limit violence from competing groups through the development of a superior coercive force, the maintenance of territorial boundaries, followed by the transformation of the coercive apparatus into bureaucratic and legal institutions for the enforcement of laws and rights (Weber 1978, 78).

The conflict between the party's sympathizers was created to be a prolonged conflict by the government. The instability of investigators will keep them busy in disputes and not focus on criticizing any government policy. This violence occurred based on economic factors at the time of the new order until the reform. If we employ Migdal's conceptualization of the state as a field of power in which coercive force and violence are exercised, what are the intended outcomes of this violence. Violence of course has many causes and motivations, but as a strategy foundational to forms of political power it is generally considered a 'resource', not an end in itself. The economic historian Frederic Lane has described governments as violence-controlling enterprises that produce and sell the commodity of 'protection' (Lane 1979, 22). Drawing from Lane's work, Tilly has extended this point, suggesting that states should be understood primarily as providers of protection, a characteristic they share with gangs, racketeers and organised crime. For both, violence's 'function' is the production of the commodity of protection which is, due to the very means by which it is produced, a 'double-edged sword (Wilson, 2015)

The state will not questioned a bullying by groups that support the government, the state becomes a protector against the violence or thugs and get protection of the state. Factors of violence are usually based on economic interests. A protection racket can be define as a relationship in which coercive force and intimidation is used in order to secure money, resources or power on the pretext of offering protection from an external threat. Implicit in the relationship is the threat of violence. In other words the source and solution to the threat are one and the same, the racketeer appearing as both protector and exploiter. Applying this to the state, insofar as the threats against which the state claims to

protect in return for tribute are imaginary, or the product of the state's own practices, it is operating a racket.

The New Order state functioned as the hub for a complex patron-client network, distributing and regulating patronage to clients in return for their political support and facilitation of interests of regime elites, while eliminating or criminalizing those who operated outside it, a protection racket regime.

Access to resources thus depended significantly upon personalized relationships through which 'clients' could hope to gain access to material resources in return for their loyalty to individual patrons linked to the various arms and levels of the state, who could then employ this to their advantage in inter-elite rivalries. The fact that beking was dependent upon a personality and patrimonial system meant that the resultant distribution of resources was never electively institutionalized, allowing the incubation of intense rivalries and tensions, a structure of rackets. As middle men, agents provocateurs for hire and state auxiliaries, preman formed part of a parallel, subcontracted system of taxation, violence and social control. The state franchised itself, violent entrepreneurs acting on its behalf, either as a 'spontaneous' defender or a covert agent. The reliance of the New Order upon these extra-state elements in the maintenance of power, whose 'loyalty' was contingent upon material rewards and concessions, created a system that consequently rested upon an inherently unstable basis, what Lindsey has called an 'insecurity state' (Lindsey 2001, 288) and similar to the 'structure of rackets' that Horkheimer argued is an integral feature of totalitarian regimes (Wilson, 2015)

Nevertheless, it retained durability and certain predictability so long as the military functioned as the focal source of patronage, coercion and 'protection' with Suharto as 'king of the jago'. This powerful centre prevented the emergence of autonomous local strongmen of the kind that emerged in Thailand and the Philippines, as Suharto encouraged rivalries and tensions over the allocation of surplus value and access to parasitical rent extraction (Heryanto and Hadiz 2005). However, as the regime began to fracture in the late 1990s, patronage, racketeering and contracting patterns also begin to splinter, grow more self-

sufficient and take on new ideological garb in an attempt to create non-Suharto-dependent modes of legitimating. The New Order's relationship with entrepreneurs in violence rested upon three central strategies: integration into state-created institutions; elimination via purges; and creating dependency based upon contingent patronage. It systematically sought to disorganize civil society and disrupt counter-hegemonic or progressive social forces using elements of this 'uncivil society' over which it attempted to centralize control. In doing so, the state set a model for the contracting of private violence and informal authority which was to have significant consequences for post-New Order Indonesia as both new and old political players continued to use these same strategies, but in a social and political context where the rules, and those able to set and enforce them, had changed.

The reform of action of Ka'bah Youth Movement very visible in prove with action sweeping alcohol, rejection LGBT, and anti Ahok. Their actions seem to use violence and intimidation.

"When interviewing one of the citizens Ngampilan said that Ka'bah Youth Movement when campaigning on the street is very disturbing residents"

The post-reform era or the fall of president Soeharto is the rise of groups of identity-based violence or party wing base in the community. They are present by exploiting its unstable state in regulating security politics. Not only do they fill the public spaces with street action while trying to launch a demands or group interests themselves. In a political party it certainly has a force commonly called an underground or grass shot force in the language of a political party better known as the party wing or grassroots movement. The action of the Youth Movement Ka'bah is very visible in prove with the action of sweeping alcohol, rejection LGBT, and anti Ahok. Their actions seem to use violence and intimidation.

In the analysis that the in Yogyakarta has a high level of political education in Indonesia. According to KPU data on voter participation rate in 2017 in the mayoral election in Yogyakarta (Martin, 2017). The level of education in the city of Yogyakarta is also quite high in Indonesia. With a fairly high education

in the city of Yogyakarta, the approach of political parties to the community in Yogyakarta using a humanist way. Can not by using violent means, the approach of the GPK by doing the parade / convoy will damage the image of GPK in getting the voice of the citizens of Yogyakarta, it is proven to see the candidates who came from the PPP did not get a lot of votes even a great figure of a Shukri fadholi failed was elected to the House of Representatives

With various criticisms obtained by GPK concerning citizens unrest against GPK cadres. Muhammad syukri Fadholi memdeklarasika khittah PPP DIY aims to make a commitment to the GPK become one of the community organizations that are polite and provide benefits for the people around. However Khittah GPK DIY also aims to cooperate with the Police so that the 2019 election is peaceful. On this occasion, the GPK declared the five attitudes of the Peace Declaration ahead of the 2019 election (widiyanto, 2018)

First, the GPK Khittah DIY sees the General Election as a very meaningful, strategic and determining process of the existence, the direction of the journey and the future of the Indonesian nation and state

Secondly, the GPK Khittah DIY fully supports the holding of qualified, democratic, constitutional, peaceful and peaceful elections.

"Third, the GKK Khittah DIY encourages and strives together with the government and the National Police as well as all other components of the nation to maintain a conducive, safe and peaceful Kamtibmas situation so that the 2019 General Election results in people's representatives who can make Indonesia prosperous, just, prosperous, dignified and sovereign

Fourth, it also reminds all Indonesian people, especially the people of Yogyakarta to use their political rights intelligently and dignified, uphold honesty, togetherness and continue to participate in creating a calm and peaceful atmosphere in the electoral process democracy 2019.

To control the political power in Yogyakarta GPK should be able to show its critical in building the city of Yogyakarta so much better. The Khittah GPK Declaration is the first step in the GPK's way of political influence in a humanist

and more polite way. According kadden that democratic consolidation demands strong political ethics that provide emotional maturity and rational support to implement democratic procedures. It underpins the importance of political ethics under the assumption that all political systems including democratic systems will sooner or later face a crisis, and strongly embedded political ethics will help democracies through the crisis. The implication of a process of democratization without deep-rooted political ethics is vulnerable and even crumbling in the face of crises such as economic decline, regional conflict or social conflict, or political crisis caused by corruption or divided leadership.

In other words, Political Ethics is a tool that is expected to create a harmonious atmosphere between actors and between social and political forces and among other interest groups to achieve the greatest progress of the nation and state by prioritizing common interests rather than personal interests and groups.

The conflict between the PDIP and GPK task force during the presidential election in the parking lot Ngabean quotes media tribun news explains this incident caused by mutual mocking between PDIP sympathizers and sympathizers of the GPK and resulted in a conflict. The last day's open campaign rotation in Yogyakarta City was marked by a tense clash involving the masses of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) with sympathizers allegedly supporters of the United Development Party (PPP) on Saturday 5 April 2014. There were no casualties or injuries in the event that could make a number of road segments such as Lt. Gen. Suprpto, KH Ahmad Dahlan, and RE Martadinata was closed. But a number of shops around closed in because of fear and a number of villages such as Suronotan and Ngampilan blocked by citizens to avoid being targeted. Tourists who stopped at the Hotel Cavinton was once frightened by the action. Tempo's observation in the field, clash between supporters of two parties was centered in the Ngabean intersection area, or Ngabean Terminal. Both supporters were facing each other in large numbers of mass in the former area of Ngabean terminal or about one kilometer west of Jalan Malioboro. The masses wearing the attributes of the PDIP on the north side and the black-shirted masses inscribed the Kaba Ka'bah Movement or the PPP wing on the south side, but the action of stone throwing was muted hundreds of personnel of Yogyakarta City



Police Department that came a few minutes before fight and almost widespread. Yogyakarta City Police Chief Adjunct Senior Commissioner of Police Slamet Santoso sends directly with five trucks containing hundreds of policemen to split the action. A figure of PDIP Yogya, Iriantoko said, clashing triggered by misleading information circulating among the two supporters. "It is reported that the mass of PDIP campaign destroys all PPP attributes in Kauman," said Iriantoko to Tempo. Meanwhile, among the PDIP campaigning masses, some are spreading the information about the beatings carried out by GPK or PPP people. "It seems that the two masses are heating up and meeting at Ngabean Terminal which is the border of two villages," said Iriantoko in Tempo news (Wicaksono, Massa PDIP dan PPP Bentrok di Yogyakarta, 2014)

There was also a clash between PPP sympathizers and PDIP sympathizers to kill a young GPK. After following the tabligh akbar, PPP sympathizers attacked two unidentified people who ride a metic motor when passing on Kebonagung street, precisely near the Tree Beringin Kronggahan, Mlati, Sleman. The two offenders attacked by using firearms and sharp weapons. Both fled the scene after injuring two PPP sympathizers. One of them was Didin Bolawen, a resident of Tlogoadi, Mlati, Sleman was finally killed, due to serious injuries to his neck (Prabowo, 2016)

In violent incidents between GPK and PDIP sympathizers can be analyzed, violence between parties underbouw did not stop but worsened and worse. Reform era increasingly makes the gangsters, thugs or militia groups stronger in doing violence in the region. When the new order of violence is controlled by Soeharto, it is now uncontrolled to seek personal interest or the main group of causes is the economy. These militia groups are protected by political elites in their respective regions.

In this era of reform, many organizations are growing up in the name of religion but in acts of violence such as FPI (Front Pembela Islam). The shifting of political system from authoritarian to democratic order after the fall of Soeharto created a new pattern of relation between the state and society. The shifting gives opportunities to societal element such as FPI to freely act and even to put pressure

on the government, although initially the appearance of FPI cannot be separated from military elite support in the frame of state-supported paramilitary groups called Pam Swakarsa in the very end of Soeharto's regime. This support was both logistical and financial. (Wilson, 2008:201).

In couple months of its emergence, FPI utilized moderate means to achieve their goals. They sent a humanitarian mission to help Muslim victims in the conflict of Ambon. They also established an independent group to investigate the case of "Ninja Killing" that victimized many Muslim leaders in eastern part of Java. FPI also provided recommendations to the government in order to resolve the problems and to push the government to give more quickly and properly respond to the problems that victimized Muslims (Jahroni, 2008)

But that moderate means did not last long as their way of achieving their objectives. After the Ketapang Jakarta incident in October 1998, FPI started using violent means. Jahroni counted that from its establishment in 1998 to 2010, FPI has committed or has been involved in more than 64 cases of violent activities, especially around the capital city of Jakarta. They targeted night clubs, brothels, churches, Ahmadiyah group, the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) community, the American embassy and consulates on the grounds of defending Islam and Islamic moral values (Jahroni, 2008). Meanwhile between 2010 and 2014 Tempo noted there were 9 cases of violence by FPI in 5 provinces. (Tempo, 2014).

There is similarity between GPK and FPI activities in the era of reforming their ways of promoting violence. The discourse of FPI's dissolution in 2010 is so strong. In those years, groups with different sexual orientations were subjected to FPI, which not only was not blocked by the police, even accompanied by the police. FPI was not absent in the attack against the church and alleged misdirection. In addition, its well-known activities continue to run, as if without a hitch, ie attacks on locations considered to be immoral, gambling, and prostitution. In fact, there is also allegations of involvement in the case of expulsion of three members of the House of Representatives who are doing health socialization in Banyuwangi, East Java, although later denied by the FPI center.

These actions ultimately provoked the community, NGO activists and members of the House to propose FPI dissolution, although the proposal had already appeared in 2006. However, there were strong views against FPI's dissolution of custody and association. Among those who did not approve of FPI were dissolved were Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Another approach of this discussion is the suggestion to revise Law no. 8 of 1985 on Community Organizations, to be more stringent in verifying the establishment of a mass organization, because the Act is considered too loose regulations. This goal is the same as the GPK is to maintain the symbol of Islam and political existence. The difference between GPK and FPI is that the GPK is an Underbouw political party bound by Ad / Art Party while FPI is not tied to party and is very free to approach any party.

The same character with GPK is pemuda Pancasila. The Pancasila Youth or PP is an Indonesian paramilitary organization established by General Abdul Haris Nasution on 28 October 1959 as the youth wing of the League of Supporters of Indonesian Independence. It has been headed since 1981 by Yapto Soerjosoemarno and was one of the semi-official political gangster (preman) groups that supported the New Order military dictatorship of Suharto. The name refers to Pancasila, the official "five principles" of the Indonesian state. Pancasila Youth played an important role in supporting Suharto's military coup in 1965: they ran death squads for the Indonesian army, killing a million or more alleged communists and Chinese Indonesians across the province of North Sumatra (Arif, 2013)

Pemuda Pancasila according (Meliala, 2014) had been strong in North Sumatra, especially around Medan's Belawan Port, where it was involved in smuggling, prostitution, gambling, drugs and the protection rackets. By the late-1990s, there were around 300,000 Pemuda Pancasila members in North Sumatra, significantly outnumbering the police. Pemuda Pancasila's violent role during the anti-communist massacre helped cement its partnership with the New Order regime with its stated mission to defend Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, Golkar adopted the group as an unofficial paramilitary. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s under the New Order's protective umbrella, Pemuda Pancasila chapters

around the country recruited small-time hoodlums and expanded into illicit protection and gambling rackets. The regime acted to revitalize Pemuda Pancasila in 1980 under Yapto Soelistyo Soeryosoemarno (photo inset), the son of Major General Soetarjo Soeryosoemarno, an army officer with royal blood from the Surakarta Mankunegara Sultanate, and a Dutch-Jewish mother. Soetarjo was the Army Topography Director. As Ibu Tien's distant cousin, he was a Soeharto family friend.

As a sixteen-year old, Yapto led the Siliwangi Boys, a notorious gang in Jakarta's Senen Market, during the 1965-1966 upheaval. After being in and out of jail several times and making a name for himself, Yapto was appointed to head the government party (Golkar) Youth Organization, Ampu (Angkatan Muda Pemuda Pancasila Indonesia). Through his aggressive behavior and the President's patronage, he advanced to become the national Pemuda Pancasila Commander. Yapto put friends in charge of regional chapters and recruited gang members and ex-convicts. (Arif, 2013)

Most urban gangs and Major General Ali Moertopo's mafia network were decimated during the 1983-1985 Petrus (Penembakan Misterius or "Mysterious Shooter") anti-crime campaign, leaving Yapto's Pemuda Pancasila with virtually unchallenged control over the underworld. In effect, Yapto and his Pemuda Pancasila lieutenants clawed their way to prominence over the piled up bodies of their gangster rivals. By 1990, Pemuda Pancasila dubiously claimed six million nationwide members. (Rudy Gunawan, 2000)

In North Sumatra according to (Meliala, 2014) conflict between militia Pemuda Pancasila and IPK (Ikatan Pemuda Karya) because land area factors such as parking area, security services at malls and markets. Most members and sympathizers of Pemuda Pancasila and IPK are careers of parking and security services in their blood. This phenomenon is very similar to GPK and PDIP Task Force in Yogyakarta City

The violent group is FBR ( Froum betawi rempug ) Forum Betawi Rempug, which is a Jakarta-based ethnic-cultural solidarity movement that campaigns for the political and economic rights of Betawi people of West

Java. The FBR has been applying pressure upon many of the political parties of the country to recognize the plight of the Betawi people and to accept their demands for better representation at the local level, more access to jobs, housing and education, and it has called upon the people of Betawi to gather together under the banner of a mass movement that represents their interests at both a local and national level.

The name of the organisation Forum Betawi Rempug tells us something about the group and what it aims to be: The Betawi people have lived in the area that is currently occupied by the capital of Indonesia, Jakarta, for centuries. Long before the creation of present-day Indonesia, there existed the kingdom of Pajajaran in West Java. In 1522 the Portuguese governor of Malacca Alfonso de Albuquerque sent his emissary Hendrique Leme to meet the ruler of Sunda, to seek permission to set up a trading post in the port-city. This instrumental alliance was finally sealed on 21 August 1522 with the Luso-Sundanese Treaty of Sunda Kelapa. Heuken (2002) notes that the treaty was the first international document that records the name of Sunda Kelapa and mentions the names of its rulers and their functions. The treaty provided the excuse for the Kingdom of Demak to intervene, leading to an attack that was led by Fatahillah, commander of the forces of Sultan Trenggana ruler of the Muslim kingdom of Demak (Nor, 2012)

The first leader of the FBR Kyai A, Fadloli El Muhrir commanded some respect as a religious scholar as well as community leader. (Fealy, 2008) notes that while Kyai Fadloli's praxis of Islam was in conformity with the Nahdatul Ulama's approach to Islam – and from which he himself emerged – the FBR's program combined the three S's of Sholat (prayer), Silat (martial arts) and Sekolah (the pesantren-based schooling system). However at the beginning of the FBR's development it was largely a voluntary movement with little financial support. In 2001, the FBR did not have a cadre-training system or any other means of ideological training for its members and recruits. Membership was only formalized later, when the FBR began to issue membership cards and to assemble a roster of its members.

Kyai Fadloli El Munir's background was an interesting one in many respects: Born in Jakarta in 1961, his own education was a mixture of both traditional religious schooling as well as in national schools. In 1987 he rose to become one of the leaders of the Nahdatul Ulama's Student Network (Ikatan Pelajar Nahdatul Ulama) in Jakarta, and for the next two decades he remained involved in religious activities, assuming the position of the head of the Jakarta wing of the Majelis Muslimin Indonesia (MMI) and the Head Imam of the Gerakan Santri se-Indonesia (GSI). In 1990 he founded the Pondok Pesantren Yatim Ziyadatul Mubtadi'ienin Cakung, East Jakarta, and by 1993 began to organize several religious discussion groups (Majelis Taklim) across the Greater Jakarta area. Prior to the formation of the FBR, Kyai Fadloli was also involved in the internal politics of Indonesia: Following the split within the Partai Demokrat Indonesia (PDI) which led to the formation of two parties (the Partai Demokrat Indonesia-Perjuangan PDI-P led by Megawati Sukarnoputri and the PDI-S led by Soejadi) Kyai Fadloli was invited to support the campaign of Megawati's PDI-P in Balikpapan, Kalimantan, which he did in May 1997 (Solemanto, 2009)

According (Solemanto, 2009) at its founding, the FBR had only twenty-five members, all of whom were known to the founder-leaders Kyai Fadloli El Muhir and Kyai Lutfi Hakim, and were of Betawi origin. Its main headquarters was (and remains) at the Pondok Pesantren Yatim Ziyadatul Mubtadi'ien which also serves as the secretariat of the missionary movement of the institution (Sekretariat Himpunan Khotib dan Muballigh Pesantren Ziyadatul). The movement was formed as a response to what the members felt was a growing existential threat to Betawi culture and identity. In the words of FBR leader Kyai Lutfi Hakim: The FBR is the result of an existential awareness (kesedaran eksistensial) among us from Betawi that if we did not organized ourselves into a mass movement, we might end up marginalized and silenced altogether. We were worried, that with the influx of so many foreigners and so many other communities from Indonesia to West Java, we might become a minority in our own home

According (Fealy, 2008) to the third article of the FBR's oath of loyalty all FBR members are expected to be prepared to 'siap memberantas tempat-tempat maksiat dan orang-orang dzolim (ready to raid dens of vice and people who are unjust)'. This has led to several reported incidents of FBR members raiding places like bars and clubs, ostensibly in the name of moral policing. Such vigilantism, however, is not unique to the FBR as moral policing above and beyond the law of the state has become commonplace in some parts of Indonesia today, with groups like the Front Pembela Islam taking the law into their own hands, and occasionally leading to violence and the destruction of private property. Violence in moral policing has also taken place elsewhere such as Surakarta, Aceh and Cirebon in recent times, as noted by the International Crisis Group (ICG).

Table 3.1 Similarities and differences GPK, Pemuda Pancasila, FPI, FBR

Militia/Organization	Equality	Difference
Ka'bah Youth Movement (GPK)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Have closeness with one of the Party in Indonesia</li> <li>2. Equally have a violent behavior</li> <li>3. Has a figure in the organization</li> <li>4. Having power in controlling land area and security services for the benefit of the organization</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. GPK is one of the Underbouw political parties in Indonesia that is PPP</li> <li>2. GPK is an Underbouw PPP that has Islamic nuance and has the aim of <i>amar mahruf nahi mungkar</i></li> <li>3. GPK activity violates Islam that is not in</li> </ol>

		<p>accordance with the likes of liquor, LGBT, Drugs.</p> <p>4. Have power in controlling parking lot in Yogyakarta such as Ngabean, Skaten and Abu burn ali</p> <p>5. Has a central figure that is nuanced Islami</p>
<p>Youth Pancasila ( <i>Pemuda Pancasila</i> )</p>		<p>1. Pemuda Pancasila one of the organizations that have ideology Pancasila (Pancasilalist) or nationalist</p> <p>2. Violent acts committed during the New Order killed the followers of the Communists, and in the era of reform</p>



		<p>intimidation against extreme ideologies such as leftist ideology and ideology that disturb the ideology of Pancasila</p> <p>3. Youth Pancasila have closeness with Golkar party and get protection from political elite</p> <p>4. Has a nationalist figure</p> <p>5. In northern Sumatra has the power to control the area as a security service or it becomes a source of money for groups and organizations</p>
FPI( <i>Front Pembela Islam</i> )		1. FPI is one of the organizations that

		<p>has characteristic of Islam.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Have closeness with the party in Indonesia but in accordance with the common interest</li> <li>3. Has a figure who is considered as a central figure. And very strong influence its members</li> <li>4. Violent acts committed FPI almost the same as the GPK is Sweeping alcohol party, LGBT, Place prostitution</li> </ol>
<p>FBR (<i>Forum Betawi Rempug</i>)</p>		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. FBR is a nationalist</li> <li>2. Kyai Islam has a figure who is a Betawi figure organization</li> <li>3. One of the organizations that has closeness with the party in</li> </ol>

		<p>accordance with common interests</p> <p>4. FBR has a purpose to lift self-esteem of indigenous people in Jakarta</p> <p>5. Conducting acts of violence that disturb the self-esteem of the Betawi people</p> <p>6. Having power in Jakarta area such as parking lot and security service</p>
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The Ka’bah Youth Movement has an orientation to the existence of its symbols and political identity. The form of action of Ka'bah Youth Movement to fight for existence and political identity in the city of Yogyakarta covers several issues ranging from politics, economics, and religious.

In the political area they are always active when the government conducts elections, both five-yearly elections in which there is Legislative Elections (Pileg), Elections to the Regional (Pilkada) of Yogyakarta, or the Presidential Election (Presidential Election). Then on economic issues they are involved and can manage some economic resources that exist in the area of Yogyakarta, such as the management of parking lots, sekaten booths, security services. In religious issue also they are also actively involved such as Parade Takbiran, anti-Syiah movement, Sweeping place immoral. So research mapping scheme of Ka’bah Youth Movement in search of existence of symbol and its political identity as follows

Figure 3.2 The Ka’bah Youth Movement action chart shows its existence

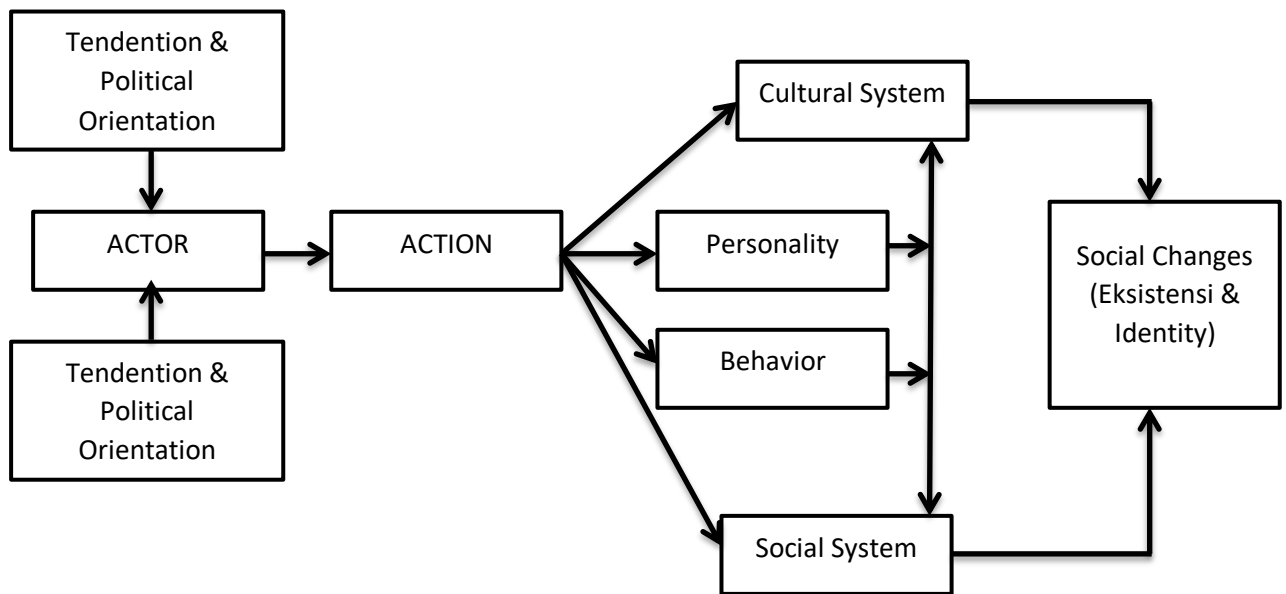


Chart 1.2 Adopted : Thesis Tirto research about Study Political Ka’bah Youth Movement in Yogyakarta

“According to the Chairman of the DPC United Development Party Ka’bah Youth Movement said that now the Ka’bah Youth Movement turned into Underbouw which aims to absorb the aspirations of young people. The GPK's focus now is to win both legislative and executive elections. The Ka’bah Youth Movement in Yogyakarta city is unique from other cities in Indonesia, namely campaign and one command from top to bottom. Fanatisme is so high in Yogyakarta. The Ka’bah Youth Movement became the most important asset for PPP Yogyakarta. According to the chairman of the city DPC that Ka’bah Youth Movement the most important asset in the journey of politics in the city of Yogyakarta in voicing the political interests of Islam in the city of Yogyakarta”

With the action of the Ka'bah Youth Movement resulted in the attraction for politicians to invite the patron. Patronage in politics for the people of Indonesia is considered to be common and no problems. In the political action of the Ka’bah Youth Movement cannot be separated by the actions of patronage. This can be proven by controlling the parking lot in Ngabean, Abu Bakar Ali and Skaten or in the northern square. According to the facts on the ground the

sympathizers and the GPK officials regarded the process of getting a parking lot in Ngabean by means of violence is one of Jihad that must be done by them

“According to one parking attendant in the Ngabean area said the process of getting parking area in ngabean area using violence against the PDIP sympathizers in Yogyakarta. This process shows that the GPK is one of the groups that seized power by the process of violence. Therefore, PDIP sympathizers with PPP sympathizers have always clashed based on the interests of the organization and the person”

The word jihad is derived from the word "jahada" or "jahdun" (جَاهِدْ) meaning "effort" or "juhdun" (جُهْدٌ) meaning strength. According to (Jordan, 2009) Language, the origin of the meaning of jihad is to issue all sincerity, strength, and ability on the way it is believed (means that diiktikadkan) that the way is right. According to Ibn Abbas, one of the Companions of the Prophet, in jihad means "to devote all power without fear to defend God against the insults of the reviling and hostile hostility". The term jihad is very broad, ranging from earning a living to fighting against the kuffar fighting against Islam and Muslims. In sharia terms, jihad means exerting all the power of fighting infidels and rebels. According to Ibn Taimiyah, jihad is essentially trying earnestly to produce something God blessed in the form of good deeds, faith and reject something that disbelieved Allah as disbelief, ungodliness, and iniquity. The meaning of jihad is broader in scope than the activity of war. Jihad involves understanding war, spending money, all efforts in order to support the religion of God, fight against the passions, and face the devil.

The word "jihad" in the form of fiil and isim is mentioned 41 times in the Qur'an, some unrelated to war and some related to war. In Islamic law, jihad has a very broad sense that is divided into two meanings: in general and special (Encyclopedia of Islam).

The jihad in question for the power of parking area in Ngabean does not conform to the above definition. A power struggle for personal gain can be categorized as a way of thug. According to (Robert, 2016) said that there are five

stages in conflict of power riots that accompany the emergence of this violence, namely as follows:

a. Social situations that allow riots or violence due to certain social structures, such as the lack of clear channels in society, the lack of media to express their aspirations, and communication among them.

b. The aggravation or social pressure, that is the condition because a large number of community members feel that many of the values and norms have been violated.

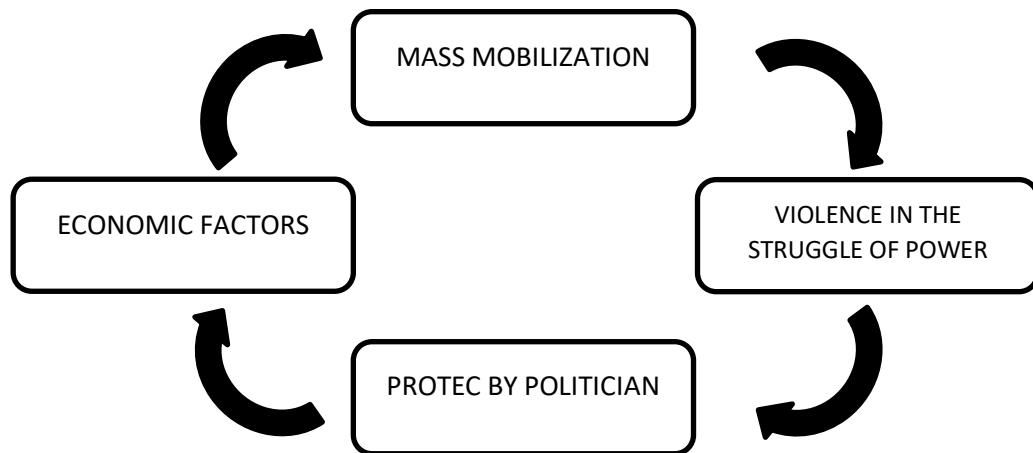
c. The growing prejudice of widespread hatred towards a particular target. The target of this hatred is related to the originator factors, ie certain events that initiate or trigger a riot

d. The mobilization of the masses to act, ie the real action of the masses and organize themselves to act. This stage is the final stage of the accumulation that allows the outbreak of mass violence. The target of this action can be directed to the party that triggered the riots or on the other hand can be ventilated on other objects that have nothing to do with the opposite party

e. Social control, ie the ability of security forces and officers to control the situation and inhibit riots. The stronger the social control, the less likely it is to riot

In GPK phenomenon, the analysis in obtaining region of power was caused by economic factor and riot of time to earn self-interest which is money itself. Violence became a way to get the parking lots in Yogyakarta city like Ngabean parking.

**Figure 3.3 Struggle of power in praking ngabean**



Most of the livelihoods of Ka’bah Youth Movement members are parking attendants, they feel the leaders of the Ka’bah Youth Movement have given their members to earn money. According to the fact on the ground one of the factors joining the GPK is an economic problem. There are some members who do not have a job after joining their GPK to become parking attendants and can support the family.

Therefore Ka’bah Youth Movement one command chooses candidate politicians when there is one of PPP cadres who want to be legislative or executive because it will get feedback in the form of licensing of parking lots and others. The term One command when Syukri Fadholi became vice mayor of Yogyakarta. Syukri fadholi is considered a lot of Ka’bah Youth Movement members as the father who gives the opportunity to work for his children. Seeing the phenomenon of sympathizers GPK work as a parking attendant makes dependence on government

Proximity Ka’bah Youth Movement Elite to the government officials in Yogyakarta cannot be covered, for example when the Ka’bah Youth Movement support the determination of Sri Sultan Hamengkubawana X to Governor DIY. And now the GPK Elite can take control of parking, Skaten events, and open the old ankringan pendopo in North Alun-alun area.

“According to an interview with one of the GPK sympathizers there is indeed a connection between Ka’bah Youth Movement elite proximity with Kraton Yogyakarta”

According to the fact during showed that a sectional show of sympathizers of the Ka'bah Youth Movement was handling the security at the event and stubborn parking at the event sekaten.

“This fact was proven when interviewing one of the parking guards saying that they followed the instructions of the Muhamad Fuad in carrying out any activities in the Skaten event. And they acknowledge the part of the Ka’bah Youth Movement Yogyakarta when analyzed in the political context there is no free lunch in politics and this happens in GPK circles. The GPK elite's prowess against this government's ruler or political elite resulted in patronage”

Patronage of power concepts was born from an unequal relationship between patrons and clients (Scott, 1972). Patron is someone who holds the power. The client is identified as a loyal "follower" or bureaucratic worker who obeys the patron's rules. Political patronage is a political elite giving employment to an organization or a person and that organization or group can be set up to support the political elite ( Ayuero : 2001 ). In the GPK context it can be seen every GPK action in politics when doing political actions then get feedback in the form of security services and parking lot

According to P.M Laksamasaid that the thugs in Yogyakarta mostly in the form of Ormas both nationalism and the mask of religion. They control the parking lots in the malioboro area up to the Pasar kembang.

Occurrence of division of parking lot owned underbouw PPP party and PDIP in Yogyakarta, As in the ngabean parking in the control by the GPK while in the skill area is owned by Underbouw PDIP the Tentara langit. These two Underbouws are protected by political elites in Yogyakarta by patronage.

In the analysis of this study the existence of symbols is usual activity in a group, community organizations, parties, and NGOs but patronage will create problems in terms of democracy in Indonesia. Patron is a person who holds the



power, and leads the implementation of the policy. Clients are identified as loyal followers, bureaucratic workers who obey patron rules. In another analogy, the patron is the master (boss), and the client is the subordinate. Patronage will lead to a culture of obedience, respect, trust and loyalty to the rulers consequently everything ordered and requested from the client's patron will be obeyed. This patronage dynamic will create an immature democratic system in Indonesia. Communities, Society organizations, NGO and individuals who receive patronage results will experience a phase of absence of critical force to criticize the government when authorities are wrong in policy making.

Ka'bah Youth Movement one of the PPP Underbouw which has the power of great political influence and has always been the object of patronage for the elite or politician, this patronage occurs between the political elite and the elite GPK which will affect the sympathizer GPK in the form of security services, parking and related to livelihoods. This patronage resulted in the way of thinking of sympathizers of the GPK following the GPK leadership instructions in the executive and legislative elections. This patronage was so visible in the GPK to make the stigma of the public have a GPK view one of Underbouw that does not provide political education for the general public.

### 3. Political Influence and Political manners of the GPK on the Mayoral Election of Yogyakarta.

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). In the political world there will be a linkage of political influence of organizations and political parties, this political influence will make an agreement between the two or what is commonly called the common interest.

In 2017 the city of Yogyakarta conducts the mayoral election, at the 5th annual democracy party in Yogyakarta city followed by two candidates of mayor, number one is Imam Priyono-Ahmad Fadhli supported by PDIP, NASDEM, and

PKB while number two is Haryadi Suyuti-Heroe Poewardi supported by PAN, Demokrat, Golkar, and Gerindra.

In the mayoral election of Yogyakarta followed by two incumbent couples, Haryadi is the mayor of Yogyakarta and Imam Priyono is the vice mayor. In 2017 they nominate as candidates for mayor of Yogyakarta. Then the result of the mayoral election in Yogyakarta, Imam Priyono-Ahmad Fadli (49.70%) while Haryadi-Heroe (50.30%). (Maharani, 2017)

In the mayoral election, the DPC's attitude of the United Development Party will not follow the Democratic Party and does not support one of the mayoral candidates. The reason is because the internal of PPP central is experiencing dualism of leadership between Djan Fariz and Romy.

In the central PPP internal divisions, the Underbouw of the United Development Party such as the GPK voiced not to acknowledge constitutionally between Djan and Romy.

“According to one of the Ka'bah Youth Movement Jetis commander said the GPK's attitude was correct because the Ka'bah Youth Movement wants to no dispute in the central of PPP. The Ka'bah Youth Movement rejected any form of consolidation by the PPP Elite against the GPK. The GPK sympathizers put up banners that read "Ora Romy Ora Djan" which means not Romy not Djan.”

It is clear that GPK attitude does not support either one. As well as sympathizers conduct a monotheistic parade to show the public that the GPK does not interfere with internal divisions. In this Ka'bah Youth Movement decision analysis can be called political hard power that aims to seek the existence or political breakthrough. According to Ramlan subakti Hard power politics is the act of a party organization to conduct a policy maneuver to gain public appeal. For the example, the conflict in the form of differences in views, ideas or ideologies, and conflicts of interest and so on. At the same time, Marck and

Synder in the book of political party and state, conflicts or divisions within the party's body can arise from the scarcity of positions and resources. The fewer positions or resources that can be achieved by any member or group within a political organization, the sharper the conflict and competition between them to seize the position and the source. Furthermore, it is said in the social hierarchy wherever there is only a limited number of social positions of real power and no more than one who can occupy it. Meanwhile, Paul Conn defines conflict as a dysfunctional form in which the actors involved in a power struggle attempt to destroy each other. Conflicts that explained by Conn is more popularly known as a zero sum conflict. Conn's understanding of the conflict helps us a lot in understanding the internal conflicts of political parties. The consequences of applying zero sum conflict as political party policy uplifting marginalized characters who articulate their interests by opposing the existing norms and power structures. The implementation of zero sum conflict policy made the conflict widen as it allowed other parties to withdraw themselves to get involved. This is what we are witnessing in the internal body of political parties experiencing prolonged conflict. From all of the above explanation, contains about the conflict that occurs within the internal body of a political party in conflict. By comparing the political party's internal conflict makes us pessimistic about the existence and the future of political parties.

By looking at the history of the conflict in the Golkar Party, it seems that this is the most intense conflict. Usually, conflicts in Golkar as bad as anything will not stick too sharply to the surface. PPP politicians can play beautiful with delicate maneuvers in resolving internal conflicts. Although it ultimately ended with the formation of a political party (parties) are new, the conflict was not until into the public spotlight. As political parties who already experience so much, PPP should be able to show a beautiful conflict management to the community. What happens to the PPP now even shows that the political parties do not differ with the political parties who were born in the reform era. The current PPP conflict is indeed unfortunate. Institutionalization in the PPP has been very strong. The cadre in the party is quite good up to the grassroots, evidenced by the life of

the party wing organization. Unlike other political parties whose wing organizations only live ahead of the election. One of the functions of political parties is conflict management. However, in the context of Indonesian political parties this function cannot be performed or executed by almost all political parties. It is said that because almost all political parties, big and small, are never quiet of conflicts within themselves. This conditions cause the energy of political parties to be depleted only non-substantial matters. Conflict always comes before or after party congress or conference. This is a routine phenomenon we always witness. An unhealthy phenomenon in the eyes of democracy that emphasizes the importance of conflict management for the actors involved in the discourse for power in order to gain the highest position in the political party stewardship structure. The inability of the party elite to manage conflict within his body, both before and after the congress / conference indicates that political parties are not well-institutionalized.

The Political manners of the GPK in the mayoral elections were different when PPP decided not to support or nominate the mayor of Yogyakarta. Instead, the Ka'bah Youth Movement put up a support banner to one of the GPK figures that is Muhammad Fuad to nominate as a candidate for the mayor of Yogyakarta.

The support banner for Muhammad Fuad made the political map in Yogyakarta more interesting. However, Muhammad Fuad did not become a candidate for mayoral candidates.

“According to one of those close to Muhammad Fuad said that the banners illustrating Muhammad Fuad merely as raising bargaining the position of Muhammad Fuad and GPK because at that time, a banner with a picture of Imam Priyono as one PDIP cadres installed in the city of Yogyakarta.”

There was no specific discussion at the time to raise the figure of the Ka'bah Youth Movement. In this phenomenon can be taken analysis that this is a way of raising the image of a Ka'bah Youth Movement figure or political imagery.

Political imagery is political imagery is politics created to describe a person, an official, a party, a mass organization, etc. is good or bad. Positive image politics are used to lift the electibility of the self and its class while negative imaging to bring down enemies or opponents ( Scoot:1972).

“However, when interviewed leaders of DPC PPP Yogyakarta, Fakhruddin said the PPP during the process of nominating of mayor and deputy mayor does not support one of the candidates. But PPP Yogyakarta city supported Haryadi-Heroe after registration process to KPU of Yogyakarta City, Fakhruddin was one of the steering committee of Haryadi-Heroe supporters and finally GPK through GPK instructor instructing Haryadi-Heroe as mayor.”

Analyzing the attitude of PPP and GPK is to seek mutual position and get feedback. These mutually beneficial factors caused the GPK and PPP to support Haryadi-Heroe, seeing the GPK's always searching for parking space and security services, of course, the Haryadi-Heroe victory would be a factor supporting the GPK to earn an income

When analyzing the history of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in Yogyakarta City, there is no figure of GPK that capable to become a leader in the city of Yogyakarta, only Syukri Fadholi in 2001 became vice mayor.

“According to Fakhruddin as the Chairman of DPC PPP in the city of Yogyakarta said that the young figure from the GPK has emerged, but it should be processed in order to become a leader in the city of Yogyakarta. The Ka'bah Youth Movement as a Party Underbouw that greatly contributes to PPP.”

Based on the facts on the ground, the Ka'bah Youth Movement is actually an organization that is not well systematized by its cadre. Based on the facts on the ground, the Ka'bah Youth Movement is actually an organization that is not well systematized by its cadre. According to Dzinatun Nabilah in his thesis said

that the organization is considered successful if it succeeds in creating a cadre figure preferred by the community, and become agents of change in the area. . Political parties in Indonesia experience fluctuations in the vote in the general election. The decline in the number of voters of a party can be caused by many things including, first are the party is not rooted, and second are the failure to convince voters to re-vote the same party, and third are the party's failure to build trust relationships with constituents, and fourth are failed to perform the function of representation. From these causes, the quality of representational functions becomes the most highlighted part. Elected legislators in the elections are minimal in representing the interests and expectations of constituents. Members of the legislature and constituents seem to be two disconnected elements. It is also photographed in a study that mentions public confidence declining to political parties because poor representation of political parties tends to be false (Yulianto 2007, pp. 69-71). The author sees that the issue of representation is due to poor membership management starting from the recruitment, regeneration and nomination of public officials and the neglect of party ideology.

Membership management of a party is a significant part of the quality of political party members. Membership management is difficult to know because the party considers the management of party members as internal affairs of political parties that need not be known to the public and are reluctant to discuss. It is often unaware that to create a quality democracy requires an open and appropriate process in the recruitment, regeneration and nomination process of party members as public officials. Indeed the quality and performance of the representation is directly related to the management of political party membership. The process of managing membership that is not open and not qualified causes the party then only oriented on the short-term agenda of the general election. Political parties in Indonesia only focus on one function only, namely as agents of elite recruitment. (Brown 2004, p18)

Professor Miriam Budiardjo in *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik* mentions several functions of political parties. The first is a political party and party underbouw as

a means of political communication or as a means of articulation of the interests of the people. In a country, every citizen must have different opinions and aspirations. It would be difficult when everyone wants to hear their aspirations. Political parties play a role as a reservoir and coupling the opinion of every citizen of the (interest aggregation). Then these aspirations formulated into a more regular shape (interest articulation) and implemented by the party into the party program. These programs are then championed by political parties at the government level to be applied into public policy.

Then political parties and party Underbouw function as a means of social socialization of the community. In political science, political socialization is the process by which a person gains attitudes and orientations toward the prevailing political phenomenon in which he is situated. In this context, political parties are trying to create the image that they are also fighting for the public interest that they receive broad support from their constituents. This political socialization can also mean political education, both to the party cadres themselves and to the people so that they are aware of their responsibilities as citizens. The values mentioned above have not been reflected in the process of the cadre's goal in GPK

During these two periods, the GPK was only supported or coalitional, not as a participant of the mayoral election in Yogyakarta. Actually, caused by the figure received by the people of Yogyakarta and the political map of the GPK figure that has a high popularity in Yogyakarta does not exist.

The attitude of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in the Yogyakarta mayoral election was interesting in discussions because in the process of registering candidates up to the campaign process, the Ka'bah Youth Movement did not support one of the mayoral candidates, the silence shown by the Ka'bah Youth Movement became a public question.

Since there is no instruction from the leadership of the Ka'bah Youth Movement made a sympathizer of the Ka'bah Youth Movement becomes

fragmented. There is support to Haryadi, and there is also support to Imam Priyono.

“According to one of the sympathizers of GPK who are studying at private high school in Yogyakarta said that he followed the process of PDIP campaign and also support Imam Priyono in Yogyakarta mayoral election.”

According to the facts showed they earn money to follow an open campaign. Giving money to someone in the political process can be called money politics. Money politics is slightly different from patronage. Money politics is giving money to the community randomly but not necessarily the community will choose a moneymaker to become a politician. while patronage gives money, goods, jada to a person or group that has made a political agreement.

One member of Joxzin who is an underbouw of the United Development Party was also participated in a PDIP open campaign parade. In this research, it is interesting that underbouw PPP and PDIP are always conflicting or physical contact can merge into one because of the money factor.

According to Mada Sukmajati in the book of Money politics state that money politics is the way most politicians say to influence the lower middle class, and in Indonesia, the lower middle class became the target or goal of patronage. (Sukmajati, 2015)

Money politics can be interpreted as an attempt to influence the behavior of others by using certain rewards. Some interpret the money politics as an act of buying and selling votes on the political process and power. That action can occur within a wide range, from village head election to general election of a State. (Kaptein, 2013)



## The forms of Money politics:

### 1. Money

Money is a resource that is most needed by society, a reference for every transaction or Individual maneuver and as a means of exchange. Money is an urgent factor useful to boost personal life, as well as to control the strategic discourse associated with a political interest and power. Because basically, politics is art. Meanwhile (Hefner, 2001) says that money is one of the political capital and money is one tool used to generate political power, this happened in Indonesia, so that the velocity to get the most votes and the money as the basic needs of society as a tool to gain advantages in gain power.

### 2. Public Facility

The movement of spreading charm and sympathy turned out to not only benefit the people personally. The season of looking for sound was not infrequently the public facilities then by giving cement, sand and so on and used to solve the problem of unfinished development in the wake. The assumption of reality can be strengthened through the theoretical framework within the social exchange system. Ramlan Subakti (1992) says that there is absolutely no free grant (*hibah*) because everything form of giving will basically always be followed by a reward in the form of rewards in its various forms. Therefore, what happens is not limited to giving from someone to someone else. Instead, a system of exchange of gifts was made by two or a group of mutual members, in which the recipient will try to compensate.

### **Money Politics Strategy**

Strategy is a unified, broad, and interacting plan that links strategic advantages with environmental challenges, designed to ensure that the ultimate goal can be achieved through proper execution by the organization (Glueck and Jauch, p. q 1989).

a. *Serangan Fajar*

*Serangan Fajar* is a term used to refer to the form of money politics in order to buy votes by one or several people to win a candidate who will occupy a position as a political leader. *Serangan Fajar* is generally targeting the lower middle class and often ahead of the election. The form of money politics is done by distributing money before voting day with the aim that people choose a particular party or cadre. (Kaden, 1979)

Money politics most vulnerable occurred at the time of voting, namely giving money or goods at dawn or mid night by visiting the homes of residents who aim to influence voters to choose one of the candidates.

b. Mass Mobilization

Mass mobilization is a simple form of economic exchange. Candidates / parties buying votes and citizens / voters sell their votes. Vote-buying can also be interpreted to give money or other benefits to voters with the aim to support the candidate / specific party. Buying and selling can also be done between the candidate / party and the election organizer. Giving money is meant as a reward or incentive to manipulate the election results. (Kaden, 1979)

This is one of the unique phenomena of the underbouw Party in Yogyakarta, although it is called militancy but the vote of the voters can be bought with money. The young sympathizers can be controlled with the power of money and there is no guarantee when they have supported the PPP and will not change their support to other parties.

However, the running of the campaign process that ultimately the Ka'bah Youth Movement gave an attitude on the H-1 before the mayoral election of Yogyakarta to support Haryadi-Heroe to become a mayor and vice mayor of Yogyakarta.

The support was instructed directly by the elder member of Ka'bah Youth Movement namely Syukri Fadholi in the form of messages via Whatsapp and others. The term of one GPK cadre command is used to select the Haryadi-Heroe pair.

“According to Syukri Fadholi when interviewed said that the support of the Ka'bah Youth Movement to Haryadi-

Heroe because Haryadi-Heroe is a candidate who is considered worthy to lead Yogyakarta. In addition, Heroe Poewardi as a cadre of Muhammadiyah and most of the GPK members is a cadre of Muhammadiyah then it is as supportive as Haryadi - Heroe to be mayor and vice mayor.”

This Broadcast message is considered to be very influential for the Haryadi-Heroe winner because most of the sympathizers and elites of the GPK support Haryadi-Heroe. Support from the GPK elite is conducted on the night of H-1 before the mayoral and vice-mayor elections.

The attitude of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in the Yogyakarta mayoral election is very different from before. In 2011 the Youth Movement Ka'bah gave support to Hanafi Rais by expressing his attitude at the time of nomination of Hanafi Rais in the KPU. Now, the Ka'bah Youth Movement waits until the H-1 of the mayoral election and expressed his supportive stance of Haryadi - Heroe.

Of course, the attitude of the Ka'bah Youth Movement is not free, in political terms there is no free lunch in politics. According to Cristopher R Durchan, political culture in Indonesia cannot be freely purchased their voice. A group with many cadres or members will become the target of politicians and there will be a patron between interest groups. (Durchan, 2017)

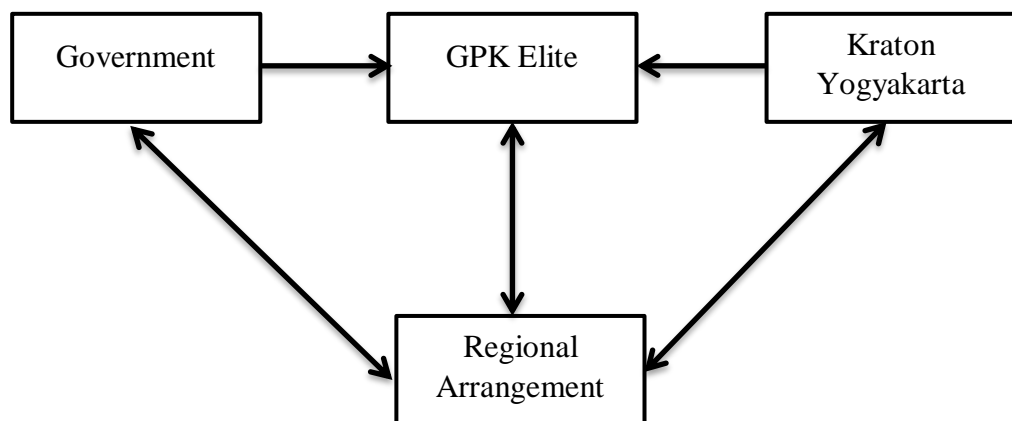
When analyzing the current political movement of the Ka'bah Youth Movement, it is unlikely that the GPK would provide support to Haryadi-Heroe without reciprocity to the Ka'bah Youth Movement. Of course, the Ka'bah Youth Movement which has many members and sympathizers in Yogyakarta has an interest.

“According to one person close to Muhammad Fuad said the Ka'bah Youth Movement elite relationship with the Kraton, and Haryadi so visible and obvious. For example, when there was a problem of parking space in Yogyakarta, Muhammad Fuad had access to meet Haryadi to discuss the interests of the Ka'bah Youth Movement. Proximity of Muhammad Fuad with Kraton can be identified that Muhammad Fuad can control the parking area in North Square, Skaten event, and angkringan pendopo lawas. Of course, people who do not have the strength of a figure will not be able to control the lands in the North Square.”

According to the facts in the field, when there are problems related to the politics and bureaucracy then Muhammad Fuad is the person who will be relied upon in the body of the Ka'bah Youth Movement.

“According to a member of the Ka'bah Youth Movement when interviewed said that the relationship between Haryadi, Kraton and Muhammad Fuad in the Yogyakarta mayoral election in 2017 is very clearly there because, Muhammad Fuad became a figure who can mediate the relation between Kraton and City Government. Kraton and City Government do not have a good relation in the arrangement of the area in Yogyakarta. Muhammad Fuad who became the negotiator of the problem.”

**Figure3.4 Relation power of elite GPK in mayoral election**



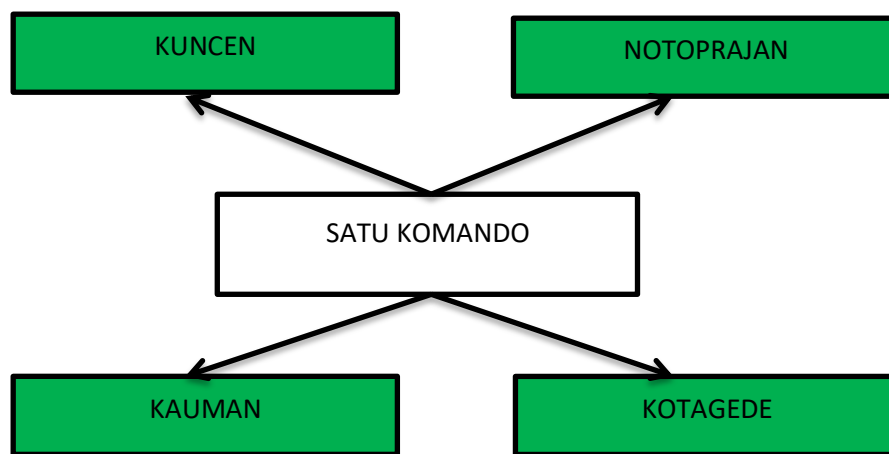
In this mayoral election, one of the Ka'bah Youth Movement underbouw of PPP has a high position by politicians.

“According to one of the Haryadi-Heroe winning team is Pena Muda said the support by Kraton also leads to the Haryadi-Heroe pair. The proximity of the Kraton to the Elite of the Youth Movement of the Ka'bah has a fascination for politicians in Yogyakarta. Viewed from the history of politics in Yogyakarta, the attitude of the political decisions of the Kraton is very large and very influential for anyone in Yogyakarta.”

“According to the DPC PPP and Steering Committee of the Haryadi-Heroe winner namely Fakhruddin said that the United Development Party initially did not support one

of the candidates for mayoral candidates, but after viewing the situation and conditions, PPP gave support to the Haryadi-Heroe couples on the grounds that Haryadi-Heroe was a leader who knew the situation in Yogyakarta. Fakhruddin also said the Ka'bah Youth Movement is very influential in the Yogyakarta mayoral lection in 2017, because they has large members in Yogyakarta and has the motto that is one command.”

**Figure 3.5 Vote Power of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in Yogyakarta**



In the analysis of this study the Youth Movement Ka'bah maneuvered politically support the pair Haryadi suyuti - Heroe poewardi 1 day before the election. Political maneuvering is an act or political movement undertaken to achieve certain political intentions. Ka'bah Youth Movement pattern is to use the role of the figure to perform instructions to cadres and sympathizers to support Haryadi-Heroe.

Youth Movement political maneuver supports the Haryadi-Heroe can be analyzed in this research there is an elite interest factor or patronage occurs. The relationship between Kraton-Elite GPK-Haryadi very visible that is the arrangement of the area in the city of Yogyakarta one of the northern square area which annually held sekaten event. Ka'bah Youth Movement has a figure of Muhammad Fuad as a negoisor in conveying the interests of the organization.

From the structural PPP Yogyakarta is not registered in the party supporters' Haryadi-Heroe pair. But politically informal PPP and underbouw GPK support Haryadi-Heroe to be the mayor of Yogyakarta. From these conclusions GPK played the role of Political Informal in the election of mayor of Yogyakarta 2017. Informal Political Informal Theory (Political Infrastructure) is a political machine existing in society that has no direct influence in political decision-making in determining leaders and is not registered in the winning of political candidates but this machine moves to influence society Informal factors that in fact affect the way the public authorities work to express, transmit, translate, confirm taunt, support related to the public interest. This group includes classes of pressure, with input, mass communication tools and others. Such structures can be invisibly apparent but influential, and their existence can be perceived as functions flow so that the later approach is called functional structural (Zuhro, 2009)

Ka'bah Youth Movement politics in the face of 2019 elections is very interesting for analysts. In 2014 PPP Yogyakarta supported Muhammad Syukri Fadholi to become DPR RI representative of DIY. But in the pileg (legislation election) Muhammad Syukri fadhli failed to become a candidate for the House of Representatives. In 2019 Muhammad Syukri Fadholi declared again to be a candidate for the House of Representatives and requested full support of all cadres of GPK Yogyakarta to support himself as a Member of Parliament. All members of the GPK will certainly support syukri in 2019 pileg, political awareness on GPK members has increased. Mastering parliament is their goal for the organization's interests to be well communicated.

Quoting KR newspaper mentioned DRPD Member DIY United Development Party (PPP) faction Muhammad Yazid asserted, PPP DIY in solid condition under one command of Chairman of DPW PPP DIY HM Syukri Fadholi. The statement of Muhammad Romahurmuzy who said that Regional Consultation (Muswil) will take place in the near future, does not represent the aspirations of PPP residents in Yogyakarta. "PPP DIY is solid under the command

of Pak Syukri Fadholi and we make sure there is no dualism of leadership in DIY "PPP DIY is solid under the command of Pak Syukri Fadholi and we make sure there is no dualism of leadership in DIY," Yazid said during a meeting with President Director of BP BP Kedaulatan Rak Gun Nugroho Samawi on Tuesday (23/08/2016) the day before. Participate in the group, Chairman of DPC PPP Yogyakarta Fakhruddin AM, Commander of GPK Yogyakarta Denny, Chairman of the Board of Trustees GPK Yogyakarta Fuad Andreago and Member of Parliament Yogyakarta City Faction PPP Fauzi Noor Afshochi. Fakhruddin also affirmed the organizational structure of DPC PPP Kota Yogyakarta, one stewardship. According to him, the organization that provides a Decree (SK) for DPC PPP Yogyakarta City to run the organization is DPW PPP DIY, according to the results of the seventh Congress in Bandung. So that his party still meyakini, in running the organization must obey the decision of DPW PPP DIY consistent with Supreme Court decision number 601. And to face Pileg GPK and DPW PPP agreed to support Muhammad Syukri Fadholi to become the House of representatives of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the year 2014 GPK successfully donate two names of GPK cadres to become members of Yogyakarta City Council, Hasan Widago. Hasan widago is a sympathizer of GPK and gets the most votes coming from GPK. In the legislative elections will be different from the election of the mayor, GPK's focus will be split the internal course GPK will be divided in support of legislative candidates.

#### 4. GPK Yogyakarta and Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta in Clientelisme

Clientelism is understood as a form of approach to long-lasting democratization and spread to social-election relations, then, clientelism is recognized as a form of social conflict management. This is considered a face-to-face relationship based on access to resources and power and reciprocity. Although this relationship is highly asymmetrical, both patron and client are constrained by mutual social norms that oblige them to contribute to the maintenance of political power. If reciprocity does not exist, because either party can force the other side to maintain relationships by force, then this relationship is

not clientelism but also manual labor, for example, agricultural labor. In return, these patrons or patrons provide administrative benefits or privileges, employment, access to land, and concessions or retail licenses. Clientelism is a relationship between politicians and voters or supporters. Clientelism is a personalistic power relation (Hutchcroft 2014). According to Scott, clientelistic relationships are a face-to-face relationship.

Literally the term clientelism comes from the word "cluere" which means "listen or obey". This word appears in the era of ancient Rome that describes the relationship between "clientela" and "patronus". "Clientela" in this era is a term to refer to a group of people representing their voice to another group called "patronus", which is a group of aristocrats. Furthermore, it is mentioned that "clientela" is a loyal follower of "patronus" (Muno, 2010) the concept of clientelism is often placed in positions that have different meaning from patronage (patronage). The concept of patronage is defined as a two-way relationship when a person with a higher socio-economic status (patron) uses his or her influence and resources to provide protection to others with lower socioeconomic status (clients) who provide support and assistance to patron (Scott, 1972). There are several characters that characterize patronage. These characteristics include personal, informal, voluntary, reciprocal, unequal and two-way patron-client relationships. Two-way relationships can turn into three-way relationships if within a community, patrons also serve as intermediaries to bridge their client relationships with others outside of their community. Clientelism is a network between people who have social, economic and political ties that contain iterative elements, inequality and reciprocal status (Ufen, 2012). Later, clientelism is also a power relation between patron and client that is personality, reciprocity, hierarchical and iterative. So it can be ascertained that clientelism speaks of networks or relationships. The network contains an unequal power relation in which the patron has full power over the network. In political studies, clientelism is defined as a network that patrons dominate to intervene in their clients (Aspinall, 2015). From this expert opinion it can be seen that clientelism has several key elements. The three elements of clientelism are iteration, asymmetry, and reciprocity (Ufen, 2012). In addition, according to other experts stated the four components of



clientelism are personalistic, reciprocity, hierarchy and iteration (Aspinall, 2015). But of these two experts, at least it can be drawn red thread that clientelism has four elements of characteristic: iteration, asymmetric, reciprocity and personalistic.

The history of the foundation of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in Jakarta was established by the youth of Muhammadiyah cadres namely Syukri Fadholi, Alfian Darmawan, and Fauzi AR. In Yogyakarta has its own uniqueness in the body of Youth Movement Ka'bah that most of the sympathizers and members and even the elite is a cadre of Muhammadiyah.

Looking at the history of Gank school in Yogyakarta one of the Senior high school Muhammadiyah 1 Yogyakarta schools has a school Gank association called Oestad. Oestad was founded by several people who joined in JOXZIN one Underbouw United Development Party in Yogyakarta. There is a correlation between Senior high school Muhammadiyah 1 Yogyakarta with Underbouw PPP.

In the history is actually since the era of the new order of young people Muhammadiyah and Underbouw PPP has a correlation.

“In an interview with one of the members of KOKAM Yogyakarta as well as sympathizers of the Ka'bah Youth Movement said interest in following the activities of the Youth Movement Ka'bah for having the purpose of Amar maruf nahi mungkar and give the symbol of Islam in the flag of GPK. Then, He said that joining the GPK is one underbouw United Development Party because good citizens do not hate politics and for Muslims Islamic political parties are an option for Muslims and the Ka'bah Youth Movement one underbouw which has the aim of amar mahruf nahi mungkar.”

In fact the field almost as many sympathizers of Youth Movement Ka'bah until the elite are in the contents of youth Muhammadiyah. Ruby one figure in the Youth Movement Ka'bah is also a cadre Muhammadiyah. Muhammad Fuad is also called a cadre of Muhammadiyah

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

mayor of Yogyakarta in 2017 it is clear that this Clientelism occurred between Muhammadiyah, GPK and Heroe Poewardi.

Heroe Poewardi is a cadre of Muhammadiyah and has close relationship with youth Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta. Background Muhammadiyah this makes the occurrence of Clientelism between GPK, Muhammadiyah and Haryadi-Heroe.

“According to Syukri Fadholi is former Chairman of DPW and Pembina GPK said that Heroe Poewardi is a cadre Muhammadiyah and should all Muhammadiyah cadres choose Haryadi-Heroe.”

Personally, the Leadership of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta chose to be the winning team of Haryadi-Heroe followed by Youth Muhammadiyah and also the Muhammadiyah cadres who joined the Ka'bah Youth Movement.

“According to one of the Haryadi-Heroe Success team who joined in the young pen and is one of Muhammadiyah cadres and sympathizers of GPK said to support Haryadi as mayor so that later the interests of Muhammadiyah and GPK can be realized by the mayor.”

In the analysis of this study the relationship of Ka'bah Youth Movement cannot be separated, the founding factors derived from the cadre of Muhammadiyah became the most important factor in the regeneration of internal GPK. Clientelism occurs between GPK, Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta and Heroe Poewardi. This Muhammadiyah symbol factor makes the GPK elite perform instructions to choose the haryadi -heroe pair to become mayor and vice mayor.

When discussing about Clientelism certainly will not be separated with the interests of groups and personal. Analysis of interests that can support haryadi-heroe is to want the interests of Muhammadiyah organizations can be diudah such as dak'wah and developmen permit. While the Ka'bah Youth Movement which most of the sympathizers and leaders of the GPK is a cadre of Muhammadiyah has interests in the area of parking and security services.