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**POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF KA'BAH YOUTH MOVEMENT (GPK)**  
**IN 2017 MAYORAL ELECTION OF YOGYAKARTA**

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**POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF KA'BAH YOUTH MOVEMENT (GPK) IN 2017  
MAYORAL ELECTION OF YOGYAKARTA**

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**ABSTRACT**

*This research is based on the assumption in the society that the Ka'bah Youth Movement (GPK) as a young wing of PPP has orientation and tendency besides political interests of praxis. This research is a field study that examines the Political influence of GPK in the mayoral election in 2017. Primary data sources are obtained from the parties directly involved in a number of troops, as well as BPH GPK Kota Yogyakarta. Secondary data were obtained from interviews with PPP figures, sympathizers, former PPP activists, and the general public. The purpose of this study is 1) To understand any political influence of the GPK (Ka'bah Youth Movement) in the Yogyakarta mayor election. 2) To determine the effect of GPK in influencing young voters/members to choose one candidate for mayor of Yogyakarta. 3) To find out how the GPK influenced the mayoral candidate of Yogyakarta in the pre-election. 4) To find out how the GPK influenced the voters in general in mayoral elction of Yogyakarta.*

*The result of this research is 1) the effect of GPK in general election is GPK elite do instruction to all sympathizers and cadres through Whatshap message to choose Haryadi-Heroe pair and the occurrence of patronage in the form of services 2). The elite figure GPK influence youth of yogyakarta to join in Ka'bah youth movement. 3) most of GPK sympathizers are Muhammadiyah cadres in Yogyakarta. 4) .The form of GPK's action to fight for its existence and political identity in Yogyakarta society includes several issues. Starting from politics, economic sources to religious issues*

**Keyword : Political Influence, Patronage, Clientelisme, Role Figure**

## A. BACKGROUND

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

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

This research will be discussed about the militia of PPP or PPP wing party is GPK. Ka'bah Youth Movement (GPK) is one of the 'civilian militias' underbow of the United Development Party (PPP). Nationally, GPK was established in Jakarta since April 1982. GPK (Ka'ba Youth Movement) is the largest civilian militia in Yogyakarta. GPK is also a youth underbow movement supporting the PPP (United Development Party). GPK in Yogyakarta province is the largest compared to other substation, as there are 3000 GPK formal members in this region. While other civilian militia has only about 50-700 members. . Most of the GPK members live in four Islamic villages known as 4K, Kauman, Karangajen, Kotagede and Kuncen, plus

another Islamic village, namely Notoprajan. This militia group among the people became a group that often made a commotion on the highway. Sweeping action, violence for groups different of opinion with GPK, violent action by GPK Militia group to seek existence.

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

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

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

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

- B. Purpose : To understand any political influence of the GPK (Ka'bah Youth Movement) in the Yogyakarta mayor election

C. Methods : This research is a descriptive research using qualitative approach. Descriptive research is research methods that are fixed on solving the problems that exist at the present time or focusing on solving those problems, the data collected, compiled, described, and then analyzed

#### D. Discussion

##### 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). 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'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.

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 Tirtto 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 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.

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

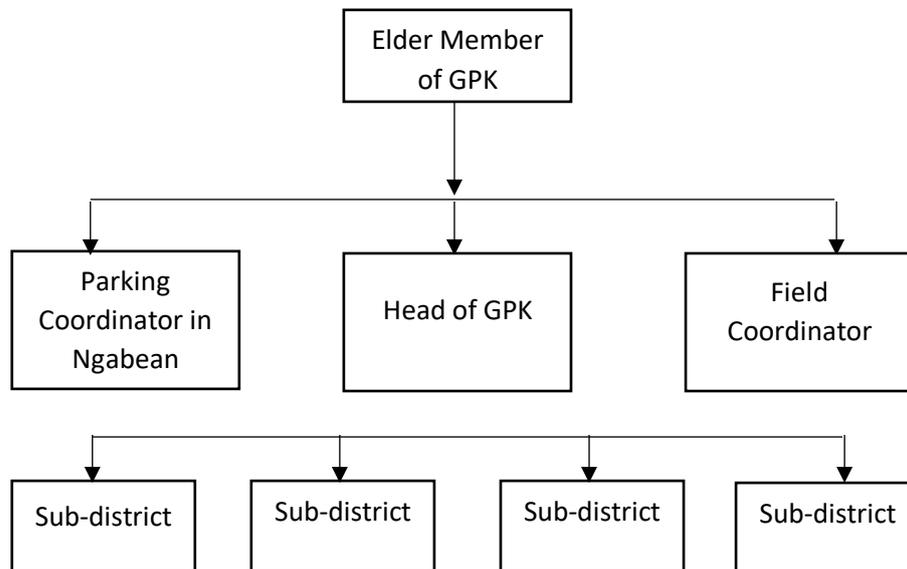
Existence in Latin is emergence or existence is real, existence in the perspective of political symbols is a necessity for the group, to show its existence in the midst of society. The context of the political existence of symbols is needed for every party organization or social organization. According 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.

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

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. 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”

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. 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.

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)

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 4. The Ka’bah Youth Movement action chart shows its existence

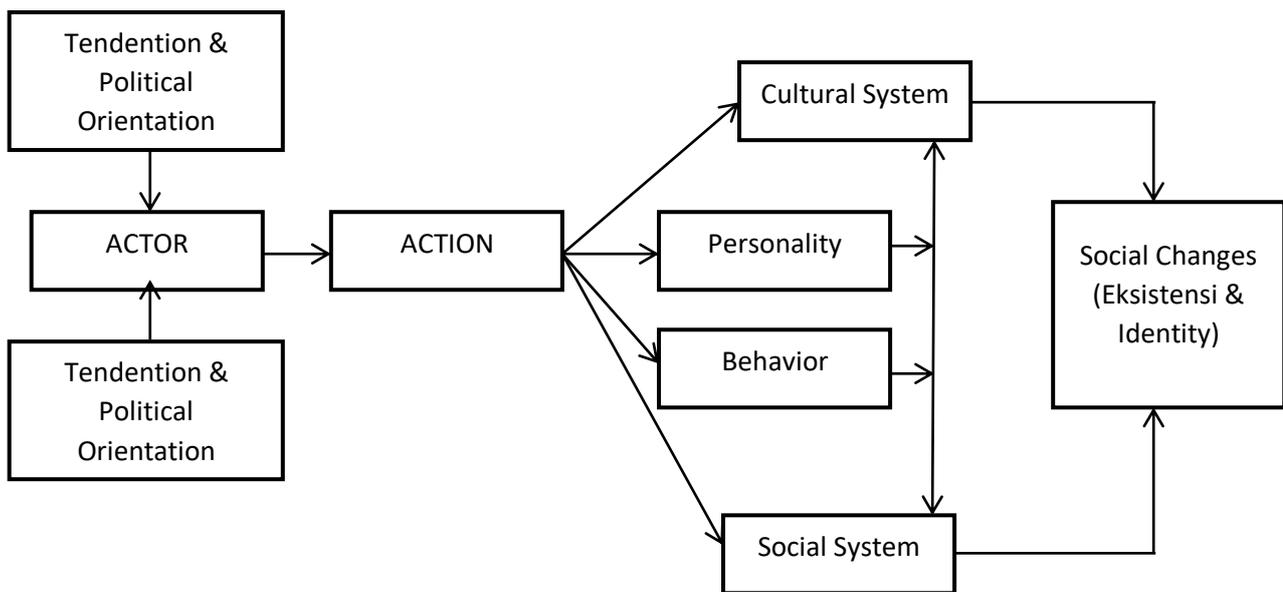
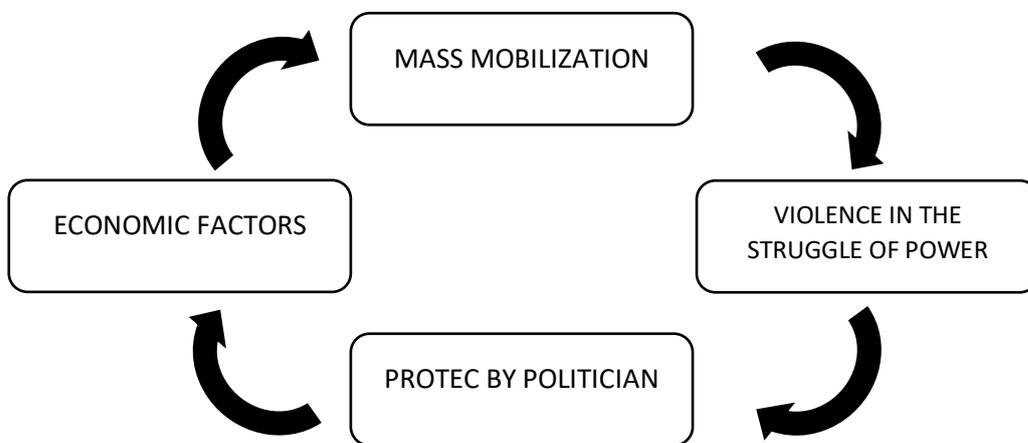


Chart 1.2 Adopted : Thesis Tirto research about Study Political Ka’bah Youth Movement in Yogyakarta

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”

### 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

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

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 Haryadai 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."

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."

“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.”

#### 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.

## CLOSING

### A. CONCLUSION

From the exposure in the various chapters above, the writer can conclude.

1. The form of GPK's action to fight for its existence and political identity in Yogyakarta society includes several issues. Starting from politics, economic sources to religious issues. In the political area they are always active when the government conducts elections, both five-yearly elections in which there is a legislative election (pileg), elections of the Yogyakarta Regional Head (Pilkada), or the Presidential Election (Presidential Election). Then on economic issues they are involved and can manage some of the economic resources that exist in the area of Yogyakarta, such as the management of parking lots, sekaten booths, security services. On religious issues they are also actively involved such as the parade takbiran, anti-syi'ah movement, sweeping place immoral.
2. The Gpk Elite figure is powerful for influencing the GPK cadres to join GPK members, Syukri Fadholi as a GPK elder member has a strong influence in making any policy in GPK body, Mohammed fuad as a respected figure among young people has a strong influence in religion that resulted in many young people who joined the GPK, and Muhammad Fuad has always been relied upon to take care of bureaucratic or government-related matters, Deni as Chairman of GPK has a duty to strengthen the internal GPK, while Rubi has a duty to keep the parking lot ngabea.
3. The GPK manners in the Yogyakarta mayoral election is to support Haryadi Suyuti-Heroe Poewardi. This instruction is done directly by the elder member of GPK Syukri Fadholi via broadcast Whatshaap. This support occurs because of the patronage between the elite Gpk and political elites in the arrangement of the area in Yogyakarta.
4. GPK Yogyakarta and Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta can not be released because most of the GPK cadres are young cadres of Muhammadiyah. The founder of GPK is a cadre of Muhammadiyah. Even the GPK Yogyakarta has branch in the senior high school Muhammadiyah 1 Yogyakarta.

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