

Chapter 1

Research Proposal

A. Background

Nowadays, Indonesia has a system that gives everyone in this country freedom to speech, express, and associates, known democracy. That arranged in Basic Constitution of Republic Indonesia Article 28 E 1945. Etymologically, democracy comes from "demos" which means populace and "cratein" that means a government (Kencana, 2012). Thus, democracy is a system of government in which power to regulate comes from the populace. Another feature that should not be overlooked is the involvement or participation of populace either directly or indirectly in the governing process. The process of the populace in the governing process of democracy system has many ways, and which has mentioned before is an association. The media that used by the populace to associate is through the organization. "Organization is a group of people that are arranged in groups that work together to achieve a common goal." (Djatkiko, 2002.)

In Indonesia, there are some organizations that contribute to society life. For example, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. Contributions which mean are constructing a better society life through education and religion by establishing schools, Islamic boarding schools, and universities that exist in a lot of regions in Indonesia. Therefore, these organizations have a lot of followers and enormous influence on society life. Since these organizations have enormous influence on society life, some politicians use these organizations as media, to get a big support from society.

In 2014, Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) that was founded by Amien Rais who is also a former chairman of Muhammadiyah nominates Hatta Rajasa (a present chairman of PAN) as

a candidate for Vice President in the Presidential Election in 2014. Hatta Rajasa had nominated as a Vice President candidate from Prabowo Subianto who had nominated as a President candidate. They have gotten a great support from Amin Rais which stated that they (Prabowo and Hatta) will struggle to win in the Presidential Election by enhancing association from Muhammadiyah society in Indonesia. "In addition, Amin Rais in Indo Post (June 14th, 2014) also stated that, "There will be 85 percent of Muhammadiyah society that supports them." At the same time, Prabowo Subianto as a President Candidate and Hatta Rajasa as a Vice President candidate visited Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) or Nahdlatul Ulama main manager office, and they also got support from PBNU, especially from PBNU chairman. PBNU chairman stated that "Nahdlatul Ulama society is free to support anyone, but in personal I support Probowo." (Ramadhan, 2014) From the explanation above, it is indicated that there is closeness between politicians and organizations. Additionally, the visit that has done by politicians to the organization office means that this organization has an enormous influence on society which might affect the support for these politicians.

In the eastern part of Indonesia, primarily in Palu, Central Sulawesi, an organization also has enormous contributions and influence to society life. This organization name is Alkhairaat. The first reasons of researchers choose Alkhairaat as the object of research, starting from the curiosity and interest of researchers to the photos there is almost every house of kaili society in Palu, always found a photo of Habib Said Seggaf Aljufri. Later known by researchers the photo is a photo of Alkhairaat founder. Alkhairaat is one of the major organizations in Central Sulawesi. The numbers of Alkhairaat members are five million. The contributions that have given by Alkhairaat to the society, especially in Central Sulawesi are in education and religion sector. Moreover, Alkhairaat also gives contribution such as establishing 1.561 Madrasah (Islamic schools) and 34 Islamic boarding schools

which exist in the eastern part of Indonesia. Then, in the higher education sector, Alkhairaat has a university namely University Alkhairaat or it is usually called as “UNISA”. In the health sector, Alkhairaat also has a hospital namely Islamic Hospital S.I.S. (Mugaddam, 2015)

Alkhairaat is same with the great organizations that have mentioned previously, those are Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama because in Central Sulawesi, it is also popular and some politicians also use it to get a great support in the elections at both national and local level. (Sulaiman H. N., 2000) Stated that “Alkhairaat has a role in changing the social culture of Kaili society in Central Sulawesi.” Alkhairaat in the 80s had used by one of the strong political organization to achieve the success of their appreciation and it has a very satisfying result for this political organization.

In the 2014 Local Election (*Pemilihan Umum Daerah*) of Central Sulawesi, Lukman S.Tahir, a Vice Governor candidate from Aminudin Ponulele as a Governor candidate which will follow the political elections directly ask for support to Alkhairaat through the chairman of Alkhairaat, that is Habib Segaf Aljufri by sending an open letter to approve his nomination. In the history, it was the first time in which a politician officially sends a letter to Alkhairaat to ask for support towards his nomination. Before this kind of asking for support happened, a politician usually will come to ask for support to Alkhairaat only by personal visit and it is not publicly.

At this time Alkhairaat through its chairman publicly stated that Alkhairaat supports to one of Governors and Vice Governor candidates of Central Sulawesi that are Rusdy Mastura and Ikhwan Datu Adam of which will follow Contemporaneous Election (*Pemilukada Serentak*) that will be held on December 9th, 2015. This statement was stated by Alkhairat chairman and published by Metro Sulawesi, on October 19th, 2015. He said that “Because

this time, Central Sulawesi's best sons are only Rusdi Mastura”, then he continues “If (Cudy the familiar nickname of Rusdi Mastura) is not winning, Alkhairaat will be embarrassed. For me, lost or win is the second thing, but the most important is an assertiveness to tell the truth. It needs the leader that cares to society and can resolve the problem in the area, and I see Cudy can do it.” The support that was declared by Habib Seggaf Aljufri becomes good news for Rusdi Mastura that will participate in the Governor Election later. Because of seeing how great the influence of Alkhairaat in Central Sulawesi, it will support a lot of voice contributions to Rusdi Mastura.

The support that was provided by Alkhairaat through the chairman of Pengurus Besar (PB) Alkhairaat or Alkhairaat main manager to Rusdy Mastura and Ikhwan Datu Adam as a governor and vice governor candidates of Central Sulawesi certainly happened with any reasons. Therefore, the researcher is interested in conducting a research on “How the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by giving support to one of Governor and Vice Governor Candidates of Central Sulawesi.”

B. Research Question

Based on the background that explained previously, the problem formulation on this research is stated as follows:

1. How the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by giving support to one of Governor and Vice Governor candidates of Central Sulawesi?

C. Research Objective

The objective of this research is to explain how the influence of Alkhairaat to politicians and how the existence of Akhiaraat after the Local Election in 2015.

D. Research Benefit

This research can be used as an additional literature to understand the influence of Alkhairaat on Central Sulawesi politics. This research also can become an additional literature to understand the political situation in Central Sulawesi.

E. Literature Review

Since Alkhairaat was established in 1930, it has been well received by Central Sulawesi society. In order to convey Islam in Central Sulawesi, Alkhairaat became highly respected by society because the founder of Alkhairaat, Said Idrus bin Salim Aljufrie or well known by Central Sulawesi society as “Guru Tua”(Old Teacher) is regarded as the person who first convey Islam conceptually in Central Sulawesi. Along with the reason, Alkhairaat is very respected well by the Central Sulawesi society, and it also has a great influence to the society of Central Sulawesi.

There are many researchers who had done researches on how the Alkhairaat role in conveying Islam in Central Sulawesi. As the research that had done by Sulaiman (2000) on “The role of Alkhairaat in the socio-cultural changes of the Kaili society on Central Sulawesi.” Then, the research that had conducted by Norma about "Struggle that had done by Sayid Idrus bin Salim Aljufri in Islamic education of Central Sulawesi."

In this study, the researcher will discuss how the real influence of Alkhairaat in Central Sulawesi, especially on the existence of Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by seeing the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat by giving support to one of the Governor and Vice Governor candidates. The researcher is interested in discussing this topic because the previous research that has conducted about Alkhairaat does not discuss yet directly how the Alkhairaat involvement in the politics of Central Sulawesi. In the research that had conducted by Sulaiman only explain how Alkhairaat is exploited by one of the political organizations in

the era of the 80s in Central Sulawesi for the success of it and it had a very satisfying results for the organization itself.

The research that had conducted by Syamsuri (2014) discussed “Political communications Mubalig in the Palu City” which describes how the Mubalig in Palu City do political communications by joining a campaign team from one of the campaign teams of President and Vice President Candidate which follow the President Election in 2014. Then, this political communication is followed by one of the largest Muslim women's organizations in Palu, namely Islamic Women Alkhairaat. Nevertheless, the study also doesn't explain yet how the influence of the organization which is owned by Alkhairaat.

Therefore, to differentiate this research and the previous researchers, this research will try to explain how the involvement of Alkhairaat on Central Sulawesi politics, and in this case is the existence of Alkhairaat by seeing the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015.

F. Theoretical Framework

1. Politics

According to Raymond G. Gettel, political science is the science that deals with the government, it happens between an individual another individual that relates to law, the relationship between individuals, or between groups and individuals, or between individuals with the country, as well as same with the country's relationship with the government (Inu Kencana, 2012).

Andrew Heywood is the political activist of a nation which aims to create, maintain, and develop the regulations – general rules that govern his life, which means

that it cannot be separated from the symptoms of conflict and cooperation. (Budiarjo, 2008)

Refer to the explanation above, it can be concluded that the theory of political science is a science that learns about the government of the Union such as how to organize people's life in a country with regulations such as to organize and to unite the interests of the community in a country. All of this can be learned and done by everyone either individuals or groups because they are connected to one and other.

2. Organization

There are some definitions which stated by some experts about the Organization, which are – the first is according to Lubis and Husaini (1987), the organization is defined as a social unity of a group of humans, which interact based on a certain pattern so that each member of organization has their own function and duty, which as a whole that has a specific purpose and clear boundaries, so that it can be detached from its surroundings expressly.

According to (Sutarto, 1985), the organization is a system of mutual effect between people in the group who work together to achieve a particular goal. According to Herbert and Gullet, organizing is a process in which an organization structure is created. This process includes defining the provisions of the specific activities that are needed to complete all the objectives of the organization, grouping the activities related to the logical order, and running and justifying the group tasks or activities to people who have a responsibility to manage it.

Barnard on (Huseini, 1987) argued that the organization is a system of cooperative activities between two or more people. The organization is a group of people that cooperate into the activities to achieve the goals that have set while

organizing is the activity of people in the group that compose and arrange a wide range of jobs that need to be managed to achieve the goals.

Organization has is the assignment for people based on their function of the work, and it is needed to be done in order to achieve the objectives of cooperation in the activity. While organizing is the preparation and classification of various jobs based on a type of work, the order of the nature and functions of the work, and the time and the speed. Griffin, 1959 on (Huseini, 1987)

Alkhairaat was officially established on June 11th, 1930, in Palu, Central Sulawesi province. In the beginning, it came to Indonesia in 1925 to Solo, Central Java province. Guru Tua was assisted by his former student in Madrasah Hadramaut (Islamic school), that is Sayid Ahmad bin Muhammad who had moved to Solo first, and they established a Madrasah (an Islamic school) namely “Arrabithah Awaliyah College”. (Dahlan, 1993)

After that, Guru Tua came and moved to Palu. Then, Guru Tua established Alkhairaat Islamic College namely “Madrasah Al-Islamiyah Alkhairaat”, and at the same time, this organization also develop some sectors such as education, social and religious.

The reason for early establishment of Alkhairaat in the 1930s is because Guru Tua focuses on the conditions of the existing Islamic society in Central Sulawesi in which it was so retarded in the Islamic knowledge and teaching. Before the establishment of the Alkhairaat in Palu, Central Sulawesi, the society feels the unrest because at the moment it was not united by Islamic regulations. In addition, at the time, several places in the Central Sulawesi, especially in Palu, were considered as the center of the movement of a non-Islamic mission. The existence of Alkhairaat can manage and

change the Islamic situation of Central Sulawesi society to back to the teaching of Islam.

The society considered that through Alkhairaat, Sayid Idrus bin Salim Aljufri started Islamic studies in classical. That's the reason why he is called as Guru Tua (Old Teacher) because he was considered as the first and oldest teacher that successfully keep and develop Islamic education in Central Sulawesi even in the eastern Indonesia. (Sulaiman, 1998).

3. Influence

In an article that written by Almon Leroy Way entitled "Politics and Government: The Essentials" explained what is the meaning of political influence.

"Political influence is the ability of private individuals and groups to influence, condition, shape, and thereby control the authoritative decisions and actions of those who possess the formal-legal authority to take these decisions and actions. The individuals and groups exercising political influence do not hold the relevant government offices and therefore do not possess the formal-legal authority to make the official governmental decisions they seek to shape and control; but they do have and exercise the ability to shape and control the decision-making behavior of those officeholders in the government who do possess the formal-legal authority to make the relevant decisions on public policy. Such individuals and groups exercise significant influence over particular policy decisions made by particular government offices and institutions. These individuals and groups have acquired and are exercising that form of political power called "political influence." A private individual or organization possesses and exercises political influence to the extent that its interests and demands have

to be taken into account by the government--or an office or institution of the government--when making and carrying out decisions on public policy.” (Way, 2012)

In a scientific discussion forum, there is still a lot of things to be asked such as ”Do influence and power are two different concepts?”, or “between the influence and power, does one of them is the concept of the subject matter?”.

Floyd Hunter and Frederich Cark on (Budiarjo, 2008) explained that the power is the understanding of the subject matter, and the influence is particular. A Dutch political expert, Uwe Becker defined the influence as a special form of power. He said that “the influence is the ability that is constantly evolving.” In contrast to power, power is not so related to the effort to fight for and impose interests.

According to Barry Norman, the influence is a type of power in which a person who is influenced to act in certain ways that might be it is said as causes to act, even though an overt threat will not be the motivation force. (Bodiarjo, 2008).

But Robert Dahl through his book “Modern Political Analysis” in Budiarjo (2008), that first published in 1963, said that “the influence, at the principle, it defined as a concept.“ A has to influence over B to the extents that it can force B to do something that would not otherwise do.”

Sometimes the influence has a psychological factor that able to touch the heart of those who are influenced, so it often times can influence people successfully. But the influence is usually not being the only factor that influences the actions of people, people who are affected might also have another way, or cause to act. However, as

explained earlier, the influence can be able to touch the heart of people who are affected, the influence also becomes very successful in some situations.

4. Patronage and Clientelism

According to Shefter in (Sukmajati, 2015), patronage is defined as a profit sharing among politicians to distribute something individually to electors, workers or activists of the campaign, in order to get support from them.

(Sukmajati, 2015) describe, that patronage is the giving of cash, goods, services and other economic advantages (such as the employment or contract of the project) that are distributed by politicians, including the profit shown to individuals (example, envelopes containing cash) and to the group/community (for example, a new soccer field for youth in the village). Patronage can also be either cash or goods that were distributed to voters who came from personal funds (for example, in polling) or from public funds (for example, projects pork barrel which is financed by the Government).

In his book “The politics of money in Indonesia, the Patronage of the National Legislative Clientelism in 2014” Edward and Mada (2015) elaborated the relation between patronage and clientelism as follows. Patronage refers to the material or other profits distributed by politicians to voters or supporters. In contrast, the clientelism refers to the character of the relationship between politicians and the electorate or supporters.

G. Conceptual Definition

Choosing an analysis instrument in approaching a reality or research object is very necessary for the researcher. Conceptual definition will define a concrete theory and

approach that used by the researcher. These following concepts are main concepts that used by the researcher to understand the dynamic of research object

In this research, the researcher tries to describe how the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by giving support to one of the Governor and Vice Governor candidates that follow *Pemilukada Serentak* (Contemporaneous Governor Election) in 2015. To acquire the framework of the issue, the researcher refers to the theory of patronage and clientelism, which have conceived by Edward and Mada (2015) in his book "Money Politics in Indonesia, Patronage Clientelism on Legislative Elections in 2014". The elaboration between patronage and clientelism as follows. Patronage refers to the material or other gains that are distributed by politicians to voters or supporters. In contrast, the clientelism refers to the character of the relationship between politicians and the electorate or supporters. Hicken in Edward and Mada (2015) explained that the definition of clientelism contains three things. First, the contingency or reciprocity; the awarding of the goods or services of one party (the patron or client) is a direct response against the granting of the advantages of the other party. Second, hierarchical; There is an emphasis on the relationship between the unbalanced powers of the patron with the client. Third, aspects of repetition; clientelistic exchange takes place continuously.

H. Operational Definition

Operational definition and execution of instructions are used to measure a variable. By reading the operational definition of a research, the researcher will know a variable, so it can be known whether it is good or bad measurements. Thus, the operational definition of this research is an indicator that used by the researcher to describe how the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by giving support to one of the Governor and Vice Governor candidates, and those are:

1. Analyze the causal factor that made Alkhairaat give support to one of Governor and Vice Governor candidates of Central Sulawesi that follow the Local Election in 2015.
2. Analyze the opportunities that can be gotten by Alkhairaat after Local Election in 2015.

I. Research Method

To analyze how the existence of Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by seeing what is the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat by giving support to one of Governor and Vice Governor candidates, the researcher used a qualitative research approach. Since the research is required to answer the research questions, the qualitative research approach can directly go to the object that will be examined in order to get a clear answer. Qualitative research used qualitative research methods that can be used to examine the conditions of natural objects, in which the researcher is a key of instrument. Techniques of the data collection were conducted in the combination between inductive in nature, the data analysis, and the results of the qualitative research that emphasized to the significance of generalization. (Sugiyono, 2007)

While explained that qualitative research method is a method of a research that aims to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the subject of the research for example, behavior, perceptions, motivations, actions, holistically, and by means of the description in the form of words and language, in a special natural context and by utilizing a variety of natural methods.

J. Research Location

The location of this research took place in Central Sulawesi, which is in Palu. This location was chosen because Palu is the place where the head office of Alkhairaat is located, so every time Palu can be the center of the whole employee and followers of Alkhairaat at some moments can gather in the specific activities that conducted by Alkhairaat.

K. Data Resources

Data resources are data that collected from various sources and required to answer the research questions. The kinds of data that used in this research are stated as follows:

1. Primary Data

Primary data is data that collected directly from research field. In this research, the primary data is data that obtained from research participants through conducting an interview. The data that collected are regarding on how the the existence of Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by seeing what is the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat by giving support to one of Governor and Vice Governor candidates.

2. Secondary Data

Secondary data is data that collected to support the primary data in order to help the researcher answers the research question. Secondary data usually doesn't collected from the field directly. In this research, the secondary data are books, journals, websites and other literatures that can explain about how the existence of Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by seeing what is the opportunity that can be gotten—by Alkhairaat by giving support to one of Governor and Vice Governor candidates.

The technique to determine the informant that used in this study is “purposive sampling technique”. According to (Sugiyono, 2007):

“Purposive sampling is a technique of sampling data sources with certain considerations. This particular considerations, for example the person that is deemed mostly know about what we expect, or maybe he/she is defined as a ruler so that it will make easier for the researcher to explore the social object or situation that are examined.”

The purposive sampling technique was chosen because it makes easier for the researcher to collect the data in the field and to determine the informant that is considered capable of answering the research question.

L. Data Collection Method

Data collection technique is the way that the researcher used in a research to collect data which required to answer the research question. This research used an in-depth interview with some informants that have important role or position in Alkhairaat.

In-dept interview

According to Sugiyono (2007), in-depth interview is the meeting of two persons to exchange information and ideas through the faqs, so that the meaning is constructed within a topic. The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with sources, namely data collection through interviews that was done directly to a number of informants that are considered knowing against problems that examined using the manual instrument.

The informants that are considered capable to answer the research question are the chairman of vice chairman of Alkhairaat, stakeholders of Alkhairaat, and also followers of ALKhairaat.

In this thesis, the researcher used a type of unstructured interview in which the unstructured interview is aimed at finding information. The results that obtained from this kind of interview are pressed on the exclusion, deviation, unusual interpretation, interpretation of the back, a new approach, the view of the expert, or a single perspective (Moleong, 2011). The form of questions that used in this research is the questions that regard to the background or demographics. The type of questions that could be posed to respondents is about behavior, opinions, feelings, knowledge, and the memorable question – the question of demographics (Moleong, 2011). There are several ways to classify the questions to be posed to respondents as explained as follows:

1. *Hypothesis* questions or *what if*
2. A question that *asks something ideal* and the respondents were asked to give a response about the alternative hypotheses about the past, present or future.
3. A question that asks respondents to respond by giving alternative hypotheses and explanations.
4. *Interpretive* questions that suggest respondents to give their interpretation about the incident or event.
5. A Question that gives advice.
6. A Question about *the reason why* so that respondent will give an explanation of events or feelings.
7. A Question of the *type of argument* that seeks to ask respondents to express their feelings or to show the attitude in which when the interviewer is not there, it will not appear.

8. A Questions about the source that attempted to reveal additional resources, information, and data or additional documents.
9. A Question that expects the answers such as *Yes – No*, that is a question that seeks to cover up the intensity of feeling or belief about something while the interviewers are not sure yet.
10. *Leading* questions, in this case the respondents asked to provide additional information on the information provided.

M. Technique Data Analysis

Bogdan (1982) in Sugiyono (2008) said that data analysis is a process of searching and organizing data that collected from the in-depth interview, field note, and other resources systematically, so it can be easy to understand the finding to be informed to other people. There are some types of data analysis technique. This research used a descriptive method of analysis. This method is aimed at explaining the phenomenon that is happens. This research is aimed at describing how the existence of Alkhairaat after the Local Election in 2015 by seeing what is the opportunity that can be gotten by Alkhairaat by giving support to one of the Governor and Vice Governor candidates.

While the procedure to analyze qualitative data according to Miles and Huberman (1984) in Sugiyono (2008) are stated as follows:

- a. Data reduction, Data reduction means summarizing, sorting principal things, focusing on important things, and finding the theme and pattern. Therefore, data that has reduced will give a clearer view and it will make the researcher is easier to do a next data analysis step.

- b. Data display, after the data has reduced, so the next step is displaying the data. In qualitative research, data display can be done on brief argumentation, chart, a relation between category, flow chart and others by using narrative text.
- c. Conclusion or verification. The third step of qualitative data analysis is drawing a conclusion and verification. Preliminary conclusion that presented is still temporary and might be changed-if the strong evidence that support the next data collection did not found. But, if the preliminary conclusion is supported by valid evidence when the researcher back to the field, the conclusion is credible.