MUTUAL SYMBIOSIS AND TRASACTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS
(A Study on the Relationship between the Youth Organizations with the Candidates of the Parliament from the Electoral District of North Sumatera 1 in 2014 General Election)

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ABSTRACT
The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between the leader of a youth organization with a candidate for Parliament in the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 which is conducted on a transactional basis. The method used is the qualitative approach. The data obtained in the form of a written document or in-depth interviews with 15 people. The observation and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) will be analyzed using qualitative analysis techniques typology. The study concluded that the pattern of relationship exists is a mutualism which is conducted transactionally. The form of transactions conducted by the youth organization figure is by providing the votes for the candidate for DPR in the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 with some requirements such as funds for the operations of supports and assistances for the organization and the figure itself. The candidates of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 establish a relation with youth organizations in various ways. The transaction conducted by the figures of youth organizations is by providing the votes for the candidates with some requirements such as funds for the operational activities of the winning operations and assistance for the organizations and for the personal matters of the figures of the organizations.

Keywords: relation pattern, mutual and transactional symbiosis.

1. INTRODUCTION
Before the 2014 Legislative Election, local actors have an important role to ensure the consolidation of the applied democracy occurs in North Sumatra. The local actors are the leaders of some society organizations such as youth organizations, student organizations, religious organizations, and others. Meanwhile, democracy will not develop as there is no supporting democrat. A democrat is a citizen who has a basic knowledge of democracy, knows the values of democracy, has a commitment to the democracy values, has the skills to apply those in political and everyday life. Actually, the democrats must be found in the list of the political party cadres offered to the voters to be the members of the legislative and the executive in the region (regents / mayors and governors). The leaders of political parties and society organizations should have a positive relationship in resolving the society problems as well as increasing the society welfare.
The fact that is often found in North Sumatra is that it is not clear whether any political party has a selection mechanism for all of its cadres to be nominated in public positions and ensures those who are recruited as the potential members of the legislative or executive have the required comprehensiveness as a democrat. One of the recruitment sources in seeking the cadres of political parties comes from the youth organizations. Those who then become the cadres of political parties has the potential careers in the government as the members of the legislative or executive or the head of the region. In order to obtain a good result in, the recruitment of the cadres of the political parties has a relationship with some youth organizations in North Sumatra to establish a reliable politicians in resolving the daily problems in the society. It means that the origin of the organizations of the people who will be recruited as a politician must have integrity, capability, and commitment to democracy.

Meanwhile, some society organizations in North Sumatra recruit young people who do not have a regular job to do some violences for the reason of securing a particular location. They are often called as "preman (Free Man / villain)" who are inseparable from violences such as beatings, intimidations, and even murders when they are assigned by the leader of the organizations to "secure" certain locations that could potentially generate any monetary benefit. However, at the other times they are considered as respectable citizens who often provide assistance to the poor, donate for the educational institutions and for the educational funds to the poor, as well as other social activities. The purpose of those social activities is actually perpetuating the network of the power which has been built and nurtured over years.

Under these condition in 2014 election, it is assumed that it will generate a relationship between the leaders of political parties and the leaders of civil society organizations conducted on a transactional basis. The transaction occurred between those leaders is an agreement to some material exchanges (money or other goods required) with votes or to get a public positions in order to get an ease in obtaining the project funds sourced from the local government budget (APBD) and State Budget (APBN) if they are elected to be the legislative members. (Amin, 2013).

Those situations also occur in several countries in Southeast Asia. It almost becomes a necessity that there is no correlation between decentralization, democracy, and the government performance, characterized by the development of people or certain groups at the local level which is quite strong in financial and has a network to some powerful figures (Smith, 1985) and Scott (1972). A research by John T. Sidel on bossism in Philippines reveals that those tendencies are related to political developments in the early 20th century, when it starts to apply the election of the heads of government and members of parliament directly, both at national and local level. The atmosphere evidently cultivates local elites who have the strong political and economic power in many regions in Philippines. They gain the accumulated profits of the discretion of local law enforcements, public works, taxation, etc. by positioning or becoming the brokers for the position contested in the election.

The findings of the research provide a new nuance in the study of the relationship of state and society, which is different from the analysis by Migdal in the 1980s in which the source of the power of local strongman is not by the ownership of land or personal wealth but from state resources or trading capitals accumulated once getting the power. The relationship between the local strongman and the society is always constituted by the provision of 'something' which can be in the form of money, position, or even by using some forces. The pattern of patron-client relations (clientelism), between the local strongman and the society, is not regarded as a major support to its power (Simanjuntak, 2007) and Lively (1975). The use of violences and intimidations, voters buying, as well as frauds in the election is much more prominent in describing the relationship between the local strongmen and their supporters.
This study will try to explain the pattern of relations occur between the leaders of youth organizations with support to the candidates of the legislative election for the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1. The choose of youth organizations is considered important because they have a great opportunity to define the direction of development in North Sumatra. While the reason for the importance of choosing electoral district of North Sumatra 1 (Medan, Deli Serdang, Serdang Bedagai, Tebing Tinggi) as the political parties consider it as a district that is always be the representation of North Sumatra. In addition, the reason for the selection of candidates for legislative members of Parliament because of the large number of voters.

To test the assumption of the existing pattern of mutual relations, this study will answer the following questions, Who are the leaders of youth organizations and candidates of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 who establish a relation to win the 2014 legislative election? What are the deals between the leaders of youth organizations and the candidates of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 in the 2014 legislative election? How does the existing pattern of relationship occur between the leadership of the youth organization with the candidates of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1?

2. THEORETICAL REVIEW

2.1. Elite Theory

Varma (2001) states that every society is divided into two categories: 1) A small group of people who have the ability and therefore seize a position to govern, and its called as: (a.) Governing Elite and (b.) Non-Governing Elite. 2) A large number of people destined to be governed. The governing elite is relatively in a few number, that has a capability and advantage to utilize the power, holds all political functions, monopolizes power so that it can use it for the good purposes, for example: public welfare, education improvement, expansion of employment opportunities, improving health status of the people, etc. However, the power can be used for the bad purposes.

People who have great contribution in decision making within the organization. However, the people who are in the top positions but their reputation and ability to make decisions is more than of the others, including the people who actually occupy the top positions are called as strongmen (Rauf, 2005). Meanwhile, the people who occupy the position but their power is under the shadow of the strongmen called as elite dolls (toys of the elite). The phenomenon of the emergence of local strongmen is available in terms of Migdal or Bossism by Sidel (1999). According to Migdal, each group has a leader in the community, in which the leader is relatively autonomous from the state. And every community has a social capacity that allows him/her to apply his/her own rules without any intervention by the country. When the capacity of the country to control the weak state, the strongmen use their capacity at the local level. Migdal (2001), says that the strategy of triangle of accommodation as the strategy to survive for the strongmen. Thus, the presence of strongmen is a reflection of the strength of the community. Migdal (2001: 256) argues that the local strongmen can be succeed because of their influences and not of the official rules made: "why local strongmen have, through their success at social control often effectively captured parts of third world states". They are successful in mastering the key positions and ensuring the allocation of resources due to the their own rules, and not because of the formally made rules.

2.1.2. Previous Researches

Another book edited by Okamoto Masaaki and Abdur Rozaki entitled "Group Violence and Local Boss in Reformation Era" dissects about the retreat of the state in the field
of security and the emergence of security brokers and violent groups by raising some cases in Jakarta, Banten, West Kalimantan and Bali. Each case has a different characteristic. An article by Okamoto Masaaki shows two types of security brokers who have a very different pattern on the Special Capital Region (DKI) of Jakarta to provide security services for those who need it, even though they appear is due to the insecurity in post-Soeharto's government. The condition occurs due to the security relationship between the state and society is not clear anymore.

An article by Untung Wahyono entitled "Betawinese Hero from Cakung" outlines the violent group that are very prominent in the city, named Betawi Brotherhood Forum (FBR) which conducts intimidation by some violent acts to raise some funds from the companies, traders, public transport drivers and residents in Jakarta and Bekasi. During the legislative, presidential, and regional leader elections, FBR supports one of the candidates. In Banten, Abdul Hamid's article entitled "Jawara dan Penguasaan Politik Lokal di Banten" (Local Champions and Politics Mastery in Banten), explains the dominance of a group of champions in politics and economic in Banten which results in a dominated prosperity by a few elites (Romli, 2007) and Nordholt (2007).

The violences also occur in Madura, a writing by Abdur Rozaki describes the blater and clerics (kyai) emerge as the political actors from the district to the village. Their relationship with some politicians and bureaucracies uses a pattern of symbiosis mutualism which results in difficulty for the emergence of a critical group of error correcting to the performance of local government. A research by I Ngurah Suryawan in Bali explains a tradition revitalization results in "traditional" security guards as a tradition called as "pecalang" as an invented tradition. In Kalimantan there is also a violent group formed named Dayak headhunter. According to a writing of John Bamba, it is seen that among the Dayak communities, militarism has also started to crawl. Although there are some researches discuss the violent groups and influential people, some other researches which were specifically conducted on political gangsters in Medan and Jakarta were only conducted by Loren Ryter (1998) and Vedi R. Hadiz (2005).

The differences of this study with the previous researches are as follows; First, the emergence of the phenomenon of quite strong violent groups and regional leaders in Indonesia occurs in different patterns. This study will explain that in North Sumatra, the phenomenon of the emergence of quite strong regional leaders are not only from the individuals with physical strength, wealth or are the patron only, but also from the strength of the groups or organizations exist between the similar organizations in the society life. Second, the previous researches did not discuss the phenomenon appears, endures and the successful of regional leaders who were able to drive their organizations for their benefit amongst other communities when the direct regional elections. The previous researches conducted before the direct regional elections were held. Therefore, this study will specifically discuss the phenomenon by taking the case of the 2014 legislative election in the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 (Medan, Deli Serdang, Serdang Bedagai, and Tebing Tinggi).
2.1.3. Conceptual Framework

The identification of the figures of youth organizations and the candidates of the Parliament from the Electoral District of North Sumatera 1

The implementation of supporting and voting from the leaders of youth organizations to the candidates for Parliament from the Electoral District of North Sumatera 1

The pattern of relationship between the Figures of Youth Organizations and the Candidate of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatera 1 in 2014 legislative election

Whether it is suited to the planned deals or not

The Model of Political Education for the Youth Organizations

Fig1. Conceptual Framework

In order to continue the existence of the organizations, the cadres and officials of "Pemuda Pancasila" should establish a relationship with the candidates of the Parliament. The relationship is done for the sake of getting access to the power that has implications for the efforts to raise some funds. The interest to get some access to the power is done in order to continue their rules in the youth organizations as an attempt to get "something" from the country, especially in the sectors that can generate some economic benefits. The relationship pattern formed by prominent youth organization is characterized by the presence of mutual coalition (symbiosis mutualism). The coalition is working to establish an access to the state powers and local resources by rationalizing the importance of money to the people who need it. The new relationship pattern grows when the electoral system is possible for the constellation of relative power is controlled by the interests of the elite of youth organizations.

3. METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study as a research strategy (Yin, 2000). This approach is directed to the background and the individual holistically or intactly. The data obtained which are in the form of written document and the results of in-depth interviews to 15 respondents, observations, and FGDs will be analyzed using qualitative analysis of typology technique (Bogdan & Steven, 1993). This research uses three data collection techniques. First, the use of documentation to examine the existing data, either in the form of policy documents, papers, journals, or books of previous research results that are relevant to local political dynamics in North Sumatra and are linked to the activities of youth organizations and candidates of the Parliament of 2014-2019 Period from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 with other groups. Second, in-depth interviews. The data are also described and analyzed through the technique of in-depth interviews with 15 informants from the leaders of youth organizations in both the local and national level as well as individuals involved in or related to political activities in North Sumatra.

The interviews are mainly directed to the key informants and the further information obtained from other informants selection through a snowball technique. The key informants in this study are the leaders and the officials of Pemuda Pancasila (PP) of North Sumatra, Ikatan Pemuda Karya (IPK) of North Sumatera and FKPPI of North Sumatra. Other key informants
are the leaders of political parties in North Sumatra as well as the candidates of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 (Medan, Deli Serdang, Serdang Bedagai, and Tebing Tinggi) that establish a relationship with the figures of youth organizations in 2014 legislative election.

The third is the observation to give new dimensions to understand the context of the observed phenomenon such as photographs or when the interactions occurred between the elites of Pemuda Pancasila with their followers as well as other groups, and other events related and relevant to the topic of research. Fourth, in order to find a model of political education between the legislative candidates and the youth organizations, there will be some Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with the key informants from the leaders of youth organizations, the legislative candidates, political scientists, the educational and non-governmental organizations figures. The FGD will be guided directly by the researcher by limiting the discussion related to the pattern of relationships conducted between the leaders of youth organizations and legislative candidates in gaining the votes in 2014 legislative election.

4. DISCUSSION

The active youth organizations in North Sumatra in all activities of the General Election are Pemuda Pancasila, Ikatan Pemuda Karya, and FKPPI. Those three organizations are the largest youth organizations in North Sumatra which become one of the sources of the votes that can be obtained by the candidates of the Parliament. Through the figures of the youth organizations, the majority of the legislative candidates seek to meet them and expect to get the support from the organizations. The support is in the form of the order from the figures and leaders of the organizations to the members of the organizations to choose particular legislative candidates and to find additional votes. In addition to minimize frauds occur at the polling stations (TPS), the leaders of the youth organizations are believed to have an ability to give orders to their cadres to maintain the votes. Not only maintaining, but more than that by conducting any ways to increase the votes including threatening (Budiardjo, 1984; Andrain: 1992).

Meanwhile, the use of coercion is conducted by threatening, injuring, even killing the others who do not follow their willingness. (Gramschi, 1971; Simon, 2000). The potential physical strength possessed by the youth organizations in North Sumatra becomes the advantage as well as weakness that can be exploited by the legislative candidates. At the 2014 election in the electoral district of North Sumatra 1, there were some of the legislative candidates who are the members or officials of youth organizations at national and regional level. Their presence would have some implications for the seizure of a voting base which is believed to provide some votes. Therefore, they will try to get the same support from the figures and leaders of the organizations.

Table 1.
List of Parliament Candidates from the Electoral District of North Sumatera 1 who have a relation with PP, IPK, and FKPPI in North Sumatera

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Irmadi Lubis</td>
<td>PDIP</td>
<td>Pemuda Pancasila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mueta Hafid</td>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>Pemuda Pancasila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Leo Nababan</td>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>Ikatan Pemuda Karya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Hardi Mulyono</td>
<td>Golkar</td>
<td>Pemuda Pancasila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ruhut Poltak Sitompul</td>
<td>Demokrat</td>
<td>Pemuda Pancasila &amp; FKPPI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Hasrul Azwar</td>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Pemuda Pancasila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nurdin Tampubolon</td>
<td>Hanura</td>
<td>Pemuda Pancasila &amp; FKPPI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: research results, 2014.
Leaders of youth organizations such as Pemuda Pancasila, IPK, and FKPPI argue that the youth organizations' participation in the 2014 elections in North Sumatra is a must. The real form of this participation is by supporting the Parliament candidates with some agreed criteria by the leaders of the organizations. In general, the relationship exists uses the same pattern in all youth organizations. Therefore, the explanation which will be written is not conducted in any youth organizations for the reason of similar pattern. The relations that exist between the parliament candidates will be described in the following section.

The provided support is by participating in helping the Parliament candidates in their campaigns, giving some orders to the organizations' members to vote for the supported candidates, and influencing other voters to vote for the candidates. In order to ensure the support given to the Parliament candidates in accordance with the number of votes to be obtained, the leaders of the youth organizations should design the winning work mechanism.

"... We, in Pemuda Pancasila, made an order to all members of the organization from the branch (cabang) until the sub-branch (ranting) level. Any activities by the orders would be obeyed as there would be a suspension from the organization. We only have the only mechanism to the members that is an order. At the period of General Election ago, we mainly supported the cadres of PP, then the others if there were no cadres to be supported. We firstly made a commitment with the candidates, if we did not so, there would be no benefits for us (MPW Leader of PP of North Sumatra)." An interview in August 8, 2014.

A commitment that exists between a leader of a youth organization with a legislative candidate is in the form of votes, socialization, and the post-election activities. A leader is asked to vote for the supported candidate. To get votes, the candidate will fund any activities related to socialization. After being elected as the member of Parliament, the supported candidate should always assist the operation of the organization in general and the interests of the leader related to its personal matters.

"... We need to participate in the election as our organization's activities also need to be conducted because we also need to know what is the work of the Parliament. Do not vote for the candidate who does not want to know the youth. The candidate should know that FKPPI was also established by the government, especially by the Armed Forces (ABRI) at the time. So, you should support the candidate. However, each of them has know the tradition (a Leader of FKPPI of North Sumatra). "An interview on August 9, 2014.

A candidate who wants the votes from the members of the youth organizations will meet one of the figures of one of the youth organizations who still has influence power. After the meeting, the candidate makes a deal with the leader of the youth organization to get the votes. To ensure the relation is in accordance with the agreement, it will depend on the length of introduction and relationship that have been done. The longer the relation occurs without any party feels disappointed, the nearer the certainty of the agreement will be obeyed by both parties. The leader of youth organization does not sufficiently consider the track record of the supported candidate. The reasons of providing the support is only on the basis of existing relation conducted by the parties as well as the funding support which by the candidate who will be supported.

The candidates who will be supported by youth organizations will listen the leaders the organizations about the potetial votes which can be obtained. The explanation is very important for the candidates in order to ensure the votes they want to obtain. The organizational structure spreaded ranging from the provincial to the sub-district level, the
number of members owned, and the influence of the figures and the leaders of organizations are the important considerations for the candidates to approach the youth organizations in North Sumatra. In addition to the votes, the candidates also need a security assistance in their electoral district at every stage of the election. Therefore, when the candidates meet the leaders of youth organizations, they expect the number of real votes in their electoral areas.

"... My relationship with the senior figures as well as the leaders of the youth organizations like PP had been established for a long time. So, it is not only on this election, but for decades. I met with them and asked for help to make me win. They also would help me by giving some orders to the members to create some activities, introduced me to be voted. They have a lot of members. I only kept approaching them and giving some orders (A legislative candidate of the Parliament form the electoral district of North Sumatera 1)." An interview on August 15, 2014.

Every youth organization does not only support to one candidate but also to several candidates even from the same electoral district. Related to the support given, the leaders of youth organizations determine the priorities to whom the support is given. The consideration of the priority is the good relationship that has existed so far and not on the basis of programs offered especially for the achievements of the candidates in the district. The better the mutual relationship, the higher the priority. In addition, the funding factor is the second consideration to determine the support priority. The smaller the fund, the smaller the priority scale given to obtain the votes for the candidates.

The support by the leaders of the youth organizations to the candidates of the Parliament in the Electoral District of North Sumatra 1 is given consistently. The consideration of priority scale and activity transaction decided by the leaders of youth organizations becomes the guidelines in carrying out its programs. A mutual and transactional relationship become an important consideration by the leaders of youth organizations in providing support to the candidates of the Parliament in the electoral district of North Sumatra 1. Both forms of those relationships are important from the implementation of the real support from the leaders of youth organizations to their members.

"... I attended some of the activities that made together with PP. I also provided funding for that activity. The event is, well, ... their internal, I presented there and was introduced to them. Then, gave some prizes and distributed the leaflets. At that event, the leaders of PP of the regional, branch, until the sub-branch offices attended. There were not many people attend, only the important officials and members of the organization. That's the explanation from regional management (A legislative candidate of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatera 1)." An interview on July 24, 2014.

On the election day, after conducting a socialization, the members of youth organizations assigned by their each leaders, would stay in the polling stations in a rotation basis according to the list given. Not only to secure, but also to visit the houses around the polling stations, asking the surrounding voters to come to the polling station and vote the candidates. Some of them were also given the task to be the members of the Polling Station Committee (KPPS). It is important for members of the youth organizations carrying out the orders from the leaders of the organizations. If the votes obtained met the specified target, the members of the organizations who finished their tasks well were given some special appreciation such as, money, positions that can make money, and other tasks.

"... We have a special style in giving orders to all members of the organization. We give them (the members of the organization) something to eat, so they must be able to
execute the orders from the organization. If they are unable to execute the orders, they will be fired. In contrast, they will be awarded if they are able to execute the orders well. At the polling station, the members are given some responsibilities. How many votes they can give to the supported candidates. It must be clear once we want to give a support (A leader of IPK Medan).” An interview on June 19, 2014.

The loyalty of the members of organizations to their leaders becomes the main indicator to determine the implementation of the commands. The loyalty is also what makes the organization can operate continuously. The dependence of the members on their leaders and organizations is based on their subsistence. The youth organizations such as Pemuda Pancasila (PP), Ikatan Pemuda Karya (IPK) and the Forum Komunikasi Putera-Puteri Purnawirawan Indonesia (FKPPI) for the majority of its members, are being the one of the institutions to fulfill their members' needs. On that basis, the members give their loyalty to the leaders and institutions.

Not all of the legislative candidates who make the agreement get a full-support from the leaders of the youth organizations. Those who were successful in the election are due to their closed emotional relationship and by the fulfillment of the required materials to the members of the youth organizations. The materials needs required are not only limited to the election event, but it continues over time without seeing the substance of the needs of the members, administrators and leaders of the youth organizations. In addition to the emotional relationship exists, not all levels of youth organizations obey the commands from the upper structure or not all commands from the provincial organizations were obeyed by the officials in the district / city until the branch offices.

Each leaders of the organizations in every level has its own considerations in giving a support to the legislative candidates. Various motives and reasons that led to the differentiation of support from the leaders of youth organizations. On that basis, there must be a special treatment from a legislative candidate to get the sympathy and support from the leaders of youth organizations in district / city level. Like Irmadi Lubis, who has an agreement with Pemuda Pancasila of Medan City, obtained a large number of votes in the bases promised by the leaders of Pemuda Pancasila of Medan and Deli Serdang. However, he did not obtain the same results in Serdang Bedagai and Tebing Tinggi. Therefore, in this first category, the emotional relationships and transactions in the form of money and support (giving and receiving) become the forms of the most powerful relationship between the candidates of the Parliament form the Electoral District of North Sumatra 1 with the leaders of youth organizations.

The little interactions between the candidates with leaders of youth organizations has led to the failure to obtain the expected votes. Not all leaders of youth organizations consider the idea and the track record of the candidates to be offered to all members of the organization following its network performance. There's always an emotional relationship that has existed a long time before an important consideration to give support. Ramadhan Pohan, a candidate of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1, tried to offer some deals to one of the leaders of youth organizations to obtain the votes in the agreed location. Ramadhan then approved the request of leaders of youth organizations except giving money directly to get votes. Ramadhan only provided assistances in the form of meeting consumptions and properties needed for distribution to the members of the organization and its network. As a result, Ramadhan did not get many votes in the agreed areas and was not elected as the Parliament member for 2014-2019 period.

Different things experienced by Ruhut, who had an agreement with Pemuda Pancasila and FKPPI directly with leaders of youth organizations in the village or neighborhood level,
without going through those Regional Officials of North Sumatra. The deal was conducted directly with the leaders on sub-branch level (neighborhood level) without the element of leader above it. Ruhut and the successful team conducted a very strict monitoring to the agreements with several leaders of youth organizations directly in the village or neighborhood level. The result is that Ruhut obtained enough votes in the area that became the basis of his campaign. Although the level of popularity of Ruhut is very high due to the majority of voters know him very much but Ruhut executed a very strict winning strategie to ensure the expected votes obtained.

All of the three sources mentioned above, separately, explain that the structure of youth organizations in North Sumatra (Pemuda Pancasila, IPK, and FKPPI) that has been formed up to the village or neighborhood level, enable them to offer a cooperation to each candidate in order to obtain the votes in the election. Not all levels in youth organizations follow the directions or orders of from the leaders, though the top leadership of the organizations always give a direction or order in directing the members. That situation occurred because of the diversity of interests that exist amongst the leaders of the youth organizations that are not always in accordance with the wishes of the members of the organization.

The entanglement of youth generation as a member of the organizations with its institutions, almost entirely, is based only on the fulfillment of daily needs. There are some members of the youth organizations earn money by giving the security services and become the parking attendants in certain areas. It is rarely found that a member of the youth organization who is active in organizational activities is based on his/her devotion to social activities that can increase the dignity of the youth. For this reason, the members of the youth organizations find some difficulties to carry out the directions or orders from the leaders if there will not be accompanied by material benefits in accordance with the orders.

The involvement of the youth in the election should encourage them to have a deal with the legislative candidates to have more concern on the activities of the youth organizations. The figures, leaders, and members of youth organizations are expected to ask all candidates who have an agreement should become a part of the life and death of youth organizations. So that the regeneration of the elite of the political parties, which have one of its sources from the youth organizations, can take place on an ongoing basis in quantity and quality. The leaders of youth organizations must ensure that they have a representative in the Parliament who seriously concerns to the youth development activities in the region. The aspirations from the youth in the region will quickly get a response from the policy makers in the legislative or executive.

The agreements made should not always be done on the basis of transactional but should consider more on the thought or idea to minimize the problems faced by the youth in the region. The regeneration of political figures needs to improve the welfare of the society can only be obtained if the source of recruitment occurs naturally. The natural level is related to the common needs as the priority not to the personal, group or class needs. The activities of youth organizations in North Sumatra in political activities are expected to increase participation in the public policy making process in its position as the perpetrators, observers, or beneficiaries. Therefore, the form of transaction that should be done by the leaders of youth organizations is to look at the idea and the track record of the supported candidates to get votes for them. The better the considered idea, the opinion and the track record, the more support should be given. If the idea, opinion, and track record become a major consideration in giving the support, the regeneration process of the political elite in the local and national levels will run in the excellent quality.
The success of maintaining the members base of the organization, the established commitment with the candidates is conducted on the basis of different interests amongst the officials of Pemuda Pancasila. The relation exists between leaders of youth organizations with candidates was done on the basis of mutual relations (Sidel, 2005). On the one hand, the youth organizations want to retain access to get the local government resources. While on the other hand, the candidates of the Parliament needs power to obtain the votes from the youth organizations through various activities.

The selected candidates should provide assistances to the management of youth organizations to get "something" of any wanted information. For this reason, the elected candidates of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 should help leaders of youth organizations in order to secure the power in the region. In order to maintain the interests of political and economic access to it, the management of youth organizations in North Sumatra must establish relationships with various influencing parties. The closeness of the officials of youth organization with almost all of the candidates for Parliament has been established for a long time in North Sumatra. The relationship between them is on the basis of mutual benefit. Each organization's leaders understand the interests of related activities carried out. The Mutual Relationship Pattern is presented in the following figure:

![Mutual Relationship Pattern](source: Research results, 2012)

**Fig2. The Mutual Relationship Pattern**

The voting results obtained by the elected candidates of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 are the collective efforts both from the successful team and the strength of the figure. The youth organizations (PP, IPK, and FKPPI) in North Sumatra become a part of the successful team which also conducted a series of winning activities. The pattern of long-standing relationships between the youth organizations with the candidates of the Parliament becomes a quite-strong capital to help the supported candidates to win. The communion between them makes it easier to direct the members of youth organizations in each of the winning activities.
The pattern of mutual relationship occurs without considering the track record of supported candidates of the Parliament. The important factor that becomes the basis of pattern of the relationship is the mutual and transactional relationship that occurs between the giver and the receiver of the support in the form of money power. The pattern of mutual relationship that can take place continuously since the election system is conducted based on the most votes. Those who have money and relationship that have been established so far is one of the party who receives the benefit from youth organizations in North Sumatra. The leaders of youth organizations only try to build and maintain the new network in the attempt to get the access to powers and resources from the elected members of the Parliament. The spreading network is no longer controlled by the Jakarta elites in a centralized system but the cadres and leaders of youth organizations have to re-arrange themselves in the form of a mutual and transactional relationship. The implementation of the 2014 election, seen from the participation of youth organizations, is very much allow them to maximize the political and economic advantages. The results of this study have some relevances to the ongoing debate about the directions and characteristics of democracy in Indonesia (Ryter, 1998).

The relationship pattern formed by the figures of youth organizations is characterized by the presence of mutual coalition. The Coalition is working to establish access to the state powers and local resources in a way to rationalize the importance of money to the people who need them. The new relationship pattern grows when the electoral system is possible for the constellation of relative power is controlled by the interests of the elites of youth organizations.

5. CONCLUSION

The growth of various society organizations in North Sumatra Province indicates the high concern and participation in political and social activities, especially for the implementation of the General Election. Although there are 46 OKP registered in North Sumatra but only Pemuda Pancasila (PP), Ikatan Pemuda Karya (IPK), and Forum Komunikasi Putra-Putri Purnawirawan TNI (FKPPI) which have the organizational infrastructures, activities and members known by the majority of society in North Sumatra and are not affiliated with any political parties. The Electoral District of North Sumatera 1 for the Parliament (DPR), which includes Medan City, Deli Serdang District, Serdang Bedagai District, and Tebing Tinggi City, presents 119 legislative candidates from 12 contesting political parties in 2014 election. The final results of the general election on 9 April 2014 had chosen 10 of 119 legislative candidates in the electoral district of North Sumatra 1. Only four people who were re-elected for the Parliament members in 2014-2019 period.

Through the figures of youth organizations, the majority of legislative candidates seek to meet and expect to get the support from the organizations. The support is that the figures and the leaders order the members of their organizations to vote for the candidates and to increase the votes. In addition, to minimize frauds occur at the polling stations, the leaders of the youth organizations are believed to have an ability to give orders to their cadres to maintain the votes. Not only maintaining, but more than that by conducting any ways to increase the votes including threatening.

The candidates of the Parliament from the electoral district of North Sumatra 1 establish a relation with youth organizations in various ways. The transaction conducted by the figures of youth organizations is by providing the votes for the candidates with some requirements such as funds for the operational activities of the winning operations and assistance for the organizations and for the personal matters of the figures of the organizations.
The relationship pattern formed by the figures of youth organizations is characterized by the presence of mutual coalition (symbiotic mutualism). The coalition is working to establish an access to the state powers and local resources by rationalizing the importance of money to the people who need it. The new relationship pattern grows when the electoral system is possible for the constellation of relative power is controlled by the interests of the elite of youth organizations.

**Suggestions**

a. The role of youth organizations in the momentum and the arena of democracy such as the general election should prioritize the principles of autonomy and independence, so that the organizations are not divided by the conflict of interest, either in the form of a vertical conflict (between the top-level with the lower-level officials) as well as horizontal conflict (amongst the members in the same management level).

b. One of the regeneration processes of the political leadership is sourced from the youth organizations which should be done in the form of internalization of the nationalism, religiosity, inclusiveness, and moral corruption values (Quimpo, 2007), so that in the momentum of the event of democracy the youth generation is not used as a "fertilizer" of the practice of money politics by the interests that are on the side of justice. The relationship in the provision of political support conducted transactionally becomes the beginning of corruption in the executive and legislative institutions, both in the central and regional institutions. The transactions prioritize the power of money as a marker that the process of political recruitment in the general election consists of money politics practices. In order to break the cycle, it is important to clean the soul of the youth generation to resist to various forms of corruption inherited by the previous generation of politicians.

c. The central and local government should pay more attention to the development of the potential of youth, such as, by creating some programs that can provide the right political education for the youth, and also by creating the youth generation as an agent of change who has the spirit of patriotism and responsibility, either through educational institutions or society organizations.

**REFERENCES**


