

Labor, Participation and Local Election: Analysis the Defeat of Obon Tabroni as Independent Candidate in Bekasi Local Election on 2017

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Abstract: This study discusses the defeat of Obon Tabroni in the simultaneous elections held in Bekasi District in 2017. In a local election, there were five candidates for regent and vice regent, and two of them through independent path. Obon Tabroni was the representative of the trade union FSPMI who used the independent way. However, unions and laborers who support the Obon Tabroni partner in the regent's nomination in Bekasi 2017, did not guarantee that all support and votes were given to Obon. It is evident that when the election ended on February 15, 2017, Obon and his partner declared their failure. This article uses the qualitative method to find out what factors make the laborers' representatives lose in the 2017 election in Bekasi Regency. As the conclusion, four factors influence the defeat of Obon Tabroni as labor representatives in election 2017. First, less popularity of Obon Tabroni among Bekasi regency community. Second, the fraud of other candidates used money politics. Third, the number of voters who did not vote. Fourth, the voice of the union was divided and the lack of solid voice of the workers and also lack of political experience from the workers.

1 INTRODUCTION

The trade union movement was undergoing significant changes, one of it was the shift from a more democratic political environment. Since the beginning of the 1998 Reformation era, the movement of the trade unions in Indonesia has become one of several powerful political forces toward the election in Bekasi regency, West Java. The era of workers in politics has already begun, this time was a total workforce entirely into the political world by appointing Obon Tobroni as his candidate in the elections through an independent (individual) path. The reason Obon used the independent path was to avoid the interests of political parties. Obon Tabroni as a representative of the workers in the elections of Bekasi Regency got some support from several unions in Bekasi Regency. This support came from Federation of Indonesian Metal Workers Union (FSPMI), National Workers Union (SPN), Federation of Industrial Workers (FKI) and other unions under the Indonesian Trade Union Confederation (KSPI). The support of the four unions to Obon as the nomination of the Regent in Bekasi Regency 2017 did not guarantee the victory of Obon and Sumaryono.

From the total number of voters, 3,958 voting place (TPS) in Bekasi, Obon, and Sumaryono split into the third place with 207,940 total votes. Based on the above problem statement, some questions arise; First, why the union could not win Obon Tabroni in the local elections of Bekasi in 2017? Second, what factors caused the defeat of Obon Tabroni in the local elections of Bekasi in 2017?

2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

The defeat of Obon Tabroni which was the representative of the workers can be profoundly analyzed by using several concepts and theories;

2.1 The Concept of Political Power and Interest Groups

In its understanding, political power is a socio-cultural group that tries to influence the process of making and political decisions made by the government. This group will influence the decisions

made regarding their interests. The effort carried out by this group is usually by using all sources of power owned through available and effective channels. Groups that have political power will usually mobilize all sources of power to the maximum and choose the right channel as a platform to channel their aspirations and interests. According to Miriam Budiardjo, political power is an individual or an organization that is an actor and capable of playing a role in political life. These people are individuals or groups that have an element of interest and aim to influence the decision-making process in the political system. One group belonging to the political power group is a trade union. Basically, trade unions are organizations formed from, by, and for workers or laborers both in companies and outside companies that are free, open, independent, democratic and responsible for defending the rights and interests of workers and their families (Budiardjo, 2008.)

While the interest group is a structural group or a political institution that functions as a delivery of demands that have an interest. According to Almond and Powell the interest group is a group of individuals who are connected with a bond of interests or benefits who consciously share the interests. The form of an interest group can be in the form of unions, associations, ties or community organizations. The effectiveness of an interest group in channeling its interests depends on issues that are being developed by the government. In addition, the success of the interest group depends on how the group directs the support, energy and strength of the members of the group. Examples include financial strength, number of members, political skills, organizational unity, and group achievements in the eyes of the general public or in the eyes of the government. Therefore, at least representatives of these interest groups must struggle to raise the interests and demands of the group so that they can be made into the State agenda. Because each group has different interests Gabriel A. Almond Bingham G. Powell divides the interest group into four types. First, the anomic group, this group formed spontaneously and only immediately, so the activities carried out by this group were only fleeting and did not have clear rules. The two non-associational groups, this group is not neatly organized and its activities are only sometimes. The three groups are associational, this group is a neatly organized group and through clear procedures. And the fourth is the institutional group, this group is formal, organized and organized. This group consists of professionals in their fields and has a clear working structure (Haniah & Azmy, 2016).

2.2 Political Participation

Political participation is an activity of an individual or group of organizations, participating in political activity by choosing a state leader directly or indirectly to influence government policy by voting in an election. Some factors that affect political participation are; first, political awareness of the government or its political system of citizens' rights and duties, in particular, political rights, economic rights, legal protection rights, economic obligations, and social obligations. Second, concerning how is the assessment and appreciation of government policy and its implementation. The high and low of these two factors are influenced by other factors such as social status and economic status, political affiliation of parents and organizational experience. What is meant by social status is the position of a person in society based on wealth, it can be known from income, expenditure, or ownership of valuable objects. Someone who has a high social status and economic status not only has political knowledge, but they also have political interest and attention and trust in the government (Ramlan, 1992). Milbarth and Goel share three forms of political participation, the first categories are Gladiators, those who are actively involved in a political process as communicators with the particular task of making face-to-face contact, party or organizational activists, and campaign workers. Second, is the Spectator, meaning those who have at least voted in the elections. Third is apathy; it is the people who do not participate and withdraw from the political process (Ramlan, 1992).

Furthermore, according to Myron Weiner, there are five factors that can influence one's political participation, namely first, Modernization in all fields that have implications for the commercialization of agriculture, industrialization, rising levels of education, increasing urbanization flows, widespread role of mass media and communication media. second, changes in essential class structures such as the emergence of the middle class and new workers are increasingly widespread in the era of industrialization. Their emergence, of course, will be accompanied by the arrival of new demands that will influence the policies of the government. Third, the influence of intellectuals and the role of the mass media. The ideas of nationalism, liberalism, and egalitarianism arouse demands to participate in determining decision making. Widespread mass media communication facilitates citizen participation in political life. Fourth, there is conflict between political leaders. political leaders fighting over power, often seeking mass support. In

this case, there is often participation and mobilization. Fifth, there is government involvement in social, economic and cultural affairs. Widespread scope of government often stimulates the growth of organized demands to participate in influencing any public policy making (Sudjono, 1995).

The political participation of the workers in this pilkada is influenced by many factors, the current situation makes the workers feel aggrieved by the policies made by the government. With the mediocre conditions of the labor economy and increasing urbanization and the emergence of many new forces within the trade unions, the workers are stimulated to participate in political activities.

2.3 Voter Behaviour

The beginning of the emergence of sociological approaches in the tradition of voter behavior developed in Europe and America in 1950 and was built on the assumption that voter behavior was determined by the sociological characteristics of voters. Especially seen from the existence of social classes, religion, education and ethnic groups. In the sociological approach there is a core that influences voter behavior, namely that every voter has an awareness of his rights in an election. Because the results of this election will determine a public policy that will affect him and the community at large. But unfortunately most of these people are usually relative to educated people or business people. This means that on average Indonesian people will choose their prospective leaders by looking at the candidate's educational background. The more titles or the more titles held by the candidate pair will influence the choice of the voter. Conversely, educated voters will study the candidate pairs they will choose so that they are not mistaken in choosing the candidate for the regional head. In addition to educated people, what affects a person to participate in the election is the existence of work, because most people who do not have a job tend to be more focused on how to find a job than to participate in the election. In addition, voter behavior is determined also by the existence of religion and internal and external organizations, because with the existence of this organization they are easier to get information. With these organizations they will be more easily contacted and communicate with people or groups who have these interests. Because it is impossible for a candidate or member of the House of Representatives to come to the residents one by one of their homes to collect their votes. Moreover, most of the Indonesian people, religion is the most important thing in the course of a

life and politics. Especially in this case is choosing a prospective leader, and the first thing that is usually seen by the community is the religion adopted by the candidate. Is it the same as the majority community in general, or vice versa. As a country with a high population level of Muslims, of course people who are predominantly Muslim will certainly prefer candidates for officials who are also Muslims. Similarly, if seen from the sociological approach, a voter can be seen from his background, for example like a worker. In Europe workers prefer socialist parties or labor parties to other parties, because they believe that the workers' party will pay attention to the socio-economic conditions of the workers. So, basically social approaches ranging from education, work, background and religion greatly influence the formation of voter behaviour (Agustino & Yusoff, 2009).

Second, The psychological approach is a model of approach that is seen from the personality of a person who is a variable that can determine its political behavior. In the psychological approach emphasizes on several aspects that affect a person's psychological impact on politics, these aspects are emotional in a political party or class and orientation towards the candidate. In the psychological approach itself, the behavior of choosing a voter can be detected using the following two concepts. Namely: First, the concept of Political Involvement, is a feeling that assesses itself as an important factor or not to be involved in general political issues. Second, is party identification (party identification) which is a feeling of liking an individual towards one political party or one particular group.

In the psychological approach can be seen the behavior of voters who do have an interest that comes from the bottom of their hearts, meaning that someone has a high awareness of the importance of elections and tends to see the positive meaning of involvement in the election can affect public policy. Conversely, someone who does not have interest in politics tends to be an apathetic citizen. Apathy here is intended that the citizen will not care about the election, because for him the election only benefits a few elites and does not benefit him the reality is very different from the daily reality.

In addition, partisans are also very influential in a psychological approach to voter behavior. Participants are a state of psychology in which a person feels close and has a responsibility for a particular party or group. In partisan, voter behavior will tend to choose a party or group where he is, therefore he tends to follow the election.

In elections, voters usually also see a candidate or candidate to be elected. Usually voter behavior sees the candidate from a vision and mission or the existence of a social closeness between the voter and the candidate. The behavior of voters usually tends to choose candidates that he knows or indeed have blood relations with the candidate compared to other candidates. However, most people who have public problem information will be more inclined to choose candidates compared to people who are less informed. (Aminudin, *Perilaku Politik Indonesia*, 2011). Furthermore, partisan are also very influential in a psychological approach to voter behavior. Participants are a psychological state in which a person feels close and has responsibility for a particular party or group. Partisan voter's behavior tends to choose a party or a group where he is involved; he tends to follow the election.

The third choice In political science, it is known as the rational choice approach or what we often hear as Rational Choise. A rational choice is a voter's behavior by calculating maximum profits by issuing minimal fees. So, if someone gets the same result from the election, even if he or she does not participate in the election, the citizen will not follow the election. Because in principle they assume that if you can get the same thing with other citizens without wasting time and energy, why does warus issue it. This approach model gives attention to the dynamics of political economy in terms of personal and collective aspects. For example, if the condition of the voting household is below the current government with good conditions, then the voters will take part in the election and re-elect the candidate to return to office. But on the contrary, if the condition of the voters under the administration of the candidate deteriorates, then voters tend not to care about the election or will reject the government for the second time by choosing other candidates. Unlike the previous assumption of Rational Choice Theory. In this model, participants are people who learn adaptively from their previous experiences, so they choose or do not choose based on previous experience in the election whether it is beneficial or not for themselves. This was a revision of the Rational Choice Theory about Voting which was developed by the Riker and Ordeshook in 1973. According to the Riker and Ordeshook one would participate in the election if the cost of C to do that was less than the profit B obtained from the participation. Then multiplied the perception of the importance of her participation in winning candidates who supported her and the obligation of a citizen to participate D. If

not, then the person might not participate in the election.

Because basically in this rational approach, voters will choose candidates who benefit themselves if they are seen to be able to fulfill or help their interests (siteally). This means that voters will choose candidates who are considered promising benefits to themselves and their families. A rational voter is not interested in the political concept of the candidate or party, but the voter sees the biggest advantage he gets from the candidate or party. Voters will know how the party or candidate has helped achieve the desires of the voters and does not need information that is too detailed and accurate, but enough to perceive the economic situation of himself and his family during the reign of the government. Conversely, if voters feel that their social and economic conditions are worse than before, then voters tend to punish the government by not re-choosing it and choosing other potential opponents.(Saiful, Liddle, & Ambardi, 2008).

3 PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR OF LABOR IN BEKASI LOCAL ELECTION 2017

The defeat of ObonTabroni and his partner in the 2017 election in Bekasi is an interesting phenomenon. Throughout 2014 the total number of workers in Bekasi Regency was 1,295,552. Based on the data, the type of livelihood of Bekasi society is mostly in the industrial sector which reaches up to 468,883 people(Establishment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law On the Election of Governor, Mayor, Regent, 2016). From the analysis of the authors, shows that the political participation of the workers is still somewhat less. ObonTabroni who became the representative of the workers advanced as a candidate for regent by using an independent path. However, not all unions agree with the nomination of Obon as a candidate for the election of the local regent. It is obvious when Obon was declared lost in the electoral last time. There are several reasons why the union voice could not win ObonTabroni.

3.1 Lack of Solidarity between Trade Unions

The lack of solidarity between the unions in Bekasi is the main reason for the defeat of ObonTabroni and his spouse in the elections of Bekasi Regency in 2017.

Based on the results of the interview with Timboel Siregar as observers of labor politics (Siregar, 2018), he explained that the division of trade union voices in Bekasi Regency was due to the ego of each union leader. In Bekasi District, not all unions join the confederation that followed by FSPMI. There are about 14 confederations, 112 federations, and thousands of enterprise-level unions that each has a different ideology. From the fragmentation of the union's voice made the workers seem solid. It makes the voice of the workers weak, the weak approach of the workers' position to democracy-based politics, leaving the workers in decline and unable to effectively take advantage of the existing political space. The impact of this disagreement resulted in the division of the Obon voice which was quite large at the time of the vote.

Amir Mahfuzh as the winning team of the Obon pair explained that the difference of opinion was the reason why the voice of the workers was unable to win the Obon and his partner. If only during the 2017 elections, the workers' voices were united, it was not impossible to win the Obon and their partners. Because basically the voice of workers in Bekasi regency is almost around 30% who have voting rights in the 2017 elections, so it is quite high and is considered capable of winning the Obon pair. However, in reality in the last 2017 election some unions chose not to choose Obon and their partners. If only Obon Tabroni and pairya were elected as regents, there were at least representatives of workers who could influence public policy so that the access of trade unions to the welfare of their members would be more easily accepted in the government. So it is very unfortunate, the workers do not understand this (Mahfuzh, 2018).

3.2 Split of the Unions

Agus Ahmad Sudrajat as a chairman of Federal Industrial Workers (FKI) (Sudrajat, 2018), Agus Ahmad Sudrajat as general chairman of the Federal Industrial Workers (FKI). He stated that the vote split from the trade union was one of the factors that made Obon Tabroni lose in the 2017 elections. This is because the workers in the 2017 elections then have their respective affiliations that cannot be regulated or contested by anyone. In the 2017 pilkada, the psychological approach emphasizes on several aspects that affect the psychological impact of some workers on politics, these aspects are emotional in a political party or class and orientation towards the candidate. One of the causes of workers' voices is divided, that is, first because of the existence of labor

activists who become party activists. The intention of labor activists as well as party activists is that many members of the trade unions should vote for the Obon pair, but because they are also members of their party they also have to secure the votes of the parties they follow. Because, the workers themselves recognize that party doctrine is earlier than the trade union doctrine itself. For example in the South Tambun region where the FSPMI union is the basis of the PKS party, it is possible that the workers around Tambun Selatan are members of the PKS, the PKS party is the party that nominates Sadudidan Ahmad Dhani. So, it is not impossible for workers to tend to choose their party rather than their union. This is due to psychological and sociological factors.

In addition, Agus Ahmad Sudrajat also stated that in fact the lack of solidarity of the workers had been seen from the collection of KTP, because the regulations stipulated by the KPU for nomination as independent candidates must have approximately 6.5% of the total number of votes. ID cards collected from the workers themselves are only about 30% of the votes of workers who have the right to vote in the election. This clearly shows an indication of the lack of solidarity of the workers. Although in theory the trade unions will not lose, because from the discussion of Obon-supporting unions, target 400 thousand votes for the Obon pair from the voices of the workers alone. However, in reality the lack of solidarity of the workers made Obon's voice lost in the third rank. This weakness is an obstacle for trade unions in Indonesia, especially in Bekasi Regency. (Establishment of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law On the Election of Governor, Mayor, Regent, 2016). Timboel Siregar, a political observer of labor, said that if the unions in Bekasi district can build a high level of cooperation and solidarity for the common good, then it is impossible for ObonTabronito lose to the 2017 election (Siregar, 2018).

3.3 The Existence of the Betrayal of FSPMI Itself

Third, there is a betrayal factor from the body of FSPMI itself. This was stated by Obon to the author during the interview. Obon stated that there were indeed several members who had betrayed him in the voting process. This is due to the issues of the opponent's candidate pair who made the vote from FSPMI lost around 2-3%. The following is a short excerpt from Obon. *"There are, but if there is no publicly available, the name of the supporter is in the lure of something, the person just wants it. So, yesterday the team was a lot because they saw me. If*

the rest, there is an intention to nominate the voice and I also know who the person is. If I am not a problem, the sound convolution means that it is not true and not a vision and mission anymore.

Based on the statement of Obon Tabroni above we can see the Rational Choice approach or the rational choice of the workers. Rational choice is a voter's behavior by calculating the maximum profit by issuing minimal fees. Rational voters are not interested in the political concept of the candidate or party. No matter whether Obon is a labor representative or not, from this rational approach, voters only see the biggest advantage he gets from the candidate or party he chooses. As a result, this factor is a significant factor in its impact. Because this not only results in loss of voice for the Obon pair and moves the voice of the independent candidate to another candidate pair. However, it was also seen that the voices of the workers themselves were divided and less solid until the voice of the trade unions was unable to win the Obon Tabroni pair who became representatives of the workers in Bekasi Regency (Tabroni, 2018).

3.4 The Lack of Political Education among the Workers

Muhamad Noor as chairman of the national trade union (SPN) stated that most of the worker's routines are; going to work, going home, taking rest until the next day, back to work and repeat. Because most of their time spent in the factory for work, they have less understanding of the importance of politics. Their concern for political participation is low that it tends to be apathetic (Noor, 2018). According to RamlanSurbakti, there are two essential variables influence the level of political participation. First, political awareness of the government or it is political system regarding the rights and obligations of citizens. Such as political rights, economic rights, legal protection rights, economic and social obligations. Second, concerning how to assess and appreciate government policies and their implementation. This factor becomes ineffective because influenced by other factors such as social status, economic status, parental political affiliation, and organizational experience. What is meant by social status is one's position in society by wealth; from income, expenditure, or possession of precious objects. Someone with high social and economic status has not only political knowledge but also have political interests and concerns (Ramlan, 1992).

In addition, mostly the community and workers in Bekasi Regency see the candidate from sociological

factors. It is because the voters are more familiar with the background and the results of its performance like Sadudin as a former Regent in the period 2007-2012 and Neneng who became the previous regent. It is the reason of Obon and his partner lost the third rated of the votes from the two pairs of the other candidates. We can see from the number of voters who voted Obon; the majority come from the workers, especially labor unions FSPMI.

Beside several reasons above, some factors caused the defeat of ObonTabroni in the local election of Bekasi on 2017 are;

3.4.1 Lack of the Existence of ObonTabroni among Society and Workers

Based on the results of the interview with the author of the source ObonTabroni, Obon is the first candidate regent in the history of elections in Bekasi District carried by the workers. Obon is famous among the workers and trade unions. However, in his candidacy as a candidate, Obon regent charged to existence in the eyes of the public of Bekasi because a selection process needs publicity from the candidate. The relevance popularity pairs of candidates can promote the candidates to the community. When people have already known the candidates, the trust from the voters will arise. Track Record of the candidate pair is also able to increase public confidence in the candidate (Tabroni, 2018).

3.4.2 Money Politics among Workers and Society

Money politics in the election is like thorns in the flesh. Almost everyone knows that money politics often exists in every election, but it is difficult to eradicate its existence. Also, it takes hard work to minimize money politics in every election in Indonesia. The issue of money politics is no stranger to be heard in Indonesia; even this phenomenon has often occurred in Indonesia with their respective levels. Based on interviews with Yanto as a chairman of the political desk of FSPMI, he stated that in Bekasi regency, money politics and the distribution of basic foods at the time of general election is still prevalent and demanding to be eliminated. It means that people in Bekasi Regency tend to be pragmatic in this local election.

Pragmatism is the behavior among the public as well as workers voicing their interests over a moment that rationally benefits them and their families (Yanto, 2018). Based on the results of the interviews it is obvious that the community and the workers

prefer the candidate who gives money or another kind of it if they can get what they want they will give their votes to the prospective couple. The form of money politic also diverse; some give subtly such as giving public facilities, the distribution of basic foods, shirts, some even openly give cash to voters on the grounds as a substitute for food, transport, and support.

3.4.3 Voters Who Decide to Did Not Vote

Based on the data taken by the writer, one of the factors of Obon Tabroni's defeat in the 2017 election in Bekasi was the number of voters who did not use their voting rights. It can be seen from the calculation results of the Bekasi District Election Commission which stated that around 39.1% of the people of Bekasi regency did not use their voting rights (KPU Kabupaten Bekasi, 2017). Based on the results of the author's interviews with the speakers, several factors influenced the low political participation of the community and workers in Bekasi Regency which made the community and workers apathetic. The interviewee stated that: First, separate invitations made voters reluctant to come to the polling station. Second, voters who did not want to vote because they felt disadvantaged by the existing candidate pairs. Third, community and labor apathy emerged from the disappointment in the absence of significant changes in the effort to improve their welfare. In the end, the disappointment of society and workers gave to the candidates, political parties, and organizations by not choosing anyone. Neither the candidates nor the proponent could influence the voters to give their votings rights (Tabroni, 2018).

4 CONCLUSIONS

There are several reasons why union votes could not win ObonTabroni and his spouse in the 2017 election in Bekasi Regency:

First, the lack of solidarity between trade unions in Bekasi Regency. It is because the ideological differences between trade unions are mainly among the leaders of the trade union itself. Also, the workers on 2017 election have their respective affiliations that cannot be regulated or inviolable by anyone. Coupled with the sound bombing factor or the betrayal of the body of FSPMI itself. Second, the lack of political experience of the workers in Indonesia, especially in Bekasi Regency. The political behavior of the electorate of the workers is still largely not determined by his interests as a worker but rather of

other factors such as sociological, psychological and rational choice.

In addition to the above reasons, there are also factors that led to the defeat of ObonTabroni as an independent candidate carried by the workers. First, the lack of ObonTabroni popularity among Bekasi regency community. ObonTabroni is less well known among the people of Bekasi Regency so that people tend to choose the couple they already know; societies are more likely to see a candidate from sociological factors. Second, money politics among workers and society in Bekasi Regency. Money politics and the distribution of foods at the time of the general election still happened and difficult to eradicate. Third, voters who did not vote or abstain.

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