



The motives of the people of Bogor Regency to choose Golput in the 2014 legislative general election in the perspective of symbolic interactionism analysis

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ABSTRACT

Democracy of party in Indonesia five years have passed. Representatives of the people and the president - the vice president directly elected through the electoral process held by the General Election Commission (KPU). Many records were held by the Commission in general sorting this time, including decreasing the number 'white group' (abstentions/non voters) or numbers do not choose. One interesting phenomenon non voters presence in regions of the country is the phenomenon of non voters in Bogor, West Java. The focus of this research is to understand and explain the motive of the district community. Bogor in five districts choose non voters on the 2014 Pileg and explain the meaning of the legislative elections for non voters. By George Herbert Mead's symbolic interactionism be significant in this study, where views on individual behavior can be understood and explained through the frame of mind, self and society a vote. In addition, a review of literature on the concept of political communication is also a big impact as the scope research. Arguments regarding political participation as the substance of a democracy system also have the relevance in understanding the phenomenon of non voters. This research is within the constructivist paradigm, using descriptive qualitative approach and the case study method for the five districts (the district Cibinong, Citeurep, Bojong Gede, Gunung Puteri, and Cileungsi) as the representation of non voters to understand the motives and meaning of the legislative elections. This study had found that distrust of society becomes the motive non voters. Some distrust that consists of idealistic motives, experience motives, institutional motives, individualis motives and proximity motives.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Many records are held by the General Elections Commission (KPU) in the 2014 general election (Pemilu), including the decline in the number of 'white people' (golput) or not voting. The 'white group' (golput) is actually not a new phenomenon in the midst of

Indonesia's democratic system. It is recorded from the 1999 Reformasi era elections that the level of public political participation has decreased or the number of abstentions has increased. This phenomenon does not occur on a national scale only, but massively occurs in almost all regions of Indonesia that hold regional head elections.

Golput first appeared in the 1971 general election. In the era of President Soeharto, Golput expressed a protest against the tyranny of power and elections that were always manipulated. For the New Order regime, abstention is a vicious virus that must be confronted. Golput is even categorized as part of an act of treason, even though there are no constitutional rules or laws (UU) that state voting as an obligation. Unlike today, when the faucets of democracy have been widely opened, people are no longer secretly saying 'no' to elections. People have been very bold in expressing their stance, ranging from ordinary people without the potential for electability to public figures, politicians and statesmen. Just for the record, prior to the 2014 general election, the number of abstentions since the 1999, 2004 and 2009 reform era elections continued to increase, both in the legislative and presidential-vice-presidential elections. In the 1999 general election, the number of voters who did not exercise their right to vote or abstention was 7.2%. The peak of the decline in participation occurred during the 2004 General Election. In the three series of elections held consecutively at that time, as many as 16 percent of registered voters did not donate their votes for the legislative elections. Then, this figure increased to 21.77 percent during the first round of the presidential election. This figure increased again during the second round of the presidential election to 23.37 percent.

There are many views about the choice of abstentions and the increasing number of people who do not use their right to vote in elections. At least there are some important things about why you should use your right to vote properly. First, the choice not to vote (golput) is a form of waste of the APBN (for the legislative and presidential elections) and the APBD for the pilkada. Second, abstentions will also benefit candidates who are not necessarily qualified or favored. This means that candidates can win only with low votes or only have a small mass base because more people abstain. This results in the legitimacy of the power of the elected candidate will be reduced. In direct elections like today, the elected candidate will feel that he is the choice of "the people" and is free to do what he wants. In fact, this has become a boomerang for golput. In the perspective of political communication, abstention behavior is part of voter behavior where various social conditions of citizens or voters affect people's attitudes in choosing or not voting. These various social conditions are mainly sponsored by how political communication is built by political actors. In the 2014 legislative election (Pileg) political contestation, political communication has an important role in providing strong arguments for the public to actively participate as voters.

This argument carries the important role of political communication in people who choose to abstain. The people's decision not to vote (golput) in this case can also be said as a political communication carried out by citizens with various motives and views in viewing the democratic process in Indonesia. Golput as a political communication, namely voter behavior seeks to convey a message to the state - the election organizers and the people themselves, where dissatisfaction with the election results and all elements of democracy support (KPU, Bawaslu, Panwaslu, political parties to legislative candidates). This dissatisfaction and different views on the democratic process make golput something that must be understood as part of the democratic process and political communication.

Views about the causes of a person to choose not to vote or abstain also vary. Starting from golput, it is suspected that it is due to the degradation of trust in the parties participating in the election, apathetic people because they are fed up with promises that have minimal realization, and people who view skepticism of the caleg campaigns, where they seem to be only good at displaying posters, which in fact often damage the environment. Of course, this has its own position and is a record for election participants. Whatever the reason for someone to choose abstention, it can be returned to how the role

of the state - democratic institutions in carrying out political communication with citizens. There is a very large indication that the state is ineffective in carrying out political communication which can be seen in the increasing number of goputs.

From the above, we can study further how to see a person's motives for choosing abstentions by understanding one's self-concept. In the view of structuralists, self-concept is important to understand as a strong factor in influencing social behavior, including political behavior. Behavioral motives and self-concept have a close relationship in the review of social communication. Like the view of Symbolic Interactionism figure, George Herbert Mead who said that meaning is formed through the communication process because meaning is not intrinsic to anything. In this case, it is important to see how the views of a golput in interpreting the general election process. And the view of the meaning of the election certainly cannot be separated from the view of the self-concept of a golput. The Golput phenomenon deserves important attention, considering that the democratic process in Indonesia does not just appear, it requires a lot of sacrifices to arrive at the current level of democracy. One of the things that can be a point of interest for golput is that if democracy is a system, it means that some of the tools or support for the stability of the system are not working well. This could be in the form of malfunctioning of the educational machines and the regeneration of political parties, it could also be very minimal socialization to the community. This will lead to public awareness of the meaning of general elections to the Indonesian democratic system. It should be understood together that there are several things that can be suspected as influences or factors in shaping the meaning of elections for someone. The first is that a person acts on the meaning given to him by others. This means that the emergence of the golput phenomenon occurs from the education process, the information provided to the community is not effective. The second is the meaning created in the interaction of society. It is assumed that the socialization process about the importance of elections for the community also does not take place continuously, simultaneously and continuously. Third, the meaning is modified through an interpretive process, which means that a golput feels that the information and/or importance of the election is not sufficient to motivate themselves to participate actively in voting. The three assumptions above depart from the basic assumptions of symbolic interactionism put forward by Herbert Mead.

One of the interesting phenomena of the presence of golput in the country is the phenomenon of abstentions in Bogor Regency, West Java. Bogor Regency has the largest number of voters for city/district escalation in Indonesia. Based on the results of the Legislative General Election (Pileg) on April 9, 2014, the level of political participation of residents of Bogor Regency in channeling their voting rights increased compared to the 2009 Pileg. This can be seen from the declining number of abstentions. Of the 3,231,372 voters (1,656,984 male voters and 1,574,388 female voters) registered in the Permanent Voters List (DPT), there were 2,421,667 voters who exercised their right to vote. That figure shows 74.94 percent of the total voters. That means that there are 25.06 percent of voters who abstain. While in the 2009 Pileg, the voter turnout was recorded at 73.90 percent of the total 2,860,585 voters (1,458,653 male voters and 1,401,932 female voters) registered in the DPT. The abstention rate in 2009 was 746,681 or 27.10 percent. So if you look at the movement of abstentions in the two legislative elections, it can be seen that there was a 2.04 percent decline.

Bogor Regency as the area with the highest number of voters in Indonesia for the city and district levels, the people in this area in several sub-districts are already very urban, including the Districts of Cibinong, Cileungsi, Citeureup, Bojong Gede, and Gunung Putri. The five sub-districts are quite high contributors to abstentions, namely Cibinong 26.08%, Cileungsi 28.11%, Citeureup 29.24%, Bojong Gede 29.36%, and Gunung Putri 32.06%.

Golput in political science terminology is often referred to as a non-voter. This terminology shows the magnitude of the numbers generated from election events other than voter turn out (registered voters who exercise their voting rights/voting participation

rate). The non-voters are categorized into three, namely: (a) Registered not Voted, namely citizens who have the right to vote and have been registered but do not exercise their right to vote; (b) Citizen not Registered, namely citizens who have the right to vote but are not registered so that they do not have the right to vote; and (c) Non Citizen, those who are considered not citizens (residents of an area) so they do not have the right to vote. Based on the explanation above, the author focuses on research on the phenomenon of abstentions in Bogor Regency in the 2014 Legislative General Election. and what is the meaning of the Legislative General Election for a golput in the 2014 Pileg?

The results of this study are expected to provide a clear picture of how the views of the people of Bogor Regency (Cibinong, Cileungsi, Citeureup, Bojong Gede, and Gunung Putri sub-districts) regarding the 2014 Legislative Elections and what factors made them choose abstentions. In addition, this study also aims to understand the motives of voters not to vote (golput) in the 2014 Legislative General Election (Pileg) and to understand the meaning of the Legislative General Election for abstainers in the 2014 Legislative Election. The results of this study are also expected to be useful for parties who are technically involved in the dynamics of Indonesian politics, in particular providing benefits for political figures in developing strategies to approach golput. This research is also expected to be used as a reference material to provide a complete picture of the Golput motive and the meaning of elections for a Golput person.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach, which only describes a phenomenon and does not seek or explain relationships, does not test hypotheses or make predictions. This research method arises because of a situation that views a reality/phenomenon. This research method is often called the naturalistic method because the research is carried out in natural conditions (natural setting). The research was conducted from December 2014 to April 2015 in Bogor Regency. There are several sub-districts that are used as research objects, namely, Cibinong District, Citeureup District, Cileungsi District, Gunung Putri District, and Bojong Gede District whose abstention rate is above 26 percent with each number of voters exceeding 100 thousand voters.

This study uses a constructivist paradigm because this paradigm states that individuals interpret and act according to the conceptual categories of the mind. Reality does not describe the individual but must be filtered through people's perspective on that reality. The constructivism paradigm is a paradigm in which the truth of a social reality is seen as a result of social construction and the truth of a social reality is relative. This constructivism paradigm is in an interpretive perspective (interpretation) which is divided into three types, namely symbolic, phenomenological and hermeneutic interactions. The constructivism paradigm in the social sciences is a critique of the positivist paradigm. According to the constructivism paradigm, the social reality observed by one person cannot be generalized to everyone, as positivists usually do. The concept of the constructionist was introduced by the interpretive sociologist, Peter L. Berger with Thomas Luckman. In the concept of communication studies, social construction theory can be said to be between the theory of social facts and social definitions.

In this study, data were obtained from the General Election Commission (KPU) of Bogor Regency to determine the percentage and number of voters who did not exercise their right to vote. The author focuses on five sub-districts that are the object of research.

Table 1: Number of Voters Participation and Golput in the 2014 Legislative Elections in the Five Districts of Bogor Regency

No	Subdistrict	Number of Voters.	Participation (%)	GoalPut (%)
1	Cibinong	199.559	73,92	26,08
2	Cibinong	130.198	70,76	29,24
3	Cilengsih	158.582	71,89	28,11

4	Gunung Putri	183.976	67,94	32,06
5	Bojong Gede	152.660	70,64	29,36

Source: Bogor Regency KPU, 2014

In collecting data for this study, the authors did it with the following techniques:

2.1 Focus Group Discussion

FGDs allow researchers and informants to have intensive and non-rigid discussions in discussing very specific issues. FGDs also allow researchers to collect information quickly and constructively from participants who have different backgrounds. In addition, the group dynamics that occur during the discussion process often provide important, interesting, and sometimes unexpected information.

2.2 Deep interview

The interview technique used is an in-depth interview or unstructured interview which aims to find out the personal views of the research subject. Respondents can provide comprehensive and in-depth answers about the object of research.

2.3 Documentation

In this study, the writer will document the respondents in written form, namely the respondent's personal data and the respondent's statements when the FGD is in progress. In this study, the process of checking the validity of the data begins by examining all the data obtained from the results of interviews, observations, documentation, and literature studies. Then the results of the primary data review are compiled into units which are further categorized. In the last stage, analyzing the data by checking the validity or validity of the data. In checking the validity of this data, the author uses source triangulation.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 The Meaning of Elections for Golput in the 2014 Legislative Elections for Bogor Regency

Various reasons were put forward by golput voters during the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) session which then provided a description of the findings regarding the meaning of the legislative election and the motives of abstentions for the abstainers themselves in five sub-districts (Cileungsi, Citeurep, Cibinong, Bojong Gede and Gunung Puteri) in the District Bogor. The results of data analysis based on the findings lead the authors to the interpretation that abstention voters give meaning to legislative elections based on their knowledge of the democratic system that gave birth to them. In addition, their experience in the social sphere contributes to the meaning of legislative elections. The author then categorizes the statements of the FGD participants based on their understanding of the democratic system and their experiences in social life. The following is a common thread among the statements of the participants of the FGD of golput voters regarding the meaning of the legislative election:

The meaning of legislative elections has meaning for people who abstain as a form of disagreement with the current reality of Indonesian democracy. The concept of active participation and equality in every state order actually contains elements of discrimination. The meaning that arises from the Indonesian democratic process is only intended for economically strong groups. The meaning of legislative elections has a meaning as a form of failure of democracy as a system in Indonesia because some elements that support democracy cannot function optimally in educating the public. The meaning of legislative elections is an obligation in the democratic process that is born from a sense of responsibility and trust given by the community. So, obligations will become blunt and become parasitic if they are not based on trust and responsibility. Legislative elections should start from a sense of trust in the representatives and those represented. With this guideline for the value of trust, responsibility is not a burden for people's representatives because trust always gives birth to a spirit of service. The meaning of the next legislative

election is a system born of democracy that has given birth and taught the public to act beyond the limits for the sake of certainty of being elected as members of the council. A good legislative election is born from a healthy democracy where legislative candidates do not have to wait for the campaign period and become members of the council to serve and serve the community. Because in essence democracy gives birth to people of noble character. The meaning of legislative elections is also interpreted as a gray project. On the one hand, the state must guarantee the democratic process, on the other hand, the state must issue a dowry for a process whose outcome is still unclear. The meaning of legislative elections as a product of democracy, elections and elected council members should understand very well that democracy is not just freedom of expression so as to kill the potential of other individuals. The hundreds of members of the council do not guarantee that all levels of society are represented, because in the end the members of the council serve political parties.

From the explanation of the meaning of the legislative election for the golput community in Kab. Bogor, we can understand that each individual abstainer has the ideal knowledge and understanding of the meaning of elections born of a democratic system. Then, the ideal understanding experiences clashes of meaning when faced with the reality that is the experience of the abstaining community. In this view, the clash will have a negative effect on the meaning of elections. The abstinence behavior arose which later became a message of disagreement regarding the legislative election that was born from a democratic system.

3.2 Golput Motives in the 2014 Legislative Elections for Bogor Regency

Explanation of the meaning of the legislative elections of people who abstained found that the ideal understanding of democracy experienced a clash of meanings when dealing with the reality of the legislative elections that took place. This then gave birth to abstinence behavior in society. This disagreement with the legislative election has implications for research findings in understanding what exactly are the motives of the people in Kab. Bogor for abstentions. Based on the description of the findings regarding the Golput motive, it can be understood that the Golput option exists to give a message about the democratic system and legislative elections that do not result in changes in welfare for most people. There are several things that the findings of this study indicate are the causes or motives of the community for abstentions, including distrust of institutions supporting democracy, namely political parties, then distrust of legislative candidates and that legislative elections will bring nothing to the community compared to with the presidential election. Some forms of public distrust are simplified through grouping statements about the Golput motive which the author considers to be able to answer the focus of this research. The groupings are: Idealistic motives, where abstinence behavior is caused by differences in views on the concept of democracy and the legislative general election system implemented by the organizers, resulting in distrust of the democratic system and legislative elections. The experience motive, where abstention behavior is understood as a form of disappointment with the members of the council who have been trusted to be representatives of the community, so that in the 2014 Legislative Elections, it creates a sense of distrust of candidates for legislative members.

Institutional motives, abstinence behavior caused by distrust of political institutions supporting democracy, such as political parties and KPU. Individualist motives, where abstinence behavior is motivated by the uncredibility of individual legislative candidates and can only make promises. This is closely related to the experience motive.

Proximity motive, where abstinence behavior is caused by people not knowing the candidates for legislative members. This is because the campaign is not optimally carried out and the behavior of the candidates who usually only appears when the campaign season arrives. This is closely related to individualist motives. The golput motif is part of a social construction which Herbert Mead in his theory of Symbolic Interactionism calls the meaning formed by individuals from interpretative construction results through the

interaction process. There are a number of factors involved in the process of social construction, namely internal and external factors, which in the Weberian school are referred to as in order to motive, while in Alfred Schulzt's concept it is called because of motive.

Alfred Schutz classifies motives as "motive for" (in order to motive) and "motive because" (because of motive) in his view. In order to motive is a goal that is described as the intentions, plans, hopes, interests, and so on, which the actor wants and is therefore future-oriented. Whereas because of motive refers to the actor's past experience and is embedded in his preconstituted knowledge, and is therefore past oriented. In interaction, the "motive for" one person's action becomes the "because motive" caused by the other person's reaction. Max Weber in introducing the concept of a *verstehen* approach to understanding the meaning of one's actions, where a person in acting is not only carrying out, but also placing oneself in the environment of thinking and behavior of others. This concept is more directed to an action with a motive to the goal to be achieved or in order to motive. Understanding the meaning of action with the *verstehen* approach received correction from Alfred Schutz. He stated that the actions of the actors did not just appear, but there are those who go through a long process to be evaluated by considering social, economic, cultural, and religious ethical norms on the basis of their own level of understanding ability before the action is taken. In other words, before entering the in order to motive level, according to Schutz, there is a because of motive stage that precedes it (Muhamad Basrowi and Soeyono, 59-60: 2004). To better understand which motive is more dominant than the five motives of abstention voters in the 2014 Legislative Election in Bogor Regency based on in-order to motive and because of motive, it can be seen in the following table:

Tabel 2: Motif Golput pada Pileg 2014 Menurut In Order to Motive dan Because of Motive

No.	Golput Motives for the 2014 Legislative Election in Bogor Regency	Past (in order to motive)	Masa Depan (<i>because of motive</i>) Future (because of motive)
1	Idealist	#####	Different views on the concept of democracy and ideal legislative elections.
2	Experience	Disappointed at the board members who are not aspirational.	#####
3	Institusional	Distrust of political institutions supporting democracy (political parties and KPU) .	#####
4	Individualis	Legislative candidates only make promises and there are no real programs.	#####
5	Proximity	Does not know the candidate and only appears during the campaign.	#####

Source: Edited by the author, October 2015

The findings of the abstinence motive in this study also indicate that the choice of abstentions from the people of Bogor Regency is based more on the factors of individuals who have experienced democracy firsthand. This view is almost similar to what was said by Huntington and Joan M Nelson and Varma, who saw that political participation in elections in developing countries (Indonesia) was indicated by public disappointment with the performance of the government as a result of elections that were not trustworthy and

viewed democratic values as not being able to prosper. Public. The results of the previous data analysis show that the meaning of legislative elections for golput voters is understood as a form of their initial knowledge about the meaning of democracy which in some cases does not synergize the output of legislative election products. For this reason, the experience of abstainers in interpreting legislative elections is also blurred. Many things from the democratic understanding of golput voters are castrated by group interests through economic power.

Regarding the interests of the group, the author gives his own appreciation on this matter. Group interests based on the results of this study can be interpreted as political parties or political parties' efforts in supporting the democratic process in the country. Even deeper, even Schattscheider (1942), revealed that "Political parties created democracy". Therefore, the party is a very important pillar to strengthen the degree of institutionalization in any democratic political system. In fact, Schattscheider also said, "Modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties". So clearly a political party can mean a political organization that follows a certain ideology or is formed with a specific purpose. In other languages, a political party can mean an organized group whose members share the same orientation, values and ideals. The aim of this group is to gain political power and seize political position (usually) in a constitutional way to carry out their policies. Of course, a political party is not just a political institution, changes in political dynamics based on a democratic system from time to time have also changed the phenomenon of political parties in Indonesia. Since the Reformation era, several phenomena of politicians as embodiments of political institutions (political parties) can be seen clearly, this is also seen in several research findings that talk about political parties. In the Reformation era, where the faucet of freedom was re-opened after a long period of being in shackles during the New Order era, many political parties increased in number.

Admittedly or not, in the current era, a system that adheres to a large number of parties (multi-party) makes the performance of a state that adheres to a presidential system ineffective. This is evident in the government that was formed during the Reformation period, starting from the BJ government. Habibie, the government of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, and the Megawati Soekarnoputri government down to the SBY government volumes 1 and 2. The need to accommodate the interests of many political parties to ensure majority support in parliament greatly complicates the effectiveness of the government, including the current SBY-Boediono and Jokowi-JK administrations. It is difficult to deny that the current state of political parties has made the public less confident in their credibility given the many cases involving one by one party cadres. In addition, there is a kind of phenomenon trend that occurs in the current Reformation era where we find many, among others:

Politicians 'jumping squirrels' or 'jumping fleas'. Often we find some politicians who change parties according to their tastes and their analysis of the opportunities that can be achieved to achieve a career in politics. Political parties change names. Some political parties have to change their names to distinguish the general chairman and the party from their political rivals in the parent (previous) party. Political parties carry religious values. Whatever is done to become a political "vehicle" so that the goal of dominating power achieves the goal.

Politicians who are indisciplinable are increasingly rampant and their courage is out of control. They now dare to openly deceive the people who believe in them and give them the mandate to convey messages and aspirations as promised in the oath of office and during the election towards their political career. The concentration of our politicians is mostly on objects that provide income rather than prioritizing the vision and mission assigned to them before they reach that position. The process of instant printing of cadres and the recruitment system for prospective politicians and diplomats have recently been identified as the main contributors to the production of a "group" of problematic politicians in this country.

4. CONCLUSION

There are two things that can be described and then simplified into research conclusions, namely examining the results of data analysis which states the meaning of elections for golput and the motive for abstentions from voting in the 2014 Legislative General Election. To provide a clearer description, the following is a description of the research conclusions: 1) as a form of disagreement with the reality of democracy in Indonesia today. 2) as a form of failure of democracy because some elements that support democracy cannot function optimally in educating the public. 3) an obligation in the democratic process born of a sense of responsibility and trust given by the community. 4) a system that was born out of democracy which has given birth to and taught the public to do things beyond their limits to ensure that they are elected as members of the council. 5) as a gray project. 6) as a product of democracy where members of the council serve political parties and not the community. The motive for abstaining from the Bogor Regency community in the 2014 Legislative Elections was a motive of distrust. The forms of distrust are: idealistic motives, experience motives, institutional motives, individualistic motives, proximity motives. The suggestions that can then be used as recommendations from the results of this research are suggestions that refer to academic and practical interests as well as those that refer to the interests of the meaning of elections and the motives of the people choosing abstentions. Regarding academic suggestions, for further research which also focuses on the motives of the community choosing golput, it is necessary to explore several theoretical reviews such as the correlation between elections and power and group interests in the democratic process. Meanwhile, practical advice recommends that political actors in Indonesia pay more attention to the phenomenon of abstentions in Indonesia. Considering that in this study, the golput motive is a reflection of people's distrust of many things in a democratic system.

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