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## **THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT OF INDONESIAN RAILWAYS WORKERS UNION (SPKA) AGAINST PT. KERETA API (PERSERO) IN POST REFORM**

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### **Abstract**

*The momentum of freedom after the New Order regime was utilized by railway workers to establish the Indonesian Railways Workers Union (SPKA) on 13 September 1999. The existence of SPKA is a place in voicing the demand for civil servant status and welfare improvement as a result of the Decree of the Minister of Transportation No.18 on Dismissal of Employees as Civil Servants of the Railway Service Company (PJKA). The return of civil servant status becomes more difficult to be realized when the company returns to PT. Kereta Api (Persero) thus strengthening the SPKA to conduct resistance movement against the company post-Reformation. This study aims to explain how the SPKA movement takes advantage of political opportunities in order to urge the government and company to fulfill their demands. The object of research that becomes the author's focus is SPKA in launching the struggle movement demanding the return of civil servant status and the improvement of welfare. Using a documentary study and depth*

*interview, this paper was built in descriptive-analytical way that helped the authors in explaining the political opportunities that were open after the Reformation. The author found four forms of political opportunity that exist and can be used by SPKA to conduct resistance movement that is reorganization of SPKA, openness of political access post Reformation, improvement of business climate in Indonesia, and management problem of the company. These four political opportunities correspond to the indicators of political opportunities in the social movement proposed by Tilly, Tarrow, and Schock. By utilizing the momentum of post-Reform freedom and political opportunities, the SPKA movement was able to pressure governments and corporations to meet their demands. This research is expected to be an academic contribution in the study of social movements and labor politics in the future.*

### **Keywords**

Labor Movement, Political Opportunities, Post-Reform, Serikat Pekerja Kereta api, and pt. Kereta api (Persero)

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## **1. Introduction**

In Post Reformation all Indonesians can enjoy a climate of freedom, including workers who have the opportunity to union and voice. Railway Workers Union (SPKA) became one of the unions born in the atmosphere of the Reformation. The purpose of the SPKA is to become a vehicle in fighting for and defending the rights of train workers in the environment of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) so that when the workers had difficulties after the *Decree of the Minister of Transportation No.18*, SPKA did not take long to do the struggle movement in demanding the government and the company. The main focus of the movement of SPKA is the restoration of civil servant status and welfare improvement as promised by the company during the transfer of employment status.

Based on the agreement between SPKA and the Board of Directors of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) agreed on several matters, namely:

- Basic salary of employees of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) increased to 100% base salary of new Civil Servants (Pegawai Negeri Sipil/PNS) in accordance with Presidential Decree No.64 of 2001, starting from 1 June to 1 December 2001
- Starting from January 1, 2002 base salary PT. KA (Persero) increased by 10% (to 110% of basic salary of new civil servant according to Presidential Decree No.64 year 2001).

However, the reality showed that the promise of welfare improvement is not kept. This can be seen through the comparative table of wages and pension funds at the time the workers are civil servants and after not becoming civil servants as follows:

**Table 1:** *Comparison of Wages and Retirement Funds of Railway Workers at the Time of Civil Servant Status and After Becoming Non-Civil Servants Based on the Level of First Group Work*

| Employee Status   | Years     | First Group Work |            |            |            |
|-------------------|-----------|------------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                   |           | A                | B          | C          | D          |
| Civil Servant     | 1971-1991 | Rp 530.355       | Rp 534.058 | Rp 544.026 | Rp 554.421 |
| Non-Civil Servant | 1991-1998 | Rp 500.000       | Rp 525.500 | Rp 541.300 | Rp 564.000 |
| Non-Civil Servant | 1998-2005 | Rp 538.233       | Rp 564.253 | Rp 581.675 | Rp 602.440 |

Source: Processed from the basic salary documents of employees of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) and documents on PSL settlement of ex PJKA civil servants

**Table 2:** *Comparison of Wages and Retirement Funds of Railway Workers at the Time of Civil Servant Status and After Becoming Non-Civil Servants Based on the Level of Second Group Work*

| Employee Status   | Years     | Second Group Work |            |            |            |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                   |           | A                 | B          | C          | D          |
| Civil Servant     | 1971-1991 | Rp 609.530        | Rp 622.488 | Rp 636.016 | Rp 650.114 |
| Non-Civil Servant | 1991-1998 | Rp 608.200        | Rp 633.300 | Rp 659.100 | Rp 685.500 |
| Non-Civil Servant | 1998-2005 | Rp 645.342        | Rp 674.667 | Rp 700.203 | Rp 726.760 |

Source: Processed from the basic salary documents of employees of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) and documents on PSL settlement of ex PJKA civil servants

**Table 3:** *Comparison of Wages and Retirement Funds of Railway Workers at the Time of Civil Servant Status and After Becoming Non-Civil Servants Based on the Level of Third Group Work*

| Employee Status   | Years     | Third Group Work |            |            |            |
|-------------------|-----------|------------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                   |           | A                | B          | C          | D          |
| Civil Servant     | 1971-1991 | Rp 724.589       | Rp 742.104 | Rp 760.331 | Rp 779.413 |
| Non-Civil Servant | 1991-1998 | Rp 710.400       | Rp 741.400 | Rp 773.000 | Rp 801.500 |
| Non-Civil Servant | 1998-2005 | Rp 766.311       | Rp 797.016 | Rp 824.244 | Rp 850.740 |

Source: Processed from the basic salary documents of employees of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) and documents on PSL settlement of ex PJKA civil servants

**Table 4:** *Comparison of Wages and Retirement Funds of Railway Workers at the Time of Civil Servant Status and After Becoming Non-Civil Servants Based on the Level of Fourth Group Work*

| Employee Status | Years     | Fourth Group Work |            |            |            |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                 |           | A                 | B          | C          | D          |
| Civil Servant   | 1971-1991 | Rp 799.206        | Rp 819.712 | Rp 841.072 | Rp 863.429 |

|                   |           |            |            |            |            |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Non-Civil Servant | 1991-1998 | Rp 832.300 | Rp 870.100 | Rp 905.600 | Rp 934.000 |
| Non-Civil Servant | 1998-2005 | Rp 879.341 | Rp 909.382 | Rp 940.914 | Rp 968.801 |

Source: Processed from the basic salary documents of employees of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) and documents on PSL settlement of ex PJKA civil servants

Based on the above table, the total base salary / pension fund as a whole shows an increase, but there is instability of the increase. In the sense that there is a certain time that indicates a raise, but there is a time when the salary decreased. In addition, there is a lack of clarity in the salary / pension distribution system which is characterized by an inequality of increase or decrease in salaries per class. There are at the same time first and second groups decreased income, but vice versa fourth group experienced an increase in wages. In addition, they did not get old-age insurance, including health insurance (Asuransi Kesehatan/Askes) as when they become civil servants. They also perceived income tax withhold income and did not receive bonus wages. Therefore, the transfer of status is considered not able to improve the conditions and far from economic certainty or stability for the lives of employees, as has been promised.

Starting from the issues of employment and welfare status, SPKA became active in fighting for the rights of railway workers, in the form of demonstration, the threat of strikes, lobbying, and holding meetings with stakeholders related to railroad workers. In launching the action of the struggle, SPKA took advantage of the momentum of freedom in post Reformation from the openness of political access to internal problems of PT. Kereta Api (Persero). This research sees that the SPKA resistance movement as a labor movement using existing political opportunities to achieve its goals, in the form of civil servant status returns and welfare improvement. In doing so, this study aims to explain how the SPKA utilizes the political opportunity factors in realizing the struggle movement against PT. Kereta Api (Persero) and the government.

To be able to answer the research questions, the author uses a number of theories related to social movements. This study uses the political opportunities theories proposed by Tilly, Kitschelt, Eisinger, Tarrow, Schock. Tilly as quoted by Goldstone emphasized that social movement as a rational act of society in an effort to protect them and take the opportunity to improve their condition (Goldstone, 2010). He also mentioned the five components that must exist in the social movement, namely the interests, organization, mobilization, opportunity, and

social movement itself. First, interest is the benefit or disadvantage that gained from the group interaction process with another group. Second, the organization is a group structure that is formed from its ability to act in accordance with its interests. Third, mobilization is the ability to create and encourage people who were initially passive to become actively involved in public affairs. In addition, mobilization is understood as the group's ability to control, mobilize, and organize resources for collective action. Fourth, opportunity is the result of the relationship between the group and the surrounding world. Finally, social movement concerns collective action in achieving common interests (Tilly, 1978).

Based on Kitschelt cited by Snow, the political opportunity structures have an influence on the choice of protest strategies and the impact of social movements in their environment (Snow, 2004). He also says that social movements can utilize the political opportunity structures that can be differentiated into input and output structures that refers to the openness of the political system. The ability to provide input in policy-making circles is referred to as the input structure. Meanwhile, the output structure is understood the ability to impose themselves in realizing the results or good output in a policy. Eisinger also distinguished the political opportunity structures into two types, namely the open and closed political opportunity structures as cited by Snow. An open structure allows for easier access to political systems. Conversely, the more difficult it is to penetrate the political system means that the political opportunity structure is categorized as closed political opportunity (Snow, 2004).

Similarly, Tarrow mentioned that political opportunities are created when there is a institutional structure change or the relationship between informal power and the national political system. He also explained that political opportunities consist of four elements, namely:

- Openness of political access that encourages people to participate in protests
- Instability of political relationships within government and elites so that outsiders are able to take advantage of these conditions for resistance.
- Influential political opponents seek to gain legitimacy and support from various coalitions of organizations.
- Dividing elites by internal and among the elites conflicts that result in two things. First, to encourage the strength of society groups to become stronger for social movements or to weaken groups outside the political system. Second, some elites use society to increase their political influences (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996).

Tarrow's classification can be summarized as emphasizing political opportunities as the platform for forming and presenting potential actors who capable of launching social movements, such as the concepts offered by McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996).

Schock also formulated that political opportunities contain four elements that almost resembled those mentioned by Tarrow. First, political access is conceived as opening the way for approaching policymakers, such as legislative, judiciary, executive, and bureaucrat (Schock, 1999). Thus the claimants (participant of the social movement) can influence the rulers to fulfill their demands. Second, influential opponents can facilitate mobilization and determine the success of social movements through organizational and financial support, leadership, and minimize disparity between the claimants and the state. Third, dividing elites means elite competition in the social, economic, and political contexts. It becomes a opportunity in shaping and finding friends to begin social movements (Schock, 1999). Fourth, freedom of the press and information flow can lead to the success of a social movement because the mass media can spread information about the existence of the social movement to the public.

## **2. SPKA Political Resistance**

### **2.1 Action Series of SPKA**

The real problems that must be resolved immediately after the formation of SPKA are the restoration of civil servant status, the provision of pension funds and health insurance, and an increase in basic salary. Above has been described the picture of railroad workers who are still far from the prosperous and increasingly difficult to return the status of civil servants. In facing the existing problems, SPKA carried out a series of actions to achieve its objectives, namely the return of civil servant status and welfare improvement. SPKA held the First National Congress which then translated in the form of work program during the First National Working Meeting (Rapat Kerja Nasional/Rakernas I) on 11-12 April 2001 in Batu, Malang. Through Rakernas I, the SPKA recommendations to the management of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) which contains among others:

- Management is willing to conduct dialogue with SPKA openly and periodically
- Management is processing the structure changes and the amount of salary of employees of PT. Kereta Api (Persero)

- Management will make changes and provide an increase in employee income of  $\pm 10\%$  of benefits in June 2001
- All regulations (Board of Directors Decree) patterned / refers to the Civil Servants Regulation and contrary to Law No.21 / 2000 as well as other legislation relating to Company Regulations and Labor Regulations and KKB, will be fixed soon (SPKA, 2001).

SPKA staged demonstrations as proof of the seriousness of the resistance that took place on 19<sup>th</sup> March 2002 followed by about 500 employees. In the demo, SPKA raised issues about the return of civil servant status, increased basic salary, provision of pension and health insurance. Those issues had become the central demands of SPKA since establishment for there were no conclusions of the matter. Prior, on 28<sup>th</sup> August 2001, the company's management had agreed with SPKA to raise the basic salary of the employees. Based on the Letter of Agreement of SPKA and Board of Directors of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) on 28<sup>th</sup> August agreed on several points as follows (SPKA, 2004):

- Based on Presidential Decree No.64 of 2001, starting from 1st July 2001 to 1 December 2001, the basic salary of employees of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) has increased 100% salary of civil servants
- Based on Presidential Decree No.64 of 2001, starting from 1st January 2002 the basic salary of employees of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) has increased 110% salary of civil servants

Management uncooperative attitude in solving employees' problems pushed SPKA to take other action. On this occasion, SPKA did not rely on a demonstration, but issued Declaration of Sabang on 15<sup>th</sup> April 2004 which contains points, among others:

- Demanding the fulfillment of salaries, benefits, health insurance done consistently.
- Demanding the clarity of the company's restructurisation, which resulted in the termination of the policy if the implementation is detrimental to employees.
- Demanding a new Directors of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) with the requirements of figures that have credibility, capable, feasible, and experience in the field, and was expected not to come from outside of PT. Kereta Api (Persero)

Prior to the declaration, SPKA had also established a Pension Fund Investigation Team based on the decision of the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Working Meeting (Rakernas II) in Yogyakarta. The

team was in charge of collecting data and information related to the flow of pension employees of PT. KA (Persero). Even the team sought information and clarification to former directors and new directors who handled the transition of employees and pension funds (Jan, 2004). There was also another task of the team which not less important, it was to find solutions on the management of the pension fund.

During the investigation period, the team succeeded in finding that the company had an obligation to pay past service pension fund to date. In addition, the team found that there was a peculiarity on inadequate pensions stored in PT. TASPEN. In fact, each month's basic salary was cut for employee pension contributions. Based on these findings, the team issued recommendations in the form of proposals to the selection of experienced and trusted pension fund management bodies. In addition, the team expected pension funds to be paid even if the company within the limited of funds. The team also suggested that pension payments could use the state budget (Anggaran Pengeluaran dan Belanja Negara/APBN).

Various resistances SPKA above had not produced results. This was caused by the position of board of SPKA held by structural officials so that the leadership intervention in the management of SPKA still felt. SPKA as a new organization in the state-owned enterprises environment after the Reformation was not allowed to grow wild without supervision of companies and government (Abdurrachman, 2017). It was undeniable that the New Order nuances that controlled the union had not disappeared completely after the Reformation. That way, SPKA's resistance was still relatively weak in defending the employee's interests. However, the facts showed that SPKA continued to grow as a vocal organization in voicing workers' aspirations.

Due to the disappointment of the members and administrators of the SPKA area against the old stewardship, encouraging the holding of the Extraordinary National Congress (Musyawarah Nasional Luar Biasa/Munaslub) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Congress (Munas). At first both events scheduled to discuss about the maturation of the organization, but it turned into are organization of SPKA marked by management turnover. The change was based on the idea that the old management tended to move closer to the management than to represent the interests of SPKA members. Old board considered less attentive and less accommodating the voice of local officials (Lili, 2017). It made SPKA work less optimal and effective to achieve organizational goals. The impasse in the negotiation with the company's management was quite affected by



poor management of SPKA since formed. Thus, the election of new board and revamping the organization ranging from the regulation, completeness of the organization, role, and organizational commitment was done.

Throughout 2005, the SPKA struggle movement also had a pattern that was not much different from previous forms of resistance. The SPKA movement continues to show peaceful and organized nature which is reflected in the following series of actions:

- Take legal action by proposing a judicial review of the Decree of the Minister of Transportation No.18/ Kp601/Phb-1992 to the Supreme Court.
- A rally consisting of a walk with Gambir-Supreme Court-Juanda Station on 13<sup>rd</sup> April , 2005 with the objective to submit a judicial review of the Decree of the Minister of Transport No. 18 / Kp601 / Phb-1992 to the Supreme Court. (Sie & Ivv, 2005).
- Solidarity action on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2005 SPKA by visiting the Department of Transportation (Departemen Perhubungan) to request the government to assist the revocation of Decree of the Minister of Transportation Number 18 / Kp601 / Phb-1992.
- Lobbying and holding meetings with various related parties, such as the Board of Directors of PT. Kereta Api (Persero), House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR), and government. On 27<sup>th</sup> June 2005, Commission V of the House of Representatives held a hearing with SPKA and Communication Forum of Retired Trainers (Forum Komunikasi Pekerja Perusahaan Kereta Api/FKPPKA).

## **2.2 Actors of SPKA Movement**

Various action of struggle conducted by SPKA in the effort to realize its demands cannot be separated from the interference of actors driving both from internal or internal SPKA. The actor of SPKA movement from internal SPKA is Amien Abdurrahman who is the Chairman of SPKA. He tried to build a common understanding of the resistance movement by utilizing the anxiety that had been felt by employees. He also identified the problem to be blown up by forming a common enemy, namely the transfer of civil servant status. Another action he had made in the SPKA movement was engaging in a number of actions and negotiations with the company and government. In several meetings ranging from meetings with the House of Representatives, negotiations with the Board of Directors, and to the prestige meetings with the Minister of Transportation and Minister of State Own Enterprises after the Cabinet Assembly on 5<sup>th</sup> August 2005, Amien always took part. He had also been a member of Team of Pension Fund

Investigation who was able to recommend solutions in the settlement of pension funds against the company (Dalimunthe, 2006).

The actors of SPKA movement from external are Communication Forum of Retired Trainers Forum of Retired Trainers (Forum Komunikasi Pensiunan Pegawai Kereta Api/FKPPKA) and International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF). The beginning of FKPPKA struggle was known through the effort of filing judicial review together with SPKA. Even FKPPKA continued to assist SPKA in voicing the interests of employees, especially the pensioners. On several occasions, such as meeting with Commission V of DPR RI, FKPPKA also took part. FKPPKA also participated in the SPKA strike action plan and participated in a demonstration at PT. KA (Persero) on 16<sup>th</sup> May 2005. ITF's role did not directly mobilize the SPKA in staging action. However, the ITF played a role in teaching about how to form the strong organizational orientation. This had been done through ITF-FES ASIA Pacific Railway Workers' Seminar in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. ITF's support in SPKA's struggle action began to be seen when the official SPKA was affiliated with the ITF in 2004. ITF also facilitated various meetings of the SPKA. One of them was the meeting at Grand Melia which was not only sponsored by ITF, but also International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF) to support SPKA agenda. Another real support of ITF to SPKA was a letter addressed to President SBY on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2005. In that letter, David Cockroft as the Secretary General of ITF expressed his concern over the problems of PT. KA (Persero) with the issuance of Minister of Transportation Decree Number 18 / Kp601 / Phb-1992.

### **2.3 Government Response to SPKA Resistance Movement**

The SPKA Resistance Movement supported by a number of mobilizing actors forced the government to take action ranging from efforts to curb the movement until consolidation with SPKA. Attempts to curb efforts are made by the government through an appeal not to strike because the action is considered to be detrimental to the public interest. In one case, the Madiun regional government issued a strike ban to a railway worker in Madiun. In addition, the form of government damping is the weakening of Abdurrahman's position as Chairman of SPKA by placing himself as Director of Business Development of PT. Kereta Api (Persero). With the appointment of Abdurrahman automatically requires him to step down from the position as Chairman of SPKA which affects the loss of a vocal leadership figure in voicing the demands of

SPKA. However, the efforts have not been able to dampen the spirit of SPKA in demanding its interests so that ultimately the government meets these demands.

Based on the Cabinet Meeting on 5<sup>th</sup> August 2005 resulted in three decisions. First, the government through the Minister of SOEs as the power of shareholders ordered the management of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) to guarantee income, pension rights, and health of employees / employee PT. Railway (Persero) is the same minimum as civil servants. Secondly, against the judicial review of Ministerial Decree No.18 / KP.601.Phb-92 dated March 11, 1992 on Dismissal with Respect as a Civil Servant of Railway Permanent submitted by SPKA to the Supreme Court (MA), the government respects as a process law. Third, the government will soon overhaul the management of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) (Penyusun, 2005).

The government's effort to raise the issue of SPKA in the cabinet session, certainly with some important considerations. In fact, the government's willingness to meet the demands of SPKA is inseparable from the government's deep thought. Consideration of government and management of PT. Kereta Api (Persero) to immediately grant the demands of pension funds is likely the amount of funds that must be paid by both parties in the coming years would be increasing (S, 2005). They had calculated that if the civil servants salaries increased, employees of PT. KA (Persero)' pension funds and basic salaries would go up according to their demands, which was equivalent to civil servant salary. Therefore, the government and the company could not delay the fund completion before the civil servants salaries increased in the future.

Other considerations that became government and corporate thinking related to the demand of SPKA are still many railway problems waiting to be completed. One of them is the improvement of service and safety due to a number of accidents that had occurred. Recorded in 2003-2004 the number of train accidents reached 392 cases. Meanwhile, based on data PT. KA (Persero) processed by Indonesian Railway Watch (IRW), until June 2005 recorded 7 train accidents happened (Widakdo & Nugroho, 2005). Similarly, the service matter was still fairly bad. Based on data of July 2004 there were trains that delayed from the train timetable. Recorded there was only 13 percent of totally trains departure that arrived on time in accordance with the scheduled departure (J15, 2004).

Another consideration that urged the government to meet SPKA's demands is Indonesian economic development orientation. When President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono took office in the first period, he put forward economic orientation to increase investment value. In the midst of

the economic crisis that still felt since 1998, SBY sought to encourage and create a friendly business climate for investors. Proven in 2005, tax revenues from the business sector successfully contributed revenues of Rp 346.8 trillion (Habibi, 2009). The amount of the state income increase became a dilemma for the government. On the one hand, the government should have not allowed strike action either by SPKA or other unions to disrupt the capital flows of investors in the country. Thus, the government must have been right and wise to overcome the demands of the struggle movement. On the other hand, income in the tax sector had not been able to expel Indonesia from the financial crisis. The increase of world crude oil prices further complicated the state's finances (S, 2005).

Referring to SPKA's mass strike plan, the company estimated a number of losses to be felt. First, train passengers would experience neglect (Anonymous, 2005). They could not use railway services to convey them to destinations, such as offices, homes, and schools. Second, freight transport became choked up which means it could make domino effect to various sectors. For example, the supply of fuel oil and coal delivered by train may be halted. According to Director of Java-Bali Power Plant of PT. PLN (Persero) Mulyo Aji, employees of PT. KA (Persero)' strikes would certainly inhibit coal supply of about 48,000 tons per day (Eca, 2005). He added that the supply of coal was used by Suralaya power plant to meet the Java-Bali electricity demand. Hence, the possibility of electricity supply would have decreased if strikes were properly implemented on 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> August. Java-Bali electricity network was surely entering a critical stage if the strikes lasted more than 3 days.

Management of PT. KA (Persero) also predicted that the company would get effect of SPKA strikes. According to Omar Berto as President Director of PT. KA (Persero), the company would receive a loss of Rp 21 billion within 3 days of mass strikes. He further explained that the details of the loss came from passenger transportation, which reached Rp 15 billion. Based on Kompas data, the number of Jabodetabek KRL passengers on weekdays reached around 500,000 (Naw & Otw, 2005). Meanwhile, losses received from freight transport touched the number Rp 6 billion (Bd-2, 2005). Additionally, PT. KA (Persero) must have carried the social losses, which mean corporate image became bad and public sympathy to the performance of PT. KA (Persero) would go down.

Based on those considerations, the government held a Cabinet Session at the State Palace on 5<sup>th</sup> August 2005. It discussed about the polemic of the workers that had been accomplished by

government and company. During the session, SPKA went to the State Palace to await the outcome of the session. Management represented by the President Director of PT. KA (Persero) Omar Berto was also in the State Palace. Within hours, the session ended with producing three important decisions and meant for SPKA. First, the Government C / q Minister of State Own Enterprises as the power of shareholders ordered to the management of PT. KAI to guarantee incomes, pension rights, and health of employees / employee PT. Minimum KAI is the same as civil servants. Secondly, the judicial review of the Decree of the Republic of Indonesia No. 18 / KP.601.Phb-92 on Dismissal with Respect as a Civil Servant of Railway Permanent submitted by SPKA to the Supreme Court (MA), the government respected as a legal process. Third, the government would soon overhaul the management of PT. KAI (Penyusun, 2005).

According to SPKA Chairman Amien Abdurrachman those decisions were felt enough to stop the national strike plan. However, SPKA kept monitoring and supervising the implementation of the session's decisions. Amien insisted that if the government did not keep its promises, the threat of strikes would be done in the future (Anwar, 2005). Meanwhile, Minister of State Own Enterprises Sugiharto revealed that management reshuffle that was one part of SPKA demands. He also suggested to the management in the press conference to meet the pension funds and add health care benefits to the employees of PT. KA (Persero). With regard to pension funds and health insurance, the management has taken care of payment about Rp 79.5 billion per year within 20 years to meet pension and health needs (Anwar, 2005). Omar Berto as management representative expressed company's hope for the government to assist them in paying for these needs through the press conference.

### **3. Closing**

#### **3.1 Findings**

The issuance of the Minister of Transportation Decree Number 18 / Kp601 / Phb-1992 and the transfer of the company status at first did not matter for the employees. This was caused by the company promised to improve the employees' welfare equals with civil servants. However, the promise was not realized so that employees lost their rights as civil servants as well as not receives equal income or better than civil servants. Starting from such circumstances, the employees performed a number of stunts that were channeled through the SPKA in Post-

Reform with bringing the demands of returning civil servant status, increasing welfare equivalent to civil servants, and management reshuffle.

There are several factors causing SPKA movement emerging after the Reformation. First, the openness of political access and freedom of association and voice began to be created after the collapse of the New Order regime. The political opportunity was marked by the ratification of the International Labor Organization Convention (ILO) No.87 on the Right to Organize which is then articulated by Law No.21 of 2000 on Trade Unions. The accumulation of long-standing employment problems becomes a second factor. The lack of clarity in personnel affairs ranging from status to welfare affairs has existed since 1992. Third, the condition of the Indonesian economy that has not recovered from the economic crisis in 1997/1998 becomes another factor. The economic crisis situation automatically affects the lives of employees who have low incomes. The condition of the pensioners is even more apprehensive in terms of welfare because the received income is lower than in the active period of work.

Meanwhile, another factor causing the SPKA movement to experience intensity increase in 2005 is political opportunities that are internal and external. Internal political opportunity comes from within the SPKA, namely the reorganization of SPKA based on the results of Munaslub and Munas III. The reorganization was marked by a leadership change and the strengthening of SPKA's struggle strategy. Under the leadership of Amien Abdurrachman, SPKA developed into an increasingly powerful and vocal union in defense of the employees' interests. Amien as a driving actor was able to play the role of mobilisator as well as articulator. In fact he was able to become a problem solver with various actions taken in facing the company and the government. Furthermore, other actors in SPKA action are FKPPKA and ITF. FKPPKA participated in a demonstration and accompanied the SPKA during a meeting with the DPR, the Board of Directors, and the government. Similarly, the ITF played a role in facilitating the SPKA movement in the form of training on how to manage the organization and strengthening the struggle strategies.

Meanwhile, external political opportunity is a variety of opportunities that come outside SPKA. First, the government's economic development orientation that emphasized the investment and business climate improvement. SPKA took advantage of the momentum to launch a struggle action so that the government felt the action could disturb the business and investment climate. Second, the condition of the company that continued to be problematic.

Since the status company as PT. KA (Persero), it has not been able to work optimally which is marked by the increase of train accidents and fluctuating income. This condition became the power of SPKA in urging the government to encourage the improvement of management performance, which is expected to affect the improvement of railway and employees' welfare.

It can be concluded that the findings of this research are the SPKA movement showing that their struggle movements have succeeded in exploiting an open political opportunity after the Reformation. Equally important, open government attitudes to negotiations are crucial to the success of the movement. It caused by the nuance of Post-Reform democracy that did not provide a space for the government to take repressive and illegal actions against the action of the SPKA. Thus, SPKA movements are able to push their interests against the government without having to be haunted by fear of tight control by the government like the previous regime.

### **3.2 Conclusion**

In the context of the SPKA resistance movement, SPKA movement is a social movement as a rational act of society for improving their lives. This is caused by the SPKA movement which promotes non-violent and peaceful struggle. Similarly, the purpose of the movement is intended to achieve a better life with welfare increase. SPKA movement also emphasized that disappointing change encourages people to do social movements. The employees' collective disappointment feelings as an effect of the transfer of employment status formed a solidarity to perform social movement.

Based on the political opportunity theories, the case of SPKA indicates that the accumulation of employee issues, the reorganization of SPKA, the management problems and the government's economic development orientation into the political opportunities of SPKA. In addition, the political opportunity theories are able to explain about the SPKA movement that could provide input to government and company policies related to employee issues. These theories are also able to explain the SPKA movement that could push the government to meet their demands.

Referring to political opportunity theories comprising open political access, dividing elites, and influential political opponents, in the context of the SPKA movement, not all elements of political opportunities of those figures appeared. Only three elements were presented in SPKA's struggle movement, namely the openness of political access after the Reformation and influential political opponents, and the freedom of the press and information flow. Political

opponents were parties who wanted to coalesce and assist the SPKA movement, namely ITF and FKPPKA who accompanied and facilitated the movement. The existence of political opponents was not to bring down the government and the company, but to demand the government to meet the SPKA's aspirations.

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