Indonesia's Women's Movement in Supporting Indonesian Government Policy: Government Regulation No 2-2017

Nieke Monika Kulsum[a], Syamsiah Badruddin[b], [a]Department of Communications Science Faculty of Social and Political Science Universitas Nasional, Jakarta Indonesia, [b]Department of Sociology Faculty of Social and Political Science Universitas Nasional, Jakarta Indonesia, Email: [a]nieke.monika@civitas.unas.ac.id, [b]syamsiah_badruddin@civitas.unas.ac.id

Since its independence in 1945, Indonesia is still facing many internal conflicts. Soeharto, former Indonesian President for almost 32 years, spread fear to many people in order to silence them. There was a reformation in 1998 that led to the collapse of the regime that made Indonesia experienced a period of "freedom from fear". After the reformation, many new mass organizations emerged in Indonesia. However, some of them were arrogant and caused fear for people in Indonesian. Therefore, in the current era of President Jokowi's leadership, the government acts firmly regarding those mass organizations by issuing Government Regulation No.2 on July 10, 2017. This new regulation has raised pros and cons in society. The Indonesian women's care group is one of the groups who are affected by this. This group consists of women from various racial, religious, educational, profession, and age backgrounds. The researcher was interested in investigation this matter as because it was a new thing in Indonesia. It was not common a group that consisted mostly of mothers which acted as a demonstration in front of Parliament Building/House of Representative on Friday, July 27, 2017. It turned out that those mothers were upset and disturbed by the actions of specific mass organizations. Thus, they felt the need to do the demonstration. The method of this research was qualitative. Researchers conducted interviews and studied some available documentation and literature. Research is still currently underway.

Key words: *Government policy, women and empowerment, social movement.*

Introduction

Indonesia is still experiencing some internal conflicts since proclaiming independence in 1945. This country is experiencing a period of "freedom from fear" after being released from the Soeharto's regime that ruled Indonesia for 32 years. Reformation in 1998 led to the euphoria of the emergence of new mass organizations, which previously could not exist. Unfortunately, many people were disturbed due to the arrogance they showed. This caused unrest and fear in some communities.

President Joko Widodo addressed the situation in the era of his leadership, by issuing the Government Regulation No.2 of 2017 on July 10, 2017, to rectify this issue. His action certainly triggered the pros and cons of the mass community. The decision of Joko Widodo signed Government Regulation No. 2/2019 was motivated by the governments' plan to ban Hizb-ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), a transnational Islamic political movement that "aspires to establish a caliphate and to implement Shari'a law in the country". The Indonesian authorities, with the support of some mainstream Islamic organizations in the country, considered HTI's ideology to be against Pancasila. Pancasila consists of five principles, and is the ideology of Indonesia in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution. Pancasila states five principles that are "in the one and only God," a "just and civilized humanity," "unity of Indonesia," "democracy," and "social justice."

One of the contents of the Regulation that generated a lot of criticisms from mass organizations was: "emergencies that threaten the sovereignty and the unity of the Republic of Indonesia, based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, are conditions that are caused by the activities of non-governments organization who commit hostilities to others through speeches, statements, attitudes or aspirations, orally or in writing through electronic media or not, ensure the creation of hatred to one or more groups that belong to the state organizers". An action that potentially causes social conflict between community members can lead to a state of chaos that is difficult to prevent and overcome by law enforcement officers. The violations against the principles of Non-Government Organizations that have asserted that they are not contradictory to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia are an act that is strongly dismissed. The board of mass organizations strongly dismissed the above statement by stating that the statement was on the contrary with the agreement of the founders of the Republic of Indonesia, which embodied in Pancasila and the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945. All mass organizations must recognize Pancasila and the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 when they were founded. Violation of the principle was a manifestation of thoughts, and vicious intentions, which existed since the organization was registered.

The Indonesian Women Group, whose members are women from various demographics was one of the community groups that support the Regulation. One of the things they did was a demonstration by holding an action to support the Government Regulation about non-government organizations in front of the House of Representatives in Jakarta on Thursday, July 27, 2017. The protesters stated that this Regulation was very appropriate in the situation of the nation.

This group of women considered that intolerance in the name of religion was increasingly worrying because it could divide the nation. With the existence of the Regulation regarding non-government organizations, this group believed the state could prevent the growing existence of intolerant organizations that affected the younger generations, as the next generation of adults in Indonesia. This group also asked the community to play a role in obeying the regulations and counteract radicalism to make a better situation of Indonesia, which is a nation of peace and prosperous, without any hatred and hostility.

The activities of women in Indonesia is interested in being studied, given the cultural history of patriarchy in Indonesia is designed to differentiate men and women as an entity. The concept indicates that women are "nothing" without the role of men. Andro-posentrism perspectives assert that men are more independent than women. Also, there is a religious doctrine, which restricts the freedom of women in the public sphere. The fall of the Soeharto's regime in 1998 created changes in the strategy and actions of women's political representation and participation movement in Indonesia.

Since the reformation in 1998, Indonesians have seen how political reforms can deliver freedom of expression, consolidate the role of political parties, including Islamic parties, and exercise their right to vote in open and transparent elections. Now, after almost 20 years since the reformation, Indonesians have witnessed a dispute or a difference between those who support the constitutional government, and those who use Islam as a basis to challenge the pluralist assumptions behind contemporary democratic politics.

The women's movement began as women felt anxiety when they saw the actions of radicalism. They feared it would ruin the future of their children as the next generation of the nation. The various acts of radicalism easily penetrated to the way of thinking of young people through media, including social media, that was loved by young people as a place to communicate and seek information. One case that burst out was the capture of hoax news spread through social media networks (such as Facebook and websites) that were known as Saracen. This group uploads words, narrations, and memes that intended to lead readers' opinions to a negative view of the other groups.

On March 2018, there was another group arrested for the same offences as Saracen (hoax spreading and hate speech). They called themselves the "Muslim Cyber Army." They spread hoaxes and hate speech regarding the evolving and provocative issues, such as the issue of the PKI, the rise of the communist party, the kidnaps of ulama (Moslem Preach), and the attacks to the good name of the President, government, and specific public figures. There was a suspicion that the syndicate sent viruses to groups or people who were considered enemies. This virus usually damages the receiver's electronic device.

Women worried about the inclusion of the radicalism in schools to replace Pancasila with the specific principle of religion. This phenomenon was a concern in the middle of efforts to build a spirit of nationality in the younger generation.

Based on a survey of SETARA Institute for Democracy and Peace (SIDP) to public senior high school students in Bandung and Jakarta in 2015, about 8.5 percent of students agreed that Pancasila was replaced by religion, and 9.8 percent of students supported the Islamic State Movement in Iraq and Syria (NIIS). Although relatively small, this fact was alarming because public schools were sufficiently stressing nationality.

The research results of the Research and Development Center Lektur, Khazanah Religious, and Organizational Management Agency Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs supported the above findings. It showed that some religious study textbooks that were in circulation contained many mistakes and errors. For example, the content of the books showed radical values and conflict resolution through violence. In 2016, the research and examination of 150 religious studies textbooks were conducted for schools and Madrasah (Islamic Elementary School) at all levels. Saiful Mujani Research Consulting (SRMC) in December 2015 found that four percent of citizens of 22-25-year-old, and five percent of residents who were still in school or college knew and agreed with NIIS.

Social media users in Indonesia were surprised to know the results of a survey by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The study found that 8.2 percent of respondents rejected school organization leaders from different religions. Also, there were 23 percent of respondents who felt more comfortable led by someone with the same faith.

The researcher was interested in raising this matter into academic research because it was a phenomenon in Indonesia where a group consisting mostly of women carried out a demonstration in front of the House of Representative building on Friday, July 27, 2017. It showed that the women who felt uncomfortable would take actions against mass organizations that troubled them. They felt the need to do so.

Methodology

This paper adapted qualitative-descriptive methods. Data was collected through interviews, observation, and literature study. Denzin and Lincoln's qualitative research was a situated activity that located the observer in the world. It consisted of a set of interpretive, material practices that made the world visible. In the opinion of the researcher, these practices transformed the world. They turned the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involved an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. It meant that qualitative researchers studied things in their natural settings, attempted to make sense of, or interpreted phenomena in terms of the meaning people brought to them.

Before going through a further stage of this research, the researcher presented some of the theories and concepts of this research. "Women's movement" is a term widely used by journalists, activists, politicians, scholars, and citizens alike. Most people have a general idea of the concept's meaning. Despite the widespread attention to the term since the 1970s, social science is in the early stages of conceptualization (Beckwith 2005a).

A women's movement means collective action taken by women presenting claims in public life based on gendered identities as women. These claims are derived from a statement developed by "aspirations and understandings that provide conscious goals, cognitive backing, and emotional support among women" (Mansbridge 1996).

The study of the movements of the women focuses on multiple levels of actions: 1) the micro-level explores individual activists and their interactions; 2) the meso-level examines groups and institutions, whether organized or spontaneous, and their interactions, and 3) the macro-level looks at the eclectic mix of challengers as a coherent unit to examine overtime trends or look comparatively across movements. From a sociological perspective, this can be developed as women's participation in social movements. A social movement, according to Mario Diani, is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and or organizations, engaging in a political or cultural conflict, based on a shared collective identity.

Meanwhile, according to Tilly, a social movement is a series of contentious performances, displays, and campaigns where ordinary people make collective claims on others. For Tilly, a social movement is a significant vehicle for ordinary people to participate in public politics. He argues that there are three major elements of a social movement: a) Campaigns: a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims of target authorities; b) Repertoire (repertoire of contention) is the use of the combinations among the creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies,

demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering; and c) WUNC displays: participants' concert of public representation of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitments on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies.

Furthermore, James E Anderson states the policy is "a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern." In term of government policy, he states that 'government policy' can be used to describe any course of action that intends to change a specific situation. Policies are a starting point for the government to take a course of action that makes a real-life change. The government uses policy to tackle a wide range of issues. It can create policies to change how much tax you pay, parking fines, immigration laws, and pensions. Laws can also be amended by the government, so when they create a policy, it can affect specific groups of people or everyone in society.

Discussion

As previously mentioned, the fall of the Soeharto regime created a euphoria that brought people to the level of "freedom of fear." There were new community organizations, which of course divided into two, that have pros and cons with the elected President Joko Widodo. The counter-mass organizations caused a lot of chaos and began at the stage of disrupting the current government. They used social media as their propaganda tool.

Since it targeted the younger generation, various women with different backgrounds decided to take actions in support of the government, by holding a demonstration. It was phenomenal since it never happened in Indonesia before the reformation era. Moreover, culturally, the system in Indonesia was still patriarchal, which made this kind of freedom is something new in Indonesia. In analysing the mobilization, activities, identity, and outcomes of women's movements, the researcher used concepts of women's movement, as asocial movement, and public policy by using descriptive qualitative research method. Data was collected through interviews with several women who joined the Indonesian women's coalition, literature study, documentation, and non-participant observation.

One of the objectives of the social movements conducted by these Indonesian women's groups was to support the Government Regulations No.2-2017 that they considered very appropriate to the condition of society. They assumed that some mass organizations that were against this Regulation were intolerance and radical organizations. The organizations related themselves with the name of the majority religion of Indonesians. Their acts were increasingly worrying and could divide the nation.

When looking at the concept of women's movement put forward by Lee Ann Banazac, then what happened here was in the second stage, which was the meso-level. This group of women in Indonesia interacted and made an action. It was also following the concept presented by Diani, which stated that a movement was "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, based on a shared collective identity". It was also supported by the concept of social movement proposed by Charles Tilly.

Indonesian Police arrested a group called MCA (Muslim Cyber Army) in March 2018. MCA created a 'fake news' operation designed to derail Indonesia's leader. They tried to divide the nation of Indonesia and made Indonesian people fear and become unconvinced with the government. The police also believe they uncovered illegal fake news operations designed to corrupt the political process and render unsafe government.

In a string of arrests across the archipelago in recent weeks, authorities revealed the inner workings of a self-proclaimed cyber-jihadist network of MCA. The network was accused of spreading fake news and hate speech to inflame religious and ethnic schisms, fan paranoia around gay men and lesbians, alleged communists and Chinese people, and spread defamatory content to undermine the President.

Police arrested 14 suspects of MCA's organization. They found that the network was orchestrated through a central WhatsApp group called the Family MCA. One wing had a task to stockpile divisive content to disseminate, while a separate "sniper" team was employed to hack accounts and spread computer viruses on the electronic devices of their opponents.

According to a survey by Statista about "Leading countries based on the number of Facebook users as of January 2018", Indonesia was among the top five biggest users. And as the world's largest Muslim-majority nation, it was unsurprising that rising religiosity and the racial division was playing out viciously online.

The groups of radicals, such as Muslim Cyber Army or Saracen, were born and thrived in a digital ecosystem with fake accounts, lies, and bots, or automated accounts. Some examples of activities conducted by Muslim Cyber Army were the posts about the persecution of Muslims in Myanmar and Palestine. The posts were mixed then with national news to spur hatred to the Chinese minority or support for hard-line Indonesian figures and their protests.

Research conducted by The Guardian discovered how different interest groups operated within the MCA network for nefarious political ends. It also highlighted how easy it was to play social media networks, especially Twitter. With an army of bots, semi-automated and

fake accounts, it was relatively simple to sway public perception, propel a hashtag into a trending list, or engineer an online poll.

The researchers found that there were many radical groups, such as Saracen and MCA, that made the women's protests very appropriate. They worried about the existence of a group or militant groups believed to be destructive to the state's living order. Additionally, the organizations spreading hate speech and hoaxes through social media was easy to read by the young generation of the nation's future. It was also found, was based on the results of research from several institutions that were described previously, that this radical activity entered the school and the minds the younger generation.

Some researchers, like Damar Juniarto, from the Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network, Shafiq Pontoh, from the data consultancy firm Provetic, and Savic Ali, online director at Nahdlatul Ulama, closely studied the radical groups that used social media to spread their hate speech or hoaxes. The digital strategists described the recent onslaught of bots and cyber armies, such as the MCA, Saracen, and others, as being akin to psychological warfare playing out in the dark ages of the internet.

The Constitution of Indonesia places no restrictions on the political participation and representation of women. The involvement of women in public life has been increasing. However, their participation and representation in the national and provincial legislatures and across government institutions is still low.

This women's movement was caused by their concern to the future of their children. Radicalism could enter the schools, and children could also access the HTI's ideologies through social media.

Conclusion

Currently, Indonesian women enjoy many of the same educational opportunities as men. They make up a significant proportion of the labour force and there are more women than ever sitting in parliament. Therefore, the Indonesian women's movement in supporting the government regulation, which was a response to their concerns over radical groups, were very reasonable. This research is still ongoing.

REFERENCE

Banazac, Lee Ann (1996). Women's Movements and Women in Movements: Influencing American Democracy from the "Outside"? (https://rooneycenter.nd.edu/assets/11293/womens_movements.pdf)

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research (Third ed.), California: Sage Publication

Jati, Wasisto Raharjo (2014). HISTORISITAS POLITIK PEREMPUAN INDONESIA. Paramita: Historical Studies Journal.

McBride, Dorothy E & Amy Gale Mazur (2008). Politics, Gender & Concepts. Cambridge University Press. UK

Tilly, Charles (2004) Social Movements, 1768–2004, Boulder, CO, Paradigm Publishers
http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/trensosial-41022914
http://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/news-analysis/18/03/05/-muslim-cyber-army-mca-dan-spekulasi-yang-berkembang-liar
http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/08/16460231/benih.radikalisme.mulai.masuki.sekolah
http://setara-institute.org/lampu-kuning-meningkatnya-radikalisme-di-sekolah-sekolah-indonesia
https://www.nidirect.gov.uk/articles/government-policy

Women's participation in Politics and Government in Indonesia. A Policy Paper. Published by UNDP Indonesia 2010
https://www.statista.com/statistics/268136/top-15-countries-based-on-number-of-facebook-users
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/13/muslim-cyber-army-a-fake-news-operation-designed-to-bring-down-indonesias-leader

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC STATEMENT Index: ASA 21/6722/2017, July 12 2017 (Indonesia: Amendment of the Mass Organizations Law expands threats to the freedom of association)
http://news.liputan6.com/read/3038236/dukung-perppu-ormas-ratusan-perempuan-peduli-indonesia-datangi-dpr