

## INDONESIAN'S WOMEN MOVEMENT IN SUPPORTING INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY: Government Regulation No. 2 – 2017

**Nieke Monika Kulsum**  
Lecture, Universitas Nasional  
[niekemonika@yahoo.com](mailto:niekemonika@yahoo.com)

### ABSTRAK

Indonesia, sebagai negara yang merdeka sejak tahun 1945 masih banyak menghadapi konflik internal sampai sekarang. Bila dilihat dari sejarah munculnya kemerdekaan tersebut, Indonesia mengalami masa akan “kebebasan dari ketakutan” akan rezim Soeharto yang telah memerintah di Indonesia selama 32 tahun. Reformasi pada tahun 1998 memunculkan euforia sehingga salah satu dampaknya adalah bermunculan ormas-ormas yang sebelumnya tidak terdengar suaranya. Bahkan banyak masyarakat yang merasa terganggu dikarenakan arogansi yang mereka munculkan. Bahkan menimbulkan keresahan dan ketakutan di sebagian masyarakat. Di era kepemimpinan Presiden Jokowi saat ini, pemerintah dengan tegas menindak mereka dengan mengeluarkan Peraturan Pemerintah No.2 tahun 2017 yang di tanda tangani pada tanggal 10 Juli 2017. Hal ini tentu saja menimbulkan pro dan kontra di masyarakat. Salah satu kelompok masyarakat yang peduli akan hal ini adalah kelompok Perempuan Peduli Indonesia yang berisikan wanita dari berbagai macam segmen secara ras, agama, pendidikan, pekerjaan serta usia. Peneliti merasa tertarik untuk mengangkat hal ini menjadi suatu penelitian dikarenakan, merupakan suatu hal yang baru di Indonesia dimana kelompok yang sebagian besar berisikan para ibu-ibu melakukan suatu tindakan berupa demonstrasi yang dilakukan di depan gedung MPR/DPR pada hari Jumat, 27 Juli 2017 lalu. Disini bisa dilihat ternyata para ibu-ibu tersebut yang sudah merasa gerah akan tindak tanduk yang dilakukan oleh ormas tertentu sudah meresahkan mereka. Sehingga mereka merasa perlu untuk melakukan hal tersebut. Penelitian bersifat kualitatif, peneliti akan melakukan wawancara dengan para pelaku demo, studi dokumentasi dan studi pustaka.

**Keywords :** kebangkitan, perempuan Indonesia, peraturan pemerintah

### ABSTRACT

*Indonesia has become independent country since 1945, however this country still facing many internal conflicts. The power of Soeharto (the second Indonesian President) regime that lasted for 32 years, spread fears to many people which make them silenced. After the reformation in 1998 that led to the collapsed of that regime, Indonesia experienced a period of “freedom from fear”. Since then there are many new mass organizations emerged in Indonesia. Some of these mass organizations are arrogance and causes fear to Indonesian people. Therefore, in the current era of president Jokowi leadership, the government acts firmly on those mass organizations by issuing Government Regulation No.2 which was signed on July 10, 2017. Moreover, this new regulation has raised pros and contras in*

*society. One group of people who care about this is the Women Indonesian Care Group which consists of women from various segments on a racial, religious, educational, work and age basis. The researcher is interested to raise this matter as a research because it is a new thing in Indonesia where group consisting mostly of mothers perform an action in the form of a demonstration conducted in front of Parliament Building/House of Representative on Friday, July 27, 2017. It turns out that those mothers who have been upset and disturbed by the actions done by certain mass organizations. Thus they feel the need to do the demonstration. The method of this research is qualitative, researchers will conduct interviews with the perpetrators of demos, documentation studies and literature studies. Research is still underway until now.*

**Keywords:** *Women Movement, Social Movement and Government Policy*

## **Introduction**

Since proclaiming the independence in 1945, Indonesia is still experiencing some internal conflicts until now. This country experiencing a period of "freedom from fear" after being released from the Soeharto regime that has ruled Indonesia for 32 years. Reformation in 1998 led to euphoria which is that one of the impact of the emergence from mass organizations that previously did not sound his voice. Even many people who feel disturbed due to arrogance that they emerge. Also cause unrest and fear in some communities.

Furthermore, it was going on for over the years then acted firmly by President Joko Widodo in the era of his leadership. One of the things that he did was firmly crack down on them by assign the Government Regulation No.2 of 2017 on July 10, 2017. Which certainly raises the pros and contras of the mass community. President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo signed Government Regulation No. 2/2017 which was apparently motivated by the governments' plan to ban Hizb-ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), a transnational Islamic political movement which "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, consider HTI's ideology to be against the official state philosophy Pancasila (Pancasila or literally five principles is the Indonesian state ideology which is enshrined in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution) which requires belief "in the One and Only God", a "just and civilized humanity", "unity of Indonesia", "democracy" and "social justice" (Amnesty International Public Statement, 2017).

One of the contents from the regulation that generated a lot of criticisms from mass organizations is "Emergency situation that can threaten the sovereignty of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia, among other activities of certain non-governments organisation who have committed hostilities between other, speech, statements, attitudes or aspirations either orally or in writing, through electronic media or not using electronic media, incurring hatred both of the one or more group and of those belonging to the state organizers. Such action is a potential act of causing social conflict between community members that can lead to a state of chaos that is difficult to prevent and overcome law enforcement officers. Violations against the principles of Non-Government Organization that have asserted that they are not contradictory to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the State of the

Republic of Indonesia are in essence an act strongly dismissed by the board or mass organizations concerned for violating the agreement of the founders of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, embodied in Pancasila and the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945. Violations against mass organizations that have recognized Pancasila and the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945, is a manifestation of thoughts, vicious intentions- which originally existed since the organization was registered.

One of the community groups supporting the regulation is the Indonesian Care of Women group which contains women from various segments on a racial, religious, educational, work and age basis. One of the things done by them as an example 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 appraise that this regulation is very appropriate at the current situation of the nation.

This group of women considers that intolerance in the name of religion is increasingly worrying, because it can divide the nation. With the existence of the Government Regulations about non-government organization, this group believes the state can prevent the existence of growing intolerant organizations and affect the younger generation, as the next generation of Indonesia.

Moreover, this group also ask for the community to play a role in obeying the regulations and counteract radicalism. With the purpose of making a better situation of Indonesia being a nation of peace and prosperous without any hatred and hostility ([http://news.liputan6.com/read/3038236/ dukung-perppu-ormas-ratusan-perempuan-peduli-indonesia-datangi-dpr](http://news.liputan6.com/read/3038236/dukung-perppu-ormas-ratusan-perempuan-peduli-indonesia-datangi-dpr)).

The activities of women in Indonesia is interesting for the study given the history that the culture of patriarchy in Indonesia is designed to differentiate men to entity, while women become entity nothing. The pattern of male domestication which is domesticated by men. The concept indicates that women are "nothing" without the role of men. The andro-centrism perspectives assert that men are more independent than women.

In addition there is a religious doctrine, which is still conservative restricting the freedom of women in the public sphere. Beginning with the fall of the Soeharto's regime in 1998, changes in the strategy and actions have been made in women's political representation and participation movement in Indonesia. This is marked by the emergence of a wide range of women's parliamentary extra organizations at the grassroots as well as the Mahardhika Women, the Indonesian Women's Coalition, the Women's Institute, the Women's Solidarity Movement, and much more (Jati, 2014).

Since 1998's Reformasi (the period of transition after the fall of Indonesia's dictator, Suharto), Indonesians have seen how political reforms can deliver freedom of expression, consolidate the role of political parties - including Islamic parties - and for Indonesians to exercise their right to vote in open and transparent elections. After almost 20 years since the reformation, Indonesian witnessed a dispute or a difference between those who support constitutional government, and those who use Islam as a basis to challenge the pluralist assumptions behind contemporary democratic politics.

The beginning of this movement is the anxiety of the women when they saw

the actions of radicalism that feared would ruin the future of their children as the next generation of the nation. Various forms of acts of radicalism is suspected to easily penetrate into the thinking of young people through various media, including social media that is loved by young people as a place to communicate and seek information.

One case that had burst out was the capture of hoax news spreaders through social media networks (such as facebook and webiste) known as Saracen. This group uploads words, narrations and memes that appear to lead readers' opinions to a negative view of other groups of people (<http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/trensosial-41022914>).

Recently there is another group arrested because they did the same like Saracen (hoax spreader and hate speech), they named themselves "Muslim Cyber Army". They are called hoaks propagating with hate speech in line with the evolving and provocative issues, such as the issue of the PKI's (Communist Party rise, the kidnapping of Ulama (Moslem Preach), and attacks on the good name of the president, government, and certain public figures. This syndicate is also suspected to send viruses to groups or people who are considered enemies. This virus usually damages the receiver's electronic device (<http://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/news-analysis/18/03/05/p53gg3440-muslim-cyber-army-mca-dan-spekulasi-yang-berkembang-liar>).

Another thing that worries the women is the inclusion of the radicalism to the school level. Students' thought emerge to replace the basic state of Pancasila with the understanding of religion. This phenomenon of concern in the middle of efforts to build a spirit of nationality in the younger generation.

Based on a survey conducted by SETARA Institute for Democracy and Peace (SIDP) among public senior high school students in Bandung and Jakarta in 2015, about 8.5 percent of students agree the state base is replaced by religion and 9.8 percent of students support the Islamic State Movement in Iraq and Syria (NIIS). Although relatively small, this fact is alarming because public schools have been sufficiently stressing nationality.

This is reinforced by the research results of Research and Development Center Lektur, Khazanah Religious, and Organizational Management Agency Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs. Research shows, religion study textbooks that circulate contain many mistakes and errors. For example, the content of books tends toward radical values and conflict resolution through violence. In 2016, research and examination of religion study textbooks was conducted for schools and madrasah (Islamic Elementary School) at all levels of 150 books. Even Saiful Mujani Research Consulting (SRMC) in December 2015 found that 4 percent of citizens aged 22-25 years and 5 percent of residents who are still in school or college know and agree with NIIS (<http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/08/16460231/benih.radikalisme.mulai.masuki.sekolah>).

Social media users in Indonesia are surprised to know the results of a recent survey by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The study found that 8.2 percent of respondents rejected school organization leaders from different religions. In addition, there are also 23 percent of respondents who feel more comfortable led by someone who have same religion (<http://setara-institute.org/lampu-kuning->

meningkatnya-radikalisme-di-sekolah-sekolah-indonesia).

The researcher is interested to raise this matter into a research because it is a phenomenon in Indonesia where the group consisting mostly of women carried out a demonstration in front of the House of Representative building on Friday, July 27, 2017 . Here can be seen that the women who have been feeling uncomfortable would do the actions done by certain mass organizations have been troubling them, that they feel the need to do so.

### **Research methods**

This paper adapts qualitative-descriptive methods, data collection will through interviews, observation, and literature study. Such as Denzin and Lincoln (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005): Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them. Before going through a further stage in this research, researcher will be presented some of theories concepts that will be used in this research.

### **Concepts**

“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 by women organized explicitly as women presenting claims in public life based on gendered identities as women. These claims are derived from a discourse developed by “aspirations and understandings that provide conscious goals, cognitive backing and emotional support among women” (Mansbridge 1996).

The study of women’s movements focuses on multiple levels of a movement: 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 whole often to examine overtime trends or look comparatively across movements (Banazac, Lee Ann (1996).

From the sociological perspective, this can be developed as women's participation in social movements. Social movement according to Mario Diani is; a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity.

Meanwhile, according to Tilly(Tilly, 2004), social movements is a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. For him, social movements are a major vehicle for

ordinary people's participation in public politics. He also argues that there are three major elements to a social movement: a) Campaigns: a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims of target authorities; b) Repertoire (repertoire of contention): employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: 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' concerted public representation of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitments on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies.

Furthermore, talking about the policy according to James E Anderson is as follows; "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; 'government policy' can be used to describe any course of action which intends to change a certain situation. Think of policies as a starting point for government to take a course of action that makes a real life change.

Government uses policy to tackle a wide range of issues. In fact, it can make policies that could change how much tax you pay, parking fines, immigration laws and pensions. Law can also be changed by government, so when they create a policy it can be made to affect specific groups of people or everyone in society (<https://www.nidirect.gov.uk/articles/government-policy>).

## Discussion

As previously mentioned about the political conditions in Indonesia after the Soeharto regime that made some Indonesian people experience euphoria to the level of "freedom of fear". Where began the number of community organizations that are formed, of course divided into two, the pros and contrasts of the elected President Joko Widodo today. The counter-mass organization has caused a lot of chaos and has begun at the stage of disrupting the current government. Especially in the help with advances in technology today, they use social media as their propaganda tool.

What has troubled the public, because it has targeted the younger generation to make the women to take action in support of the government, by holding a demo down the street made by various women with different backgrounds. This is a phenomenal thing since it has not been happening in Indonesia since the reform era, there are a group of women who took to the streets and conducted a demo like that done by the Indonesian caring group, in order to support Government regulations. Moreover, culturally, the system in Indonesia is still patriarchy. Making this kind of freedom is something that is still new in Indonesia.

In analyzing the mobilization, activities, identity, and outcomes of women's movements, researcher uses concepts of women's movement, social movement and public policy. By using descriptive qualitative research method. With collected data through interviews with several women who joined the Indonesian women's coalition. Also through literature study, documentation and non-participant observation.

One of the objectives of the social movements conducted by these Indonesian women caring groups is to support the Government Regulations No.2-2017 which they consider very appropriate to see the current condition of society.

They assume, the mass organizations that are against this regulation is an intolerance and radical organizations with the name of the majority religion in Indonesia is increasingly worrying, and considered to divide the nation.

When looking at the concept of women's movement put forward by Lee Ann Banazac, then this is in the second stage "the meso level examines groups and institutions, how organized or spontaneous, and their interactions and". Where this group of women cares Indonesia is a group that interact and make an action. also in accordance with the concept presented Diani "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity". And supported also with the concept of social movement proposed by Charles Tilly.

Recently, Indonesian Police make arrests a group called MCA (Muslim Cyber Army), this group created a 'fake news' operation designed to derail Indonesia's leader. They tried to dividing the nation of Indonesia, and made Indonesian people fear and unconvinced to the government. The police also believe they have uncovered an illegal fake news operation designed to corrupt the political process and render unsave the government.

In a string of arrests across the archipelago in recent weeks, authorities have revealed the inner workings of a self-proclaimed cyber-jihadist network (MCA). The network is 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 was tasked with stockpiling 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 survey by Statista about "Leading countries based on number of Facebook users as of January 2018", Indonesia is among the top five biggest users. And as the world's largest Muslim-majority nation, it is unsurprising that rising religiosity and racial division is playing out viciously online.

The groups of radicalisme such as Muslim Cyber Army or Saracen were born and have since thrived, in a digital ecosystem flush with fake accounts, lies and bots, or automated accounts. Some examples of activities conducted by Muslim Cyber Army are those posts about the persecution of Muslims in Myanmar and Palestine, for example, were mixed in with domestically hatred for the Chinese minority, or support for hardline Indonesian figures and their protests.

Research conduct by Guardian discovered that illuminates how different interest groups operated within the MCA network for nefarious political ends. It also highlights how easy it is to game social media networks, especially Twitter. With an army of bots, semi-automated and fake accounts, it is relatively simple to sway public perception, propel a hashtag into a trending list, or engineer an online poll (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/13/muslim-cyber-army-a-fake-news-operation-designed-to-bring-down-indonesias-leader>).

Researcher found that are many radicalism groups such as saracen and MCA, so what the women did was very appropriate. Their anxiety will be a group of

radical groups believed to be destructive of the state's living order. Not to mention they spread the hate speech and hoax through social media that is easy and easy to read by the young generation of the nation's future. And already found evidence-based on the results of research from several research institutions as has been described previously that this radical activity has entered the school and enter the mind or influence the minds of the younger generation.

Some researchers like Damar Juniarto<sup>1</sup>, from the Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network, Shafiq Pontoh<sup>2</sup>, from the data consultancy firm Provetic, and Savic Ali<sup>3</sup>, online director at Nahdlatul Ulama, which has been closely studied the radical group that use social media to spread their hate speech or hoax. Also the digital strategists describe the recent onslaught of bots and cyber armies such as the MCA, Saracen and others as akin to psychological warfare playing out in the dark ages of the internet.

Before, 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<sup>4</sup>.

This women's movement because they were concern for their children, the future generation because of radicalism that has emerged the schools and children can also access the HTI's ideologies through social media.

## **Conclusion**

Nowadays, Indonesian women enjoy many of the same educational opportunities as men. They make up a significant proportion of the labour force also now more women than ever sitting in parliament. Therefore, the Indonesian women's movement in supporting the government regulation, was responded to their concerns over radical groups are very reasonable. Until now, this research is still ongoing.

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<sup>1</sup> Damar Juniarto, Regional Coordinator for the Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (Safenet)

<sup>2</sup> Shafiq Pontoh, Chief Strategic Officer Provetic (Provetic provide data driven strategic consulting through structured and unstructured data analytics, from social media to corporate data).

<sup>3</sup> Safiq Ali, Researcher and Online Director at Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia's largest Islamic Group

<sup>4</sup> Women's participation in Politics and Government in Indonesia. A Policy Paper. Published by UNDP Indonesia 2010



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