Co-Relationship Between Age, Religion And Education Level In Supporting "Reuni 212"

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Abstract

Reunion 212 rallies in Indonesia is a symbolic rally of an anti-government opposition march. Since the Dec. 2, 2016 rally, there has been other rally organized in 2 December 2017 and the latest in 2 December 2018. In the year 2018, 212 reunions have transformed into a movement not only aim to stop the liberal and leftists coming to power alongside Ahok in Jakarta Governor election, but also pose a challenge to the re-election of President Jokowi in coming parliamentary and presidential election. This objective of the study is to investigate the impact of 212 reunion rally does towards the coming Indonesian presidency choice. Using a list of fix questionnaire survey, 1200 respondents who were the participants of 212 reunion rally in 2 December 2018 gave their feedback. The findings show that there's is no major significant towards any changes on the people's choice of presidency. Hence the focus of this paper is to answer the question of why the emergence of this type of social movements specifically Reuni 212 and why are people involved and participating in it. Most importantly to understand if it's can truly affect the next Indonesia Presidential election.

Keywords: *Election, President, political parties, reunion, rally, Indonesia.*

Introduction to Indonesian Reuni 212

Throughout the Indonesian political history, 212 Reunion rallies can be considered as a symbolic rally of an anti-government opposition march. Since the first rally held on Dec. 2, 2016, there has been another rally organized in 2 December 2017 and the latest in 2 December 2018, which known as Reuni 212. In the year 2018, 212 reunion has transformed into a movement that not only aim to stop the liberal and leftists coming to

power in Jakarta Governor election, but also pose a challenge to the re-election of President Jokowi in coming presidential election.

This gathering in Jakarta that was held by hardliners of opposition supporter ended peacefully as previously expected. But, the total number of people attending the event remained unclear as almost all major media outlets made no mention of a consistent number. For instance, Detik.com reported that no more than 40,000 people took part in the rally, quoting police officials and a researcher from Bandung's Universitas Padjadjaran. This figure was far below the event organizers' claim of 7.5 million people, which few people believed. Beside the difficulty to estimate the number of participants in such large open-air meetings, many researchers may fear that mentioning any number close to facts on the ground could put them in danger. Nonetheless, for the organizers of the 'Reuni 212' themselves, the number of Saturday's rally participants meant a lot as it strongly signalled the great power of Indonesia's hardliners as they had repetitively claimed and wish to retain.

Literature Review

Social movements have long emerged, and the most popular are between the year of 1950s and 70s which occur in the United States. At that time social movement was linked to human rights struggle by the African-Americans, the Vietnam war protests and the objections of nuclear weapons development.

According to Porta and Diani (2006), social movements have four main features:

1. A series of formal interactions
2. Sharing trust and solidarity
3. Co-operation that focuses on conflicts or issues
4. Conduct protests or demonstration

Based on the above definition, social movements involve a structured organization championing goals based on their beliefs, respectively, culture and ideology. Among the organizations involve, include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), trade unions, voluntary organizations and media associations (Brown, 2004) while the strategy for the success of the movement are through protest or demonstration.

The question is why the emergence of this social movements and why are people involved and participating in it? First it is closely related to the cultural framework. For example in the United States of social movements that use symbols of civil rights movement and anti-apartheid movement. Second, it relates to civil society in which social movement is created from a strong civil society in a country.

According to Lipsky (1968) "t*he protest activity as a mode of political action oriented toward objection to one or more policies or condition. Characterized by showmanship or display of an unconventional nature, and undertaken to obtain rewards from political or economic systems while working within the systems*".

Rawsl (1971) stated that the protest was a public action which is safe, is openly done, is a political act that is contrary to law-and is usually intended to prosecute changes to laws or policies government. Rawls also said that protests usually take place in society as space for they express limited opinions.

Previous studies on protest found that in developed countries the protest mostly related to the people's rights. In the United States, for example street protests due to people's dissatisfaction with human rights issues. Among them demonstrations by African-American society demands equality of equality and fairness on In the 1960s, people protested against the development of nuclear weapons in the year 1970s and also protests against American intervention in wars in foreign countries such as Vietnam (Stefan, 1999; O'connor & Sabato, 2006).

In the 2000s, there was a protest against the US attack on the so-called Iraq as the slogan *World Says No to War*. The protests were held in New York and Los Angeles in the beginning in 2003 as the society disagrees with the policy of US intervention onwards Iraq can lead to loss of life and environmental destruction.

Various groups communities are involved with the protests such as anti-war activists, NGOs, students and individuals. The way they protested was to gather in the streets of several American cities Company (Bennett & Toft, 2009).

Research done in developing countries shows protests as people are dissatisfied heartedness with a system of government practiced in a country. For example Hill & Sen (2005) studying street protests in Indonesia. Protests prevailing in Indonesia is because of the people disagree with Soeharto's government. Their findings show that protests have taken place the failure of Soeharto's government to defend the people's fate after the financial crisis hit Indonesia in 1997.

Like the previous protests in Indonesia in the 1970s, the people once again rise up against the country. However, this time the opposition received by the government is great because it not only involves issues of corruption and wealth government, but also the issue of the suffering of the people who are forced to unemployed and bear the burden directly attributable to the rise in oil prices and goods due to the economic crisis of the year 1997.

James (2013) goes through his writing titled *Translating Thailand's Protests: An Analysis of Red Shirt Rhetoric* discusses the past mass protests in the history of modern Thai politics. The purpose of the protest was because the people gave their support former Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra was deposed in 2006. Protests done by the Red Shirt group or known as the *Red Shirt* took place in Bangkok in 2010 turned violent to cause death, injury and damage to the city.

While Zawiyah (2013) examines the civil unrest or protest in Malaysia from 1998 to 2013. The findings showed that the protests that took place in the Era of Abdullah Badawi Malaysian 5th Prime Minister, were due to the weakness of leadership seen in four aspects of government failure fulfilling the pledge of the 2004 general election, there was a family intervention in the administration, failure to address economic issues and failure to address religious and racial issues.

In general, previous studies show that protests are commonplace in a country. It is occurs due to an element of dissatisfaction or objection to government policy. In some state, street protest are allowed by law for the people to express dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, street protests can be violent if people cannot control their emotions or there is an element of provocation.(Ahmad Sabri, AZS, 2014)

Social Movement and Runi 212

The act of Reuni 212 provides a sense of togetherness. One of the reasons is the psychology of the crowd that is related to the affirmation of one's identity. Since the beginning of the theory of crowd psychology emerged, namely in Gustave Le Bon's book, The Crowd: The Study of the Popular Mind , published in 1895, crowd psychology is explained in a model of "group thinking" (group think). In this model, participation in crowd action results in the loss of one's rational thinking ability. According to Le Bon, the character of the crowd will cause someone in it to lose their sense of responsibility and will feel that the behaviour in the crowd is universal.

In the crowd, someone will lose reasoning ability, the ability to judge critically, and tend to exaggerate feelings, sentiments, so that someone's emotions in the crowd can overflow. The model of Le Bon's legacy think group to understand crowd psychology seems to fit the New Order's mass management model, which identifies mass action with acts of mobs who have no rules, and therefore tend to be banned by the Suharto regime. This model is also suitable for the needs of some people to consider 212 and 212 Reunion Demo participants as "stupid" and "uneducated" mobs.

Moreover, the method of building togetherness through a crowd is also usually done without the attributes of religious identity. A more appropriate model for explaining the authentic feeling of togetherness in the demos of group 212 is the social identity model of Stephen D. Reicher, as stated in his paper, The Psychology of Crowd Dynamics (published in M. Brewer & M. Hewstone (Eds.), Self and Social Identity, Blackwell, 2004). In this model, a person has multiple identities, namely individual identity and social identity. Individual identity defines how "I" is unique compared to other individuals, while social identity defines how "we / we" are different compared to members of other social categories in society.

In addition to that, Reicher also emphasized that social identity is always tied to the ideological tradition: how we define a social category that becomes a vehicle for one's membership and a "other" social category attached to ideological traditions. A person has a social identity as a Muslim, a socialist, a nationalist, or even a punk, and thus becomes understood why he does anything in the context of grouping in a crowd.

In fact, Reicher quotes "On defining ourselves as categories we participate in a process of self-stereotyping". When we define ourselves as members of a social category, we participate in a self-stereotyping process. We determine what actions are considered appropriate in the context of grouping, and we adjust. We hope that fellow group members do the same thing. We agree with members of the same category group in matters that maintain group existence.

In that situation, what happens in a crowd according to Reicher, is not the loss of individual identity but the shift to social identity that is considered appropriate or relevant in the group of categories that are followed. Likewise, what happens is not a loss of control over actions, but a shift in the basis of the category of a behavioural control. The act of molesting a mother dressed as a political opponent or harming certain media reporters who are deemed to lie about their groups is not a reflection of the loss of control or ignorance

of the masses, but rather a manifestation of actions that can be accepted by groups because they are enforcing group identity.

Although attended by millions of Indonesians, the reunion event was orderly, and participants upheld the norms of democracy which is the basis of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) by maintaining good manners and hospitality even when in a crowded space.

We believe, those attending truly understood their loyalty to the Indonesia Constitution (NKRI) and the *Pancasila* together with the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and practiced it by acting with tolerance. The 212 Reunion participants also knew the history of the birth of the NKRI and the *Pancasila*, while maintaining harmony and caring for the nation. They were aware of the importance of cleanliness, orderliness, and safety while demonstrating.

Research Methodology

This study is qualitative in which to use face-to-face interviews (*in-depth interview*) in the form of *semi-structured interviews* which is interview methods that do not limit the responses of informants, but remain focused to study questions. This method is selected because of the information obtained from the informant interviewed directly is more reliable and authoritative. Informants in this study are as many as 1200 people comprising all level of citizen.

Selection informants are based on their knowledge about Reuni 212. This study also uses document analysis to study provisions in the Peaceful Assembly Act 2012. Data obtained then analysed qualitatively. According to Marshall & Rossman (2006) "*qualitative data analysis is a search for general statements about relationships and underlying themes*".

The advantage of this type of analysis is that it can generate understanding, discovery and thus contributing to the whole activity or a phenomenon. This is as it provides detailed information about a small number of individuals or cases through direct quotations, and thorough explanations of programs, situations, events, individuals, interactions and behavioural observation. In addition, qualitative analysis also contributes to the significant to the basis of science in its application process (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Merriam, 2009)

Data Finding

Question 1 - Do you know or have heard about 212 Reunion?; is the key question that help this study to explore the depth of understanding and information that respondents have about Reunion 212. Out of 1200 respondents, a total of 702 respondents (58.5%) answer yes, and 456 respondents (38%) stated that they have no knowledge about reunion 212. Meanwhile, 3.5% (42 respondents) didn't reply at all.
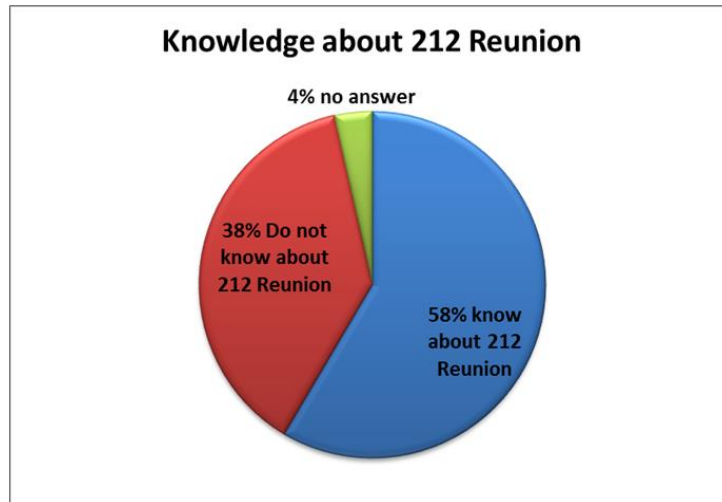
Chart 1: Knowledge about Reuni 212

To investigate more on the psychological elements and background of the respondents in line with their understanding and knowledge about Reuni 212, in the next survey questions on 1) education level and 2) religion, 702 respondents (58.5%) who stated that they have information and knowledge about reunion 212 are being cross-examined. Below are questions and the result of survey.

1. Education Level

Education background is important for it gives an insight of how the Reuni 2012 participants view Reuni in relation to their personal political, socio and economic stability.

Out of 702 respondents who answer 'Yes' in question 1; a total of 293 respondents (41.7%) graduated from Primary School. Meanwhile, 147 respondents (21%) graduated from Middle School, 202 respondents (28.7%) graduated High School. Finally, 60 respondents (8.6%) graduated from higher learning institution and above.
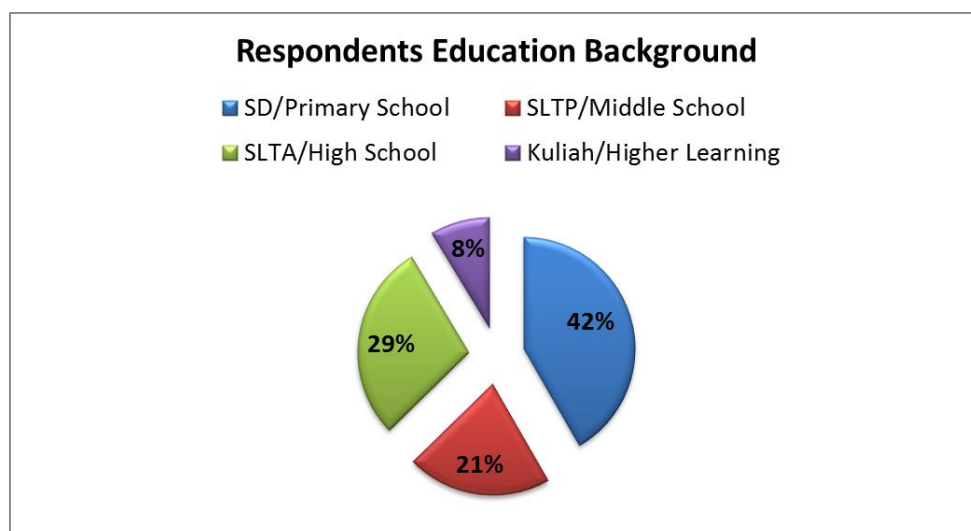

Chart 2: Respondents Education Background

The next question ask to these respondents are whether they favour Reuni 212. Total of 159 respondents (54.1%) with Primary School background favour Reuni 212, 82 respondents (55.8%) with middle school background and 115 respondents (56.7%) with high school education also favour Reuni 212. Respondents with higher learning education background also favour Reuni 212 with a total number of 28 respondents (47.3%). Below is the breakdown of each group of respondents.
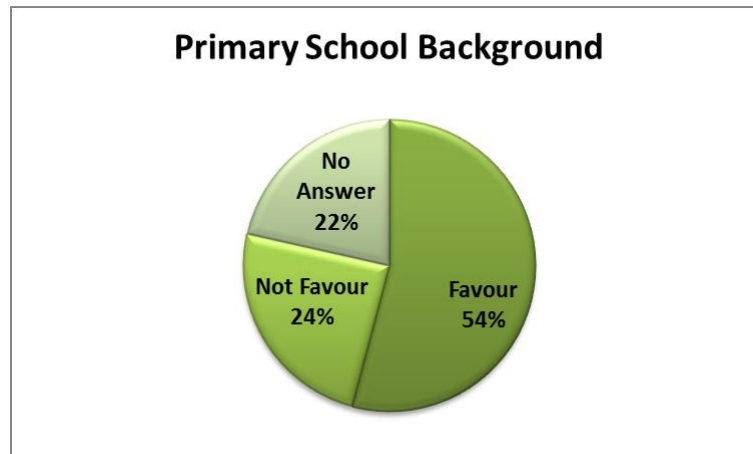

Chart 3: Respondents with Primary School Background

Survey finds that a total of 159 respondents (54.1%) with Primary School background favour Reuni 212. In contrast, 71 respondents (24%) do not favour Reuni 212 and 63 respondents (22%) did not give an answer.
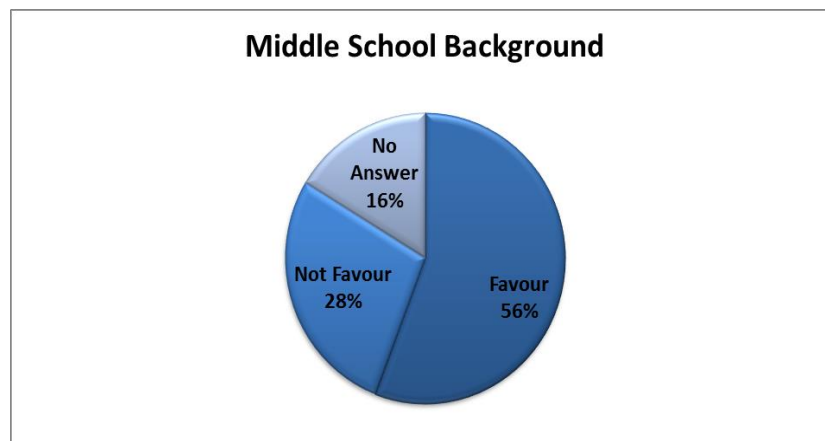

Chart 4: Respondents with Middle School education Background

82 respondents (56%) with middle school background also stated that they favour Reuni 212. However, the not favour responds are at 28% with 41 respondents and no answers at 16% with a total of 24 respondents.
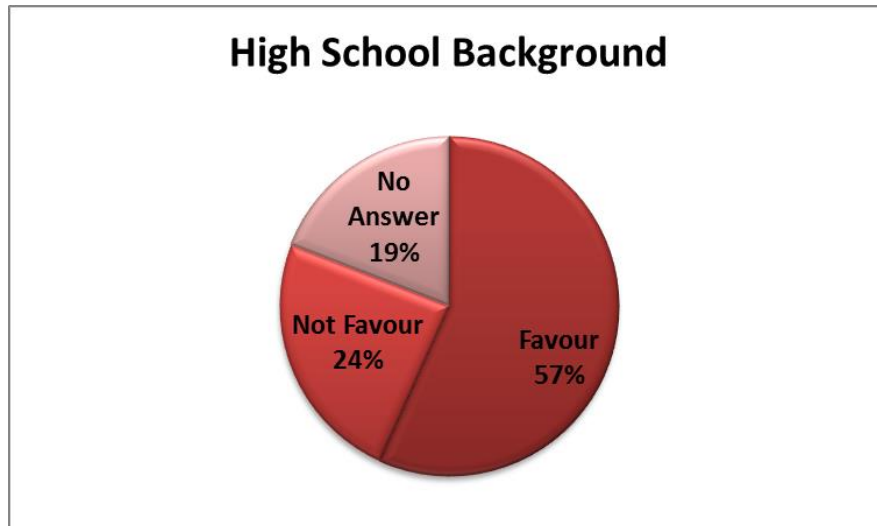
High School Background

Chart 5: Respondents with High School Education Background

Survey finds that a total of 115 respondents (57%) with High School background favour Reuni 212. In contrast, 49 respondents (24%) do not favour Reuni 212 and 38 respondents (19%) did not give an answer.
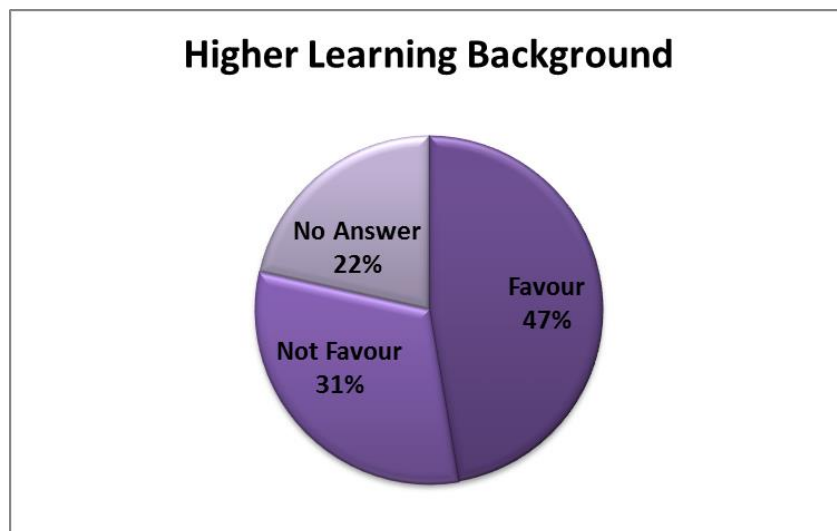
Higher Learning Background

Chart 6: Respondents with Higher Learning Education Background

Respondents with higher learning education background also favour Reuni 212 with a total number of 28 respondents (47.3%). But 31% with 19 respondents did not favour Reuni 212 and 13 respondents (22%) did not give an answer.

2. Religion

Out of 702 respondents who answer Yes in question 1, 87.30% (with a total of 613 respondents) are Muslims and 12.70% (89 respondents) are non-Muslim   .
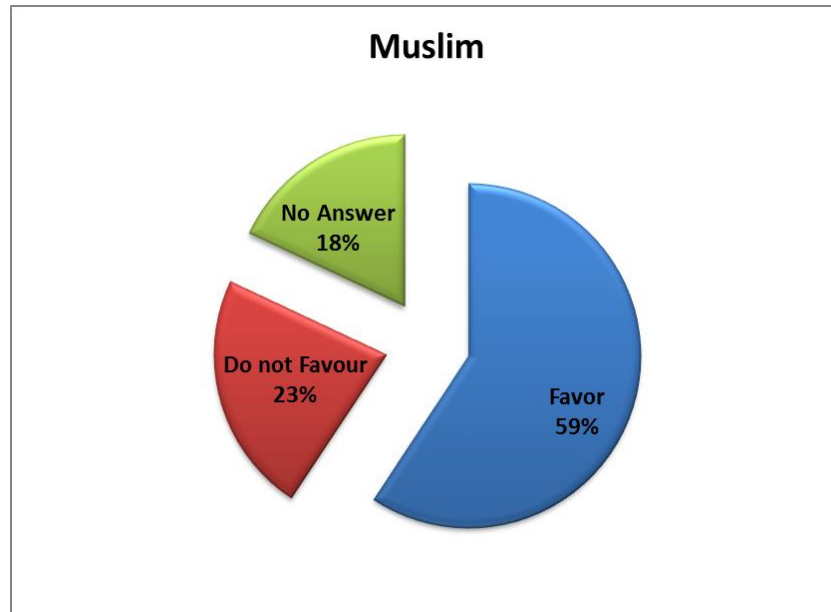
Chart 7: Muslim Respondents

Muslim respondents who favour Reuni 212 reach a whole number of 364 respondents (59% of a total 613 Muslim respondents). Meanwhile 23% (139 Respondents) did not favour Reuni 212 and 18% (110 respondents) did not gave an answer.
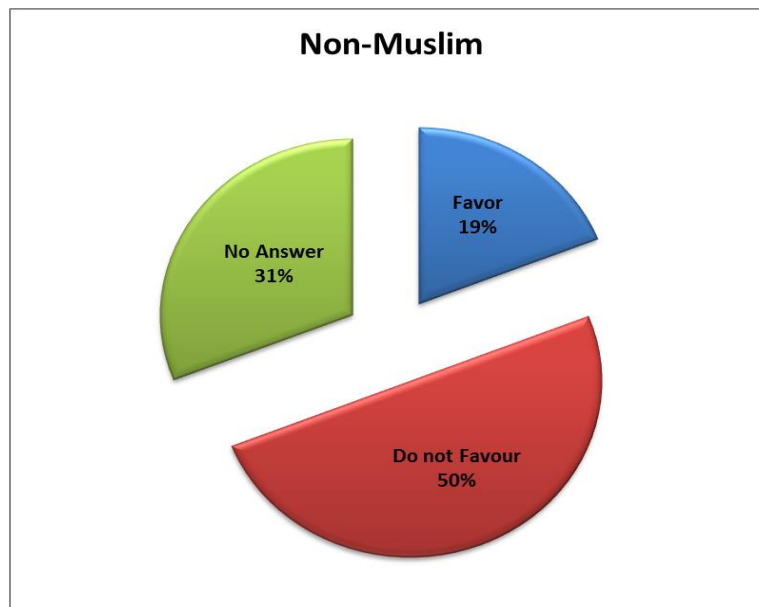

Chart 8: Non-Muslim Respondents

Non-Muslim respondents who favour Reuni 212, is only 19% (17 respondents), However a large number of respondents with a total 50% (45 Respondents) did not favour Reuni 212 and 31% (27 respondents) did not gave an answer.

Results of Research: Discussions and Recommendations

The results of the analysis on interview data show that there are three factors the main that led to street protests.

1. First, because of the communication problems between governments and people. This refers to the channel for the people to convey information cannot goes well. People who are dissatisfied with an issue usually do not have any opportunity to express it through discussion sessions with the government, especially the parties holds the government post at the central level. This is in line with Rawls (1971), which states the society force to protest because of space to express has limited option. The above view shows there is a weakness of the communication channel between the people and the government, causing the people more extract to join a protest to express their dissatisfaction with the government.

2. The third factor that led to protests was the use of broad Internet. Internet is a technology that can narrow the gap between society and share information as well freedom of view. It has the potential to influence people's minds to oppose the basics government. With the sophistication of today's technology world, the use of various communication applications such as Facebook, Whatsapp, WeChat and telegram are the latest platforms for the community to express their dissatisfaction with the government.

Many negatives comment seen in social media that can easily affect the government. In addition, The Internet can eventually contribute to influence people the street protests. This is agreed upon by all informants interviewed either from the government, the opposition or police officers.

The findings of this study are in line with Hill & Sen (2005) study, which was conducted they in Indonesia show that using the Internet is one of the factors contributing to the reform movement in Indonesia in 1998 was further subdued to the autocratic rule in the country.

Even though this study brings no significant impact towards the current Indonesian Presidency Campaign, but a in depth study about the gender view will bring into a new dimension of research, especially women voter consists more than 65% than total eligible elector in Indonesia.

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