



Kartini and the Women's Movement: An Analysis of Her Role and Influence in the History of the Indonesian National Movement

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Abstract

Discussions pertaining to the role of women are an ongoing phenomenon. The debates surrounding women's roles as actors of domestic work or their role in the public sphere are not obsolete discourses that are ubiquitous in academic discourse. One such debate concerns the women's movement. The objective of the movement, which was initiated by women activists, is to enhance the status of women. The actions of prominent female figures throughout history demonstrate that Indonesian women were instrumental in establishing the women's movement, guided by principles of humanity and social justice. This study seeks to establish a historical understanding as a foundation for the contemporary women's movement in its pursuit of social and political rights. In order to gain insight into the fluctuating nature of the women's movement since the late nineteenth century, the historical method was employed in this research. It became evident that the waves of activism initiated by female leaders, advocating for women's rights in all fields, were born out of the injustices inherent in gender relations. Indonesian women leaders, in particular, have set an exemplary standard, and it falls upon today's women to carry the torch and continue the struggle.

Keywords: Indonesian History, Women's Movement, Kartini

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INTRODUCTION

Discussions pertaining to the role of women are an ongoing phenomenon. Debates concerning the role of women as either actors of domestic work or in the public sphere are not obsolete. They are discussed in many different contexts and settings. This demonstrates that a significant number of parties, including intellectuals, NGO activists, and those engaged in women's activism, continue to emphasise the importance of women's involvement, representation and participation in key strategic areas of national and state life. The persistence of struggles and movements led by both women's organisations and individuals concerned about women's issues illustrates that there remain numerous instances of gender-based inequalities and injustice.

The annals of the nation's history are replete with accounts of social movements that were initiated by women leaders. These female figures played a pivotal role in establishing the foundation for the struggle of women to have equal rights in the public sphere. Women occupy a multiplicity of roles in various fields of life, rather than being confined to a single aspect. In other words, women are the primary agents of change across a wide range of fields within the context of human development. Female historical figures have been instrumental in driving forward political, economic, social, and cultural

movements. In the specific case of education, women have played a particularly prominent role. This is because education is a fundamental aspect of all fields of life, including politics, the economy, society, culture, and gender equality. The struggle for national education is a unifying force that transcends these different areas.

The term "educator" is often used to describe women. This is because, by nature or social construction, women are often seen as natural educators. This title is not something that is automatically bestowed upon women; it is a reflection of their role in society.

This is a role that is automatically assumed by women. In Indonesia, the concept of a "mother tongue" exists, but not that of a "father tongue." This implies that a mother, or more broadly a woman, plays a significant role in the educational process.

This article aims to elucidate the differences in word usage between "women" and "woman" from a linguistic perspective, thereby facilitating an understanding of the history of the Indonesian women's movement from its most fundamental aspects. Subsequently, an array of historical moments is delineated, encompassing the pivotal events and developments that emerged from the actions and initiatives undertaken by women within the context of the women's movement. This spans a period from the late nineteenth century to the twentieth century. The present discussion is constrained to the eras preceding Indonesian independence, the period following independence, and the era of the Old Order. With the advent of the New Order and the silencing of civil society voices, the women's movement, which had endured through the Reformations, underwent a period of transformation, manifesting new characteristics and styles.

The terms "women" and "woman" are frequently used interchangeably. The definition and meaning of the term in question are subject to change in accordance with the prevailing sociocultural norms. In the past, the term "woman" held a grand and noble meaning and was frequently used as the name of institutions or organizations, such as Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia (Perwari), Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (Gerwani), and Dharma Wanita. Over time, the term "woman" became increasingly prevalent, particularly in the nomenclature of organizations such as the Indonesian Women's Labor Defense Committee (Komnas Perempuan). The shifts in usage and the evolution of the meanings of these terms have an impact on Indonesian speakers, collectively known as the Indonesian nation, who position women in all societal contexts. As Kuntjara (2001) notes, the terms "women" and "woman" are often used interchangeably in Indonesian. In the past, the term "woman" was considered more noble than "women," while "women" had a pejorative connotation. However, the term "woman" is now used more frequently than "women." This term is particularly prevalent among activists in the women's movement.

The movement initiated by women activists is primarily focused on advancing the status of women. The measures implemented by female leaders throughout history illustrate that Indonesian women are committed to establishing a robust foundation for the women's movement, guided by the principles of humanity and social justice. This strategy has proved effective in reshaping social perceptions and securing recognition. The women's liberation movement encompasses a diverse range of theories and political perspectives McDonald in (Triaristinaa & Octari Tauvita, 2023).

The research objectives are divided into two categories: theoretical and practical. Theoretically, the research aims to enhance the nation's understanding of the history of the Indonesian women's movement. Furthermore, it will serve as a pertinent and current reference for academics or researchers engaged in the study of women's issues and the history of social movements that surround them. In terms of practical outcomes, the research aims to facilitate a deeper comprehension of historical developments as a foundational element in the contemporary women's movement. This understanding can inform the continued advancement of social and political rights, as well as the sustainability of the movement itself. By situating the current struggle within a broader

historical and theoretical context, the research contributes to a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of gender equality.

METHOD

This article employs a historical methodology. In accordance with the research stages set out by Sugiyono (2019), the process may be broken down into the following steps: (1) Heuristics: This refers to the act of identifying and tracking down relevant data sources. Sources are gathered through literature studies, drawing on both books and journal articles; (2) Criticism: This entails verifying the validity of the data obtained; (3) Interpretation: This involves interpreting the historical facts obtained through the aforementioned data sources; (4) Historiography: This refers to the systematic and chronological writing of history.

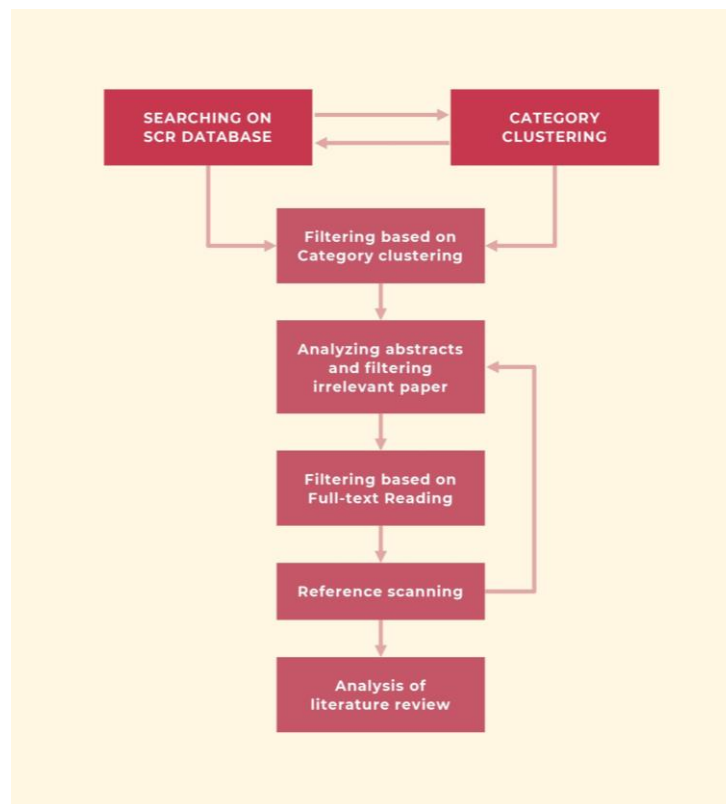


Figure 1. Literature Review

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Women from a Linguistic-Historical Perspective

In everyday conversation, people typically employ the term "perempuan" or the term "wanita" is used to refer to either gender. It can be assumed that the general view of speakers equates the meaning and usage of the two words. Indeed, language is not value-free. It is born and developed in society and contains social construction on every word. This construction builds perceptions in every human mind, which are then used in everyday life without questioning.

The question thus arises as to why there are two distinct terms, "perempuan" and "wanita," which appear to convey essentially the same meaning. It is therefore important to consider how these terms are used in the public sphere and to what extent they influence the women's movement. In order to gain a holistic understanding of the women's movement, it is necessary to apply critical reasoning to every aspect of the

phenomenon. This includes an analysis of language. Language is a fundamental aspect of the movement for every women activist or academic-intellectual, as it enables them to navigate the practical and theoretical levels of the movement.

In the initial period following independence (1945-1949), it was more common for women's organizations to use *Wanita* names. These included the *Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesia* (*Perwari*) and the *Kongres Wanita Indonesia* (*Kowani*) (Blackburn, 2004). This practice continued during the Guided Democracy (1958-1965) and the New Order (1966-1998). Examples include the *Indonesian Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* (*Gerwani*) and *Dharma Wanita*. While the term "*wanita*" was initially more prevalent in these organizations, the term "*perempuan*" was also commonly used. The distinction lies in the connotations and implications associated with each term. (Blackburn, 2004)

The term "*perempuan*" suggests a sense of defiance and challenge to the status quo, as evidenced by the preference for the term "*perempuan*" in the names of women's movement organizations. In lieu of "*perempuan*": Notable examples include the *Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan* (*APIK*), *Komite Pembela Kaum Buruh Perempuan*, and *Solidaritas Perempuan* (Blackburn, 2004). Furthermore, historical evidence indicates that the term "*perempuan*" had already been employed in women's organizations, namely *Perserikatan Perkoempoelan Perempoean Indonesia* (*PPPI*) (Jupriono in Aziza, 2021). (Sonya Nur Aziza, 2021). The term "*wanita*" carries an honorable connotation as a result of the amelioration process, indicating a shift towards a more positive meaning. (Blackburn, 2004)

The term "*wanita*" is used to describe the state or quality of being a woman. The term "*kewanitaan*" is defined as the set of characteristics that are exclusive to the female gender. Similarly, the concept of "*womanhood*" is often associated with characteristics such as gentleness, obedience, politeness, and submissiveness (Jupriono, 1997). Conversely, when the term "*perempuan*" is linked to a passive and submissive disposition, it also implies that "*perempuan*" is antithetical to qualities such as fortitude, defiance, courage, resilience, and tenacity. The antithetical values and characteristics ascribed to the term "*woman*" are those espoused by women. Conversely, women have experienced a process of pejoration, which denotes a shift in meaning towards a negative or unfavorable connotation. This phenomenon can be illustrated by a historical example that is full of linguistic influences, namely the way in which women were consumed by women in the bureaucratic body during the New Order. This is evidenced by the use of the name of the *Dharma Wanita* organization, which is a collection of wives of civil servants. This was intended to make women appear more civilized, silent, and obedient to male power.

Furthermore, the term is more widely recognized. The term "*wanita*" was employed in the nomenclature of women's professions at the time, including the *Menteri Pemberdayaan Wanita*. The noble character of women was effectively erased by the use of the word "*Wanita*."

Educational Messages in Every Women's Movement

The women's movement in Indonesia can, at certain points in time, be considered as a consistent and unified movement. This consistency emerged as a response to various forms of discrimination, marginalization, and injustice faced by women. These included stereotypes, stigmatization, and a lack of justice. Despite the fluctuations in the struggle, the prevailing perception of women's marginalization in the public sphere remains unwavering. A relay of struggle from one era to the next is a reflection of the commitment of female leaders. The following figures represent pioneers who have made significant contributions to women's movements throughout history. In addition to advocating for justice, these movements have also played a crucial role in shaping educational messages. Their influence has been sustained, even after decades, through the education of women in Indonesia.

R.A. Kartini

Raden Ajeng Kartini (April 21, 1879 – March 17, 1904) was a female figure who is often regarded as the foundation of the Indonesian women's struggle. She was born in Jepara, Central Java. Her father was Raden Mas Adipati Sosroningrat, the regent of Jepara. Raden Ajeng Kartini is not only a figure of historical interest, but also an important historical figure in her own right. Her courage and tenacity were remarkable, and it is therefore unsurprising that she is regarded as a pioneering figure in the history of women's rights.

The issues and struggles voiced by Kartini were subsequently compiled and published in her letters. The 1963 publication of *Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang* is of particular significance. The content of her letters comprises resistance and social criticism of the arbitrary actions perpetrated by the male class at that time. Kartini vehemently opposed the practice of forced marriage, which she defined as a union that was imposed upon a woman, even though she had never known the man who sought to marry her and had never even seen the bridge of his nose. She also denounced polygamy, which was prevalent at the time, as a practice whereby a man could have multiple wives, all of whom resided in the same household. She advocated for a monogamous marriage, opposed polygamy, and criticized the practice of divorce without just cause. Additionally, she denounced the tradition of confining women to the domestic sphere and limiting their mobility and autonomy. Furthermore, she emphasized the importance of women's access to education.

Kartini's perspective was that marriage should be based on the mutual love and respect between two individuals. In other words, the process of introduction must precede marriage. If there is coercion, particularly when it is directed towards women who, at the time, lacked power due to the prevailing social construction, it can be considered a crime of an interpersonal relationship. The forced marriage of women is akin to the forced marriage of pets. Additionally, Kartini vehemently denounced the prevalence of polygamy among men during that era. The religious dogma that confines women to their domestic roles is not the only factor at play. Morality also plays a role in determining the acceptability of such roles. When women are confined to their homes and lack adequate support, it is an imposition of lust that is not accompanied by ability. The subjugation of women is perpetuated by the expectation of submission and obedience in response to a marriage proposal. This phenomenon represents an extension of the tradition of *pingitan*, a custom that restricts adult women from leaving their homes in the absence of a husband. When an adult woman is constrained from leaving her house, and subsequently becomes a second or third wife to a man who has proposed marriage in the name of false love, her autonomy and well-being are severely undermined.

Kartini's messages make clear that the path to women's independence and self-sufficiency lies in education. Education, which serves to liberate and dignify, is the sole instrument that women must master to combat the oppression they have endured. Through learning, women will become educated, enlightened, and empowered. They will become full human beings, free to make life choices based on reason. Consequently, in response to her distress and the myriad issues confronting women, Kartini prioritized education as a means of addressing injustice.

Kartini was one of a small number of Indonesian women to receive a Western education. Despite only completing elementary school, she was able to gain sufficient knowledge of the Dutch language to engage with the modern world. She maintained a correspondence with her friends in Europe, communicating in Dutch. A number of the letters included in her published work were addressed to Dutch correspondents.

The status of women during Kartini's era was less liberated than it is today. At that time, feudal culture was still pervasive in society. The prevailing feudal culture effectively negated women's freedom and autonomy of thought. Women were effectively subsumed

within the male-dominated social order, expected to adhere to the dominant patriarchal norms of obedience and subordination. Marriage was perceived as a significant source of distress and subjugation for Indonesian women. In a letter addressed to Miss Zeehandelaar on May 25, 1899, Kartini articulated her view of marriage as a form of bondage and suffering.

Kartini devoted a great deal of attention to the issue of women's education, which has remained a fundamental aspect of the Indonesian women's movement from that time until the present. She articulated five key principles regarding the education of women Sastroatmodjo in (Sudrajat, 2015):

1. Women are the primary educators. Given their role as the source of human life, women are naturally responsible for the education of their children.
2. Women are the carriers of civilization. In one of her letters, Kartini wrote, "From the beginning, the progress of women has been the most important article in the effort to advance the nation. The intelligence of the Bumiputra population will not advance rapidly if women are left behind in the effort. Women are the bearers of civilization!"
3. Education is a process of intellectual and emotional development. It is not merely an intellectual pursuit; it encompasses the full spectrum of human experience, including emotional and affective dimensions.
4. Education for equality between men and women is essential for national progress. The fundamental objective of unifying national life is to organize civilization with education. This will be achieved if education between men and women is equalized, facilitating the attainment of goals through cooperation and harmonization.

Poetri Mardika

The involvement of women in the 20th century commenced with the establishment of women's organizations. At that time, women's organizations advanced concepts that highlighted the importance of improving the status of women. Prior to independence, the style of the women's movement association was focused on enhancing the position of women. Subsequently, it evolved into a platform for advocating for the right to education for women (Andrea Dinurul Aeni, 2022).

In 1912, Poetri Mardika was established, marking the advent of the first women's organization in Batavia. It made a noteworthy impact on the advancement of women's quality of life, receiving backing and aid from Budi Utomo, which placed a premium on education and cultural growth (Vreede-de Stuers, 2008). The Poetri Mardika organization's objective is to encourage women to enhance their quality of life, particularly in the domains of education and social interaction (Suryokhondro in (Yanti, 2020)). Poetri Mardika strives to advance women's status beyond the confines of traditional gender roles, encouraging them to become active agents in improving their circumstances. The following is an excerpt from a newspaper written by Rahardjo in Yanti (2020), regarding the progress envisioned by Poetri Mardika: "The primary objective, as it were, is to emulate the intellectual capabilities of other nations, at the very least to achieve a standard of excellence and sophistication commensurate with their own" (Yanti, 2020).

As the inaugural women's organization, Poetri Mardika had a number of agendas that were pursued in order to realize their ideals. Among them were the following: firstly, providing a discourse on women's emancipation through newspapers. Poetri Mardika had a newspaper named after their organization. The articles that

The content of the publications is generated directly by the members. The disparate writings encompass the sentiments, ideas, and concerns of the female members of Poetri Mardika. Upon the continuation of the newspaper's publication, Poetri Mardika not only began to publish women's writings, but also accepted male contributions that espoused the cause of women's emancipation. Secondly, Poetri Mardika provided scholarships.

From the outset, it was recognised that the injustices faced by women were a consequence of their lack of access to education. As a result, educational scholarships were introduced with the aim of empowering women through education. The approach of building women through education, which Poetri Mardika advocated, was an extension of the work of R.A. Kartini, who had previously laid the foundations for the struggle for Indonesian women's education.

Two key actions undertaken by Poetri Mardika demonstrated a clear commitment to the cause of women's education. The establishment of a newspaper with a focus on developing women's insight and literacy is a noteworthy initiative. In addition to disseminating information, the newspaper also aimed to enhance the writing capabilities of its members. The provision of educational scholarships represents a tangible step towards improving the quality of education. As the inaugural women's education organization, Poetri Mardika played a pivotal role in initiating the struggle for women's education.

The impact of Poetri Mardika's movement was not merely a simple opening up of access for women to the educational process; it was a profound and transformative one. If formulated, the roles and contributions of Poetri Mardika can be described as follows (Yanti, 2020):

1. Poetri Mardika served as the catalyst for the formation of subsequent women's organizations. Additionally, it facilitated networking through regional congresses, thereby reinforcing its connections with other associations.
2. Poetri Mardika aimed to provide educational opportunities to the broader community, particularly women, through its publications, fostering a spirit of renewal, openness, and nationalism. The newspaper served as a conduit for disseminating ideas pertaining to women's progress, while simultaneously facilitating the transmission of Poetri Mardika's missions to women and other communities. The newspaper, published in the 1900s, also served as an active medium for socializing Poetri Mardika's mission within the community. The newspaper addressed a number of issues pertinent to women's education, including the importance of education for women, the merits of mixed education between men and women, and the granting of concessions for women. It also provided leeway for women to move and pursue education during the Dutch colonial era.
3. Poetri Mardika sought to foster awareness among women of the importance of education. For instance, Poetri Mardika members frequently engaged in discourse on the significance of education within the community. The primary motivation for Indonesian women to pursue an education on par with that of men during the Dutch colonial period was the lack of fairness in their treatment, which prevented them from fully expressing themselves.
4. Poetri Mardika intensified its efforts to promote justice and women's human rights. This was achieved by assisting women in escaping the constraints of traditional practices such as polygamy, underage marriage, the nyai system, the concubine system, and forced marriage.

Regional Women's Movement

Following the formation of Poetri Mardika, a number of organisations and associations emerged in the following years, both those that were supported by men's organisations and those that were formed independently by women, including Pawiyatan Wanito in Magelang (1915) and Percintaan Ibu Kepada Anak Temurun - PIKAT in Manado (1917). Purborini (Tegal, 1917), Aisyiyah (with the assistance of Muhammadiyah [Yogyakarta, 1917]), Wanito Soesilo (Pemalang, 1918), Wanito Hadi (Jepara, 1919), Poeri Boedi Sedjati (Surabaya, In 1919, the following organizations were established: Wanito Oetomo and Wanito Moeljo (Yogyakarta, 1920), Kaoem Iboe Soematra Union (Bukit

Tinggi, 1920), and Wanito Katolik (Yogyakarta, 1924). In essence, every women's organization at that time aimed to improve the position of women in social life by improving women's education as a basic strategy (Soetjipto, 2005). However, despite this common goal, these organizations were still regional in nature.

Women's movement organizations were also established in Sumatra, including KAS (Kerajinan Amai Setia), founded in 1914, Keutamaan Istri in Medan, Istri Sumatera, PARMU (Indonesian Muslimin Party) Istri Section, Persatuan Istri Andalas, and others. In Sulawesi, several women's organizations were established, including PIKAT (Percintaan Ibu Kepada Anak Temurunnya), which was founded in Manado in 1917, Sarekat Rukun Istri in Makassar, and numerous others. Similarly, in Kalimantan, the Wanito Kencono organization was established. Additionally, in Bali, the Perukunan Istri Denpasar was established.

Additionally, Isteri Sedar was established in Bandung in 1930 by Suwarni Pringgodigdo. Isteri Sedar was a women's organization engaged in political activism. At its 1932 congress, Isteri Sedar articulated its objective to advance the status of Indonesian women through the struggle for independence. The fundamental premise was that there would be no

The concept of equal rights between men and women was a prominent theme in the rhetoric of the period. Arivia in Pradita (2020) articulated the view that only an independent Indonesia, achieved through the collective efforts of men and women, would be able to guarantee equal rights and opportunities for all Indonesian citizens. (Pradita, 2020)

Gerakan Wanita Indonesia

Gerwani represents a continuation of the Indonesian women's movement, Sedar (Gerwis), which was established on July 4, 1950, in Semarang (Diniah in Anggarista, et al., 2021). Gerwani is a women's organization that espouses the values of independence, self-sufficiency, empowerment, and hard work. It challenges the conventional notion of women as passive beings, confined to a life of leisure and driven by a pursuit of wealth. (Anggarista et al., 2021). Instead, it advocates for a more active and fulfilling lifestyle, where women can achieve their full potential. Gerwani also espoused a strong opposition to the notion of women as followers of their husbands in their actions or as mere appendages of their husbands. In 1955, Gerwani sought to pursue a distinct set of activities, namely focusing its attention on the 1955 elections. Upon the commencement of the electoral campaign, Gerwani resolved to engage in and endorse the candidacies of PKI members. However, despite the political liberties it had secured, Gerwani did not field its own candidates. In the 1955 electoral contest, approximately 23,480 Gerwani members participated by Wieringa in Sasi (2022). (SASI, 2022)

Gerwani was aligned with the PKI. Consequently, their movement was characterised by a high level of violence and radicalism. Gerwani frequently engaged in protest activities, issuing demands and appeals to the government through mass demonstrations. These actions were carried out in response to various forms of societal oppression. Despite the challenges faced, the pro-people and justice movement enabled Gerwani to emerge as a prominent women's organization in Indonesia. Gerwani serves as a historical testament to the fact that Indonesia's evolving democracy provides a platform for women to express themselves and explore their potential.

In 1964, Gerwani initiated a series of programs aimed at self-development in the context of an increasingly polarized political environment. These programs encompassed a range of issues, including women's rights, children's rights, democratic rights, national independence, and peace.

- a. Women's Rights. The primary focus of Gerwani's work program was the advancement of women's rights. The work program of Gerwani included the advancement of women's rights, which encompassed several key areas. These

included the pursuit of equal rights with men in politics, the right to marital protection, the right to choose citizenship in mixed marriages, the rights of women in the event of widowhood, the rights of women workers, the rights of women in governance, health rights, and the right to participate in implementing land reform. In total, there are at least 22 distinct Gerwani programs that address women's rights issues.

- b. Children's Rights. The second area of focus for Gerwani's work program is the rights of children. Children's lives are inextricably linked to this context, the role of women—and specifically, mothers—is of particular significance. From Gerwani's perspective, the rights of children cannot be considered in isolation; rather, they must be seen as part of a larger continuum that encompasses the rights of women. In their program, Gerwani has identified several specific rights pertaining to children that they consider to be essential for their wellbeing. These include the right of children to be free from illiteracy, the right of children to receive education, and the right of children to obtain entertainment that is not obscene or propaganda.
- c. Rights to Democracy, Full National Independence, and Peace. Gerwani also advocates for the rights of women in the context of democracy, peace, and independence. One example of this is the right to participate in the liberation of West Irian.

Gerwani was an organization that existed from 1950 to 1965. Following the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement, Gerwani ceased to exist. The role of Gerwani came to an end with the dissolution of the PKI and the collapse of the Sukarno government in the wake of the events that transpired on the night of September 30, 1965. The history of the women's organization that successfully shaped women's political views as "militant mothers" ultimately culminated in a tragic conclusion. The military and conservative groups, who were opposed to Gerwani's political activism and perceived its militancy as a threat, engaged in a deliberate and malicious disinformation campaign. They sought to portray Gerwani as a "morally depraved organization" by reversing its moral position. Symbols of wild sex and castration were employed to silence women's courage, socio-political independence, and autonomy, resulting in a long-term disaster in the history of women in Indonesia. The pro-capital New Order military government was successful in eliminating Gerwani from the historical record of the women's movement (Soyomukti in (Adi Nugroho, 2020)).

The agendas that Gerwani has and has carried out provide an important sociopolitical education message for women, namely that they can involve themselves directly in the realm of policymaking. At the very least, they have demonstrated that their opinions in the public sphere are heard and taken seriously, rather than being dismissed and ignored as in the previous era. The assumption that women are more emotional and therefore less suitable for work in government was disproven by the success of women's advocacy and activism, which were characterised by critical reasoning. Gerwani, for example, was a prominent women's organisation which played a pivotal role in Indonesian politics.

CONCLUSION

A historical analysis of the Indonesian women's movement reveals a dynamic and evolving narrative. The history of the women's movement from the late 19th century to the present demonstrates a pattern of fluctuating progress and setbacks. The impetus provided by female leaders in asserting women's rights across various domains has its roots in the persistence of gender-based inequity. The treatment and attitudes toward women that are devoid of humanitarian principles have incensed educated women. The injustices, oppressions, and restricted access experienced by women are the result of

ignorance. Since her early career, R.A. Kartini has prioritized the advancement of women's human capital, emphasizing intellectual growth. She recognized that educational attainment could foster human enlightenment, leading to greater appreciation and respect from others. In this context, education serves not only as a pathway to knowledge but also as a shield against arbitrary limitations. Through critical reasoning and ethical reasoning, women can navigate various constraints that might otherwise impede their autonomy and agency. All women's movements in Indonesian history have placed a premium on education. In a broader sense, there have been other educational movements in Indonesia, such as Gerwani, which focused on socio-political practices and education, as well as Poetri Mardika, which was particularly engaged in educational work. The Indonesian women's movement has a long and distinguished history, and its legacy provides compelling evidence that the nation has experienced a phase of justice crisis for women. This history should serve as a reference point for the contemporary Indonesian women's movement. Despite the long-standing practice of democracy, instances of injustice continue to emerge in various forms. Indonesian women leaders have set an example, and it is now up to the current generation of women to continue the struggle.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS STATEMENT

Burhanuddin was the chief researcher who led the research and also conducted the observation process and searching the literature to obtain the results of the research conducted. The authors had a role in writing the research as well as the documentation and observation process.

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