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Research Article

Educated Women: Shaping Social Identity during the National Movement

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Abstract: Women's label as *konco wingking*, the second sex, demonstrates an intensely patriarchal culture. The national movement period was involved in realizing their independence. This article explains the role of educated women during the national movement. This study is historical research with a political and psychological approach to comprehend how educated women could gain hegemony and power to create their social identity both in the domestic and public spheres. This study found that during the national movement, the social identity of educated women was gaining an existence as subjects who carried out various roles and got equal rights with men, both in the domestic and public spheres. Being educated subjects, women are aware of their identity as independent individuals, human rights that should be respected, and an equal position with men.

Keywords: educated women; social identity; national movement

Abstrak: Label perempuan sebagai *konco wingking*, jenis kelamin kedua, menunjukkan budaya patriarki yang kental. Masa pergerakan nasional terlibat dalam mewujudkan kemerdekaannya. Artikel ini menjelaskan peran perempuan terpelajar selama pergerakan nasional. Kajian ini merupakan penelitian sejarah dengan pendekatan politik dan psikologis untuk memahami bagaimana perempuan terpelajar dapat memperoleh hegemoni dan kekuasaan untuk menciptakan identitas sosialnya baik di ranah domestik maupun publik. Kajian ini menemukan bahwa pada masa pergerakan nasional, identitas sosial perempuan terpelajar memperoleh eksistensi sebagai subjek yang menjalankan berbagai peran dan mendapat hak yang sama dengan laki-laki, baik di ranah domestik maupun publik. Sebagai subjek terpelajar, perempuan menyadari identitasnya sebagai individu yang mandiri, hak asasi manusia yang harus dihormati, dan kedudukan yang setara dengan laki-laki.

Kata kunci: perempuan terpelajar; identitas sosial; pergerakan nasional

Introduction

"Because I firmly believe that women can exert a great influence in society, there is nothing better and more earnest I desire than to be educated in the field of teaching so that I will devote myself in the future to the education of children and women as the heads of *bumiputra* [native inhabitants]. Oh, I really want to, I really want to get the chance to lead children's hearts, shape character, educate young brains, educate women for the future who can well develop it and spread it again."¹

Kartini's letter contents signify how vital education is for women. Women are the first school for children because education, obtained in the womb, depends on women. However, access to education for women before independence was still low. Formal education was only obtained by women of the aristocratic class, while women from other groups received informal education and were even illiterate.²

Women have a strategic role in life, especially in the family. She became the first educator for her children. Quality improvement includes intellectual qualities, skills, personality, and other competencies. All of this is as a provision for women to live a better life as *madrasiatul ula* in the family and also as designers of the nation's civilisation through the golden generations.³ However, a patriarchal causes women to not easily gain access to improving their quality, one of which is access to education.

Education is one of the media to make women become educated individuals. On the other hand, the strong shackles of culture and patriarchal ideology in society are caused by a strong socialisation pattern and supported by a legitimacy system from various aspects of life. The trapping of women in this patriarchal culture then requires them to strengthen their capacity to occupy spaces in the public sphere and fight against the patriarchal system rooted in the social norms of society.⁴ Social norms that often trap women are always trapped in a patriarchal. Like the story of Archana, a woman who tries to gain her identity through a self-development program in the form of self-care in fighting gender inequality.⁵ Being educated, women can create their social identity in a solid patriarchal culture.

Identity is what some individuals have in common and what separates one person from another. Identity provides a sense of belonging and social existence.⁶ As stated by Tajfel & Turner, social identity is when individuals tend to do social categorisation and identify themselves into specific categories with the same characteristics as those in

¹ Sulastin Sutrisno, *Surat-Surat Kartini: Renungan Tentang Dan Untuk Bangsanya / Penerjemah, Sulastin Sutrisno* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1985).

² Wiyatmi, *Menjadi Perempuan Terdidik: Novel Indonesia Dan Feminisme* (Yogyakarta: UNY Press, 2013).

³ Lailatuzz Zuhriyah, "Perempuan, Pendidikan Dan Arsitek Peradaban Bangsa," *Martabat: Jurnal Perempuan dan Anak* 2, no. 2 (2018): 249–268.

⁴ Lusya Palulungan, M. Ghufuran H. Kordi K, and Muhammad Taufan Ramli, *Perempuan, Masyarakat Patriarki & Kesetaraan Gender* (Makassar: Yayasan BaKTI, 2020).

⁵ Alison Fixsen, Damien Ridge, and Alan Porter, "Arachne, Self-Care and 'Power-Nets' on Women's Self-Development Programmes," *Gender and Education* 34, no. 7 (2022): 770–786.

⁶ Ayu Windi Kinasih, *Identitas Etnis Tionghoa Di Kota Solo* (Yogyakarta: Laboratorium jurusan ilmu pemerintahan UGM, 2007).

themselves.⁷ To get a social identity, individuals will seek, maintain, and enrich their identity. In addition, they will compare with other groups; if the other group feels better, they tend to make improvements. It is done to obtain an equal social identity and recognition from other parties. Social identity is formed from other groups that are different from their groups. Appearance affects the identity created, an enduring social identity that affects other groups or vice versa.⁸

Nevertheless, a strongly patriarchal culture gives women no social identity. The patriarchal cultures that shackle women are social status, labour division, authority distribution, resource distribution, decision-making, and ownership system. All of this happens because of the community's view that has been legitimised from generation to generation that women are under men in life, regardless of quality. Women are also considered not to have the equal ability or even more than men. This culture shackles women so that many women get stereotypes, discrimination, marginalisation, exploitation, and violence. For example, widows get stigmatised and negative stereotypes in Indonesia.⁹

In history, the image of uneducated women has always been in a weaker position than men. However, educated women can create their social identity amid the solid concept of patriarchal culture, which has been a scourge for women. The proof is that during the national movement, many educated women took part in the independence process of Indonesia. For instance, the women's movement in Indonesia began to be seen in 1912; *Putri Merdeka* in Jakarta that aimed to advance the teaching of girls; *Organisasi Keutaman Istri* [Wife Virtue Organization]; *Pawiyatan Wanito* Association in Magelang; *Wanita Susilo* [Susilo Women] in Pematang; *Wanita Hadi* in Jeporo.¹⁰ The female figures who participated in independence were educated women. For example, R.A. Kartini, Dewi Sartika, Cut Nyak Dien, and so on. It indicates that educated women could form a social identity.

Some studies regarding women and their social identity have been conducted, but they still have some limitations. Research conducted by Muhammad Jauhari Sofi and Nasim Basiri is about reclaiming women's identity because of the injustices experienced by women from social participation through the study of the Novel *Bumi Manusia* [Human Earth] by Pramoedya A. Toer. Their research result is that colonial women did not have rights, freedoms, and opportunities in society. Various forms of resistance were carried out. This novel features Nyai Ontosuroh as a *Bumiputra* woman who could stand on an equal footing with men. It was because of the education of Nyai Ontosuroh, who was given the opportunity by her master to be educated.¹¹

⁷ Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," in *Political Psychology* (Psychology Press, 2004).

⁸ Geger Riyanto, "Mencipta Dengan Menghancurkan: Signifikansi Semiotik Kekerasan Dan Reproduksi Identitas Sosial," *Paradigma, Jurnal Kajian Budaya* 7, no. 1 (2017): 14.

⁹ Lyn Parker and Helen Creese, "The Stigmatisation of Widows and Divorcees (Janda) in Indonesian Society," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 44, no. 128 (2016): 1–6.

¹⁰ Suhartono, *Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional : Dari Budi Utomo Sampai Proklamasi 1908 - 1945* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1994).

¹¹ Muhammad Jauhari Sofi and Nasim Basiri, "Reclaiming Identity: Women, Social Exclusion, and Resistance in Bumi Manusia," *Sawwa: Jurnal Studi Gender* 15, no. 2 (2020): 155–172.

A study on social identity formation was carried out by Nurul Azizah and Agus Mahfud Fauzi. They examined the social construction related to the formation of social identity in the celebration of Eid al-Adha in the Ngampungan community. Social construction is formed because there is a dialectical process, including externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Social identity in the community could be seen from participating in the sacrificial worship implementation and interaction with the surroundings. In the study, the social identity of rich people is if they made a sacrifice every year. Thus, sacrificial worship became the social identity of the affluent community in Ngampungan Village.¹²

Another study was conducted by Zalifa Nuri and Susi Machdalena on the formation of women's identities during the New Order era through Ayu Utami's novel *Saman*. The results revealed that women's identities were formed based on the education pattern of their parents, the environment, and groups with the same emotions and the policies of the New Order government. The existence of a women's five dharma policy made women's identities lower than men's. The *Saman* novel shows how women struggled to shape their social identity by trying to break the gender values and culture of that era. Laila, Shakuntala, Yasmin, and Cok show women's social identity. For example, Tala refuses to follow her father's orders; Cok, who runs her business and refuses to be dictated to about sexual matters by men; Yasmin, who attends college; Laila, who works as a photographer.¹³

Furthermore, Wiyatmi researched education for women and the emergence of educated women in Indonesian novels. This research revealed several issues related to the factors supporting and hindering women's educational achievement and how educated women played a role in society. The study findings exposed that pre-independence novels showed that women's education was still related to domestic tasks. In novels published after the 1930s, it was revealed that women's education began to be in the public sector. Then, novels published in the 1970s and so on displayed that women's education had been in the economic sector; men were not solely the family's breadwinners.¹⁴

Another previous study by Israpil examined patriarchal culture and violence against women (history and development). The paper explains the impact of the patriarchal culture that men have absolute authority over women, which causes overlapping in life so that women are always victims. It results in differences in behavior, status, and authority between men and women; the men power distribution has an advantage over women in one or more aspects, such as the lineage determination (exclusive patrilineal descendants and carrying last names); the firstborn rights; personal autonomy in social relations; participation in public and political status. As a result of this patriarchal culture, women's identity is always low.¹⁵

¹² Nurul Azizah and Agus Mahfud Fauzi, "Pembentukan Identitas Sosial Dalam Perayaan Idul Adha (Studi Kasus Di Desa Ngampungan, Kabupaten Jombang)," *Al Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan* 15, no. 1 (2021): 11.

¹³ Zalifa Nuri and Susi Machdalena, "Pembentukan Identitas Sosial Perempuan Pada Zaman Orde Baru Dalam Novel *Saman* Karya Ayu Utami," *HUMANISMA : Journal of Gender Studies* 4, no. 2 (2020): 208.

¹⁴ Wiyatmi, *Menjadi Perempuan Terdidik: Novel Indonesia Dan Feminisme*.

¹⁵ Israpil, "Budaya Patriarki Dan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan (Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya)," *PUSAKA* 5, no. 2 (2017).

The similarity of this research with existing research is to look at the patriarchal culture that is the culture of the *bumiputra* community. This causes many women to have no space, especially in the public sphere. Not all women can exist, especially those living in neighbourhoods that think men are superior.

The difference between this research and existing research is that this study sees women of social class as *priyayi* as having a higher education background. The results of their education made them interested in educating other women outside their social class. Therefore, education brought a change in the social identity of women. Highly educated *priyayi* women were able to change their social identities amid the strong currents of patriarchal culture during the social movement. One of the proofs of the change in social identity is that educated women participated in the independence process.

Meanwhile, the conceptual framework of the variables involved in this study is that educated women can create social identities during the national movement. Based on the description mentioned above, several hypotheses were proposed in this study. Major hypothesis: educated women cannot create social identity during the national movement. Minor hypothesis: educated women can create social identity during the national movement. For this reason, this study aims to determine the role of educated women during the national movement and explain the social identity of educated women during the national movement.

In this study, educated women refer to groups of women who participate in social organizations, partaking in efforts to educate women and in the process of achieving independence. Meanwhile, social identity in this study alludes to women as subjects who have the same role as men to obtain equality of social identity and recognition from other parties. Based on the problems described above, the problem formulations in this study are: how was the gait of educated women during the national movement? How was the form of social identity created by educated women during the national movement?

This study is historical research that uses a political and social psychological approach. Women's history was used to see women as subjects in history, for example, the role of women in the public sector and the women's movement.¹⁶ In addition, the political approach employed was gender (sex) politics to see how women dealt with men in fighting for hegemony and power. Politics was utilized to get equal rights with men as patriarchal culture caused women to be subordinated so that men always played a role in the public sphere.¹⁷ The public sphere is a social arena of agreement on norms and rules that hinder women's rights in social life. This public space produces community rights that women want, such as the right to information, experience, knowledge, and participation (Ulumudin, 2022). This political approach was also used to obtain women's social identity.

In this study, the theory used was the social identity theory. According to Tajfel and Turner, social identity is when individuals tend to do social categorization and identify themselves into specific categories with the same characteristics as those in themselves.¹⁸

¹⁶ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Tajfel and Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior."

Components in social identity theory include cognitive, evaluation, and emotional awareness. The emotional component involves emotional feelings in the social identity formation in the group. Furthermore, the process of forming social identity comprises the process of identification, categorization, and social comparison. An individual defines himself as a specific group member. Then, the individual assesses the identity in him against the group. Finally, social identity is obtained from comparing the identity within himself with his group; if he feels that the group identity is better, he will join.¹⁹ Thus, identity is a way to describe oneself and play a role in a social context.

The steps in this study included heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography.²⁰

Heuristics comes from the Greek *heuriscain*, which means to search, an activity of searching, collecting, categorizing, and researching historical sources, including those in references.²¹ Heuristics is the search for primary and secondary writing sources. In this study, the sources used were ancient magazines, such as *Sedar*, *Soenting Melajoe*, *Keng Hwa Poo*, and *Het Venderlad*, obtained from the national library, Tropenmuseum, and KITLV.

The next was source criticism. It is a critical step in a historian's way of working. This criticism and analysis can sort through the selected data to determine the facts, placing these facts as primary references while other supporting data as secondary or tertiary references. This criticism is divided into two. First, external criticism attempts to get the source's authenticity by conducting physical research on a source according to the time.²² Second, internal criticism refers to the source's credibility, meaning that the document content is trusted, not manipulated, does not contain bias, is not deceived, and so on.²³

In making external criticism, the writer criticised the paper type used, the writing type, the ink used, the spelling used, and so on. Meanwhile, the writer made internal criticism by comparing the contents of one data and another to obtain credible historical facts.

After that, interpretation determines the meaning of the facts obtained after internal criticism.²⁴ Historical interpretation is often referred to as historical analysis. Analysis means to describe and is terminologically different from synthetic, which means to unite.²⁵ Interpretation is also an activity that determines the meaning associated with the facts obtained after criticizing to get a complete picture of a series of events or momentum that occurred in the past. The writer interpreted the facts found, which were then analysed and synthesized between the facts found and the sources used to become a complete series of events.

Finally, historiography is a way of writing, presenting, or reporting historical research results that have been done. In historiography, the author wrote the historical research results to provide a clear picture of the research process from the beginning to the

¹⁹ Jake Harwood, "Social Identity Theory," *International encyclopedia of media psychology* (June 13, 2020): 1–7.

²⁰ Gottschalk, Louis, *Understanding History : A Primer of Historical Method* (Jakarta: Yayasan Penerbit UI, 1975).

²¹ Hugiono Purwantana, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1992).

²² Suhartono W. Pranoto, *Teori & Metodologi Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2010).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Sidi Gazalba, *Pengantar Sejarah Sebagai Ilmu* (Jakarta: Jakarta Bhratara Karya Aksara, 1981).

²⁵ Dudung Abdurrahman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011).

end (concluding). In this case, a critical historical work was about women's history during the national movement, which could present a historical fact related to educated women: the social identity formation during the national movement.

The Gait of Educated Women during the National Movement

Education is one of the effective media for the intellectual and professional development of women's resources. Therefore, they will have an essential role in advancing the nation, making Indonesia a strong, quality, and globally competitive country. However, education in Indonesia still needs to improve due to geographical conditions, infrastructure, educational participation, qualifications of teachers and prospective students, and absorption of graduates.²⁶

On the one hand, education for women is the starting point for changes in women's lives, which impacts the progress of the broader community. The quality of women's education positively impacts a better life at the individual, family, community, and national levels. The women's contribution to the field of education, including family education, is very significant, along with cultural demands that still position women's responsibilities in parenting, health, and family education. Educated women can also make a positive contribution to family income, sanitation, nutrition, school achievement, and reproductive health. Thus, women's educational attainment can directly support various problems in other development fields, such as Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), stunting, and malnutrition.

On the other hand, patriarchal culture is one of the walls that causes women to experience discrimination in getting an education. In patriarchal culture, women are only enslaved people, cooks, and housekeepers; women look after men's clothes, sew, washcloths, and other.²⁷ The high education cost caused women do not get access to education.²⁸ In addition, the existence of social stratification in society is the cause of not all women getting access to education. In social stratification, women are divided into four levels: noblewomen (priyayi), santri women, middle-class women, and poor women.²⁹ These are some factors that cause limited access to education for women.

The ethical politics of 1930 gave a wider educational space to the *bumiputra*, especially women. Formal education for women such as Hollands-Indische School (HIS), Europese Lageere School (ELS), Hollandsch Inlandsche School (HBS), Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO). The percentage of female students attending HIS from 1915 to 1940 increased from 15.54% to 36.36%. Likewise, those who attended ELS risen from 20.44% to 48.49%.³⁰

Meanwhile, educated women are those who have intelligence, knowledge, or experience from education, both formal and informal. Social stratification causes women's

²⁶ Ikhliah Muzayyanah Dini et al., *Pembangunan Manusia Berbasis Gender 2020*, 2020th ed. (Jakarta: Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (Kemen PPPA), n.d.).

²⁷ "Soenting Melajoe, May 23, 1913," 1913.

²⁸ Mutiah Amini, *Sejarah Organisasi Perempuan Indonesia (1928-1998)* (Yogyakarta: UGM Press, 2021).

²⁹ Eka Sulis Yuniarti, "Pendidikan Bagi Perempuan Jawa Pada Abad Ke 19," *Sejarah dan Budaya: Jurnal Sejarah, Budaya, dan Pengajarannya* 12, no. 1 (June 29, 2018): 9.

³⁰ Amini, *Sejarah Organisasi Perempuan Indonesia (1928-1998)*.

education to experience levels based on their social class. The poor and middle-class women were focusing on activities in the domestic sphere, such as cooking, helping with rice fields, sewing, or helping their husbands in trade. The education of *santri* women is obtained by education in Islamic boarding schools (religious lessons). Meanwhile, the education of *priyayi* women is obtained from formal education. Education is the key to realizing equality between men and women in the midst of the torrent of patriarchal culture. Education is a means of socialization as well as transferring the values and norms that apply in society.³¹

This *priyayi* women's education spearheaded the idea for women's advancement to gain knowledge of formal education. These educated female figures included Kartini (Jepara-Central Java), Dewi Sartika (West Java), Roehana Koeddoes (Minangkabau), Rahman El Janusiah (West Sumatra), and the Aisyiyah organization, which established a school for girls. Kartini founded *Sekolah Keputrian* [girls' school]; Dewi Sartika founded the *Sekolah Keutamaan Istri* [Wives Virtue School]; Roehana Koeddoes founded the *Sekolah Kerajinan Amai Setia* [Amai Setia Handicraft School]; Rahmah El Janusiah founded the Women's *Diniyah* School.³² It indicates that one of the educated women's achievements during the national movement was establishing schools for women.

Schools run by *priyayi* women have teaching programs in the form of religious education, general education and skills that are useful for women. Wives Virtue School teaches about skills as a wife in the household. Amai Setia Handicraft School aims to elevate the degree of women through teaching such as writing, reading, numeracy, domestic affairs, religion, morals, hand intelligence, sewing, cutting scissors, embroidery, and others.³³ *Perguruan Diniyah Putri Padang Panjang* teaches general and religious education. The Women's College and the magazine "Menara Putri" teach religious education and political exercises. Madrasah Mu'allimat teaches general and religious education, handicrafts and womanhood.³⁴ The Whiteness School, founded by Kartini teaches reading, writing, sewing, crocheting, cooking, etc. The Wife Primacy School, founded by Dewi Sartika teaches women skills such as sewing, patching, embroidery, crocheting, cooking, serving food, PPPK, babysitting, and learning religion.³⁵

During the national movement, educated women did not mean those with higher education and had many degrees, but women with big hearts.³⁶ Educated women during the national movement were obtained from the balance between lessons and education for girls in low schools (*volkschool*) because education produces character, while learning produces sharpness of mind. Therefore, the sharpness of reason and character should be

³¹ Nanang Hasan Susanto, "Tantangan Mewujudkan Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Budaya Patriarki," *MUWAZAH* 7, no. 2 (2015): 120–130.

³² Wiyatmi, *Menjadi Perempuan Terdidik: Novel Indonesia Dan Feminisme*.

³³ Silfia Hanani, "Rohana Kudus Dan Pendidikan Perempuan," *Marwah: Jurnal Perempuan, Agama dan Jender* 10, no. 1 (2011): 37.

³⁴ Permana Octofrezi, "Sejarah Pendidikan Islam Perempuan Dari Masa Klasik, Sebelum Dan Sesudah Kemerdekaan Indonesia," *Jurnal Komunikasi dan Pendidikan Islam* 9, no. 1 (2020): 33–54.

³⁵ Syahrul Amar, "Perjuangan Gender Dalam Kajian Sejarah Wanita Indonesia Pada Abad XIX," *Fajar Historia: Jurnal Ilmu Sejarah dan Pendidikan* 1, no. 2 (2017).

³⁶ "Sedar," 1932.

balanced.³⁷ Evidently, the woman who was sent to India to represent Indonesian women in the international arena was not the one who was highly educated and had many titles.



Figures 1. Women’s Movement Youth Congres: Women’s Congres Delegate Indonesia to India 1928 (image from left is Ny. RA. Roekmini Santoso, Sugondo Djodjopuspito and Nn. Soenardjati) (Source: Perpustakaan Nasional)

In addition, educated people in the national movement took part in getting equal rights in public domains. This is because education directs women to be productive, innovative, and creative individuals. One of them was through women's associations. Women's associations consisted of *Pasoendan Istri Serang*, *Krida Wanita Ngawi*, *Keputrian Indonesia Muda Jakarta*, *Pengurus Besar Wanito Utomo Mataram*, *Coopertatie Istri Jakarta*, *Sarekat Istri Sumatra*, *Pengurus PPII*, *Istri Indonesia Jakarta*, *Dharma Laksmi Salatiga*, and *Keputrian O.PI. Surabaya*.³⁸ In Manado, on November 27, 1927, the women's union was founded, the *Maoepe-Oepoesan Manado*.³⁹ It signifies that educated women were starting to work hand in hand to voice their equal rights in the public sphere through association channels, using organizations.

Table 1. Women's Organizations During The National Movement⁴⁰

No	Nama	Place	Time of Establishment
1.	Poetri Mardika	Jakarta	1912
2.	Keoetamaan Isteri	Bandung	1913
3.	Keradjinan Amai Setia	Minangkabau	1914
4.	Wanito Hadi	Jepera	1915

³⁷ “Sedar,” 1931.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ “KEng Hwa Poo,” 1928.

⁴⁰ Susan Blackburn, *Kongres Perempuan Pertama / Tinjauan Ulang* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007).

5.	Pawiyatan Wanito	Magelang	1915
6.	Poerborini	Tegal	1917
7.	Pikat (Pertjintaan Ibu Kepada Anak Temoeroen)	Manado	1917
8.	Wanita Soesilo	Pemalang	1918
9.	Wanodjo Oetomo	Yogyakarta	1920
10.	Gorontalische Mohammedaanshe Vrouwenbeweging	Gorontalo	1920
11.	Sarekat Kaoem Ibu Soematera	Bukittinggi	1920
12.	Kemadjoen Isteri	Jakarta dan Bogor	1926
13.	Mardi Kamoeliaan	Madiun	1927
14.	Ina Toeni	Ambon	1927
15.	Poeteri Setia	Manado	1928
16.	Wanita Sehati	Jakarta	1928

The *Istri Sedar* association was one of the women's organizations during the national movement. The activities of this association included a) investigating and paying attention to women, b) providing education to women based on nationality and populism, c) combating social conditions that demean Indonesian wives, such as the difference in wages in work between men and women, illiteracy, lack of education from girls, polygamy, forced marriage, child marriage, and unfair divorce, and d) doing everything to make women aware of their obligations.⁴¹ In addition, the *Perkumpulan Wanita Sejati* [true women's association] aimed to promote knowledge of the duties and responsibilities of homemakers in the practice of cooking, needles, and pedagogy.⁴²



Figures 2. Women's congress Inter Indonesia date 26 Agustus 1926 in Yogyakarta (Source: Perpustakaan Nasional)

⁴¹ "Sedar."

⁴² "Het Venderlad, January 12, 1928 Edition," 1928.

Moreover, the women's congress was clear evidence of the role of educated women during the national movement in voicing gender equality in the public sphere with men. Women were no longer considered subordinates, *konco wingking*, the second sex, but women and men were in an equal position in the realm of life. In congress, educated women began to voice to be independent, stand firm, think and work, and get respect from men; with determination and skill, women could work in politics to defend their nation.⁴³

Although women's work was the same as men's, women got lower wages. Then, educated women play a role in improving wages for previously discriminated women. For example, educated women in Lasem formed the committee for the defense of the *pengobeng* in Lasem (KPKP). This committee aimed to protect women who worked in making batik. On November 22, 1931, a general meeting was held at H. Zochdi's house in Lasem, which was attended by various women's organizations, including *Istri Sedar* from Surabaya, *C.P.R. Mataram*, *Boedi Oetomo Madiun*, associations of former students of *Taman Siswa Mataram*, *Taman Siswa Mataram*, *KBI Mataram*, *PGB and PGHB Rembang*, *PCI Lasem*, *PPDI Surabaya*, *KPKP Ngawi Madiun*, *HBPPPH and KPKP Mataram*, *Seijo Roemekso Blora*, *PPO and Wiroso Blora*, *PGHB and OKSB Djoena*, *the Rembang Cooperative*, and *Hoofdebestuur Wanito Utomo in Mataram*.⁴⁴

Furthermore, the role of educated women during the movement was to change the perception of marriage (abolition of child marriage and polygamy). Marriage is not a goal but must be based on true friendship and love. A couple must respect, understand, and know each other, and the husband must not be arbitrary to the wife. Often, uneducated women became polygamy victims. Ironically, they were usually willing to be polygamous only because they were afraid of not eating and drinking or dependent on men for their lives.⁴⁵ This improvement effort was presented at the women's congress. Thus, education is vital for women to have values so that men do not easily divorce women.⁴⁶

The Social Identity of Educated Women during the National Movement

The reveals the image of women shackled by patriarchal traditions and the negative stereotypes of women simultaneously express feminist ideas. Women can imitate positive images and avoid negative ones. For men, it can open awareness about the nature of equality between men and women. Men should no longer consider women as lower than men.⁴⁷

Patriarchy is a perspective that places men as superior (superior) over women. Women are positioned as objects, while men are subjects.⁴⁸ Men are the holders of power, so it is not uncommon for women to have a double burden in life. From taking care of the household, working to earn a living, nurturing and caring for children to pursuing a career,

⁴³ "Sedar in 1930," 1930.

⁴⁴ "Sedar."

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Blackburn, *Kongres Perempuan Pertama / Tinjauan Ulang*.

⁴⁷ Sugihastuti and Nur Edi Hari Wibowo, *Belenggu Ideologi Seksual: Aplikasi Kritik Sastra Feminis* (Yogyakarta: Lembah Manah, 2010).

⁴⁸ Mochamad Nadif Nasruloh and Taufiq Hidayat, "Budaya Patriarki Dalam Rumah Tangga (Pemahaman Teks Al-Qur'an Dan Kesetaraan Gender)," *Yudisia: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum dan Hukum Islam* 13, no. 1 (2022): 20.

women do it.⁴⁹ In fact, many women are victims of domestic violence. The forms of violence are physical, psychological, sexual and economic neglect.⁵⁰ This shows that masculine domination is always superior to feminism.

The socialization of masculine and feminine identities that occurred in childhood caused the patriarchal to exist. In addition, it is supported by family, media, and education. The family plays a role in passing on patriarchal norms to the next generation through men holding family responsibilities so that the authority of the family is held by men.⁵¹ Customs, norms, and religious teachings are effective media in maintaining the existence of patriarchal culture. Religion is the main source of value and determinant of the culture.⁵²

The novel *Belenggu* [Shackles] by Armijn Pane is one of the works which depicts women living in the shackles of custom, men, or others. In other words, women are only positioned as *konco wingking*. The shackles of patriarchy experienced by women also cause clashes in life. Marginalization, stereotypes, double burdens, violence, and subordination are always inherent in women. It is why women's will, abilities, needs, and aspirations are never channelled and expressed in the public sphere. The role of women is only in the domestic sphere.

Will women forever be unable to change the concept of patriarchal culture? If so, what about the social identity of educated women? Are educated women unable to create their social identity? Or are educated women still able to create their social identity? If so, what kind of identity can be educated women create? Moreover, Western historiography explained that Indonesian women were classified into two models. First, women carried out activities. These activities were against, hostile to, and against Dutch colonialism. The female characters were Raden Ayu Ageng Serang (1752-1828), Cut Nyak Dien (1850-1908) dan Cut Meutia (1870-1910), and others.⁵³ Second, women produced ideas, especially in the field of education for women. The female figures were Kartini, Dewi Sartika, and Maria Walanda. For example, the values of Kartini's thoughts were not only for a moment but actually meant after her death in the context of propaganda politics in the colonial period. The presence of Kartini school as a historical reality is a stage of women's awareness to be more advanced with an education based on Western knowledge.

The Holy Spirit fights for social identity through the world of the press. She wants to fight for the liberation of women from the backwardness of science, the marginalization constructed by culture, and the colonization of women from various injustices, including in

⁴⁹ Khoirul Huda and Linda Ayu Renggani, "Perempuan Kapuk Dalam Ekspektasi Budaya Patriarki (Sebuah Analisis Beban Ganda Gender)," *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies* 11, no. 2 (2021).

⁵⁰ Nira Yustika, Yuhastina Yuhastina, and Abdul Rahman, "Analisis Gender Terhadap KDRT: Studi Kasus Perempuan Penyintas KDRT Yayasan SPEK-HAM Surakarta," *SOSIOLOGI: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Ilmu Sosial dan Budaya* 24, no. 2 (September 29, 2022): 3.

⁵¹ Yanuarious You, "Relasi Gender Patriarki Dan Dampaknya Terhadap Perempuan Hubula Suku Dani, Kabupaten Jayawijaya, Papua," *Sosiohumaniora* 21, no. 1 (2019): 65.

⁵² Gusri Wandu, "Rekonstruksi Maskulinitas: Menguak Peran Laki-Laki Dalam Perjuangan Kesetaraan Gender," *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies* 5, no. 2 (2015): 239.

⁵³ Ida Hidayatul Aliyah, Siti Komariah, and Endah Ratnawaty Chotim, "Feminisme Indonesia Dalam Lintasan Sejarah," *TEMALI: Jurnal Pembangunan Sosial* 1, no. 2 (2018): 140–153.

the field of education. The struggle was realized through the press in *Soenting Melayu*. She fought for women to gain recognition in the public sphere.⁵⁴

Education is crucial for women to form educated women who can make them aware of their rights and obligations as human beings who see themselves as Indonesian mothers. Indonesian women must be aware, recognize their value, elevate themselves, and free their hearts and lives from men's grasp because women hold the fate of the Indonesian people. Indonesian women must also move by gaining determination, independence, and self-confidence to become friends with men in working for the Indonesian people.⁵⁵ Therefore, with social identity education, educated women are created. Education is seen as a social institution that shapes identity as women through a process that produces messages, modals, norms, demands, rules, and symbols that form a reference system for their behavior.⁵⁶

In this case, the primary step taken by an educated woman in creating her social identity is to have an awareness within herself to recognize her worth (identity) and deny all humiliations and differences that demean her to become a complete human being. Then, women must liberate themselves by eliminating ignorance and fear of the heart to form wisdom and courage, which raises self-respect. With this, women do not want to live in humiliation and confusion. However, they realize the honor of getting self-esteem as human beings, determining their own lives, and working according to their ideals.⁵⁷

The social identity of educated women is formed through three stages: social categories, prototype and depersonalization. When women already have an awareness of self-worth, it is then manifested in behaviors that show this, and finally educated women internalize themselves into a patriarchal culture. The social identity of educated women can be seen from the cognitive aspects, in-group influences and in-group ties.⁵⁸

In the *Istri Sedar* organization, efforts to create a social identity by educated women could be seen from the beginning of the establishment, namely upholding the level and improving the fate of Indonesian wives. At the first congress (1928), achieving equality of rights and obligations between women and men in public life in Indonesia was related to the actual progress of the Indonesian nation. This congress shows that women's social identity is obtained through the struggle for the education of girls and the protection of women in marriage.⁵⁹

The second congress aimed to increase Indonesian women's awareness and the equal level and respect between women and men in social life in Indonesia to accelerate and perfect an independent Indonesia. It denotes that educated women had tried to gain their political identity by conveying their aspirations at the women's congress on December 29,

⁵⁴ Hanani, "Rohana Kudus Dan Pendidikan Perempuan."

⁵⁵ "Sedar in 1930."

⁵⁶ M. Zaki, "Fenomena Kekuasaan Politik Dan Eksistensi Gender Dalam Perkembangan Pendidikan," *Sophist : Jurnal Sosial Politik, Kajian Islam dan Tafsir* 1, no. 1 (2018): 17.

⁵⁷ "Sedar in 1930."

⁵⁸ Mahesa Diaz, "Pengembangan Skala Identitas Sosial: Validitas, Dan Analisis Faktor Konfirmatori," *Proyeksi* 15, no. 1 (2020): 58–67.

⁵⁹ Wulan Sondarika, "Peranan Wanita Dalam Perjuangan Kemerdekaan Indonesia Masa Pendudukan Jepang," *HISTORIA : Jurnal Program Studi Pendidikan Sejarah* 5, no. 2 (2017): 207.

1929. The obligation of women is that they are good at helping, maintaining, and awakening inner energy to participate in the national movement, namely women participating in the political contestation sphere with men.⁶⁰

Women's social identity can be fought by eliminating the differences in rights between men and women to bring about equality. This could be done by eliminating polygamy, equality of rights to hold rights and goods, equal rights to divorce, equality of adult independence, equality of national rights for married women, and eradicating child marriage. Women's social identity is formed when women are independent, working in the public sphere. When women work, they can help the family's economy; by working, women can be independent because they do not depend on their husbands.⁶¹ In other words, educated women are women with a character who can maintain their dignity and not be humiliated by men and have moral, intellectual and attitude qualities.

Social identities that had been created during the national movement are a perception that women are independent, principled, and strong. Besides, educated women can occupy the public sphere, become development agents, and give birth to quality future generations who can promote intelligence in thinking, behaviours, and having high sensitivity. Hence, educated women can change the concept of patriarchal culture to create their social identity, namely, to become partners with men in life. They are not only limited to being *konco wingking* but can play a role in development.

Conclusion

The Indonesian educated women's movement aims to liberate women to stand firm, think and work, and get respect from men; with determination and skill, women can work in politics to defend their nation. One of the women's organizations is *Istri Sedar*. Based on the articles of association and by-laws, *Istri Sedar* carried out its works in holding courses, establishing a debating club, supporting associations that elevated the status of Indonesian wives, establishing commissions through a national school for Indonesian children, and holding *studiefonds* (scholarships) to support girls to continue their education. Thus, within the *Istri Sedar* organization, it was formed a large commission for courses, a large commission for schools, and a large commission for the education of Indonesian women's work.

Based on the theory of social identity proposed by Tajfel and Turner, this study has found that the social identity of educated women is obtained through their awareness of recognizing their worth (identity) and denying all humiliations and differences that degrade their status. In addition, women must liberate themselves by eliminating ignorance and fear of the heart so that wisdom and courage are formed that cause self-respect. With this, women do not want to live in humiliation and confusion. Instead, they become aware of their honour, gain self-respect as human beings, determine their lives, and work according to their ideals. Women's social identities can be fought for to eliminate the differences in rights between men and women. Moreover, this aimed to bring about

⁶⁰ "Sedar in 1930."

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

equality, namely eliminating polygamy, equal rights to hold rights and goods, equal rights to divorce, equality of adult liberties and equal national rights for married women, and eradicating child marriage.

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