

R.A. Kartini as a Symbol of Contemporary Indonesian Woman

Falasifatul Falah *

INTRODUCTION

It has been generally assumed in Indonesia, that, over the whole of the 20th century, Kartini's ideas have greatly inspired and motivated the Indonesian women's movement (Bachtiar, 1990, p.vii). Her birthday, 21 April, is now commemorated as "Kartini Day" (Robinson, 2002, p.5; Soebadio, 1990, p.xiii). In Indonesia, every child knows *Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang* (The Dawn is Born Out of the Night), as a book written by Raden Adjeng Kartini, or, more precisely, a collection of her letters. The fact that Kartini lived and wrote is common knowledge taught in Indonesian primary schools. However, the popularity of Kartini and her letters is not equal to the popular knowledge of the content of those letters. A survey in Indonesia proved that most respondents have neither read the letters nor ever seen them (Christina, 2003).

The present Indonesian Minister of Women's Empowerment, Meutia Hatta, says that, in her own experience, Kartini Day was always commemorated in her school by dressing in traditional Javanese clothes like Kartini. The female students and teachers wear *kebaya* (traditional Javanese clothes) and *sanggul* (traditional Javanese hair style) as Kartini did. People sing "Kartini's song", run bazaars, and compete in fun events based on traditional female roles, such as cooking or changing baby's nappies (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan, 2005). Such ways of celebrating Kartini Day occur in most Indonesian places, and this seems to be an unquestioned tradition today, even in the Indonesian diaspora overseas (Christina, 2003).

Saparinah Sadli, a noted Indonesian woman scholar and feminist, argues that "the way that Hari Kartini [or Kartini Day] was manipulated by Soeharto during the New Order period has attracted criticism from women's group and the media" (Sadli, 2002, p.84). People blame the New Order Government, which held authority in Indonesia from 1966 to 1998, as being responsible for the distortion of Kartini's thoughts. Harriot Beazley argues that Kartini was "part of the state's ideological construction of femininity" and that Kartini's life has been "reworked" and her expressions "rearticulated" by the state (Beazley, 2002, p.1671).

It would seem that there is gap between Kartini's original ideas and the way Indonesians presently honor her. This essay addresses that discrepancy. The first question addressed in this study is, what were the original ideas of Kartini? How far have those ideas influenced the growth of feminist ideas and the women's movement in Indonesia? What has exactly been the role of Kartini in Indonesian society? Is she merely a "symbol" of women's equality in Indonesia? Have her ideas been abused by the New Order Government? This

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study analyzes the role of Kartini in contemporary Indonesian society by comparing her original ideas, as expressed in her letters, with their influence in present Indonesian society. Along the way, it reevaluates the role of Kartini's ideas and their significance in contemporary Indonesian society.

KARTINI'S IDEAS

Hildreed Geertz argues that, among all of the issues which Kartini raised in her letters, her main concern was "the rights of Indonesians as human beings against the twin enemies of paternalistic colonial exploitation and traditional Indonesian resistance to change" (Geertz, 1961, p.24). From her daily observations, Kartini saw that inequality between the Dutch and Javanese people was real. She said that "too often" the colonizers created situations in which Javanese people felt that they were "not really human beings at all" (Kartini, 1985, p.85). Equality among all people was Kartini's obsession. She argued that, as human beings, Javanese people were equal to the Dutch.

Kartini's opinion that human beings are equal is also reflected in her opinions about her own society. She openly showed her disagreement with the symbolic hierarchy indicated in traditional Javanese rules and daily customs. In her daily life, Kartini did not treat common people who came to see her with the traditional practices that showed symbolic stratified feudalism, such as *sembah*. She also criticized the tradition requiring poor people to assume the burden of entertaining those of higher status. While other people were proud to use their titles as a sort of upper-class label, Kartini did not insist that people call her Raden Adjeng (Princess) but rather said, "Call me simply Kartini; that is my name," (Kartini, 1985, p.36).

To my mind, there are only two kinds of aristocracy, the aristocracy of the mind, and the aristocracy of the soul—of those who are noble in spirit (Kartini, 1985, p.199).

Like her father and grandfather, Kartini believed in the importance of education, and insisted that it was everybody's right (Kartini, 1985, p.57; Tashadi, 1985, p.6). Kartini had the insight that knowledge is power, and that the Javanese lack of western knowledge gave strength to the colonizer. She understood that her people were inferior only because they were not educated in a way commensurate with the colonizers, and the colonizers would try to maintain this situation to ensure their continued power. She even sent a note to the Dutch Government in the Netherlands to raise the issue of the condition of Javanese people in the colony. In this note, she criticized the Government for not giving the opportunity to her people to learn Dutch and Melayu¹. Kartini argued that the Dutch Government was afraid that, if the Javanese were educated, they would not let themselves to be enslaved by the colonizer. She

¹ The language that is used in Malaysia and some parts of the Sumatra Island, which then developed to be "Bahasa Indonesia", the Indonesian national language.

asked the Government to change their policy in order to improve Javanese people's lives (Tashadi, 1985, p.90).

Kartini's concern for equality was not limited to the issues between the Dutch and Javanese people, or priyayi and common people. She also focused in the issue of equality between men and women. Geertz argues that women's rights were a minor issue for Kartini. However, in my opinion, this subject was very substantial for Kartini, since the frequency of this topic being discussed in Kartini's letters was high, and other issues she talked about, such as the importance of education and her critiques towards feudalism, were always related to the condition of Javanese women at that time (Geertz, 1961, p.24; Kartini, 1985). She insisted that men and women are equal. As a 'rebellious' woman, Kartini openly expressed her opposition to gender discrimination in her culture.

I am told that I must modestly (hypocritically) cast down my eyes. I will not do that. I will look men, as well as women, straight in the eyes, not cast down my own before them (Kartini, 1985, p.199).

Kartini observed that her culture was psychologically and socially violent toward women. She understood that education is the way, not only to release the whole society from slavery, but also to improve women's lives in particular (Kartini, 1985, p.57; Tashadi, 1985, p.6). Kartini says that her work would have two purposes, "first to help to enlighten all our people, and secondly to raise up our sisters, so that they may live and be treated as human beings" (Kartini, 1985, p.114). She believed that education is very important for women because of their role as mothers.

As Kartini was concerned about women's rights, she believed that education is necessary for women, as well as for men. She advocated for the same education for sons and daughters, the opportunities that she and her female ancestors did not experience, since she was not allowed to study abroad as her brother was, and her female ancestors had never experienced formal education. When talking about education, Kartini was not satisfied by just thinking and planning, but also tried to put her ideas into action. She was both a theorist and an activist who had the courage to 'break the thick walls' (Jayawerdana, 1986, p.141). Kartini's efforts resulted in her being credited as the pioneer of women's education in Indonesia.

The right to have educational opportunities was not the only topic when Kartini talked about women's rights. She often discussed marriage, as this was one of the main objects of Kartini's criticisms. In Kartini's opinion, marriage in her culture was a source of women's oppression.

And marriage among us – miserable is too feeble an expression. How can it be otherwise, when the laws have made everything for the man and nothing for the woman? When law and convention both are for the man, when everything is allowed to him? (Kartini, 1985, p.34).

One factor making marriage especially oppressive to women was, in Kartini's view, the custom of polygamy. At that time, polygamous marriage was a common practice in her society. The fact that this was practiced in her closest environment, including by her father, deepened Kartini's grief, and forced her to see the misery surrounding women in her own place. According to Linda Christanty, in Kartini's time, extra-marital relationships which disadvantaged women were a common phenomenon in Javanese aristocratic society. Furthermore, in the colonial time, native women were oppressed in polygamous marriages or illegal partnerships, not only by native men, but also by the colonizers. The purpose of inter-racial sexual partnerships was not only sexual, but also political. As Jan Pieterszoon Coon 2 states, women were prerequisites for trading. He implies that, could a trader provide women, the Hindian 3 markets would be in his hand (Christanty, 2004, p.341). Therefore, the issue of polygamous marriage, as Kartini raise in her letters, was not only a women's rights discourse, but also a broader political issue.

THE ROLE OF NEW ORDER GOVERNMENT

Kartini has been acknowledged as an "early feminist" whose fighting against "feudalism and colonialism" has "inspired the creation of [some] women's organizations based on religion, ethnicity or region" (Parawansa, 2002, p.69). Yet how far Kartini's ideas have influenced the Indonesian Women's Movement can be questioned. Indonesian women's organizations after Kartini's period chose to fight colonization rather than voice women's rights (Doran, undated, pp.102-104). This was not contradictory to Kartini's ideas since she also argued for human rights and opposed colonialism (Geertz, 1961, p.24). Yet, there were sometimes dilemmas, such as when the Dutch Colonial Government proposed minimizing polygamy so as gain the support of Indonesian women's political parties. Most of them refused this proposal because they suspected that it was a strategy of the Dutch to divide Indonesians with the issues of religion and gender (Doran, undated, p.104). This is ironic, since Kartini was the first Indonesian woman to openly voice her opposition to polygamy, and criticized the role of religion in it. However, it is possible that, had she still been alive, Kartini would have made the same decision as the women's political organizations. Kartini had already demonstrated her willingness to compromise in relation to her own marriage. One of Kartini's reasons for accepting her arranged marriage was to strengthen her efforts in gaining education for women (Kartini, 1985, p.34; Soebadio, 1990, p.35).

In the 1930s, Indonesian women themselves claimed that their groups were "not feminist movements" and that they "have never been a feminist

² A colonial leader of the Dutch Trading Companion.

³ Indonesian

movement, especially in the colonial time" (Maria Ulfah Soebadio⁴ in Doran, undated, p.104). However, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten insists on calling these women's movements 'feminist'. More specifically, she called them examples of 'companionate feminism' which she describes as the idea that women should support their partners and maintain 'harmony' between both sexes and among all women (Locher-Scholten, 2003, p. 39).

Locher-Scholten's idea of companionate feminism does not completely suit Kartini's view of marriage, since she always criticized it as benefiting men and as oppressing women (Kartini, 1985, p.34). Moreover, the concept of 'harmony' is also contradictory to Kartini's attitude: she was a 'rebellious' woman who refused to compromise if it meant being a hypocrite (Kartini, 1985, p.199). The principles of maintaining 'morality' and 'harmony' seemed to be a national attitude (Locher-Scholten, 2003, p. 39). However, if we examine this more closely, there is evidence to suggest that this actually reflects Javanese culture rather than the whole of Indonesia (Sullivan, undated).

In my opinion, gender issues cannot be separated from the broader ideological and political discourses which surround them (Beazley, 2002, p.1665). The 32 year period of the autocratic Soeharto regime from 1965 to 1998 successfully brainwashed Indonesians about women's status and function; insisting that "a good woman" fulfilled her role in the family and household (Sullivan, undated). In the New Order period, when Soeharto held full control of every part of Indonesian life, 'State Ibuism' (or 'motherism') was promoted. This patriarchal ideology stressed a conventional women's role, putting them in "a subordinate position to men and defining them in narrow stereotypical roles of housekeepers and mothers" (Suryakusuma in Beazley, 2002, p.1669). The New Order Government created Kartini as "parts of the state's ideological construction of femininity" (Beazley, 2002, 1671). In their discourse, Kartini is described as "the epitome of the 'good woman' with a 'heart of gold' in Indonesia" and "the ideal Indonesian woman, wife and 'mother' perceived as having possessed all the nurturing, self-sacrificing qualities that a woman should desire" (Tiwon in Beazley, 2002, 1671).

Under Soeharto, the participation of women in national development became law in 1974. At this time, the "Applied Family Welfare Program" (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga – PKK), where women are put as "the critical central agent of the family" was created. This strategy of gender policy continued until the period of New Order ended in 1998. In GBHN5 1993, women are officially expected to contribute to national development without denying their "nature", dignity, and status as women, and PKK was to act as a people's movement for development, with women as its activators (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1993, pp.11-13).

⁴ Since the pre-Independence period, Maria Ulfah Soebadio had long been active in politics and later became Indonesia's first woman minister of state.

⁵ *Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara* is the first level regulation in Indonesia under the constitution, drawn up by the highest national institution and effective for a five-year period.

The gender division between men and women in the New Order's ideology described using the Javanese concept: "separate but equal". This concept is based on the idea that "men are the providers, protectors, and public representatives" while women are responsible for "physical, socialization, moral, and emotional needs" of family members (Locher-Scholten, 2003, p. 39). At a glance, the concept of PKK, which praised women's domestic responsibilities, looks similar to the idea of gynocentrist feminism which appreciates traditional female roles in order to respect all women whatever they are (Young, 1985, p.177). However, in my opinion, the political strategy behind the design of PKK makes these concepts different. Gynocentrism purports to serve women's rights, while the creation of PKK, in my view, is to keep women in domestic areas and strengthen the patriarchal system of Indonesian society.

CONCLUSION

Kartini was a feminist, since she clearly had a gender awareness which is based on the fact that women in her society were oppressed. Kartini was not only aware of women's oppression, she actively fought against gender discrimination (Fakih, 2001, p.38). Furthermore, I would specifically categorize Kartini as a humanist feminist who spoke for "women's freedom and chance to participate in public spaces" (Young, 1985, p.173). In her efforts, Kartini was facing cultural and structural barriers as every feminist does (Sadli, 2002, p.85).

In my opinion, Kartini's life and ideas have been somewhat abused by the former Government for their own political purposes. Sadli argues that Kartini Day was manipulated by Soeharto (Sadli, 2002, p.84). According to Robinson and Bessel, the ways people currently celebrate Kartini Day with frivolous games and contests reflect 'the restrictive femininity of the New Order' (Robinson, 2002, p.5). They argue that Kartini's "transformation into a model for the contemporary Indonesian woman was completed by her designation as Ibu Kartini – ibu (literally, mother) being the term by which adult (married) women were known under the New Order" (Robinson, 2002, p.5). I use the phrase 'somewhat abused', because I believe that some of Kartini's words may justify her adoption as a symbol of femininity. For example, Kartini says that "God has created woman as the companion of man" and "the calling of woman is marriage" (Kartini, 1985, p.82). In many ways, Kartini's sentiments are consistent with certain elements of patriarchal ideology.

In Indonesia today, some (but not all) of Kartini's dreams have been realised. For instance, Indonesia has become an independent country and there are more opportunities for Indonesian women to study, even overseas (Blackburn, 2001, pp.274-275). Moreover, Indonesian women "have joined with men in the struggle to make Indonesian society a more humane and democratic place to live" (Oey-Gardiner, 2002, p.111). Currently, some Indonesians are lobbying to commemorate Kartini Day in a more appropriate way. Women's NGOs in South Sulawesi, for example, conducted a people's theatre as "an alternative way to campaign against violence" and "a seminar on women's

representation in parliament" to celebrate Kartini Day (Baso, 2002, p.2002). I expect that in the next few years, after the period of political reform and the growth of gender awareness in Indonesia, there will be more people celebrating Kartini Day in ways that more accurately reflect Kartini's ideas on women's rights and equality.

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majalah ilmiah

SULTAN AGUNG

Bismillah membangun generasi khairah ummah

**Optimilasi Pemanfaatan Jembatan Penyeberangan Jalan Raya
Kaligawe Semarang**
Mochamad Rosul

Analisis Terhadap Faktor-faktor Kualitas Pelayanan
Abdul Choliq Dahlan

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Falasifatul Falah dan Dwi Wahyuningsih

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Secara Terus Menerus Terhadap Jumlah Kuman Dalam Urin**
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