

International Review of Humanities Studies
www.irhs.ui.ac.id, e-ISSN: 2477-6866, p-ISSN: 2527-9416
Vol.4, No.1, April 2019 (Special Issue), pp.420-434

**ABSENCE OF WOMEN'S PARTY IN THE NEW ORDER ERA:
CASE STUDY OF INDONESIAN WOMEN MOVEMENT**

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ABSTRACT

During the New Order era the women's movement developed rapidly. These developments are indicated by the emergence of many women's organizations and groups of Non-Governmental Organizations which focus on prosecuting women's rights and protecting women against victims of violence. However, they have not touched on strategic issues in playing an important role for the success of the movement. These organizations are more demanding on the fulfillment of quotas in the position of women in politics. The women's movement has lost its critical power and innovation. In the meantime, the Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani) during the Old Order was considered to have given more opportunity to fight for women's rights and was considered successful in fighting for women. This organization was the most revolutionary women's movement at that time. They go directly into politics and fight for women's rights. However, Gerwani was regarded as one of the mass organizations most responsible for the events of 30 September 1965. In various mass media, Gerwani's atrocities are mentioned. The news was continuously carried out by various media. Stigmatization of the atrocities of Gerwani has provided gender limits to the women's movement during the New Order Period. A patriarchal culture that is thick in Indonesian society has become a major factor in the stigmatization of this organization. The peak was when Gerwani was banned by the New Order government and dissolved. Through an analytical descriptive approach, this paper looks at the stigmatization and crisis of Gerwani after dissolution, Gerwani in the perspective of feminism, and the dynamics of the movement, hopefully it can become learning.

KEYWORDS: Indonesian Women Movementi, stigma, patriarchy, New Order, gender.

INTRODUCTION

In the Law of the Republic of Indonesia No.2 of 2008 concerning Political Parties, in Chapter II concerning the Formation of Political Parties, Article 2 Paragraph (2) states that Establishment and Establishment of Political Parties includes 30% representation of women. This was confirmed by the deputy chairman of the Indonesian House of Representatives Commission II Nihayatul Wafiroh, that the spirit of the system that requires political parties to

fulfill the 30% quota of women's representation in the list of legislative candidates is an effort to increase women's role (Tribunnews 2018). This shows that Indonesian women have gained 30% representation in the legislature. In the Old Order era, women's suffrage and representation rights have existed in parliament since 1955. In addition, issued Law No. 80/1958 which equals the same wages between women and men for the same job. However, on the issue of polygamy, the majority of the women's movement at that time had not been able to achieve victory. This happened because of Soekarno's marriage to Hartini, who at that time was married to Fatmawati. Soekarno's marriage with Hartini in 1954 was a hard slap for the women's group. Soekarno's relationship with the women's movement became tense. Nani Suwondo from Perwari who supported Fatmawati leaving the palace regretted Gerwani's actions which did not protest Soekarno's marriage with Hartini. Gerwani was accused of being more serious in defending politics and not in the interests of women. (Arivia, 2006: 33).

The New Order Government issued Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 to prevent polygamy especially for Civil Servants. Nevertheless, this law has not provided an answer for women. At the same time women have lost their critical power in organization. During the New Order government, the order of women's organizations changed, the wives of civil servants were required to enter government-formed organizations to support their husbands' careers. Membership is mandatory, monthly contributions are deducted from the husband's salary. The pattern of organizational hierarchy follows the government hierarchy. In the 1970s, the leaders of women's organizations were no longer based on elections. Head office wives automatically become chairmen of organizations, such as Dharma Wanita (Wieringa 2010).

The collapse of the New Order paved the way for the growth of a new women's movement in Indonesia. In the 1980s, a variety of non-political women's organizations emerged. They were in the form of non-governmental organizations or foundations which are engaged in the avocation and protection of women. In that period the number of non-political organizations increased (Djoeffan 2008). The journey of the Indonesian women's movement continues. However, the problem is whether they have voiced the thoughts of women. Although there are increasing numbers, these women's organizations need to question their role in social change. When viewed from the development of the women's movement in Indonesia as outlined above, a question arises as to why the women's movement at this time focuses more on quota prosecution in parliament rather than fighting for women's issues which play an important role in the long term? With the fulfillment of the quota, have their rights been fulfilled and have also been protected from oppression in the patriarchal cultural system?

THE JOURNEY OF INDONESIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Throughout history in the patriarchal world like in Indonesia, representation of women's issues in the fields of politics, economy, culture, religion, and so on has been excluded and rejected in public discourse. Very few witnessed debates on women's issues let alone questioned the power that had been seized by men in the public world. (Arivia, 2006: 4). The movement of women in Indonesia can be divided into four stages. In the first stage, raised the issue of the right to vote in the election of public officials, the right to education which was put forward in the

Dutch era. In the second stage, political issues arose on a mass basis and associations to advance both the skills and politics of women encountered during the Old Order. In the third stage, during the New Order, the discourse of the duties of domestication of women was presented as desired by the state. In the fourth stage, in the reform era, liberal movements emerge with the theme of non-violence against women (Arivia, 2006: 18).

In subsequent developments, at the beginning of the 20th century, women's organizations began to grow to fight for equality. Wieringa explained that women began to contribute in changing the order of the value system, the economy, the struggle against colonialism, also in the field of education. Beginning with the establishment of Poetri Mardika, an organization that has ties with Boedi Oetomo. Poetri Mardika began by publishing women's magazines, which criticized young marriages and polygamy practices. Then came religious organizations. Aisyiah is a women's organization of Muhammadiyah Islamic reforms (1917), followed by Catholic and Protestant women's organizations. (Wieringa, 2010: 26-35). Women fighters who fight for educational rights can be found since 1912 with the name Putri Merdeka association which has an affiliation with Boedi Oetomo and also symbolizes Kartini. This group is dominated by prijaji women (Arivia, 2006: 18). Rohana Kudus, founded the Women's Study School in West Sumatra in 1912. She also published the newspaper Soenting Melayu in an effort to bring women to a progressive world. The establishment of this newspaper was followed by the publication of other newspapers, such as Women Moving in Medan, Wanito Sworo in Java, which was driven by Siti Sundari. Objectives generally have similarities, namely to socialize and advocate for the idea of women's progress (Diana 2012).

At that time resistance to colonialism began with the demands of women's suffrage to become members of *Volksraad* in 1938 which then shifted from the non-political women's movement to politics. At that time the women's organization from Minang submitted a protest letter to the Dutch East Indies government when Maria Ulfah Santoso was not elected as a member of *Volkstraat*. (de Stuers 2008).

Wieringa noted that during the Japanese occupation, all Indonesian women's organizations were banned. Japan then established a women's organization named *Fujinkai*. This organization engaged in literacy and in other social work. Members of *Fujinkai* were wives of civil servants (Wieringa, 2010: 26-35). *Fujinkai* is a sub-organization of Jawa Hokokai, which has branches in various regions. In carrying out its activities *Fujinkai* gained very tight control from the Japanese government. In addition to the *Fujinkai*, Japan also formed Barisan Srikandi, which consisted of young members. They received military training which was needed at any time on the battlefield. During the Japanese occupation the Indonesian women's movement suffered a setback. The organization runs on a command system (Wulandari, 2008: 374-377), and the main purpose of forming this organization is solely to gain support in the framework of winning Japan in the second world war (Djoeffan 2001).

During the independence period, many women's organizations moved to help fight by establishing public kitchens. In addition, also in the field of the Indonesian Red Cross to care for wounded fighters. At that time women also had the role of bringing messages to various guerrilla units on the battlefield. not a few also took part in fighting on the battlefield. After independence, the women's movement in Indonesia focused on equality issues in revising the marriage law, education rights and conditions of female workers. The group covering almost all women's

organizations in the 1950s was the Indonesian Women's Congress (Kowani), which facilitated all the needs of the women's struggle at the time, but did not have the right to make decisions on behalf of women's groups. The women's group that was very well known at the time was the Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani) (Arivia, 2006: 15-16). In the 1950s and 1960s, women's organizations began to change. Towards the 1955 General Elections, women's organizations began to be formed by political parties. Especially when President Soekarno stated that women's organizations made their choice to equalize the program and affiliated with the political parties that existed at that time. The tension between Islamic and nationalist women's organizations is unavoidable. In this decade Indonesian women's organizations developed rapidly. Even the international world calls Indonesian women's organizations at that time the most reactionary organizations (Wieringa 2010). The Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani) is the most revolutionary women's organization and was very fast developing. The organization which is genetically derived from the Gerakan Istri Sedar (Gerwis) Movement was founded in 1950.

In line with the influence of the leftist PKI and PNI in the late 1950s, Gerwani began to gain an important position. Gerwani managed to take on an important role in parliamentary and four elected members in the 1955 general election. In 1956, the membership reached more than half a million women. Gerwani's camps also involved issues of rape in West Java and Bali. Gerwani, who in 1961 had more than one million members, actively helped raise awareness of farmer women. Gerwani made the actions of land occupation also helped the movement of the workers. Together with PKI members, Gerwani participated in various demonstrations, marches, or protest price increases in 1965. In the midst of a very vulnerable political atmosphere, on September 30, 1965, a number of middle-ranking army officers kidnapped and killed six generals. General Soeharto, who at that time was second in the army, threw the mistake at PKI and affiliated organizations, including Gerwani.

Beginning with the rise of the New Order regime led by Soeharto, all organizations related to left ideology were dissolved and destroyed. The people are directed to hate communists whose evil influence is said to come from their women (Doran in Arivia, 2006: 17). Therefore, to restore Indonesian women to the "right path", it is said that they must strengthen the role of women as wives, mothers and housewives, Indonesia entering the era of Dharma Wanita. The turning point then occurred when the Old Order was replaced by the New Order. Women's organizations then experienced delegitimation. In this era, women's organizations are reduced and more directed at socio-cultural activities. Siti Fatimah in her dissertation wrote that the women's organization during the New Order was an organization supporting her husband's career. The New Order government also issued public policies that subordinated women and affirmed the superiority of men. This is represented in the creation of non-political organizations that are supportive of men, for example the organization of military wives, organizations of wives of civil servants, PKK organizations and others. Wieringa well provides examples of women's organizations gathered together in a Surakarta Women's Joint Association (GOWS) organization. In the joint organization, Wieringa was grouped into two groups, namely the Organization Group of wives and groups of Religious Organizations and old organizations consisting of nationalists. Within the organization there is close supervision from the holders of power and their wives are intermediary agents for their husbands. Therefore, a picture emerges

that the government can be said to control almost all problems relating to women's organizations. At that time, in the view of Sociologist Ariel Haryanto (1998), the role of women and families in that context was not abolished by the state, but was tamed and utilized (Djoeffan 2001). Women were used for certain political goals that are bigger and greater. Even Gerwani was finally removed by the New Order regime for the political interests of the regime (Arivia, 2006: 35-36).

In the 1980s, changes in the form of women's movements to non-political organizations began to emerge. It was marked by the establishment of an organization with a foundation format. This foundation then began to color the stretch of the women's movement in Indonesia. Started with the birth of Annisa Swasti Foundation (YASANTI) in 1982 in Yogyakarta. The Kalyanamitra Foundation appeared in Jakarta in 1984 which aims to provide *supporting* information for NGOs and assistance to women's labor activities. Furthermore, NGOs in the form of mushrooming began, for example *Women's Solidarity (Jakarta)*, *Mardika Women's Foundation (Jakarta)*, *Gender Conscious Groups (Surakarta)*, also *Gender Transformation Working Group (Aceh)* and others. These groups have bravely positioned themselves as independent organizations that support the marginalized and attack the government which is considered detrimental to women (Wulan 2008).

In the 1950s and 1960s, the women's organization with an important position was the Sedar Women's Movement which later changed its name to the Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani). These organizations are generally members of women who have political awareness and are highly educated. The ideology of this organization was a continuation of the Wife Sedar organization. Women in Gerwis are the younger generation, and have relationships with women who join the Sedar Wives (Wieringa 2010).

During its development Gerwis changed its name to Gerwani, and in a short time its membership increased rapidly. The establishment of Gerwani was motivated by the idea of the progress of Gerwani's struggle and position in the Indonesian political constellation at that time. At that time a revolutionary women's organization was needed in the 1950s after the physical struggle. This revolutionary movement was needed as a forum for organizations to fight for the ideals of independence at that time. Therefore, revolutionary women who had moved underground during the Dutch occupation, and participated in physical struggle, built an organization. The organization of revolutionary women was used as a forum to carry out movements and facilitate a revolutionary struggle in the national movement to realize the ideals of true independence for the Motherland and the Nation (Pramodawardhani, 2004: 24).

After the period of the 1945-1950 struggle, revolutionary women were dissatisfied with women's organizations at the time. That dissatisfaction was because there are several factors, including; a) women's organizations at that time were limited to femininity, light, monotonous, and without risk; b) almost all are engaged in education, the struggle in the political field is still lacking; c) in terms of women's rights, it is less motivated to defend women in the event of everyday events, such as rape, polygamy, and the marriage of children; d) there are no national action actions together; e) there was no action to fight bondage in villages, loan sharks, low

wages for picking rice, and the life of farm workers who were so poor at the time (Pramodawardhani, 2004: 25-27).

Gerwani was greatly influenced by Soekarno's feminist thinking. In his view of women, Soekarno poured in his work "Sarinah". Soekarno's view of women's participation in the struggle for independence, that women can only be fulfilled in the social phase, which will come after the national phase. To accelerate the achievement of socialists, women must be absolutely as powerful as possible in the Indonesian revolution. on the contrary men must realize that they will not succeed without women. Men must educate themselves altogether, because even among socialists patriarchal disease and the soul of the lord still survive (Wieringa, 1999: 160-161). Soekarno's thinking about feminism was the basis of Gerwani's views in organizing. Soekarno's feminist thinking was influenced by European women's struggles before the French and American revolutions. European women, especially in Switzerland at that time did not have rights, as they are today. At that time the women did not have the right to vote, and were not allowed to sign related to the affairs of debts. In essence the national struggle must be supported by men and women.

Gerwani's programs are aimed more at eradicating illiteracy, education by establishing TK Melati, establishing savings and credit cooperatives, combating polygamy and child marriage. Gerwani also conducts cadre courses and technical skills training, and teaches its members the history lessons of the Indonesian women's movement. During its development Gerwani also went into politics. In 1955, Gerwani participated in organizing the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung. Gerwani's role in the Asia-Africa Conference included proposing that the West Irian issue could be discussed at the conference. This was considered not a matter of women by most women's organizations at the time. Therefore, Gerwani's policies are considered controversial. Especially when Soekarno decided to marry Hartini. Gerwani does not show an opposing attitude, even as if to let it happen. This gave rise to a strong reaction from other women's organizations, which at that time opposed polygamous marriages, such as Kowani, Aisyah, Catholic Women, and Perwari. This controversy caused divisions among other women's organizations.

In the 1955 General Election, Gerwani members succeeded in holding parliamentary positions representing the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). In the election of members of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) more Gerwani members were elected on the PKI List. The emancipation of Gerwani demanded the revocation of Law *Inlandse GemeenteOrdonnantie* (IGO) / IGOB, namely the Government Law concerning village household governance, by appointing a female village head who was elected at that time. In 1964, when the government issued a statement that all mass organizations joined one particular political party, Gerwani also declared themselves joining the Indonesian Communist Party. The statement was planned to be formulated at the V Gerwani Congress in December, 1964. The merger of Gerwani into political parties resulted in a number of members disappointed. This also caused S. K. Trimurti to leave Gerwani (Lestariningsih, 2011: 63-65). In late September 1965, following an attempted coup, Gerwani was declared as one of the organizations involved in the murder of seven generals.

HERSTORY AND HISTORY: WOMEN'S HISTORY

Herstory is theory and documentation about life, group, language, and women's experiences in the past and present. Nestle (1984: x) says 'living with *herstory* is finding patterns of our repression and in our response'. He also said "to live with the history of women (*herstory*) is to find patterns for our oppression but at the same time our resistance". Meanwhile, Gerda Lerner stated that the key to understanding the history of women is to accept that it is the history of the majority of humans. Feminist writings on the history of women have two objectives: to improve women into history and improve our history for women. The theory revives theory because it shakes up the fundamental foundation in the study of history. The fundamental category of feminist historical thought is social relations of both sexes.

There are three ways when feminist historians have changed our perception about the past. First, feminist historians redefined methods and categories - especially the concept of periodization. Renaissance scholars such as Joan Kelly-Gadol compiled a new theory of social progress by noting the humanitarian costs that women must pay in a period previously considered progressive (Kelly Gadol 1976). Nancy Cott's study of Europe and nineteenth-century America together reconstructed our ideas about capitalist culture by representing new information about the importance of the dialectic of Victorian culture concerning men or women (Cott 1977 in Humm 2007: 205). Second, feminist historians focus on gender, along with race and class as a category of analysis, to reject trite expressions about women. They replace it with questions about the position and function of women at certain times and places. Finally, feminist historians transform our understanding of social change and how domestic and public spheres are distinguished, women lose control of production, property, and themselves. Optimistically, feminists propose our subjective truths will bring collective awareness to women. Seeing Mies (1983), Marcia Weskott states that research on women's history especially when recorded through women's own awareness, will combine psychology and history (Weskott 1983 in Humm 2007: 205).

The theory of feminism is divided into three major waves, the first wave is divided into the flow of liberal feminism, radical feminism, and Marxist / socialist feminism. The second wave is divided into the flow of psychoanalysis feminism and existentialist feminism, and the third wave is divided into the flow of postmodern feminism, multiculturalism and global feminism, and eco-feminism (Arivia 2006). The power debates experienced by the roles between men and women have been debated so far. For example what Michel Foucault explained about power cannot be avoided because it has moved from the smallest point (Haryatmoko, 2016: 12). Ideas such as this make the role of women certainly not able to become fully human because women are considered not capable realize himself to be in power in a field both social, economic and cultural (Syarifah, 2006: 122). Roles regarding power that are always directed at the superior make women inferior no longer able to show their quality due to limitations in showing a role, this is due to stereotypes about the biological structure of those who are considered weak. Therefore, always the role of power is mainly carried out by men, including roles related to the achievements and interests of other human ambitions.

Men and women fight each other for power implicitly. Power can be seen as an aspect of interaction in a social relationship. " *Power will be viewed as an aspect of interaction in a social*

relationship" (Frieze, 1978: 302). However, in the power relations that occur not only a matter of interaction, but also about the relationship of power there is control and also the desire of someone to invite others to be in the same position as him. Power relations cannot be avoided because as Michel Foucault stated that power moves even from the smallest point. Here humans act as subjects who continue to exchange and transfer each other different powers. Therefore, human relations often have problems when he begins to dare to transfer power. The same is true of relations between men and women. Basically we cannot avoid the gender hierarchy as long as we still refer to binary logic which gives rise to the notion of being strong and weak, active and passive. Men are always classified and always classified as active and strong while women are always classified as weak and passive.

When talking about power, it will be understood that there is power in terms of economy, social, political and so on. Power is everywhere, not if power covers all, but power comes from anywhere, power spreads in relationships in society. Power relations cannot be separated from the relationships that exist in economic processes, the spread of knowledge, and sexual relations. Power is a direct result of separation, inequality and discrimination. Power is an internal situation where there are differences. In reality these differences are formed and run anywhere for example in the workplace, family, institutions and various other groupings. Power is the ability of a person or group to impose their will on others and influence the roles between women and men. Women are always understood as weak subjects and cannot realize themselves to be able to play a role in any field. This understanding illustrates the affirmation (Haryatmoko, 2016: 12 and 15).

Women are entities whose ideologies are contested and indirectly fall into the radical category. Ethical studies related to the views of the feminist movement in Indonesia were discussed again with the aim of increasing women's dignity. Government policy directly touches gender bias in almost all lines in the Indonesian region. Culture, belief, and awareness of gender justice are the first steps to break down the social construction formed by society (Fakih 2016). Gender analysis in the transformation movement of women begins with the feminist movement that departs from the assumption and awareness that women are basically oppressed and exploited so that there must be an effort to end the oppression and exploitation. The flow of structural functionalism is often referred to as the mainstream school which, according to it, is a system consisting of parts related to finding balance. The influence of functionalism is found in the thinking of liberal feminism which emerged as a criticism of liberal political theory. One of the influences of liberal feminism is found in the theory of modernization and the global program known as *Woman in Development* (Fakih 2016). The feminism movement is divided into three decades. First, it is a period of abuse. Second, the introduction and basic understanding of gender analysis and its issues. Third, the challenge of a flashback movement from male and female activists by integrating gender into all policies and programs of various educational organizations and institutions, and implementing advocacy strategies. However, the feminist movement is not a movement that solely attacks men, but a movement of resistance to the system that is unfair and to increase the dignity and strength of women (Fakih 2016).

WOMEN IN A GENDER VIEW

According to Taufik Abdullah, women's leadership has historically been made possible by its geneological status. The superiority of women's leadership usually becomes meaningful if only it and the direction of its struggle have been regarded as the personification of the cultural values being fought for by the people (Adam, 2007: 15-16). Writing by Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680* and Denys Lombard, *Le Carrefour Javanais*, are total historical model designed as an encyclopedia of Southeast Asian and Javanese socio-cultural history. Both of them not only gave space for women in various elements of the study, but also made a special discussion about the role of women. Reid and Lombard not only gave women a place, but also a socio-historical picture of how women lived more freely in an agrarian kingdom than in coastal commercial cities. In addition, Peter Carey's study of the Java war and Prince Diponegoro reviewed two Diponegoro army leaders. Women were also taught to play an energetic role in defending Madura from the attack of Sultan Agung in 1624 (Rizal, 2007: 22-23 and 27).

Biography of SK Trimurti, *S.K. Trimurti: Wanita Pengabdian Bangsa* written by Soebagio in 1982 revealed Trimurti activities in the colonial period and none of them revealed their political activities as figures in Gerwis (Sedar Indonesian Women Movement) and Gerwani (Indonesian Women's Movement). The exploits of SK Trimurti can actually be equated with male politicians. Various social and political activities in fighting for women's rights have made SK Trimurti as one of the women who has been taken into account in the world of movement. SK Trimurti's actions against imperialism and colonialism led her to form a political-conscious women's organization. So Gerwis (1950) was formed, a fusion organization from six women's organizations: Rukun Tani Indonesi (Ratindo) from Semarang, Sedar Women's Association from Bandung, Sedar Women's Association from Surabaya, Indonesian Kediri (Gerwindo) People's Women Movement, Struggle of the Republic of Indonesia Princess from Pasuruan and the Sedar Madura Women's Association (Lestariningsih, 2011: 36).

The latest women's movement can be said to be interesting because of the diversification of its struggle by respecting and defending women's sexuality. In contrast to the history of the early women's movement which focused on women's struggles as an effort to fight for social conditions, especially the issue of education and nationalistic tendencies. In the 1930s, the Sedar Wife group began to mention the problem of polygamy and justice in the marriage law. The Sedar Wife Struggle is interesting because it discusses the link between the female body and public rules. In 1954, published progressive media such as *Wanita Sedar* which was published by women activists from the Indonesian Movement of Sedar (Gerwis) Women, Media emerged because of Gerwis's concern on the issue of post-independence women.

In this period it was crowded with the proliferation of political parties and the frenzy of the cabinet. Gerwis was born to respond to this condition. Gerwis activists not only fought in urban areas, they also popularized issues of women's struggle by distributing Sedar Women to remote villages. Previously, Gerwis activists had often introduced leaflets which changed names according to their demands on the government. It was through this leaflet that Gerwis began to spread propaganda. Each leaflet is usually only printed dozens of sheets and distributed secretly (SK Trimurti and Sujinah in Luviana, 2007: 53).

Gerwis activists also always fill the "Women's Room" rubric in the *Harian Rakjat* newspaper published by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) which introduces Gerwis progressive thoughts about women. Those who contributed their writings included SK Trimurti, Sujinah, Suharti, Sri, and Sulami. In the rubric, they write about female workers who always get lower salaries than male workers, female reproductive health, sex workers, and poor women who do not get proper education and health. They also strongly criticized the liberal culture of the West such as the culture of living together which according to them made women victims.

Wanita Sedar became the first women's magazine in Indonesia to write about a map of women's movements in the world and ideas about feminism because they have experience attending international congresses. Many ideas of the international women's movement were later raised in the *Sedar Woman*. Gerwis activists sought funds by selling bottles and leaves which the proceeds were used to publish *Sedar Women*. This is done to reduce dependence on investors who offer funds in the form of advertising. When Gerwis reformed from cadre organizations to mass organizations, socialist groups such as SK Trimurti disagreed with the changes. When Gerwis changed into the Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani) whose ideology from a cadre organization to a mass organization, SK Trimurti resigned because he did not agree with the current struggle. At that time the PKI began to put people in Gerwani membership. In the 1960s, Gerwani championed a people's ideology which was believed to be able to free women, especially lower class women. Pramodawardhani (2004: 27-29) explained that Gerwani carried out his actions mainly related to household problems, women's rights: such as Attamimi's case, rape, and murder cases in East Java, actions of arable land in Tanjung Morawa etc. Also defending children's rights, namely opposing children's marriages, increasing educators, expanding "Melati" Kindergarten schools, the Movement for Illiteracy (PBH).

STIGMANIZATION AND NEW ORDER PATRIACHAL CULTURE

After the events of September 30, 1965, various media reported the involvement of the Women's Organization at Lubang Buaya. Newspaper *Armed Forces Daily*, *Berita Yudha*, *Kompas* said that, Gerwani is a women's organization that must be responsible for the event. *Berita Yudha* and the *Armed Forces* reported that Gerwani members danced fragrantly and cut off the generals' vital tools before they were put into Lubang Buaya wells. The description of Gerwani's cruelty was continuously introduced in such a way. The preaching of genitals which became a symbol of honor for men who were slashed and incited gave rise to awareness of retaliation (Lestariningsih, 2011: 67). It was this Gerwani cruelty that gave justification, when they were arrested and examined, harassed both physically and verbally.

Djamilah and Trimo acknowledged, for example, they expressed their regret at the incident carried out by Gerwani members at Lubang Buaya. They then got the nickname "Srikandi Lubang Buaya" (Lestariningsih, 2011: 69-70). Gerwani women are depicted as cruel, evil, women, and not dignified. Stories of sexual crimes committed by Gerwani have caused anger among religious people. Muslimat Nahdhatul Ulama, for example, demanded that Gerwani be expelled from Kowani. The Catholic Women Group reacted equally to the news carried out by Gerwani. (Wieringa, 1999: 530). Gerwani was finally officially released from Kowani in October 1965.

The stigma against cruelty and Gerwani's sexual crimes continues to be massive. The coverage of the mass media has caused public hatred and fear of Gerwani. The Daily News of the Armed Forces (1965) describes the fears of the people of the Ranca Paki Leuwisari Village, Tasikmalaya. In the newspaper it was described when a mob brandished axes, knives, and spears as they left the house shouting "Gerwani". The masses are described as running and getting more and more crowded. In the pursuit, children who were at that time attending school also came out and joined in the pursuit. The shouts of "die Gerwani", "Hajar Gerwani", are a manifestation of the people's hatred of Gerwani. It turned out that what was being pursued by the community was a large male ferret which had been targeted for several days for eating their chickens.

The description of cutting off the generals' genitals with razor blades that are reported in various newspapers is also firmly embedded in people's memories. When a pair of teenagers were waiting for the bus in Harmoni to see a beautiful girl, their connotation likened the girl to the cruel Gerwani with her razor blade. Following is news from Berita Yudha (1965):

"Hey, look ... the girl over there. Pretty, yeah? His friend looked glaring, then he replied: "Hush, look first bud, who knows if she has razor blade".

The newspapers provide Gerwani with the image of women which is contrary to the value system of women in the culture of Indonesian society. In a society that adheres to a patriarchal ideology, women are portrayed as a loving mother, who is gentle, gentle, according to her husband. The statement of Maj. Gen. Soeharto, published in Berita Yudha November 9, 1965, further exacerbated the image of Gerwani. Maj. Gen. Soeharto reminded women not to imitate the actions of the Gerwani people. He stressed, that as an Indonesian woman who already has a special personality, don't be left behind. Women as mothers have a special role to educate children so that they do not fall prey to the counterrevolutionary moral abuse, they must be educated to become Indonesian patriots who have faith (Lestariningsih, 2011: 75).

In a system of society that still strongly adheres to a patriarchal culture, a system that views the male order in the hierarchy above, the statement that Major General Soeharto has conveyed is a natural and ideal thing. In patriarchal culture, men are placed as single and central rulers. This system dominates the culture of society, so women are not equal friends, but as subordinates of men. This patriarchal cultural system sees women as not equal to men and structurally women do not have equal access to men. In a cultural system like this often women become victims. Men have a primary control role in society, while women only lack rights in public areas both economically, socially, politically and psychologically. Referring to Geertz, that Indonesian women, especially from the middle to lower classes, are stronger in occupying positions in the household. Men dominate women and the public world is the domain of men as the nature that has been revealed by God. Although after independence Indonesian women had political and legal rights, however, the patriarchal structure, which was criticized by Soekarno, did not also eliminate the culture. The black campaign against the left woman was published in newspapers between October and December 1965. After that the women's movement became paralyzed and co-opted into the activities of mothers as companion husbands in both the department and army units (Adam 2007: 14).

Gerwani has become a scourge of the New Order. The regime put Gerwani in the

proportion of political stigmatization as a horde of moral "depraved" women. Wieringa shows that Gerwani helped to build the history of the Indonesian women's movement, regardless of how readers view the G30S 1965 event. Wieringa wrote a critical history book and succeeded in elevating Gerwani's political history from science to a male point of view. They are re-imagined as a symbol of bad sexuality (Wieringa, 199: 503-507). In a culture dominated by a patriarchal system, Gerwani's success is something unusual. As a women's organization which should have been subordinate to men, Gerwani had demonstrated its success in mobilizing the masses at that time. In a relatively short period of time Gerwani members rose in significant numbers. In April 1955, the number of Gerwani members was 400,000. In 1956, Gerwani members rose to 565,147 people, and by mid-1956 there were 640,460 members. At the end of December 1957, at the 3rd Gerwani congress the members reached 663,740 people. An extraordinary development in the development of women's organizations (Lestariningsih, 2011: 47).

As a historical work, Wieringa's book was able to uncover that Gerwani in the 1950s and 1960s was the only women's organization that penetrated the national political stage, while most women's organizations argued that the women's organization was restricted to social areas. Furthermore, gender analysis of one of the most important moments in Indonesian history (1965-1966) has revealed a plot of New Order power to harass women's dignity. The profile of Gerwani women who were loud and militant was seen as threatening men as keepers of normative values. This fear is translated into the myth of the generals' penis cutting by Gerwani. On top of that myth, the ideological pillars of the New Order's power were built and political machinery was cleared of socialist-communist thinking. This means that politically the celebration of male domination and seclusion of women into various social organizations can only create a number of programs that strengthen their nature without political votes because emancipation is considered to have been achieved (Rizal, 2007: 31-33).

Anderson explained about slander aimed at Gerwani. He found in the Mahmilub trial file *visum et repertum* of the generals whose penises were cut. Anderson admitted that there were indeed gunshot and bruises but there were no pubic cuts. Then where did the idea of Gerwani's cruelty come from? The depictions of women who are immoral contribute to the anger of the people. Patriarchal culture produces negative images of Gerwani, through reports in the mass media. The strong patriarchal culture was the main factor for the ease with which the people accepted the forms of propaganda carried out by the New Order in shaping public opinion about the crime of Gerwani. A bad picture of Gerwani that justifies any means to achieve the goal. This socio-political relation can be seen in the symbols of power-filled maleness and helpless women. Male power was also shown when conducting checks on female prisoners. The notion that all Gerwani members have a stamp on body parts that function effectively for sexual harassment and become a procedure of examination (Melani, 2003).

News of Gerwani's atrocities had an impact on other women's organizations so that Gerwani was immediately disbanded. A total of 25 political organizations conducted demonstrations demanding the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) as well as its *underbow*. One of them was Gerwani as PKI's *underbow*. Students and mothers went to the Kostrad Headquarters demanding that Gerwani be dissolved which was received directly by Maj. Gen. Soeharto. At that time Ardjui Kartawinata was asked to read a resolution condemning the savagery of Gerwani which had degrading women with their actions at Lubang Buaya. They

demanded that the PJM President save the young generation from the influence of moral decency and violence as quickly as possible to disperse Gerwani. They also urged the Minister of Education and Culture to immediately take over Gerwani schools (Lestariningsih, 2011: 76).

The demand for the dissolution of the PKI and its mass organizations also affected Gerwani. In 1966, the "cleansing" of Gerwani members was initially carried out spontaneously and continued to expand. The tide of demands against the PKI and its mass organizations became stronger with the deteriorating economic situation. The Pancasila Front led by M. Subchan proposed a claim known as Tritura, namely the dissolution of the PKI, the cleaning of the cabinet from the elements of the September 30 Movement, and the decline in prices. Meanwhile, President Soekarno's health condition declined. President Soekarno then gave an assignment to Maj. Gen. Soeharto, to take all necessary measures. This decision was taken to ensure the security, calmness, and stability of the course of government and revolution and to ensure personal safety and authority of the leadership. This order was signed at the Bogor Palace, which became known as the March 11 Order. Armed with this letter then Maj. Gen. Soeharto carried out the dissolution and ban of the PKI, including Gerwani as a mass organization of PKI supporters. (Lestariningsih, 2011: 77-78).

The image of Gerwani's atrocities was later enshrined in the Monument of Pancasila Sakti relief at Lubang Buaya. In the relief it is told about Gerwani members who were fighting and dancing in fragrant flowers. In the other detailed reliefs, a general who was killed was thrown into a well, while Gerwani members were watching. The Gerwani were depicted wearing military clothes and carrying weapons at their waist. Meanwhile, in other reliefs depict women who behave politely, obediently, and portray women who are good as names imaged in patriarchal cultural societies. The New Order period made the image so strong, against cruelty and moral damage to Gerwani. A description of women who are far from the attitudes of women in the male-dominated system of cultural values. The attitudes of women who follow the moral order as in the ideal form of men.

Wieringa stated that the New Order deliberately created myths consciously continuously in various mass media. The creation of public opinion above sexual metaphors is a harassment of women's dignity, specifically used as a justification for the continuation of the New Order in reaching its power. At that time Gerwani was the only women's organization that entered politics. The closeness of Gerwani and the PKI had brought Gerwani members to get seats in council members in 1955. Although the PKI never included issues of feminism in the agenda of discussions, meetings, conferences, or congresses (Wieringa in Pramodawardhani, 2004: 42).

It was this relationship that brought Gerwani into the political vortex in Indonesia, and was considered responsible for the incident at Lubang Buaya. Its position as the largest women's mass organization at that time was used to liberate the events of September 30, 1965. Or is there an element of deliberation, to eliminate Gerwani who is too brave to enter politics, "the world of men". After the independence period, political parties no longer needed women's support. Likewise with the PKI, their support for women's problems seemed to diminish. The Indonesian Communist Party, for example, which should provide support for a monogamous marriage, did little. Perhaps the PKI did not want to deal with Muslim parties. After that the issue of political parties seems to belong to men. Women are more appropriate to take care of the household and it was time to go back to take care of domestic affairs. Of the many women's organizations and

political parties, only Gerwani still wants to enter the realm of men. During the New Order period, many women's movements emerged both in the fields of advocacy, social, economic, and cultural. These organizations are growing rapidly both in the region and at the center. In the early 1970s organizations in the form of NGOs emerged as a response to the entry of various aid funds from abroad (Pramodawardhani, 2004: 11).

Also many organizations under the government were formed such as, Dharma Wanita, PKK, Dasa Wisma and so on. But this organization is less touching to the people directly. The women's movement is more about programs that help women to carry out their functions as women who carry out their roles and duties as mothers. This traditional function was also manifested in the Dharma Wanita organization. In the management structure the position of chairman is attached to the position of the husband. Dharma Wanita serves to make the husband succeed in getting a promotion. The programs of the women's movement in the New Order era were more about fostering practical skills that were not accompanied by the formation of historical awareness and a society that was neutral to men and women.

CONCLUSION

In the development of the women's movement in Indonesia, if we look to date, women are still in a weak bargaining position. It can be seen that women's movements are more likely to want policies in the sense of fulfilling quotas and budgeting than a movement oriented to short-term advocacy. Strategic issues related to issues of education, culture, and changes in the long term have not yet become the focus of the women's movement at this time. Analyzing Michel Foucault's theory of power that the system of patriarchal culture is still so strong and the creation of myths by rulers is dominated by men. Women live in a patriarchal society that implements a system of *the law of the father*, the willingness of men so that the public world becomes male domination. Experience and imaging of the value system in patriarchal culture became a barrier to the women's movement during the New Order era. The concept of motherhood imposed by the state on all fronts. Women were returned to the domestic role as *konco wingking* with religious, social and cultural arguments. Women's movement is limited by a patriarchal cultural value system. House activities are limited to social gathering, PKK, Dharma Wanita which is not done for her but is done to support the husband's career. This presumption has been seen as sufficient for emancipation. The women because they were constantly treated to the myths of Gerwani as "bitch" and "depraved" women, had no historical awareness and did so to take the political path as Gerwani did. The Indonesian women's movement with *clear* and *distinct* must have the courage to erase and end the immoral Gerwani myth. There must be a history writer who sided with women so as to foster a spirit that gave birth to the women's movement to become a political party that is equal to other political parties.

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