

THE PERCEPTIONS OF GMNI BANYUWANGI MEMBERS TOWARD SUKARNO'S THOUGHT ON SARINAH: WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUGGLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA.

Sherlynda Puspita Sari^{1a*}, Sahru Romadloni^{2b}, I Kadek Yudianta^{3c}

^{1,2,3} Universitas 17 Agustus 1945 Banyuwangi, Banyuwangi, Indonesia

^aE-mail: sherlynda08@gmail.com

^bE-mail: sahru.romadloni@untag-banyuwangi.ac.id

^cE-mail: ikadekyudiana@untag-banyuwangi.ac.id

(*) Corresponding Author

sherlynda08@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe the perceptions of GMNI Banyuwangi members regarding Sukarno's thoughts on Sarinah and the contribution of women to the struggle for the Republic of Indonesia. Data collection was carried out through literature review, interviews, observation, and documentation. In-depth interviews were conducted with 11 informants determined through purposive sampling techniques and consisting of GMNI Banyuwangi DPC administrators and GMNI Banyuwangi members from various DPKs. These interviews were conducted to explore the subjective meanings of informants regarding Sukarno's thoughts on Sarinah and the contribution of women to the struggle for the Republic of Indonesia. Observations were conducted to observe organizational dynamics and patterns of cadre interaction in Sarinah discussion activities. Documentation includes GMNI archives and internal documents. The results of the study indicate that most GMNI Banyuwangi members view women as an important element of the struggle that is equal to men, positioned as two complementary elements in the struggle. The level of in-depth understanding of Sukarno's thoughts on Sarinah still varies, influenced by the limited critical reading of GMNI Banyuwangi members. Sukarno is perceived as a revolutionary thinker who demands the full involvement of women for the realization of comprehensive independence. In general, these findings indicate a gap between Sukarno's conceptualization of thought and organizational implementation, so that strengthening gender-based cadre development is important to actualize Sarinah's values and enrich the current nationalist student movement.

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INTRODUCTION

GMNI is the result of the merger of three student organizations that share the same principles, namely Marhaenism as taught by Sukarno (Aminuddin et al., 2019). These three organizations include the Marhaenist Student Movement based in Yogyakarta, the Merdeka Student Movement based in Surabaya, and the Indonesian Democratic Student Movement based in Jakarta. GMNI Banyuwangi, as a branch of the Indonesian National Student Movement, regularly organizes various activities, including management inaugurations, environmental awareness actions, and discussions on Marhaenism. However, women's involvement in this organization still tends to be placed in a supporting position, with programs focused on gender issues still limited, even though Sukarno's ideology firmly emphasized the importance of

equal roles between men and women in the nation's struggle. GMNI is also one of the external student organizations that is still active and spread almost throughout Indonesia, especially in areas with universities (Kisniati & Warsono, 2022).

Along with the Marhaenist ideology, Sukarno's ideas, often discussed in GMNI ideological discussions, are those expressed in his book *Sarinah*. This book critically examines the patriarchal structure deeply rooted in Indonesian culture. Patriarchy is understood as an ideology that forms a sexual hierarchy, in which men are positioned as the dominant force over women (Holqi et al., 2024). Sukarno interpreted *Sarinah* as a representation of Marhaenist women who were revolutionary, rejected patriarchal domination, and fought alongside men against capitalism. However, in the organizational practice of GMNI Banyuwangi, women still tended to be positioned as complementary to the organization, despite the structural establishment of a *Sarinah* division. Initial observations indicate that GMNI cadres still have limited in-depth study of *Sarinah*'s thoughts. Their attention was more focused on internal organizational issues, including leadership regeneration and local issues, rather than critical reading of Sukarno's ideas about women.

Research on Sukarno's ideas about women in *Sarinah*'s book has so far been dominated by historiographical approaches and textual analysis of Sukarno's ideas about women's emancipation (Ariwinata & Nadli 2023). These studies have not specifically explained the ideological meaning of cadres regarding gender issues and Sukarno's concept of feminism. In Sukarno's thought, women's emancipation is seen as a structural collective struggle to fight the oppression of patriarchy and capitalism. Previous studies generally focused on the conceptual dimension, nationalism, and the historical context of Sukarno's thought, so there has been little examination of how these ideas were understood, interpreted, and actualized by members of nationalist student organizations in contemporary organizational practice. Thus, there has been little empirical research that specifically examines how GMNI cadres interpret and actualize Sukarno's thoughts on women in organizational practice, especially at the regional branch level such as GMNI Banyuwangi.

Based on this gap, this study presents an empirical contribution through an analysis of GMNI Banyuwangi members' perceptions of women's contributions based on Sukarno's thoughts in *Sarinah*. This study not only positions *Sarinah* as an ideological text, but also as an idea that continues to interact with the dynamics of contemporary student organizations (Romualdi, 2024). Furthermore, this study seeks to explain the gap between the nationalist feminist values taught by Sukarno and the reality of organizational practice, particularly in the context of cadre formation, leadership, and women's participation within GMNI Banyuwangi. Thus, this study aims to address the limitations of empirical studies on GMNI cadres' interpretations of Sukarno's views on women, particularly in the context of nationalist student organizations at the regional branch level.

Rodliyah and Isnaini (2023) discussed the internalization of socialist feminist values among *Sarinah* cadres at UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. This research provides an initial contribution to understanding the application of socialist feminism within student organizations. However, the focus of the study is still limited to female members and has not yet reached both female and male members. Specifically, the study has not highlighted the perceptions of GMNI members, especially at the branch level such as GMNI Banyuwangi, which has an ideological basis in Marhaenism and historically refers to Sukarno's thoughts on women's emancipation. This condition indicates a significant gap in the literature on feminism in nationalist student organizations. Therefore, more specific and contextual empirical studies are needed to understand how feminist values are perceived, internalized, and practiced within student organizations (Arwan et al., 2019).

This study offers novelty through an in-depth examination of how GMNI Banyuwangi members interpret and internalize Sukarno's thoughts on the ideal woman as outlined in the book *Sarinah*, which emphasizes women's liberation in a structural and revolutionary manner. Unlike the research of Siburian and Rohmah (2023) which focused on GMNI organizational communication patterns in strengthening nationalist values, this study specifically analyzes GMNI members' perceptions of Sukarno's thoughts on the role of women as fighters, mothers, educators, and drivers of national development in the context of Indonesia's struggle for independence. To date, empirical studies discussing the understanding and actualization of the *Sarinah* concept by GMNI members at the regional branch level, especially in Banyuwangi, have been scarce. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap and enrich the discourse on the ideology of nationalist student organizations by connecting Sukarno's historical thoughts with the dynamics of contemporary youth activism.

Another novelty of this study is that it highlights the significant gap between Sukarno's normative teachings in *Sarinah* and GMNI Banyuwangi members' understanding of women's roles in various spheres of life. *Sarinah* presents a comprehensive conceptual framework regarding women's positions in five main domains: family, religion, social, political, and economic (Donert, 2022). This framework has not been fully implemented in organizational practice, whether in cadre development programs, movement activities, or GMNI Banyuwangi's leadership structure, where patriarchal culture often limits the actualization of women's roles. Therefore, this study goes beyond textual analysis but

instead focuses on GMNI members' perceptions of Sukarno's ideas about women. This approach is expected to produce applicable recommendations for strengthening women's roles in the organization and developing nationalism based on the principle of gender equality.

The significance of this study encompasses both academic and practical contributions. Academically, this research is expected to enrich the study of Sukarno's thoughts on the ideology of nationalist feminism as expressed in the book *Sarinah*, by positioning these ideas not only as historical texts, but also as ideologies that continue to interact with contemporary social and organizational realities. Practically, this research is expected to provide material for reflection and evaluation for the Indonesian National Student Movement in assessing the consistency between its ideology and organizational practices. By connecting Sukarno's feminist thoughts in *Sarinah* with the reality of the perceptions of today's GMNI members, this study also fills a gap in previous research that has limitedly linked these ideas to the context of contemporary nationalist student organizations.

This study aims to describe the perceptions of GMNI Banyuwangi branch members towards Sukarno's thoughts in the book *Sarinah*, particularly regarding women's contributions to the struggle for the Republic of Indonesia. This study also aims to explain the gap between Sukarno's concept of the ideal woman and the reality of women's roles and participation in the GMNI organization today through an analysis of the dynamics of cadre perceptions. This study uses perception theory and socialist feminism as an analytical framework to understand gender and class relations within the organization. In addition, this study is expected to provide theoretical contributions to the development of studies on organizational identity and ideological resilience, as well as practical contributions to the revitalization of women's cadre development in GMNI.

The use of *Sarinah*'s book as a source of understanding regarding the struggle of Indonesian women in the era of globalization is expected to strengthen local knowledge and encourage the emergence of new discourse on women's leadership within the context of GMNI ideology. This has the potential to become a strategic reference in implementing Sukarno's feminist values contextually and transformatively, while simultaneously fostering women's activism based on national ideology (Hidayat, 2018). This research is expected to serve as a foundation for the development of further studies on the role of women in the history of the Republic of Indonesia's struggle and strengthen the development of nationalist feminist discourse in student organizations based on national ideology.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive research type (Bradshaw et al., 2017) to deeply understand the perceptions of GMNI Banyuwangi members towards Sukarno's thoughts on women's contributions as outlined in the book *Sarinah*. A qualitative approach was chosen because it allows researchers to uncover the meanings, views, and ideological interpretations that developed within the context of student organizations. This study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the construction of the meaning of *Sarinah* within Marhaenism-based student organizations, as well as to examine how Sukarno's ideas about women were understood as a symbol of gender emancipation amidst post-reform social and cultural dynamics. Thus, this study seeks to describe how GMNI members' perceptions of Sukarno's thoughts on women persisted and were actualized amidst local ideological and sociocultural challenges.

This study applies source triangulation in the data collection process with literature review, interviews, observation, and documentation (Vivek, 2023). The literature review was conducted by searching various literatures discussing Sukarno's thoughts on *Sarinah*, the history of GMNI, socialist feminism, and perception studies in student organizations. The findings from the literature review serve as a foundation for understanding the ideal construction of *Sarinah* as a subject of women's struggle, the dynamics of GMNI ideology, and the symbolic meaning of gender emancipation in the context of the struggle for the Republic of Indonesia. In-depth interviews were conducted with 11 informants determined through purposive sampling techniques, consisting of the chairman of the DPC GMNI Banyuwangi, the deputy head of *Sarinah* DPC GMNI Banyuwangi, the political bureau of DPC GMNI Banyuwangi, the cadre bureau of the DPK KIP. The deputy head of the organization of the DPK KIP, members of the DPK Engineering, the chairman of the DPK ISIP, members of the DPK Law, the secretary of the DPK FPP, and the deputy head of politics of the DPK FPP. Interviews were conducted to explore GMNI Banyuwangi members' understanding and perceptions of Sukarno's concept of *Sarinah*, the contribution of women to the struggle for the Indonesian republic. Observations were conducted to observe organizational dynamics, cadre interaction patterns, and practices that actualize women's roles in *Sarinah* discussion activities. Documentation included GMNI archives and internal documents.

Data analysis was conducted descriptively through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (Bingham, 2023) to identify patterns of GMNI Banyuwangi members' perceptions of Sarinah to ensure data validity. The obtained data were classified according to the research focus, then analyzed to find patterns of understanding and perception of GMNI Banyuwangi members towards Sukarno's thoughts in Sarinah. Data validity was maintained through source triangulation by comparing the results of interviews, observations, and documentation (Vogl et al., 2019). This approach allows for evaluation of the consistency of findings and reduces bias from a single source. This study is expected to provide a comprehensive picture of the perception of Sarinah as a symbol of the revitalization of the role of Marhaenism women and the resilience of GMNI Banyuwangi ideology in facing post-reform dynamics and local patriarchal norms.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

GMNI Banyuwangi members' understanding of Sukarno's thoughts on women's contributions

GMNI Banyuwangi members view Sukarno as a central figure in the nation's struggle, not only as the Proclaimer and first President of the Republic of Indonesia, but also as an ideological thinker who formulated the concept of Marhaenism and the struggle of oppressed people, including women (Bena, 2022). The majority of informants explained that Sukarno's thoughts on women were first obtained through the formal GMNI cadre process, such as PPAB, then deepened through ideological discussions and independent reading of Sarinah's book. M. Habibi Rahman explained that Sukarno was perceived as a revolutionary leader who formulated the path of the nation's struggle through nationalism, Marhaenism, and Indonesian socialism (Interview, January 13, 2026). Riyan Bachtiar also explained that Sukarno's thoughts were born from a long struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and had the ideal of realizing an independent Indonesia in the political, economic, and cultural fields (Interview, January 8, 2026). However, the interview results showed that the level of members' understanding of the Sarinah book still varied because not all informants had read and understood the contents of the book completely and critically (Habibah et al., 2026).

The research also shows that GMNI Banyuwangi members understand women as an important part of the nation's struggle. Rofi'uddin Rahmatullah explained that in the book Sarinah, Sukarno likened men and women to two wings of a bird that must walk in balance in the struggle towards the Republic of Indonesia (Interview, January 9, 2026). Antica Silviyani added that there are three main points that GMNI members need to understand regarding Sukarno's thoughts on women, namely women as subjects of struggle, the importance of women's education as a path to freedom, and women's struggle that cannot be separated from the nation's struggle (Interview, January 12, 2026). The informant also explained that the success of a nation can be seen from the extent to which women obtain space for freedom and equality in social life. In addition, GMNI women are seen as having an important role in the struggle of organizations and social movements, not only as a complement to the organization, but also as part of the resistance movement against social injustice and patriarchal culture.

The understanding of GMNI Banyuwangi members regarding Sukarno's thoughts in Sarinah indicates a recognition of women as subjects of the nation's struggle, although the level of internalization of these ideas varies. These field findings were then analyzed using a socialist feminist perspective to examine how GMNI members interpret the relationship between women and social struggle. From a socialist feminist perspective, this condition indicates that GMNI members are beginning to understand women's issues not only as moral issues, but also as a form of structural inequality related to patriarchal relations within organizations and society. Socialist feminism views that the oppression of women arises from interrelated patriarchal relations and socio-economic inequality (Elomaki & Kantola, 2018). Therefore, Sukarno's thoughts on women as a revolutionary force can be understood as a form of criticism of the patriarchal and capitalist systems that limit women's space for movement in social and political life.

GMNI members' views on the importance of equality between men and women also demonstrate efforts to build partnerships within the organization's struggle. Sukarno's analogy of "two wings" demonstrates that men and women are positioned as two complementary elements in the national struggle. From a socialist feminist perspective, this understanding reflects an effort to reject patriarchal power relations that position women merely as complements to men (Mcneay, 2025). However, research findings indicate that GMNI members' ideological understanding of Sarinah remains incomplete. Not all members critically read the Sarinah text. As a result, Sukarno's thoughts on women's liberation tend to be understood normatively. This situation demonstrates the tension between the emancipatory values taught by Sukarno and the members' understanding practices, which are still influenced by patriarchal culture and limited critical cadre development.

This situation indicates that GMNI Banyuwangi members are beginning to recognize women's strategic role in social struggles and national development. Research findings indicate that GMNI Banyuwangi members are beginning to recognize women's strategic role in social struggles and national development. Therefore, strengthening ideological cadre development based on a gender perspective and critically examining Sarinah is crucial to ensure that the idea of women's emancipation does not remain conceptual but is implemented in more equitable and inclusive organizational practices.

The character values of Sukarno's thoughts on Sarinah and the contribution of women to the struggle of the Republic of Indonesia

A national revolution in which women are not merely supporting figures, but the principal heroes standing side by side with men, forming a mighty force to lift the nation toward true independence (Roziqi, 2017). Sukarno's vision in the 1947 book *Sarinah: The Duty of Women in the Struggle for the Republic of Indonesia in 1947*, in which Sukarno portrays Sarinah as the symbol of the ideal woman inspired by his childhood nanny figure embodying revolutionary character values, deep ideological awareness, militancy, absolute equality, full autonomy and agency, and scathing criticism of half-hearted reformist feminism. Sukarno's conception of Sarinah embodies noble character traits that serve as a source of inspiration for the struggle of Indonesian women. This concept affirms the multidimensional role of women, not only as fighters but also as educators and drivers of national development. These values align with the concrete roles women have played in the process of seizing, safeguarding, and sustaining the Republic of Indonesia.

Ideological Awareness

Sukarno viewed women as a vital part of the social and national struggle. In *Sarinah*, women are positioned not only as supporters of the struggle but also as subjects who must possess political, social, and ideological awareness. Sukarno emphasized that women need to understand socialism and have a theoretical foundation to be able to fight for independence in its entirety (Risnawaty et al., 2024). This ideological awareness is demonstrated through the importance of nationalism, social justice, and the struggle against oppression.

Militancy & Revolution

The militant value in Sukarno's thinking was reflected in women's active involvement in the revolutionary struggle. Sukarno rejected the view that women were passive participants in the national struggle. He believed women should be courageously involved in the social and political struggle to fight imperialism and injustice. *Sarinah* was to be fully involved in all aspects of the revolution, from logistics to direct combat. This thinking rejected women's passive role, making them the primary agents of social transformation. This commitment reflected Sukarno's belief that a half-hearted revolution was doomed to failure.

Partnership

Sukarno viewed men and women as two complementary elements in the nation's struggle. The analogy of "two wings of a bird" suggests that success in the national struggle can only be achieved if men and women work equally in social and political life. Sukarno emphasized the need to eradicate the "master's spirit" or patriarchal mentality among men so that they would respect women as equal comrades. The concept of equal partnership emphasized the need for total cooperation between men and women in a spirit of harmonious mutual assistance, analogous to two wings flapping together.

Independence

The value of independence in Sukarno's thinking emphasized the importance of women having the ability to think, act, and determine their own destiny. Women were seen as needing to be free from dependency and to have the courage to take on roles in social and political life (Kristiyanto et al., 2021). This idea was rooted in Sukarno's experience, witnessing the exploitation of Bengkulu women, who were labeled "pearls" but in reality treated like slaves.

Criticism of the Reformist Feminist Movement

Sukarno criticized the women's movement for focusing solely on formal equality without addressing the roots of social and economic injustice. According to Sukarno, women's struggles must be connected to the struggle against capitalism and structural oppression in order to achieve comprehensive equality. Sukarno described the situation in Indonesia before the Pacific War by stating that "Indonesian women occupied the first level, the level of playing with girls, which is considered stale in other countries, and a small number occupied the second level, which in other countries has become a level of the past." This view emphasizes that the reformist feminist approach tends to benefit women from elite circles, while the reality of oppression experienced by women workers remains ignored.

The research findings indicate that the character values in Sukarno's thinking are related to the perspective of socialist feminism. The ideological awareness of women in *Sarinah* demonstrates that women's struggles cannot be

separated from the struggle against social inequality and patriarchy. Socialist feminism views women's oppression as arising from patriarchal relations and unequal socio-economic structures. The values of militancy and revolution also demonstrate that women are positioned as active subjects of social change. In the context of GMNI Banyuwangi, these values are reflected through women's efforts to engage in discussion spaces, cadre formation, and organizational leadership. Furthermore, the concept of equal partnership demonstrates efforts to build equal relations between men and women in the organization's struggle. However, the research findings indicate that the implementation of these values still faces challenges from patriarchal culture and limited critical reading of Sukarno's thinking. Therefore, strengthening cadre formation based on a gender perspective is important so that the emancipatory values in Sarinah can be realized more concretely in organizational practice.

GMNI Banyuwangi members' perceptions of Sukarno's thoughts on women in Sarinah

The results of the study indicate that GMNI Banyuwangi members view Sukarno's thoughts on women in the book Sarinah as ideas that are still relevant to current social conditions. The majority of informants considered Sukarno's thoughts on women to be progressive for his time because he placed women as an important part of the nation's struggle. Deni Oktaviano Pratama explained that in the pre-independence era, women still had a low social position, so Sukarno encouraged women to play a role in national development (Interview, January 14, 2026). In addition, Jesicca Nur Faeda explained that Sukarno's thoughts on women are important for GMNI members to understand because GMNI is an organization based on the teachings of Marhaenism, so understanding Sarinah is part of understanding the organization's ideology as a whole (Interview, January 8, 2026).

Several informants also assessed that Sukarno's thoughts on women need to be critically understood in line with current developments. Pramita Kristina Dika explained that not all of Sukarno's thoughts in Sarinah can be applied textually because they were born in a social and cultural context different from the current situation (Interview, January 12, 2026). Another informant added that the implementation of Sukarno's thoughts on women still faces the challenge of a strong patriarchal culture in society. Melsa Feli Crisdika explained that patriarchal culture remains an obstacle to realizing women's equality in social and organizational environments (Interview, January 12, 2026).

The research also shows that GMNI Banyuwangi has provided a fairly open space for women within the organization. Informants explained that women have equal opportunities to become organizational leaders. This is evident in the presence of a woman who served as Chair of the GMNI Banyuwangi DPC in the previous period. Furthermore, female members are also involved in organizational decision-making as well as various cadre development activities and social movements. Evi Anggita Rahma explained that efforts to revive Sukarno's thoughts on women can be done through strengthening ideological education based on a gender perspective, increasing women's involvement in strategic organizational positions, and creating a safe and equal discussion space (Interview, January 12, 2026). Sukarno positioned women not merely as complements to men, but as an important part of decision-making within student circles and popular movements (Roziqi, 2017).

Male members' views on women in the organization also demonstrate support for gender equality. Yohanes Mifta Gadi Gaa explained that Sukarno's thoughts on women influenced male members' perspectives on the importance of gender equity and women's leadership in the organization (Interview, January 9, 2026). The Head of the Banyuwangi DPC GMNI, Riyan Bachtiar, also explained that the Sarinah department aims to provide a cadre development space for GMNI women to enable them to manage social issues, convey ideas, and participate in the organization's decision-making process (Interview, January 8, 2026). Imroatun Nabila explained that implementing Sukarno's thoughts in the current era can begin by critically reading Sukarno's books, connecting Marhaenism with current issues, gender, and digital, encouraging women's leadership in the organization, and making GMNI a practical, not merely symbolic, space for emancipatory practice (Interview, January 14, 2026). Research findings show that male members of GMNI Banyuwangi have begun to show involvement in supporting gender equality through rejection of sexist practices and support for women's leadership (Adawiyah et al., 2025).

Observations of the Sarinah discussion within GMNI Banyuwangi indicate that the forum serves as a critical cadre development platform for female members to discuss social issues related to women and gender inequality. The discussion not only addressed the concept of women's emancipation in Sukarno's thought but also related it to contemporary social phenomena. One issue discussed was the promotion of early marriage on social media, which is seen as potentially limiting women's education and independence (Davina et al, 2024). Through the forum, female GMNI members were encouraged to develop critical awareness of various social issues related to women and patriarchal culture (Observation, January 10, 2026).



Figures 1 and 2. Interview with the chairperson and Head of the Sarinah division DPC GMNI Banyuwangi
(Source: personal collection, 08 January, 2026)

GMNI Banyuwangi members' perceptions of Sukarno's thoughts on women indicate that the organizational cadre formation process plays a significant role in shaping members' perspectives on gender equality issues. Perception theory posits that an individual's understanding of an idea is influenced by experience, social environment, and interactions. Therefore, the experience of cadre formation and organizational interactions influence how GMNI Banyuwangi members understand Sukarno's thoughts on women. This is evident in the cadre formation process, ideological discussions, and organizational activities that shape GMNI Banyuwangi members' understanding of Sukarno's thoughts (Jayanti & Arista, 2018).

The views of GMNI members, who place women as a vital part of the nation's struggle, demonstrate a shift in perceptions of gender relations within the nationalist student organization. Sukarno's thoughts in Sarinah are understood not only as moral ideas about women, but also as a critique of the social system that places women in a subordinate position. From a socialist feminist perspective, the oppression of women arises from the interconnected relationship between patriarchal culture and socio-economic inequality. Therefore, Sukarno's thoughts on women as a revolutionary force can be understood as a form of resistance against patriarchal structures that limit women's space in social and political life.

GMNI Banyuwangi members' perceptions of Sarinah demonstrate an effort to understand women as subjects of social and political struggle. However, strengthening ideological cadre formation based on a gender perspective and critical reading of Sarinah remains necessary to realize the values of women's emancipation in more equal, critical, and inclusive organizational practices. The persistently strong patriarchal culture has prevented some members from fully grasping the concept of women's emancipation critically. Furthermore, not all members have critically read Sarinah's books, resulting in Sukarno's thoughts on women's liberation sometimes being understood normatively and symbolically.

The Sarinah discussion held by GMNI Banyuwangi demonstrated the organization's efforts to connect Sukarno's thoughts with contemporary social issues. The discussion on the phenomenon of promoting early marriage on social media demonstrated that GMNI members attempted to connect ideas about women's emancipation with current social realities. From a socialist feminist perspective, this phenomenon can be understood as a form of patriarchal cultural reproduction that potentially subordinates women through economic dependence and limited access to education.

Based on the results of the interviews and observations, the perceptions of GMNI Banyuwangi members regarding Sukarno's thoughts on women can be analyzed using social perception theory and a socialist feminist perspective. The findings of this study confirm that Sukarno's thoughts on women are still relevant in building awareness of gender equality within nationalist student organizations. GMNI Banyuwangi members' perceptions of Sarinah demonstrate an effort to understand women as subjects of social and political struggle. However, strengthening ideological cadres based on a gender perspective and critical reading of Sukarno's thoughts are still needed so that the value of women's emancipation does not stop at the conceptual level, but can be realized in organizational practices that are more equal, critical, and inclusive.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that GMNI Banyuwangi members' understanding of Sukarno's thoughts on women in the book Sarinah still has relevance in building gender equality awareness within the nationalist student organization. Sukarno's thoughts are understood as a form of resistance against patriarchal culture and social inequality that places women in a subordinate position. The Sarinah concept, which emphasizes ideological awareness, militant struggle, equal partnership

between men and women, and women's independence, is an important part of GMNI Banyuwangi's ideological cadre formation process. This understanding shows that women are positioned not merely as complements to the organization, but as subjects of social and political struggle who have a strategic role in national development. The results also show that the cadre formation process, ideological discussions, and organizational activities influence the formation of GMNI Banyuwangi members' perceptions of Sukarno's thoughts on women. The presence of the Sarinah Department and women's discussion forums provide a space for female members to develop critical awareness, leadership skills, and involvement in organizational decision-making. From a socialist feminist perspective, these practices demonstrate the organization's efforts to build more equal relations between men and women through collective struggles against patriarchal culture and social inequality. This research also found that the implementation of women's emancipation values within the organization still faces various challenges. A strong patriarchal culture prevents some members from fully understanding Sukarno's thoughts critically and deeply. Furthermore, not all GMNI Banyuwangi members have fully read Sarinah, a book they have been working on. Therefore, Sukarno's thoughts on women's liberation are sometimes still understood normatively and symbolically. This situation indicates a gap between the ideological values taught during cadre formation and social practices within the organization and society.

Practically, this study recommends that GMNI Banyuwangi strengthen its gender-based ideological cadre formation through a critical reading of Sarinah, strengthening women's discussion forums, training female cadre leaders, and creating a more equal and inclusive organizational space. Strengthening ideological education is crucial to ensure that Sukarno's thoughts on women do not remain merely discourse, but can be realized in more progressive organizational practices and social movements. This study has limitations because it focuses only on GMNI Banyuwangi members, so the results cannot fully describe the condition of GMNI in other regions. Furthermore, this study focuses more on the perceptions and ideological understanding of organizational members, thus not fully discussing the implementation of Sarinah values in the socio-political activities of cadres outside the organization. Therefore, further research can develop studies on the implementation of Sukarno's thoughts on women in student movement practices, the political involvement of female GMNI cadres, and the relevance of Sarinah's thoughts to gender equality issues in the digital era and contemporary society.

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