

## ETHICAL POLITIC AND EMERGENCE OF INTELLECTUAL CLASS

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### ABSTRACT

This study aimed to examine and analyze the relationship between the ethical and the birth of the educated classes in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) in the colonial period. The research is qualitative by using methods and approach to historical analysis. The methods and approach to historical analysis combined with interactive methods, interdisciplinary and inter-textual to gain an understanding of the diverse impulses and interactions that contributed to the birth of the educated classes in the Indian Dutch the colonial period. The results showed that the policy of "ethical policy" in the liberal period in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) have an impact on the formation of the educated native Indonesia. Through this policy the bumiputera can find the momentum to get an education in the West. The intellectuals who were born from these intellectuals have paved the way for poles crucial as a public educator. This means that they have to wake Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) from a long hibernation during this time. The presence of intellectuals in public spaces contribute to the growth of national consciousness, which in turn form the collective consciousness as a nation-state.

Keywords: ethical politics, the educated classes, the Dutch Colonial Period.

### ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji dan menganalisis hubungan antara etika dan kelahiran dari kelas terdidik di Hindia Belanda (Indonesia) pada masa kolonial. Penelitian kualitatif dengan menggunakan metode dan pendekatan untuk analisis sejarah. Metode dan pendekatan analisis historis dikombinasikan dengan metode interaktif, interdisipliner dan intertekstual untuk memperoleh pemahaman tentang impuls beragam dan interaksi yang berkontribusi terhadap lahirnya kelas terdidik di Belanda India masa kolonial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kebijakan "politik etis" pada periode liberal di Hindia Belanda (Indonesia) berdampak pada pembentukan asli Indonesia yang berpendidikan. Melalui kebijakan ini bumiputera dapat menemukan momentum untuk mendapatkan pendidikan di Barat. Para intelektual yang lahir dari para intelektual ini telah membuka jalan bagi kutub penting sebagai pendidik masyarakat. Ini berarti bahwa mereka harus bangun Hindia Belanda (Indonesia) dari tidur panjangnya selama ini. Kehadiran intelektual di ruang publik memberikan kontribusi pada pertumbuhan kesadaran nasional, yang pada gilirannya membentuk kesadaran kolektif sebagai sebuah negara-bangsa.

Kata kunci: politik etis, kelas terdidik, Periode Kolonial Belanda.

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## INTRODUCTION

The origin of the birth of the educated class educated in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) almost the same as the birth of the intelligentsia in Eastern European countries, such as Russia and Poland. Although condition Eastern Europe in the 19th century are historically different from the situation in the country Indies. Nevertheless, there is very fundamental similarity of a generation of educated and influenced by ideas he absorbed Western knowledge behind it (Gella, 1976: 9-32). In addition, the promotion of education in the Western model of the colonial government has created a hierarchy of knowledge and values as a second class of the colonial society and culture in the Dutch East Indies (Said, 1989: 205-25). Educated class in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) is a minority of modern elite that has the ability to assume leadership responsibilities in society, politics and bureaucracy. The term was the "elite" is used for the educated class of Indonesia that highly influential form many institutional structure or activities in fighting for the rights of colonized populations.

In modern society, the structure include politics, government, economy, social and culture. In this context Indonesian intelligentsia as a social stratum to describe the social formations of the intelligentsia after the 1920s. This is part of the historical dynamics Indonesia which continues today (Halevy, 1985: 15). Meanwhile, the social formation of the modern educated elite in Indonesia is similar to the process of formation of the intelligentsia in the Eastern European context, which is strongly influenced its framework Theoretic literature of Western Europe. Education is not only as a source of cultural legitimacy of the intelligentsia, but also as an arena battle of power (power).

Resurrected by a tidal wave of liberal movements and democratic revolution in Europe around the 1840s (Stromberg, 1968: 72-78), the liberal wing in the Netherlands, led by the late Rudolf Thorbecke J to quickly respond to the political mo-

mentum to change the course of the Act basic (*grondwetsherziening*) Holland of conservatism towards liberalism. With the Constitution of 1848, the Netherlands turned into a monarchy constitutional State, and the Queen be accountable to Parliament. Consequently in the field of education, constitution 1848 guarantees free education for every people in the Netherlands, which of course has influence be a new attitude toward the problems of education in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) as the land of the colony (Simbolon, 1995: 126-27). In this context, the aspirations of liberals about free enterprise, freedom of work, and private property, attempts to gain control over the colonial profits, means urging the colonial government to protect private capital in order to get the land, labor, and the opportunity to run the new plantation. The transition to a liberal economy is in fact requires not only institutional reforms, but also support infrastructure, including improvements to service bureaucracy, which in turn demanded the improvement of the education sector in the country the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). When Christian Party came to power because of its position as the fighters moral responsibility, then the spirit was also Queen Wilhelmina in his annual message delivered in 1901 argued about the "debt of honor" and ethical accountability to the people of the Netherlands East Indies (Indonesia). The new orientation in the colonial treatment of the Indian people became known as "Ethical politic" (Van Niel, 1970: 32).

According to the leader of the Ethical Policy, Th. Van Deventer, the growing prosperity of the natives is difficult to achieve in the absence of indigenous people are trained to be able to execute his duties. He expects the country's rebirth Indies which would be achieved through education per goodness. Likewise, the other ethical, as Abendanon, who think education is a binder of friendship and trust that can unite all people who step on the road to progress. In this idealistic view, education is intended as a means to improve the welfare of the Natives within

the framework of Western civilization (Niel, 1970).

### **RESEARCH METHODS**

In examining the issue of ethical politics in relation to the birth of the intelligentsia in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) in the colonial period, the research methods used qualitative using historical analysis approach based on the time frame (*longue durée*). The methods and approach to historical analysis combined with interdisciplinary and inter-textual methods, to gain an understanding of the various facts that can contribute to the birth of the educated classes in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) in the colonial period. The trick is to with examine and analyze written documents either in the form of books, articles, and scientific journals related to the research topic. Whether it comes from a script written by the historian Indonesia and the Netherlands, and even some of the records relating to the issues discussed.

### **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

#### **Western Model of Education in Indonesia Colonial Period**

The presence and absence of certain forms of education in a society provide not only for class differences and principle fundamentals of the establishment of social order, but also a catalyst for the power struggle on a competitive basis. Conception of education as a force field of power relations are full of fight shown by both the educational situation during Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia. Education is the factor that unites people in diverse groups as well as a dividing bulkhead between the groups. Until the 19th century, knowledge and institutions in the country education the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) are similar to knowledge and educational institutions in most systems of traditional religious-politic worldwide. Knowledge and education in the pre-modern world tend subordinate on the sacred. Religion is also the reason, the purpose and content of traditional education, as well as a supply teacher and a place for learning for the indigenous popu-

lation. The government as a mediator in the process of learning as an integral part of the patronage of faith. This is a picture of the education situation in the Indies (Indonesia) prior to the introduction of modern Western model of education sponsored by the Dutch colonial government. Previous Islam has a strong influence, so that the children of the nobility of the Muslim traders and religiously devout family delivered to the Islamic schools of traditional, such as boarding schools, *surau*, *meunasah*, Islamic boarding school, or to the center of Islamic learning in the Middle East.

Authorities VOC (Dutch trading partners in the East Indies (Indonesia), which holds control over parts of the Indies for nearly 200 years (1602-1800) has no interest to interfere in the issue of religious education and the indigenous population, except in terms of support to the Christian missionary schools. with the fall of the VOC in 1799 (Latif, 2012: 95) hegemony over the East Indies (Indonesia) submitted by private companies to the colonial empire colonial state. Under the new regime, most of the Indonesian archipelago integrated gradually transforming power centers that are dispersed into a colonial unitary State. Nevertheless, until the mid-19th century, the Dutch colonial government still education that reflects the indigenous population, and refrain from excessive interference against religious affairs indigenous population.

Economic interests and a desire to maintain the status differences are some of the reasons behind the disinterest of the Dutch colonial government against the indigenous population education issues. In the early stages, which is a concentration of the Dutch colonial government was the accumulation of capital. In addition, there is also a kind of sense of Western superiority among the Dutch who made them feel compelled to introduce the life of Western civilization to the indigenous culture; that is precisely the desire to retain the 'authenticity' garden of exotic civilizations East World (Neuwehuys, 1999: 1-5; Adam, 1995: 4).

Together with the sentiments that the Dutch created a boundary between the civilized world and the uncivilized world not to limit introduction of Western culture only in the European community environment. Therefore, when the first set of European primary school (Neuwenhuys, 1999; Anderson, 1991; Dick, 2002), scientific infrastructure and social club (*Societeit*) (Lombard, 1996: 96; Suminto, 1986: 9-14), especially in the year after the handover to the Indies (Indonesia) from English to Dutch colonial government in 1816 (Lombard, 1996: 83-85), to be used exclusively to serve the European community.

No attraction of the Dutch colonial government to the educational affairs of the indigenous population, thus pioneering effort to introduce modern education system Western model to layer the Indian community in Indonesia, is limited by the Christian missionaries (Ricklefs, 1993: 112). Missionary activity in education for the purpose evenings increasingly apparent towards the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1816 which coincided with the emergence of so-called 'Age of Missions' (Age of Mission) (Maier, 1993: 57-59, Adam, 1954: 5-7)). Follow trail Catholic mission (Steenbrink, 1993: 98; Coppel, 1986: 16), began in the 1820s and forth, the mission of Christian schools spread throughout the islands of the Indies, except for a strong Islamic areas. In addition to making the school as a means to spread the Christian gospel and attract new followers, this school also offers other advantages for new followers. Being a Christian means also westernized, and education is an integral part of the westernization (Furnival, 1944: 218-19). Furthermore, when the Dutch colonial government began to pay attention to the affairs of the indigenous population education, missionary schools served as the foundation for the development of education in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia).

### **Western Education Model Under Liberal Policies**

Attitude and attention Indies colonial government against indigenous affairs population education took place in the second half of the 19th century as a result of the political influence of the Liberals in the problems of the colonies. To advance the economic interests of the Liberals in the colonies, the expansion of government bureaucracy is a matter that must be done. In this context, both the Office of Civil Administration for the Europeans and also the Office of Civil Administration for the native population in the Dutch colonial administration (Jones, 1976: 38) strive to improve their skills and recruit more skilled workers. This in turn encourages the Dutch East Indies colonial government to give attention to matters of education. Organic Act was enacted in 1854, and set the colonial government's responsibility to provide education for the indigenous population, and to follow up the legislation established the Ministry of Education in 1867.

The basic character of the colonial world view, indicate that efforts education is containing a dilemma. On the one hand, it is important to support the political economy of industrialization and bureaucratization of colonial rule. On the other hand, the study contains a potential threat to 'mysticism', the colonial superiority. The problem was later resolved the dilemma by building education based on the principle of ethnic segregation and hierarchical status. On the basis of segregation and differences in status, the nature of the initial policy in education in the Dutch East Indies anti assimilation, elitist and dualistic (Furnival 1944, 175, 251).

For the public service people from the highest status group, the prototype European-style basic education reorganized into seven years of primary school, by incorporating subjects Dutch and other European languages. The school is more popularly known as *Europeesche Lagere School* (ELS). At first, the school is reserved exclusively for European children or who have equal status with

the Europeans. But after 1864, along with the colonial policy to incorporate the traditional ruling class (gentry) into the colonial influence, with very limited. Then s e had in 1891, access into ELS is also offered to descendants of wealthy people who qualify. The entry of non-Christian indigenous people into European primary schools is on the increase, ranging from about 400 students in 1883 became 762 in 1898, and reached 1,870 in 1900 (Simbolon, 1995: 128-29; Niel, 1970: 22).

Meanwhile, to meet the educational needs of the indigenous people who are Christians, they were recruited to be soldiers in the colonial army, especially in Ambon and the territory controlled by the missionaries. In this case the Dutch colonial government to develop what is called *Speciale School* (School Specialty). This type of school is the result of the reorganization of the previous mission schools by adopting a curriculum ELS (Lombard, 1996) However, by the passage of time, the government has established a school for indigenous people (Boemipoetera). Around 1849, two elementary schools built local language; the new school was initially established to prepare children from *prijajis* natives to be employees of the colonial administration and also to limit the native people who want to enter the ELS (Sutherland, 1979: 46; Veur, 1969). Apparently, the son of *prijajis* prefer schools that provide instruction in the Dutch language, because it provides the prospect of jobs and a better social status. To meet this demand, two types of elementary schools for the indigenous children were introduced in 1893, namely: *Eerste Lasse School* (Native School Class One) and *Tweede Klasse School* (Native School Class Two). The first school intended for children of the gentry and wealthy families. Here the Dutch language is taught in the first year, and is used as the language of instruction lessons in the last year. The second school intended for children of the common people and not give Dutch language lessons (J Unge, 1973: 3; Toer, 1985; Hadisutjipto, 1977: 29-33). The colonial government

also pioneered the introduction of secondary school. Until 1850, none of the public high schools. At the end of the 19th century, there stood three high schools in Java, known as *Hoogere Burgerschool* (HBS, ie high school). The first is Gymnasium Willem III in Batavia (founded in 1860), and the other was set up in 1875 in Surabaya, and Semarang in 1877. The school is equally with middle schools in the Netherlands. This school is not just using Dutch as the language of instruction, but also applies a rigorous curriculum standards similar to those applied in European schools, so that pupils learn the failure rate is high, even including Europe among pupils themselves. School treats exclusively to Europe or the student is considered equal with the Europeans. Few children of the natives are allowed to enter the school, and the total for 1890 not more than 5 students (Ricklefs, 1993: 128).

Although the European school system is still very privileging of European students and gentry class, but an opportunity for the lowly natives to obtain a better education made possible by the existence of a window of opportunity in the colonial policy of discrimination. Due to the expansion of bureaucracy liberal require technical support staff, the government finally decided to establish *vakscholen* (vocational scholl). Lack of qualified teachers make school teacher becomes a necessity. It was established native teacher schools (*Kweekschool*), which was originally established in Surakarta in 1851, followed later by the establishment of several similar schools, both in Java and outside Java, especially after 1870. Likewise, the expansion of health service needs to have some power medical, so the government set up the so-called school 'Doctor Java' in Menteng (Jakarta) (Niel, 1970). Meanwhile, the need for manpower trained native civil servants, encouraging the colonial government opened *Hoofdenscholen* more popularly called "School Radja" which was established in 1879 in Bandung, Magelang and Probolinggo.

Vocational school was originally established for children *prijajis* and other

rich indigenous people to prepare them to enter the bureaucracy a new model in the indigenous administration (local government) (Ricklefs, 1993: 156). It turned out that in the eyes of children gentry' upper class, the teacher's position and vaccinators are not appealing because it does not promise a brilliant career and prestigious. Because of that, preferring to go to school Radja (Hofdenscholen) and rarely are interested to participate in teacher education and school Doctors Java. To attract applicants for the school's teachers and doctors Java, government then offer scholarships and promises to be a government employee. As far as school doctor Java, a special arrangement was made since 1891, which allows the students can enter ELS for free. Students who are interested in entering the school's doctor Djawa many from lesser gentry' family, and often comes from a family of traders and villagers (Van Niel, 1970: 47).

#### **Western Educational Model Under Ethical Policy**

Under the influence of ethical politics, the education system of the future liberal reorganized and adapted to meet new demands. There are two approaches are complementary in this project. Snouck and Director of Education for the first Ethical Policy (1900-1905), JH Abendanon more like an elitist education within the framework of their ambition to transform the traditional gentry into a new elite of Western-educated. In the view of both, providing education to native ruler's Western model is something that is very important to train the native elite loyal and cooperative, whose members have the ability to handle the work of the Dutch civil administration. In addition, this option could also cut administrative costs, inhibit the 'fanaticism' of Islam which in turn creates an example that could inspire circle the bottom of the Dutch East Indies (Maier, 1993: 58-61). In another aspect, the Governor General JB Van Heutz (1904-1909) and AWF Idenburg (1909-1916) supports the education policy is more basic and practical intended for the

wider community, so that it can contribute to the success of the Ethical Policy (Veur, 1961: 2). The combination of approaches that spawned a variety of educational institutions, and also plays an important role in the divisive and unifying groups within colonial society.

Early 20th century was a starting point for modern education which is "illumination light" (light rays) of Ethical Politics, and are now beginning to filter into the natural life of ordinary people and villagers. Though indeed, education is based on differences in status still continues, and this is evident with the emergence of various types of schools available to all social levels within colonial society in the Indies.

Since 1907, for ordinary people and villagers, the government established by the people's basic school education three years old called volksschool or desaschool. The graduates of these schools may continue their education to Inland-sche Vervolgschool (indigenous secondary school) with a two-year study period that began to be established in 1915. Furthermore, the Indigenous School Class Two (*Tweede Klasse School*) 1 era legacy liberal turned into Standaardscholen (standard school) in 1908. The school is intended for merchants or family circles village farmers. All schools of this type run the process of teaching using the local language Malay or local (Latif, 2012: 230).

For children of gentry and wealthy families, the government tried to expand their access to European school systems that use the Dutch language as the medium of instruction. This effort is driven by the 'policy' associations and the growing demands of the gentry and wealthy families who see the school and the mastery of the Dutch language as a new way to maintain or elevate their social status. The emergence of such a view is driven by the deepening penetration of what is called by Maier as 'process Dutchificationness' in the social life in the Dutch East Indies (Veur, 1961: 29). The appeal 'process Dutchification late this' which made the number of European-style school students

increased rapidly (Kartodirdjo, 1991: 339). To overcome this challenge, established a new school for the aristocracy and wealthy families.

For example at the elementary school level, the most important development is the reversal Native School Class One (*Eerste Kalasse School*) who have been there before becoming the Dutch School for Natives (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School*, HIS) in 1914 (Sutherland, 1979: 46). Language of instruction in schools HIS is the local language or the Malay language in the early grades, and then the Dutch language at a higher grade. In theory, this school is for children from the aristocracy and among the population of Boemipoetera privileged or other wealthy people (Sutherland, 1975). Although the number of his school in increasing numbers, but the children of high officials and the rich indigenous natives still go to school like ELS. As a consequence, the majority of his students come from the lesser gentry and the upper layer of the lower social classes (Ricklefs, 1993; Niel, 1970).

At the secondary school level, the government is trying to meet the needs of indigenous people regarding the availability of school HBS, (Niel, 1970) by establishing Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO) in 1914. This school is a local adaptation of the first secondary school in the Netherlands long study of three year. Then in 1918, the government introduced a high school with a long three-year study, which *Algemeenene Middelbare School* (AMS) is intended for prospective students who have graduated in MULO to be prepared to hold a higher office in the government or continue to the University (Junge, 1973: 58).

During the period of Ethical policies, some vocational schools still remains a means for the children of the lower classes to get into a higher school. To meet the needs of government bureaucracies and private companies as well, in 1900 the government reorganized *hofdenschool* that long and turn it into OSVIA (*Opleidenscholen Voor Inlandsche*

*Ambtenaren*) with a five-year long study. Son of priyayisindeed remains a major recruitment of this school; however, this school began to accept every child Boemipoetera who qualify and who have completed education in ELS or its equivalent, regardless of family background (Latif, 2012: 230).

In 1900-1902, the school doctor Java converted into STOVIA. Soon after, a long study in these schools was extended to six years *Geneeskundige* stage (core teaching of medicine) after previously followed three years of preparation, and the Dutch are used as languages of instruction (Eagleton, 1976). After 1913, the length of study was extended to seven years *Geneeskundige* phase and three years of preparation. With this recent reorganization, the medical school is equal to *Nederlandsch-Indische Arts senschool* (NIAS) that had been established in the same year in Surabaya. Both schools are now equal to the university, but is still classified as a vocational school, and graduates receive the title of 'Indische Arts', or 'Doctor Indies' (Fairclough, 1999: 64-65). A similar reorganization took place for the indigenous teacher education schools (*Kweekschool*) (Benda, 1959: 240). Other than that, the government also introduced a new vocational school (Nagazumi, 1972).

Aside from the reorganization and the introduction of a variety of new schools in the Dutch East Indies people in Indonesia, it is worth noting that, before the transition of the 20th century, there has been a pioneering experiment to send some children who are strictly selected from noble families to study in the Netherlands. Though the government has never made an official policy to encourage indigenous children to continue education in the Netherlands. Snouck and JH Abendanon perform special undertakings to make way for the son of a noble family and rich in order to enter a higher educational level in the Netherlands. So that in 1900 there have been about five students from the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) who studied in the Netherlands. In the

Table 1. Development of Indigenous Peoples to Sign at the Elementary School (Village School) and the European Model School in 1900-1910.

Year	Native school	European-style school		Vocational schools	Total
		Primary school	Secondary school		
1900	98.173	2.441	13	376	101 003
1910	303.868	5.108	50	1470	310 496

Source: Modified from Paul W. Van der Veur (1969: 7,11-11a) in Latif "Muslim Intelligentsia and Power: Genealogy Indonesian Muslim intelligentsia Century 20", p: 106.

following year, that number increased and reached 25 in 1908 (Geertz, 1960; Sutherland, 1975).

Whatever the motivation for the introduction and reorganized variety of educational institutions in the Dutch East Indies colonial period, the immediate impact is significantly increasing significantly the number of people getting education Boemipoetera modern Western model. At knew 1900, total indigenous people who enroll in public and private schools of all types and levels around 101 003 people. This calculation reached 310 496 in 1910 (Balfas, 1957: 26-27; Noer, 1978), and became double in the next year. This can be seen in the table 1.

Increasing Boemipoetera number of people educated in the West lead to unforeseen consequences. Mastery of the new cultural capital causes increased their expectations, prompting the government to accommodate the demands of employment and their aspirations of progress. With the introduction of vocational schools and European-style native schools, many children from among the indigenous population groups as well as the lesser gentry other ordinary social status obtain better education. Educated people from social groups which is the backbone for the formation of intellectuals Indonesia in the future.

### **The creation of the Collective Identity among Educated**

Educated class as a social stratum is not just a group of people who share the educational criteria and the same work. But what is important is group educated

also shared interests, the nature and specific national identity. However, this similarity does not just happen, but are formed mainly through discursive practices and development discourse.

Discourse structuring our meaning and our conception of the world on our identity. As shown either by Michel Foucault in the Archaeology of Knowledge (1972), that discourse or discourse not only reflect the entities and relationships in social, but also reconstruction or forming an ideology critics (Hasan, 1979) There are three aspects of the ability of constructive development discourse, ie: it contributes to the formation of social identity (identity aspect), the formation of social relationships (relational aspects), and the establishment of the knowledge and belief (ideational aspects) (Salim, 1926: 26). Due to the impact of constructive, ideological struggle is the essence of the manifestation of discourse. As the site and in constant contestation of meaning, 'discourse' shows the effect of ideological struggle in language function, and its reverse shows the existence of linguistic materialist ideology. Discursive practices of the first generation group educated Indonesian born of Western education in the country Indies, was originally a place to express self-interest and self-actualization of the strata of society Indies educated modern (Committee, 1966: 46; Hamka dalam Amelz, 1952) . Educational success through ethical policies have increased their expectations in the Dutch East Indies colonial society in Indonesia. They have same thoughts about a 'progress' for Hindi Indonesian community in a Netherlands.



### **The Implication fo Education Model and the Birth of the Educated Class**

Based on the number of people Boemipoe-tera schooled in European schools public and private schools, it can be assumed that generation first of the group learned Indonesian in the Indies have emerged in the decade of the early 20th century as the result of political liberal on a piece of the end of the 19th century, as well as the initial phase of the implementation of the Ethical politics. Meanwhile, they began to enter the modern primary school in the last year the first and second decade of the 20th century, which has the knowledge and modern thought-colonial against making processes, which form the second generation of the educated classes among the natives. The early generation of a class of educated Indonesia mostly from the gentry who have knowledge and modern thought, equally speak Dutch among themselves, and have a common awareness of the role and status of their special form new stratum in society Indies Netherlands. Newborn educated class is forming a relatively autonomous social strata , but differentiated structural stand-alone, because they are able to separate themselves both from the class of the group established and traditional status. As observed by Harry J. Benda, that "more an exception rather than a norm that the young aristocrat, the son of the landlord, or in this case even the descendants of the nascent bourgeois class, so he got a Western education of any kind, will be advocate and spokesperson of the classes into social origins'. Most members of this new stratum become government employees with lower and middle positions, because the Dutch still dominate higher positions (Suryomihardjo, 1980) .

The first generation of the educated class of Indonesia in the Dutch East Indies, experiencing the process of secularization ( westernization ) intense as a result of the secular nature of education policy liberal and the policy of 'association' of ethical politics. As a result, most individuals of this educated class began to separate

themselves from the world of thought religious. Even for a child of a devout Muslim gentry, influence the process of secularization that is institutionalized in Western education is very difficult to avoid. The effect is to produce a synchronic discontinuity in motion the intellectual development of the Dutch East Indies (Adam, 1954: 79).

As an analysis of the cases above, here can be given an overview of the analysis Geertz about 'students - abangan- gentry ' (trichotomy) about the flow of culture of Java, where it is the nature of life gentry described as non-Muslims (Latif, 2012: 147) , Some of the new educated class is in fact derived from a family of gentry devout Muslim. Some pioneers of Indonesian nationalist movement in the future, such as CiptoMangunkusumo (1885-1943), Sutomo (1888-1938), Tirta Adisurjo (1880-1918), and the initial product of the policy of 'association' colonial, like Djayadiningrat brothers (Ahmad Djayadiningrat, Hasan Djayadiningrat, and Husayn Djayadiningrat), as well as an influential figure of the organization Sarekat Islam (SI) , as Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto (1882-1934), was of the gentry devout Muslims (Latif, 2012: 149) .

However, after the Western secular education in an intense commitment to the Islamization of a boy gentry devout Muslim was gradually fading (Ingleson, 1979). Recognition Agus Salim reflect both changes in the religious: "Although I was born into a family of devout Muslim and getting religious education since childhood, but s e have entered the Dutch school, I was starting to lose faith (Selosoemardjan, 1981). Salim expressly recognizes that education obtaining in Dutch secondary school (HBS) has been away from Islam (Niel, 1970: 52).

At the end of the 19th century, the impact of the Liberal education are the birth of new elites Indies seem real. The graduates of missionary schools, public schools for the pribumi and the Europeans, especially vocational schools, has produced pro to types of hominess novit hat form civil servants and educated class

of the 20th century. Despite the many vocational school graduates who did not come from a family of gentry high, rising they become employees of the colonial administration gave him a sort of aura of aristocracy (new gentry) of its own in the eyes of the Dutch East Indies. For those who already have the status of aristocracy, with its new qualification, their position in the group *prijajis* strengthened. However, for some of them, the figure of the old aristocracy no longer interesting, because as a new professional, they are more obsessed with personal and social prestige associated with the new role that they live in a modern colonial bureaucracy.

Which becomes the size of the latest achievements of humans at that time is that modern techniques and emerging industry Company, which entered the country Indies as the impact of the economic effects of liberalism. This is exemplified by the introduction of a fast-growing communication systems, such as technology shipping, railway train, telephone, telegraph, post office, printing industry, and the news media (Veur, 1961: 29) . Introduction of modern communication systems have evolved throughout the procession with the growth of the center city marked by the expansion of the world of industry, banks, extension services, and the factory warehouse containing goods imported from Europe (Latif, 2012: 152). Faced with the amazing modern phenomena, the native population increasingly in awe and regard it as a symbol of progress they want to achieve. In this advance, a feat achieved by other parties (the others) really cannot be rivaled. Europeans as planter in the center of city certainly had been exposed well too modern education, new media, property-luxury property, Crete horses, and social clubs.

Under such historical conditions, the question of how the pursuit of progress into the dominant discourse among the educated class emerging as a direct result of the influence of liberalism and political policy Ethical. For the literate Indonesia in the Dutch East Indies, progress expressing a desire to achieve social status is ideal

both as individuals and community imaginary, which include many things, such as: the advancement of education, modernization (westernization), honor, and success in life.

For those who are struggling with the progress, the overflow their aspirations reflected the gap between rising expectations of their self-esteem with the real obstacles they face. The obstacle is, the imbalance between the desires to go to school with a lack of schools. In fact, until 1882 there were only about 300 schools in Java, and no more than 400 schools outside Java, the number of students not more than 40,000 people ( Latif, 2012: 21) . This raises the demand that the colonial government to do something.

Some letters hear from readers indigenous post to the press, complaining that the colonial government did not choke up to provide opportunities for indigenous children to attend school be bass. Besides criticism is also done through the press about the poor condition of the food, health, and the ability of the students in the school. Pioneer of this criticism is that the indigenous teacher education school graduates. Their criticisms are generally published in the educational magazine published in response to the increasing demand for native education, are like *Soeloeh Pengadjaran Probolinggo*, published in 1887, and *Taman Pengadjaran Semarang*, published in 1899-1914. Magazines plays a key role in articulating the aspirations native teacher for the elimination of discrimination in terms of education, improvement of teaching Dutch school teacher education and teaching native Dutch language for all indigenous children (Toer, 1985: 21) . All of this raises the tension, due to the educational qualifications of the new educated as a social elite has advantages over the nobles feudal. In addition, the colonial government officials bureaucracy more likely to deal directly with them by bypassing the hierarchy and the traditional procedure feudal.

Educated class as a new social elite in colonial society which is growing, is

actually not one songs. Meanwhile most of them come from the environment gentry, there is tension between them veiled from the gentry lowly with them from the gentry high. Son of prijaji slowly who did not achieve a high position in the hierarchy of traditional status, in reality there could also achieve an appropriate status in the modern bureaucratic structure. While most children prefer the high gentry entered Pradja (School Radja ), because it can guarantee a better career and social status and a higher salary; whereas children from lower gentry can only enter vocational schools, which are usually considered low by the high gentry children, for not offering precise and high salary. Prijajis lowly do not accept this discriminatory treatment and criticize openly in newspaper at that time (Habermas, 1989). This shows that there is disharmony linking of the educated middle prijajis grow old and coincide with internal frictions within the educated class circles.

Until the end of the 19th century, the role of teachers in promoting the advancement of discourse is very prominent, at least for two reasons. First, the teaching profession until now collect the largest portion of person native best educated, and as educators, they are most authorities feel compelled to carry out the sacred mission to brighten compatriots. Secondly, the fact, that the teaching profession is undervalued when compared to administrative positions, may have stimulated them to be the articulator of the concept of progress in order to make it as a new benchmark in determining social privilege. Prominent role of these teachers showed that the ' intellectual organic ' of seedlings learned at the end of the 19th century were mainly from the teacher community.

However, it should be explained, too, that until the end of the 19th century, the educated class strata have not yet formed a collective entity of its own. His presence is still hidden under the black shadow of the old aristocrat. Not only because their numbers are still limited, but also because they are not yet found a "code" specifically to present a collective

identity that can unite the educated classes from various fields into one community. This factor, together with the lack of social mobility and the number of media circulation Massa, making the sound and movement of progress has narrow and local influence. But all this is only a temporary situation could still change in the future will be dating (Della and Diani, 1999).

The idea of progress, which became a new benchmark for social privilege, social relations and ideational system among the elite of the Dutch East Indies era liberal, continues to be the dominant discourse in the community learned of the newly formed at the beginning of the 20th century. Synchronic dimension of this discourse lies in its emphasis on organic institutionalization of the idea of progress.

Because, vocational schools still become a major dealer in childbirth class of educated natives who are well educated, the main character of the discourse progress remains largely came from graduates of vocational schools this. The leading group learned from this period is dominated by those who STOVIA educational background. With long education nine year, STOVIA is the highest educational level in the Dutch East Indies to the first two decades of the 20th century. This situation provides a cultural capital for students and graduates of the school to take over the leadership of the new educated class which was previously held by the graduates of the school teachers. Prominent figures from STOVIA graduates / school doctor in the decade Java cu ma 20th century are: dr. Wahidin Sudiro Husodo, dr. Abdul Rivai, dr. Tirto Adhisurjo, dr. Cipto Mangunkusumo, and dr. Suwardi Surjaningrat.

Obsessed with the idea of progress, expectations educated intellectual class of this increase in social status, in fact, begin to stumble in a long queue which forced them to face the harsh reality. Despite the fact that the number of graduates of educational institutions is still limited, there is no guarantee that automatically appointed as an employee of the bureaucracy (Blumberger, 1931: 12). Since the begin-

ning of the first decade of the 20th century, the inaction of dualism government in responding to the development of the social economy in the Indies, especially in absorbing the graduates of educational institutions, generating a long waiting list of candidates who qualify into the post chill (Latif, 2012: 239; Rival, 1902). The situation is even more disappointing for the graduates STOVIA. Despite having reached the highest level of education, social prestige and economic rewards received by graduates STOVIA still not in accordance with the expected. They are victims *cu ma* of progress itself, because the system of meritocracy (the award on the basis of prestige) cannot be applied, should be in the context of colonial discriminatory policies.

In the first fifteen years of the 20th century, STOVIA has produced 135 graduates (Adam, 1954: 175). This figure becomes even greater when it also included former graduate of the School Physician Java. Based on data from *Jaarlijks Verslag STOVIA 1904-1905*, enrollments and graduates from the school doctor who later became STOVIA Java during the years 1875-1904, respectively 743 and 160 students. To understand the meaning of these figures, it should be noted the background of social from that student's parents. From a total of 743 applicants, 146 were from family's gentry and wealthy families, and 278 people from families lesser gentry and middle-income families, as well as 139 people came from lower class (Giesen, 1998: 13). While graduates of the total of 160 people; 41 of them come from the high aristocracy and wealthy families; 64 are of the lesser gentry and middle-income families, as well as 55 people from the lower class (Adam, 1954). Based on these data, showing that most of the educated class who graduated from the school physician Java (STOVIA) comes from a family of lesser gentry and the lower class. This suggests that, at least not until the early 20th century, the school doctor Djawa (STOVIA) still cannot be categorized as *standen school* (school status) for the privileged social groups. This happens be-

cause the profession vaccinator or "doctor Djawa" has never been regarded as something prestigious.

Even more worrying, in the school Doctor Java (STOVIA), a sense of inferiority is maintained by requiring the students who are not Christians to wear traditional dress. Discriminatory and degrading treatment is reflected in the way they greet at the school. They are not called the 'leerling' (pupil, which is used at the university level), but they are called by *France*, eleven which connotes a level between pupils and students. Even the status and different treatment also occurs among eleven own. In the ceremony of the school, only eleven senior who is allowed to speak at the Dutch language, while the junior should use the Malay language or regional language.

After completing the training, the graduates STOVIA, what school graduates Doctors Java (STOVIA prior to 1900), never get socio-economic rewards as they had hoped. Until the beginning of the 20th century, the position of Doctor Java in the government considered the same as the position of paramedics. Their primary role is as a vaccinator does not foster respect as well as the graduates OSVIA who works in the office of indigenous civilian administration. Besides salaries earned by graduates STOVIA after completing the nine-year long study, generally only a third of the salary earned by graduates OSVIA long study just five years. This of course raises a sense of injustice and conflict between the group educated, plus the policy of the colonial governments have 1900 provides more opportunities for *prijaji* slowly to learn in OSVIA. With the ease of this, the privilege of the children gentry high risk. It has caused resentment among the children up and high nobility of the children of the lowly.

The main stream of the educated class who came from gentry high, tend to maintain a relationship with the old feudal aristocracy. Nevertheless, there are always exceptions, especially those who have not received or those who no longer feel com-

portable with aristocratic circles. People who deviate from the mainstream along with those born of a lowly family as victims of discrimination, cause they have a strong tendency to be an opponent of injustice (Habermas, 1989). Living the Western ideas and values through a process of education and the mass media, but frustrated by their colonial discriminatory practices, some of the educated class is then to be progressive and compelled to knock 'colonialism' by using its own colonial weapons. Moreover, because he felt humiliated by the traditional authorities were established, they have a strong tendency to reject the hierarchy of feudal (Della, 1999).

Feeling deprived and humiliated is exacerbated by the global economic crisis known 1903 that have an impact that severe for the living conditions of the people in the East Indies. Discontent socio-economic from the class of these learned its momentum to the historical actions has been the arrival of a wave of 'Revival of Asia' symbolized by the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905, 'Revolution of the Young Turks' in 1908 and the liberation movements in Asia (Blumberger, 1931: 12).

To articulated dissatisfaction with the notion they are better educated than among the lower class and those who do not fit anymore with aristocratic circles, then turned his attention to the formation of identity by building a new community. The group learned from the intellectual strata is convinced that the idea of progress must be planted on different social bases. The social base should be formed of those who have "cultural capital", such as educational qualifications, technical skills and language acquisition. In this effort, the educated class are encouraged to find an imaginary spatial boundary between themselves and with the old aristocracy by constructing a special marker for the members of both groups. The term for members of the nobility 'old' is 'royalty oesoel' and for the members of the nobility 'young' is the 'nobility of mind'. Introduced by a graduate school Djawa doctor,

Abdul Rival (son of a native teacher), and also as an editor of the magazine 'Star Indies' (Latif, 2012: 239). The term, "nobility of mind" was immediately shared by the other Indian journalist, and later became a slogan in the generation educated in association with the movement 'kemadjoean' (Adam, 1954: 175). In the first issue of the magazine in 1902, Rival wrote an article about the "nobility of mind" in which, after identifying two kinds of nobility in European society, namely the 'nobility oesoel' and 'nobility of mind', he stated:

Needless to extend our conversations of nobles' oesoel 'because its appearance is already doomed. If our ancestors were born as royalty, we too can be called a royalty, even although knowledge and our achievements are like the proverbial "frog in stone"... Timethis, achievements and knowledge that a right determines one's position. This was the situation that gave birth the emergence of nobility mind' (Adam, 1954: 175)

Once the nascent intellectual community of the educated, find a special name, creating a 'code' or 'symbol' of a pattern to mark the difference, and a map that gives the actor a direction and guidance on what to expect and what to do. As stated by the German sociologist Bernhard Giesen: 'social classification code is a core element in the construction of togetherness and diversity, collective identity and differentiation. There is no limit that could have substance without a code' (Gissen, 1998: 13).

By the creation of the code "nobility of mind", a follow-up construction made for the code "nobility of mind" with an imaginary community and a new collective identity. While the members of the oesoel' associated with "community ka-oem moeda". The latter term is also introduced by Abdul Rival in Star Indies. In the Indian Star magazine Volume No. 14 in 1905, Rival defines "ka-oem moeda" as "all those Indian (indigenous) old or young who no longer wish to follow atoeran koeno, but instead are eager to achieve self-confidence through knowledge and ilmoe" (Adam, 1954:

104) , This term was later used s ecarawidely in media coverage Massa and discourse of the " nobility of mind 'newborn. The term kaoemmoedapresenting a collective entity of those who share a point of unity in their ambition to renew the then Dutch East Indies (aborigines) through movement kemadjoean. Although in practice it happens different segmentations in Indiesplural society. The fragmentation of the internal is due to differences in educational background and work with other categories of groups such status, religion, ethnicity, and lineage. But the spirit to encourage and strengthen the unity of the vertices of this fragmentation is the policy of the Dutch colonial government were discriminatory and segregated. In short, *kaoem moeda* incorporated in group intellectual born of the education system politics Ethical liberal era is a collective expression of a similarity of identity in diversity and diversity in togetherness identity towards an independent nation.

## **CONCLUSION**

There is so much history lessons that can be learned from the history of the development of public life in the Dutch East Indies around the 19th century until the first two decades of the 20th century. By opening the pages of history of a critical event in this period, we can see many colorful configuration and contradiction of the human character. Civilized invaders could not obtain justification without civilized enslaved people. Ethical Policy in early liberal Indies impact on the formation of the educated native Indonesia. Through this policy the Boemipoetera can find the momentum to get an education in the West. Although in practice there is still a discriminatory policy that spawned a reaction which in turn paralyze the policy.

When seen in the movement of history, it is clear that the main character of this historical drama is the educated who later joined the intercommunity actual newly born after the implementation of political policies Ethical. Forms of social learning that is born of this policy caused on birth practices symbolically makes the

intelligentsia is organizing the discourse of public space in symbolic form and structure knowledge in their struggle for historically. With education and cultural capital, changes in economic relations, and the opportunity to participate in the structure of politics existing intellectual leaders capable of creating a collective identity and community of their own, and distanced itself from the old aristocracy. In the formative phase, they begin to deconstruct the ' nobility oesoel' to construct ' nobility of mind ' of its own, later known as ' kaemmoeda'. In this formation process, they begin to form a public space under the patronage of the old aristocracy. Until the first decade of the 20th century, this public space ma still limited to environment city gentry and members of the intelligentsia.

In association with people who are not educated, the educated is aimed at fulfilling her sacred duty to promote the general welfare, provide education of political and moral standards laid against the occupation, to serve the nation. In the interaction in society Indies, the idea of progress gradually turned into a proto spirit of nationalism. So towards the end of the second decade of the 20th century, intellectuals born of educated people has paved the way for a specific role of the intellectual as a public educator. This means that they have to wake Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) from a long hibernation during this time. The presence of intellectuals educated in the discourse on public space in turn contribute to the growth of nationalist proto consciousness. In the meantime, the more intense the opposition discourse encourage the formation of collective identity that stands alone.

Although there are differences in ideology and conflict in the discourse of progress, there is still a common ground and a unifying factor. Its first, is the meeting point in the public agenda centered on the issue of progress, the general welfare and the importance of national unity that was built by the discourse in the vernacular press. Its second, is their affiliation (membership) multiple that serves as a

bridge between the educated youth associations in articulating his thoughts about the progress of the indigenous peoples. Finally Ethical era liberal policies have led the people of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) to the advanced Western educated, and then become the ultimate weapon to fight for the people of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) achieve the ideals of independence at a later date.

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