

SUKAPTINAH AND HAJINAH'S ROLES IN THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

In the history of the Indonesian women's movement, Siti Sukaptinah Sunaryo Mangunpuspito (hereinafter referred to as Sukaptinah, 1907-1991) and Siti Hajinah Mawardi (hereinafter referred to as Hajinah, 1906-1995) were known as activists in women's organizations during the colonial period. Sukaptinah was a member of an Islamic nationalist group (JIBDA Jong Islaminten Bond Dames Afdeling) with a background on the Indonesian education movement, Taman Siswa. She was also active in the first Indonesian Women's Congress of 1928. Hajinah who came from Aisyiah (the women's wing of the large modernist Islamic organization, Muhammadiyah) was known as one of the members of the Indonesian Women Congress. In addition to their activities in the Indonesian women's movement and the Islamic movement, they also played roles in national movement, a matter which is not quite recognized. Hajinah did not only act as the head of Aisjiah, but also partook actively in press through Soeara 'Aisjiah magazine (Aisjiah's quarterly magazine) and Isteri (magazine existing in embryo in the first women congress). An activist of Aisjiah, she gave meaning of the independence achievement through the domain of family (social). On the other hand, Sukaptinah, activist of Jong Islaminten Bond, who also actively participated in the first, second, third and fourth Indonesian Women Congress, gave meaning of the national movement through political domain. She had sat in the parliament as the woman representative in the government council in Semarang, with the most important political thought in the form of the importance of woman to struggle their rights to vote and be voted in the parliament.

Keywords: *Sukaptinah, Hajinah, nationalist movement, Indonesia*

PERAN SUKAPTINAH DAN HAJINAH DALAM GERAKAN NASIONALIS DI INDONESIA

Abstrak

Di dalam sejarah gerakan perempuan, Siti Sukaptinah Sunaryo Mangunpuspito (yang selanjutnya disebut Sukaptinah, 1907-1991) dan Siti Hajinah Mawardi (yang selanjutnya disebut Hajinah, 1906-1995) dikenal sebagai aktivis organisasi perempuan pada masa kolonial. Sukaptinah adalah anggota kelompok nasionalis Islam (JIBDA Jong Islaminten Bond Dames Afdeling) dengan latar belakang pendidikan nasionalis, Taman Siswa. Sukaptinah juga aktif di dalam Konggres Perempuan Indonesia Pertama pada 1928. Sementara itu, Hajinah merupakan anggota Aisjiah (sayap perempuan dari salah satu organisasi modernis Islam, Muhammadiyah) serta dikenal sebagai salah seorang anggota Konggres Perempuan. Selain aktivitasnya di dalam gerakan perempuan Indonesia dan gerakan Islam, mereka juga berperan penting di dalam gerakan nasional, yang selama ini jarang diperbincangkan. Hajinah tidak hanya pernah menjadi salah seorang pimpinan Aisjiah, tetapi juga menjadi pemikir penting atas terbitnya majalah Soeara 'Aisjiah (majalah terbitan rutin Aisjiah) dan Isteri (majalah yang memiliki keterkaitan erat dengan Konggres Perempuan Pertama). Sebagai aktivis Aisjiah, Hajinah berperan dalam pemberian arti kebebasan berpendapat melalui ruang keluarga (sosial). Selain itu, Sukaptinah, merupakan aktivis Jong Islaminten Bond, yang juga berpartisipasi aktif di dalam Konggres Perempuan Pertama, Kedua, Ketiga, dan Keempat, dengan memberikan arti yang penting melalui ranah politik. Sukaptinah juga pernah duduk di parlemen di Semarang sebagai wakil perempuan, dengan pemikiran politiknya tentang pentingnya perempuan secara tegas memperjuangkan hak pilih dan keterwakilan perempuan di parlemen.

Kata kunci: *Sukaptinah, Hajinah, gerakan nasionalis, Indonesia*

I. INTRODUCTION

National movement in Indonesia was marked with the emergence of common consciousness to improve the better life of Indonesian people. In regard to this national movement, some historians observed that national movement in Indonesia generally can be

divided into two phases. *First*, the movement was initiated by several socio-political organizations which had some well-educated members such as Budi Utomo, Sarekat Islam and Jong Java whose movements were conducted regionally. *Second*, the year of 1920s was an era when people had started to be able to formulate together the concept of Indonesian nationalism. In this phase, political manifesto emerged in 1925 stated by Perhimpunan Indonesia, encompassing the principles of nationalism, such as independence, unity and equality. It was, then, followed by the emergence of Sumpah Pemuda, a promise of Indonesia unification. Since the struggle conducted in both phases were anticolonial, the principle of movement was non-cooperative to the colonial government. (Kartodirdjo, 1999; Ricklefs; Ingleson, 1983) Unfortunately, organizations and figures that appeared in the historical records on national movement were only men's organization, and women as part of the national movement had come into sight. The domination of the importance of men in national movement caused the historical writings on women did come into view. As a matter of fact, women along with men were part of the national movement. In other words, women were actually a part of the history itself, but they were invisible in the historical writing. Accordingly, this article will specifically pay close attention to national movement in Indonesia from woman's point of view, by discussing two woman figures that also played important roles in Indonesian independence. (Legene and Waaldijk, 2007; Scott, 1999).

As a consequence of the small number of articles discussing woman's roles in national movement, women in this period were only seen from one aspect that women's political and social consciousness which became rooted and could move the surrounding people had not yet appeared. Women's movement appearing in this period was often considered as a movement to enhance woman's social status because in this period the beliefs in morals, religion and customs were still the biggest obstacles to move further. Therefore, issues that emerge next were how to struggle for woman status in marriage and family life. (Pringgodigdo, 1986) However, it can be seen from two woman figures, Hajinah and Sukaptinah, that women gave meaning to this national movement through different ways. For that reason, it can be seen from both figures what Hajinah and Sukaptinah did to reach Indonesian independence and how they implemented the idea of independence they had constructed. Both figures, Hajinah and Sukaptinah, are two women that are important to discuss. Both were actively involved in women organization, became part of the national movement and had the same religious background.

II. UNIFYING WOMEN THOUGHT FROM INDIVIDUAL TO ORGANIZATION: WOMEN CONGRESS, PPI AND *ISTERI* MAGAZINE

Like national movements in some other Asian countries, in Indonesian people's culture in the end of nineteenth century when national movement was in its initiation, women's activities in public space was something new. Only high-class women had opportunities to exist in public space. (Stuers, 2008) They were mainly descendants of government bureaucrats or descendants from the palace. It can be seen from several names in the historical record, such as Kartini or Dewi Sartika. It is not surprising that women's movement had not yet appeared in this period because the emerging ideas were still individual ideas. Different circumstance occurred in 1930s in which women performed some important changes. Public arena which was previously a forbidden space for women underwent important changes. As a result, women's movement also experienced important point in this period. According to Sukarno, this period was an important period for women's life as seen in the following quotation.

Tahun 1930 merupakan zaman "vrouwelijke bestemming", yaitu dzaman perempoean tiada lagi hanja memperhatikan hal dapoer, merenda dan lain-lainnya. Zaman

Perempoean mentjahari halnja sama dengan orang lelaki (vrouwenemancipatie). (Isteri, September 1929, Number 5).

[The year 1930 was an era of “*vrouwelijke bestemming*”, an era of women that did not only pay attention to stuffs like kitchen, crochet, etc. An era of women found the same things as men (*vrouwenemancipatie*).]

In other words, woman emancipation as indicated in the above quotation was not only carried out individually, but also had shown changes that were almost equal everywhere. Therefore, it is not surprising that some unification of women's ideas occurred in this period.

Unification of women's ideas in 1930s, of course, could not be separated from the expansion of education and communication for women in this period. A more open chance for women to access education, obtain employment, participate actively in socio-political organization and get information through newspapers and magazines they read obviously had expand women's access to public domain. (Hatley and Blackburn, NIAS Studies in Asian Topics Series 27) In the end of nineteenth century, Kartini, for example, still complained about the difficulties encountered by women in partaking actively in public arena as a result of the strong patriarchal culture in social life, (Cotèl, 2008) but such culture in this period indicated some important changes. These changes could not be separated from the increase of women's consciousness to escape from the more dominant man's culture. Such condition indicated improvement, especially since the increase of number of educated women who had received formal education. Data of the number of educated women according to 1920 census, in Java for example, was 0.50% of the total population, (*Volstelling 1920*) far bigger than that of condition when Kartini pioneered opening education for women. Meanwhile, the number of working women also indicated a sharp increase in line with the industrialization growing in several cities in Java. The increase of the number of educated and working women of course could not be seen from only one aspect, from the appearance of women's awareness toward the change of their own life, but also from entire people's consciousness. Such condition, supported by colonial government's policy, also experienced important change in this period. It was the period when the colonial government and Netherland parliament were occupied by officials who were also activists of ethic politic (Locher-Scholten, 1996) so that the change for women occurred faster.

It is not surprising that in this period some women such as Hajinah and Sukaptinah were able to improve women's life more expressively. Hajinah was recognized as an Aisjiah activist and Sukaptinah as an activist of Jong Islaminten Bond. An Aisjiah activist, Hajinah was actively involved in social activities of Aisjiah, a Muhammadiyah's social organization for mothers. Meanwhile, Sukaptinah was involved actively in Jong Islaminten Bond, women division, following a political course. Affiliation of both figures to organization, socially or politically, could not be detached from their family. Hajinah's husband, Mawardi, was a Muhammadiyah activist, while Sukaptinah's husband was an activist of Jong Islaminten Bond, who was previously involved actively in Jong Java. Their commitments to their husbands' activities were not only shown by the places in which they were affiliated to organizations, but also their places in which they partook actively in socio-political arena. For instance, because Mawardi lived and was involved actively in the management of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta, Hajinah's social career from the beginning to the end was located in Yogyakarta. On the contrary, Sukaptinah moved from one place to another following her husband's movement, either in Yogyakarta, Jakarta or Semarang. Moving from one place to another, she always participated actively in Jong Islaminten Bond, women division, because her husband was also active in Jong Islaminten Bond. Because the husband-wife bond with her husband, it was surprising that popular names for these both figures could not be separated for their husband's names. Hajinah, for instance, was more recognized as

Njonja Hajinah Mawardi than Hajinah only, while Sukaptinah was more known as Njonja Sunaryo Mangoenpoespito than Sukaptinah.

When both were active in organization, either social or political, they were involved in the implementation of women congress. As had been well known, women congress was an arena of meeting for various women organizations in Indonesia in the beginning of twentieth century, to merge for the improvement of women and society's life. Obviously, from four times of women congress before independence era some resolutions were produced in this women congress, such as stipulation of "Mother's Day", or as a new milestone in the birth of women's movement, (Blackburn, 2007) in the first women congress; the importance of reviewing women's rights in second women congress; institutionalization of institution for women protection in marriage through BPIP (*Badan Perlindungan Perempuan Indonesia dalam Perkawinan*) in the third women congress. In the fourth women congress, an important recommendation to people's board appeared that Indonesian language be included as a permanent subject in all high schools. (Amini, 2009).

In the first women congress, Hajinah was the representative of Aisjiah, delivering a speech on "Unity of Mankind". Focusing on the unity issues, she emphasized the unity as follows.

Dengan adanya Kongres Perempuan ini dapatlah kiranya kita bersama-sama membicarakan kebutuhan, kewajiban, dan kemajuan kita perempuan Indonesia pada umumnya dan mempersatukan kaum perempuan Indonesia. (Blackburn, 2007).

[With this Women Congress, we could discuss our needs, obligations and progress, Indonesian women in general, and unify the Indonesian women.]

Along with a request:

"Marilah, saudara-saudara, bersama-sama meneguhkan persaudaraan kita!". (Blackburn, 2007).

[Sisters, let us get together strengthening our fraternity!"]

The above excerpt from the speech indicated the strength of the ideas for family-ness, fraternity and unity in Hajinah 's thinking. In her view, women could be involved actively in national movement if they could strengthen the basis of life in the family.

Meanwhile, although Sukaptinah was widely recognized since the first women congress in Yogyakarta as the congress secretary who was in charge of providing information to congress participants on "Congress Principles" in the second day of congress, Sunday morning, December 23, 1928, (Blackburn, 2007) she was finally appointed the congress chairperson in the fourth women congress in Semarang. The appointment of Sukaptinah as the fourth congress chairperson gave a significant meaning in strengthening her political vision. It was in this fourth women congress she expressed her great ideas such as the importance of women to sit in the parliament.

In addition to women congress, some woman activists joining in the first women congress also made an effort to establish Perikatan Perempoean Indonesia (PPI), chaired by R. A. Soekonto. (*Mailrapport No. 62x/29*) Almost all of the woman organization joined PPI except some which came out not to attend such as Boedi Rini, wife division of Sarekat Islam, Santjaja Rini, Wanito Moeljoo, Jong Java, and Natdatoel Fataat. In PPI, religion was then considered to potentially invite cleavage between Indonesian women so that it was stipulated that members of religious organization could not be appointed the chairperson in the chairperson election. In contrast to other women organizations, JIBDA wanted to include motion to boards of religious affairs on the importance of advancing women's rights, as what

had been mentioned in Islam. (Blackburn, 2007).

As a means of communication, PPI then set up the publication of *Isteri*, a magazine that contained ideas of women that they wanted to achieve in the independence. In this magazine Hajinah had ever held a position as one of the editorial staffs along with Nji Hajar Dewantara, Njonja Ali Sastroamidjojo, Ismoedijati, Badijah, and Soenarjati. (Blackburn, 2007) *Isteri* was officially published in May 1929.

In addition to join PPI, women also regularly held congress. Important decisions were made again in the third Indonesian women congress. In the congress held in Bandung in July 1938, idea of voting rights for women appeared. As a result, in the election of municipality, four women were appointed the members of City Council. They were Nyonya Soedirman in Surabaya, Nyonya Soenario Mangoenpoespito (Sukaptinah) in Semarang, Nyonya Emma Puradiredja in Bandung, and Nyonya Sri Umiati (sister of Dr. Soetomo) di Cirebon. (Stuers, 2008) Also, the fourth women congress in Semarang in July 1941 produced an important decision, that was the acknowledgment of full rights for Indonesian women to vote. (Stuers, 2008).

Through women congress, PPI and *Isteri* magazine, a concatenation of communication between woman activists and public grew to be more open. It was the factors that some day in the future could mobilize people to the independence they had dreamed about.

III. AFFILIATING TO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In Hajinah and Sukaptinah's view, social or political domain to struggle for independence of women, or independence of people, was a choice. It can be seen from their constancy in implementing their activities. Hajinah preferred social pathway to implement her ideas, whereas Sukaptinah preferred political pathway. Therefore, from the beginning Hajinah chose religious organization, Aisjiah, as a place of activities, while Sukaptinah chose a political organization, Jong Islaminten Bond, as a place of activities.

Since the establishment of Aisjiah in 1917, Hajinah had been actually interested in joining Aisjiah. Aisjiah was a women organization, a part of Muhammadiyah. Like its parent organization, Aisjiah did not engage in politics. In 1929, this women organization had about 5,000 members, scattered in 47 regions in Indonesia, and 32 women schools with 75 female teachers (Pringgodigdo, 1986: 98) However, not until 1920 did she join the religious organization. Her father, Haji Mohammad Narju, was a batik maker in Kauman, in which the parent organization of Aisjiah, Muhammadiyah, was born. A daughter of batik maker, she had high possibility to study in HIS (*Hollands Inlandsche School*). Even, after graduating from HIS, she could continue her study in woman school (*Fur Huishoud School*) which taught various domestic works such as cooking, sewing and so on. (Suratmin *et.al*, 1991: 111-112) Apparently her educational background in woman school provided a strong foundation for her to develop social activities in her surrounding, through Aisjiah.

After joining Aisjiah in 1920, her career in Aisjiah continuously ascended. In 1925 she held both positions as the secretary of Aisjiah and editorial staff of *Soeara 'Aisjiah* at the same time. (KOWANI, 1978: 33) Through Aisjiah, especially her articles, she significantly contributed to national struggle in Indonesia. It can be seen from her articles published in *Soeara 'Aisjiah* which always definitely emphasized the importance of people to be involved actively in independence movement and carry out the most ideal movement which could be initiated from family. Through words, she considered that women's important contribution to national struggle was through the improvement of family life. In her view, family was a very

important pillar for achieving Indonesian nationalism. Therefore, in every religious speech before the members of *Aisjiah*, she always stressed the importance of family in the struggle. In addition to religious speech, her social ideas were indicated in the colour of the magazine that focused more on the family domain between 1927 and 1952. It can also be seen through this magazine that she profoundly realized the importance of media for improving women's knowledge about life as woman and about household life. In the beginning, she was only a magazine staff in the first publication in 1927. However, since November 30, 1941 she acted as the editorial in chief until 1952. After resigning from the editorial staff of *Soara 'Aisjiah* in 1952, she was continuously involved in this magazine because since 1952 she was appointed one of the chairpersons of *Aisjiah*. (*Soera 'Aisjiah*, No. 1, Maret 1953, p. 3).

In contrast to Hajinah who preferred social pathway as the place to implement her ideas, Sukaptinah chose political pathway. A daughter of official of religious affairs in Yogyakarta palace, R. Penewu Abdul Wahid Mustopo, she was educated in a religion-devout environment. (Suratmin *et.al*, 1991: 30). As a daughter of palace official, it was highly possible for her to study in HIS (*Hollands Inlandsche School*) in Yogyakarta, that was in 1916-1921. After graduating HIS, she then continued to study in MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lagere Onderwijs*) in 1922-1924 and continued to Sekolah Taman Guru Taman Siswa in 1924-1926. After graduating from Sekolah Taman Guru Taman Siswa, she worked as teacher in Taman Siswa Yogyakarta. Then, she moved from one place to another such as Yogyakarta, Semarang, Jakarta along with her husband's transfer of workplace and socio-political activities. (Suratmin *et.al*, 1991: 30-33).

Sukaptinah's activities in Jong Islaminten Bond could not be separated from the same activities as her husband, Soenarjo Mangoenpoespito. As one of the management staffs of Jong Islaminten Bond, he also actively delivered speeches in every organization meeting and Islamic congress. (*Hidoep*, 15 Juli 1939, p. 3).

During his career in the organization, Sukaptinah had ever acted as the head of Jong Islaminten Bond Dames Afdeeling (JIBDA), woman division of "Jong Islaminten Bond" (JIB), replacing Ny Datuk Tumenggung. Jong Islaminten Bond was established by those who had been active in Jong Java with a strong Islamic course. As a youngster organization, the members were well-educated groups from Central Java and East Java. (Pringgogidgo, 1986: 21) JIB itself was established in Jakarta in 1925. One things that made JIB different was the membership that although it had Islamic label, the members were not from the circle of pesantren or Islamic schools. They were from the circles of high school students and university students who received western education or general education. Some important JIBDA's activities were religion courses, women's skills, sports, and scouts (*Nationale Indonesische Padvinderij/NATIPIJ*). (KOWANI, 1978: 32).

At first, some members of Jong Islaminten Bond were members of Jong Java. However, in progress Jong Java was considered by some of its members to get farther and farther from Islamic educated youngsters who then established Jong Islaminten Bond. (Pringgogidgo, 1986: 101) Therefore, similar to Jong Islaminten Bond, JIBDA was recognized more critical and courageous in conveying its political aspiration than the other Islamic women organizations. They could express more profoundly the belief of united Indonesia and gave various advices and calls for nationhood. (Pringgogidgo, 1986: 99).

In the end of colonial period, Sukaptinah was elected the head of isteri Indonesia (Indonesian wives), a woman organization for improving women's life and people entirely. Through Isteri Indonesia, she was also successfully appointed one of the four women in the parliament. People's Council or *volksraad* holding the first meeting in 1918, was a concrete step to decentralization and improvement of Indonesian people in the government. Indonesian

who served as the members of *volksraad* were 39% and increased steadily to 50% in 1931. (Ricklefs, p. 338) because she obtained rights to be elected in 1938. Even, in 1941 when the *visman* commission was established by Netherland-Indian government to examine the change of state structure, she was one of two women who conveyed their views, which was then known as “Indonesia Berparlemen”, and became one of the decisions of the fourth women congress, also chaired by Sukaptinah, in Semarang. (KOWANI, 1978: 32).

In her point of view, there were two reasons why women all this time had not been yet trusted to be member of parliament (*Volksraad*). First, women's rights to sit in parliament with rights to be voted (*passiefkiesrecht*) had actually existed since People's Council was born in 1918, but the voices of Indonesian women had been unheard at that time. She thought that it was in accordance with the condition of Indonesian women's movement which was still in the first level, i.e. toward household improvement. However, when women obtained the right to be voted for *Gemeenteraad* (City Council), *mothers' movement* was ready and tried to use their rights. She thought that it was a proportional indication to say that women actually had been ready to struggle in People's Council. (*Isteri Indonesia*, October 1939).

Eventually, Hajinah's affiliation to Aisjiah, which was Mothers division of Muhammadiyah and Sukaptinah to Jong Islaminten Bond *afedeeling Dames*, which was the women division of Jong Islaminten Bond made the negotiation easier between both women and general public. In their opinion, their affiliation to men organization was not an evidence of their subordination, but their involvement in organization affiliating to men organization was a strategy to expand negotiation, either socially or politically, with general public. It can be seen from the presence of some movement figures from other organization, excluding women, that were active in *Isteri* magazine or from some ideas on life improvement that was also struggled by some non-women organization. In addition to their husbands, names of national movement activists that also frequently helped Hajinah and Sukaptinah's activities in the congress and *Isteri* magazine were, for example, seperti Ki Hadjah Dewantara and dr. Sutomo. Moreover, they also concretely conducted some life improvement for women. (*Boekoe Peringatan Konferensi Badan Perlindungan Perempuan Indonesia dalam Perkawinan*, 1939; *Pewarta PPPPA*, 1932; Soetomo, 1928).

IV. MOBILIZING PEOPLE TO REACH INDEPENDENCE FOR WOMEN AND SOCIETY

As has been explained in the beginning of the article, the path chosen by Hajinah to mobilize people was through social domain by being actively involved in every Aisjiah activity. It was through Aisjiah, actively involved in education and health scopes in the movement period, that she mobilized people to perform movement through family scope. With the increase of education level of women and children as well as the improvement of important health facilities for women, Hajinah hopefully could be an active part of the national movement. Also, with a mass movement through *pengajian* (a gathering in which Islamic teachings are discussed) carried out by Aisjiah, she was actively able to improve people's understanding 'Islam' religion in the point of view of Aisjiah, known as reformist, understanding of women to the improvement of family life. The religious lectures were not only conducted in the day-time, but also in the evening. (Huda, 1998).

In the meantime, Sukaptinah performed mass movement more courageously. Since she was appointed one of the chairpersons of *Isteri Indonesia* in 1938, a merger of several activists of women organization, she started to acted courageously in struggling the improvement of women's life through political domain. In 1939, she put her signature on a motion to appoint

women in *volksraad*. The motion was created through a demonstration held by women on Sunday, August 6, 1939 at Gedung Permufakatan, Gang Kenari. In the demonstration, the women actually expected to be able to hold a convoy. However, the convoy was then cancelled because it was turned down by the police. Women demonstration to appoint women's representative in *volksraad*, in her view, was a shift of woman ideas to political direction. (*Isteri Indonesia*, October 1939).

Sunaryo delivered a speech in the Fourth Indonesian Women Congress in Semarang on July 25-28, 1941. Acting as the head of assembly, he gave a speech requesting participants, representatives of 33 women organization in Indonesia, to express "Indonesia Berparlemen" (A parliament for Indonesia). The content of the speech was as follows:

Oleh karena itoe, soenggoeh tidak mengherankan bahwa bangsa Indonesia mempoenjai tjita-tjita akan membasmi dan menghapoes anggapan-anggapan jang koerang menghargakan kepada deradjat kita. Terdorong oleh tjita-tjita jang moelia itoe, kita bangsa Indonesia baik poeteri maoepoen poetera, senantiasa bersedia oentoek bekerdja sama-sama dengan lain-lain pendoedoek ditamah kita ini oentoek keselamatan tanah air dan bangsanja. Boekti jang semata-mata ialah adanya keinginan perobahan dalam tata negara, dan Indonesia berparlemen. (Soeara 'Aisjijah, No. 8, Aug. 1941).

Therefore, it is not surprising that Indonesia has vision to eradicate and remove assumptions that less appreciate our pride. Stimulated by those noble vision, we, Indonesian people, men or women, are always ready to work together with other people in our country for the sake of our country and nation's safety. The real evidence is a will of change in government administration, and a parliament for Indonesia.)

On the other hand, Sukaptinah exhibited a stronger effort when expressing the importance of women to hold position in the government. She protested against the fact that women were not appointed in People's Council. She mentioned about the convoy that was supposed to hold by mothers to protest against the fact that women were not appointed in People's Council. *Isteri Indonesia* also held *momentvergadering* to express disappointment to the latest composition of People's Council. Therefore, several association of Kaum Ibu held a meeting on Sunday, August 6, 1939 in Gedung Permufakatan, Gang Kenari. They formerly intended to hold a convoy but it was declined by the police. *Isteri Indonesia* paid a special attention to the issue of women for being appointed in People's Council, for example, by sending a motion to the government about the appointment of Indonesian women in *Volksraad*. The motion was signed by Sukaptinah as the chairperson of *Isteri Indonesia*. (*Besluit 24081/39*).

The actions of the above mentioned women indicated that Indonesia women had been able to show active involvement in political domain. Readiness of women to be involved in politic symbolized that Indonesian women had stepped up to the third stage of women's movement. Sukaptinah described women's movement in three stages: first, in the direction of household improvement; second, in the field of social and economic; third, in the field of politic. She regretted that the electors (*kiezers*) from *Volksraad* had not been willing to give a chance for the women of her nation to take part in struggling in People's Council, which were caused by: *first*, (assumption) Indonesian women were considered immature to be involved in state governance; *second*, (assumption) house was a place for women to do her occupation as a wife, a household holder, and to be a mother. (*Isteri Indonesia*, October 1939).

Responding the second reason, in Sukaptinah's view, woman basically did not deny that woman was obliged to be at home. However, she also underlined that the changes of society had occurred so that there were no rules that discriminated between a nation and the other nations as well as women's rights and men's rights in society. Moreover, in her view, Indonesian still needs women power, either in the field of social or politic. Unfortunately,

Indonesian still doubted to advance the women. The indication could be seen when the election of City Council was held, there were only 5 regions (Surabaya, Pasuruan, Semarang, Bandung, Batavia) giving dispensation to women to be elected, and there were 4 regions succeeded in placing women in City Council. However, in one territory, Batavia, which was the capital center, a single woman was not elected. Four women were considered too few to advance and to elect the new City Council candidates, so that the chance for women to sit as the member of People's Council depended on the men becoming the electors of People's Council as well as the Government, that were the member of *Gementeraad*, *Regentschapraad* (in Java), *Afdeelingraden* (outside Java). (*Isteri Indonesia*, October 1939).

V. CONCLUSION

National movement was an important moment for women to achieve the independence for women, either in social domain (family) or political domain. Realizing that fact, Sukaptinah and Hajinah conducted a wide variety of important activities in accordance with the national movement. As religion-base activists, they were actively involved in national movement through different ways. Hajinah preferred social path (family) as the pillar of struggle, whereas Sukaptinah preferred political path. As a result, although they achieved independence in two different domains, they gave meaning of independence in the same thing, that was independence for women, not only as an individual, but also a part of the entire society.

In addition to attempt to achieve independence implemented in their involvement in national movement individually, they also struggled for the independence as a part of organizations in which they affiliated to. It made them easier to negotiate with public because organizations in which they affiliated were a part of formal organizations (which were more men-oriented) such as Muhammadiyah and *Jong Islaminten Bond*.

Learning Sukaptinah and Hajinah at the past as a women activists in the colonial period, it is important to us to see the sides of women's struggles in the past that are often hidden in the study of history. Of course, Sukaptinah and Hajinah can be a valuable learning about the condition of women in the past, which not only talking about domestic issues but moved to the social and public spheres.

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