

The Islamic-Political Genealogy of Fatayat in Soekarno and Soehato Era: A Feminist Perspective on the History of Organization

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Abstract

This paper examines the Islamic-political genealogy of Fatayat. In the early era, Fatayat was vacuum since the government controlled all organizations. Fatayat then decided to collaborate with government to implement government's programs. In the late era, Fatayat started the existence in term of promoting women empowerment in Indonesia. With support from many national and international organizations, Fatayat began promoting women issues particularly in political sphere. In many cases, Fatayat depended on NU as Fatayat's patron organization. Although there are many opposite opinions between NU and Fatayat, Fatayat never gives up to negotiate and finding the right solution. In term of politics, Fatayat still depends on NU, even though Fatayat is the autonomous organization. Moreover, the successful Fatayat in term of political movement in the present era is also the contribution from Soekarno's government.

Keywords: genealogy, Fatayat, Soekarno, feminism,

Introduction

Politics actually had long become an important agenda of Indonesian women's organizations since the colonial period. *Badan Kongres Perempuan* (Women's Congress Organization) in 1938 drafted a law that provided women the right to vote in elections. In 1941 only Dutch women had voting rights, but Indonesian women had not. Eventually, only in the last years of Dutch colonialism Indonesian women could achieve their right to vote (Bessel, 2005, p. 9). However, until after few decades of independence, Indonesian women's condition in politics still did not see any significant improvement. Because of this, affirmative action, according to Gadis Arivia (2005), should be done (p. xxx). One of the reasons why this affirmation action is needed can be seen in the political arena, where the representation of women in legislative institutions is still very low, and that a fair, equal quota of women in those institutions seems to be a non-negotiable necessity (Arivia, 2005, p. xxx).

In 2004, when for the first time Indonesians gave their vote to directly elect the president and members of parliament, Indonesian women had stepped ahead in the arena of politics. They struggled and made great efforts to have their voices heard and drew vast attention throughout political channels. The Indonesian election law of 2003, number 12, stated a regulation encouraging every political party to place women as at least 30% of its entire listed candidates of parliament. However, it does not mean that the number of women in parliament increases automatically. In fact, in Indonesian parliament of 2004-2009, according to CETRO (Centre for Electoral Reform), there are only 12% women out of 550 members of parliament. It may also be seen as the result of the fact that women's participation to vote in election is lesser than men's. Thus, in this case, political mobilization of women is highly significant in order to encourage them to be more active in politics.

There is at least one important point we can figure out from the election law of 2003, which has been amended and consummated with the election law of 2008. In article 10 of the law, what is known as a zipper system is mentioned. In this system, it is stated that there should be at least one woman listed among the three top ranks in the list of parliament candidates in every election district. Still, 30 % of board

members of each political party should be filled by women. Indeed, it opens more opportunities for women to be active in politics. This all would be one step ahead that Indonesian women may go through in the next general election of Indonesia of 2009. With this newly amended election law of 2008, women would have more chance to be elected. Compared to the last election of 2004, women were often put in the last rank in the list, so it was hard for them to get elected.

However, in terms of the rules concerning the election of parliament members, many parties are not able to fulfill the 30% of women to be listed as their listed parliament candidates (Antaraneews, 2008). For example, the United Development Party (PPP) has only 27 % women of its 452 parliamentary candidates. However, there is no forceful, decisive punishment in terms of the failure to apply the framework of the election law. With regard to the role of women in politics, it is crucial to explore an important question: Why are there so few women interested in being more active in the political arena? It is safe to say that one possible answer to that question concerns the strategies and practices of political mobilization and how they have been implemented in women's organizations. As the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim, the role of Islamic women's organizations is inevitably instrumental to promoting the political mobilization of women. Therefore, this would be among such strategic ways for them to take more benefits as to reach gender equality and women's empowerment. Another matter that is central to take into account, is that Islamic women's organizations play important roles among women at the grassroots level since they have strong social legitimacy (Soetjipto, 2005, p. 202).

Historically, in fact, Indonesian Muslim women also had long been inseparable from political activities since the colonial period of the country. During that time, although they did not work formally under certain Islamic women's organizations, they made real contributions to the women's political movement in Indonesia since they formed women's branches of existing political parties. With regard to the issue of political mobilization of women, this paper would be focusing on Indonesia Islamic organization which is Fatayat. This organization is the female branch of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia: Nahdlatul Ulama. History proves an evident the contribution of this

organization in Women movement in Indonesia. In West Sumatra province, there was an Islamic school for women (*Diniyyah Putri*) founded by Rahmah El-Yunusiah in 1923 (Baidlowi, 1991, p. 83). This institution spread out to some provinces in Java and, consequently, drove women's attention to the importance of education for girls. As a result, many Islamic boarding schools, which were mostly located in Java and run under the management of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), began to receive female students. For example, Denanyar Islamic boarding school, in the 1930s, marked its first admission of female students. Meanwhile, the establishment of Islamic schools for females in NU actually has its roots in the contribution of women's wing organizations in NU like Muslimat and Fatayat.

Fatayat, as the wing women organization of NU, has its roots in traditional values of women. It is quite interesting to analyze the political movement in this organization. Although Fatayat is considered autonomous wing organizations, it is in fact not completely independent from Fatayat's parent organization, especially in politics. To illustrate, in the election 2004, NU informally associated with National Awakening Party (PKB). But, in reality, Fatayat also followed what Fatayat's parent organizations supported in terms of political competition. Finally, the result of this research hopefully will offer a wider perspective of Muslim women's role in politics, since indeed Fatayat has huge number of branches ranging from province to district and village levels.

Right now, Fatayat is one of the important women organizations in Indonesia. Fatayat promotes health reproduction, trafficking eradication, and women empowerment. In term of political sphere, Fatayat was the only religious women organization which involved in the advocacy of the election law since 2003 (Fithriati, 2008, p. 14). Indeed, many Fatayat members become the women legislative members. It can be said that Fatayat succeeds in term of the political movement. However, the position of Fatayat in the political sphere right now could not be separated from the long history of Fatayat since Soekarno's and Soeharto's eras. The ways of Fatayat to promote women empowerment are not always running well. I do believe that what Fatayat achieves is the result of Fatayat's history in the past. Thus, studying the history of

Fatayat after colonial period until Soeharto's regime will be essential. With analyzing it, I hope that I will be able to know the history of the successful Fatayat in present era in term of political movement.

According to the book, *Menapak Jejak Fatayat NU: Sejarah Gerakan, Pengalaman dan Pemikiran* (2005) which is published by the central board of Fatayat NU, there many periods of the Fatayat's development. First is the period when Fatayat was just established which was in 1950-1953. It is called pioneering period. Second, this period, actually, is still considered a pioneering period, but Fatayat in this period (1953-1969) already developed, so this period is named a developing period. Third is a resurrection period (1979-1995). It is called resurrection since during twelve years as other religious organizations, Fatayat stopped all activities. New order regime controlled organizations in Indonesia, so Fatayat was banned to do activities. Last period is Fatayat in democratic era which was in 1995-2005. However for this paper, I will use simple organization which is based on the periodization of political eras in Indonesia. I am going to break down into two periods: Soekarno's era and new order era. In my opinion, this categorization can help to understand the political movement in Fatayat NU. Before I turn to discussion about Fatayat, I would like to address the condition of women's organization during colonial era particularly in political sphere. I propose this part to give general background about the position of women's organization when Fatayat was established.

Women's Organization and Politics in Colonial Era

Some sources divulge that Raden Ajeng Kartini has been an outstanding, lasting figure of inspiration for women to encourage and unite themselves in social engagements and movements such as organizations particularly in the field of education (Suryochondro, 1984; Vreede-De Stuers, 1960; Blackburn, 2004; Martyn, 2005). Through her letters to her Dutch friend, Stella Zeehandelaar, during 1899-1903, Kartini dismantled women's outmoded traditions of that time. According to Suryochondro (1984), there were two main supporting factors why Indonesian women's organizations could develop. The first is communication, by which the media helped the spread of the concepts of women's empowerment around the country. So that,

women became aware about the significance of organization to proclaim women's rights. The second is the spirit of community group work (*gotong royong*), one of Indonesian cultures which inspired women to help their female fellows organized in groups (p. 86).

However, Suryochondro seems not taking into account of the influence of colonialism to be another factor inspiring the establishment of women's organizations in Indonesia. Indeed, Blackburn (2004) mentions that the colonial gender ideology considerably shaped the ideas of women's organizations in Indonesia, particularly in terms of its role in encouraging the issues of education for girls (p. 18). This argument can be accepted when tracing the history of Kartini. During her period of study and afterward, being closest to and contiguous with Dutch people, Kartini was more and less influenced by the ideas of education for girls she ever shared with her Dutch school fellows. Not least, the first wave of feminism was so widespread in western countries of that time that the spirit of changes blew to Indonesia too. Thus, the colonialist era also brought about the spirit of progress for Indonesian women. Taufik Abdullah (1991), however, discloses that women's organizations in Indonesia in fact played little pioneering role in the creation of "new" issues. They were just like interpreters and defenders of certain existing issues, which were actually already proclaimed by other groups (p. 74). If they developed a new thing, it was only about the specific of women's issues but was not about the wider social issues (*Ibid*), for example, when women thought that if their male fellows can do something new, important, thus women must be able to do it too.

On the other word, Abdullah said that women's organizations in Indonesia did not introduce the creative agendas. But, Abdullah probably pays little attention to the fact that women's rights during colonial were untouchable. What is more, as well, the patriarchal culture closed women's access to much of public spheres. However, no one doubts that women's organizations had successfully broken somewhat of the ways for women to achieve their rights, for instance, in the basic human rights of education. Assuming Indonesian women's organizations as the mere followers of their male fellows only discards the reality that they have opened chances for women to accomplish

their goals. During colonial era, actually there were some important agendas of women's organization which were marriage, education and politic. Much less than what have been reached in education and marriage issues, in the politics women's organizations are even until now still away from achieving their goals. The considerable attempts in the politics actually had been made in 1915 when *Poeteri Mardika* sent a motion to the general governor in order to exhort the equal rights before the law between men and women (Suryochondro, 1984, p. 88). Before that, there was no record about the political activities by women's organizations.

A step ahead in the politics was gained by women's organizations when *Badan Kongres Perempuan* (women's congress organization) in 1938 set a draft of law that provides women the right to vote in election. Vreede-De Stuers (1960) said, "This was a reaction against the steps taken by the government to accord Indonesian women the right of eligibility to certain elective offices but refusing them the right to vote," (p. 94-95). However, in 1941 only Dutch women had voting right but not Indonesian women. Eventually, only during the last years of Dutch colonialism Indonesian women could achieve their right to vote (Bessel, 2005, p. 9). Blackburn (2008) argues that some political parties had the wing women's organizations in the late 1920s such as *Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* (Indonesian Islamic organization-PSII) (p. 85). At the time, women began to give the speech publicly. It was great achievement. This organization, moreover, commenced to promote the importance for women to join in the independence movement (p. 89).

Muslim women also took an important role in the politics. Although they did not walk under Islamic women's organizations, they had real contribution in the women political movement in Indonesia since they joined the parties in the wing women's organizations. Blackburn (2008) asserts that in the colonial period, Muslim women activists chose to be involved in the radical Islamic organizations rather than moderates one. And after independence of Indonesia, this condition changed in line with change happening in political agendas before and after independence. However, even though not as strong as other secular women's organizations, the Islamic women's organizations wield significant influence in the Indonesian political sphere. Generally

speaking, the politics is a part of the central agendas where Indonesian women's organizations got involved in during the colonial period. Indeed, they had accomplished one of their political goals in terms of voting right for women. Although women are able to vote right now, it does not mean that women are already as equal as men in the field of politics. Women's organizations are currently struggling to achieve the agenda of fulfilling a minimum number of 30% women memberships in the house of parliament.

Fatayat in Soekarno's Era : Capacity of Political Empowerment

As one autonomous organization in Nahdlatul Ulama, the history of Fatayat NU could not be separated from NU. In the early XX, Islam spread out well in Indonesia. People began to mix the traditional cultures with Islamic tenets. For instance, the tradition of *selamatan* in Indonesia was inserted with some Islamic tenets such as *Tahlil*. Actually this combination was such a method in order to introduce Islam to Indonesian people. For instance, Sunan Kalijaga who was one of the *wali songo* (nine saints) in Java used *wayang* to spread Islam. Indeed, this approach was effective since Indonesian people felt that Islam did not stand oppositely with their cultures. However, groups who declared themselves as reformers of Islam promoted the reformist movement. In their opinion, all activities, which combined between Islam culture and traditional culture, should be left since Islam had to purify the activities from outside Islam tenet. The reformers argued that Islamic scholars did not have the authority to interpret Quran and Hadits. They suggested for Indonesian Islamic people to return to the original resources – Quran and Hadits (Feillard, 1999, p. 5-7).

This movement influenced many *Kyai* in Java particularly. Those *kyai* who considered themselves as Islamic traditional *kyai* attempted to resist from the reformist movement. Unfortunately, at the time, those *kyai* were not organized, but their relationship had already built. One way to resist from the reformist movement was with launching *madrasah* such as *Kyai Wahab* with his *madrasah* 'Nahdlatul Wathan.' This *madrasah* became the embryo of the Islamic traditionalists. From it, Islamic traditionalists gathered and on January 31, 1926 they made an organization which was named *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) and with

using new Indonesian language standard the name of this organization became *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) (Feillard, 1999, p. 12). From it, NU develops. Indeed, when we discuss about Islam in Indonesia, for sure we could not avoid to study NU. In fact, the involvement of NU in Indonesia is not only in the religious activities, but also in politic. In the colonial era, NU was active in politics and involved in the Indonesian freedom preparation. NU also contributed to bring Soekarno to be the first president of Indonesia. In another side, NU also extended the internal organization. During Dutch colonials in 1935, NU had 65 branches and about 67.000 members. Three years later, NU became 99 branches and the branches spread out not only in Java but also South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and South Sumatra (Haidar, 1991, p. 141). One the important thing from the NU development was that NU established female branches which are Muslimat and Fatayat.

According to Machrusah (2005), women were not able to be a part of NU not only because the discussion about domestic sphere but also in the late of colonialism, Dutch repressed organizations in Indonesia. Indeed, it would risk for women to gather (p. 22-23). In the late 1940s, there was awareness among NU members, including the young women in NU. They realized that women in NU were not organized yet not only for the young women but also for the older women. The existence of women in NU was only followers. Kathryn Robinson (2009) notes that the oppression from Dutch and the internal of NU never stopped women to participate in NU. For illustration, at the NU congress in Banten in 1939, there were about 8.000 women attending (p. 53). Latter, NU gathered women in the level of Nyai which are Kyai's wives. From it, Muslimat was built. However, this organization did not touch the young generation. The absence of this organization leded NU board to immediately forming the organization for young generation. KH Dahlan who was the chairman of NU at the time, created the organization, and he named it with 'Fatayat'. Actually, there was still debate among NU board and Kyai. In one side, some kyai refused women to be active in NU. In their opinion, women should stay in home. However, many progressive Kyai supported women to be a part of NU. Although the debate continued, Fatayat was formally received to be one of NU autonomous organization in 1952, in Mukhtar in Palembang (Fatayat

website, 2010).

The establishment of Fatayat could not be separated from three important women who are Aminah Mansur from Gresik, Khuzaimah Mansur from Gresik, and Mustasyirah from Surabaya. Those women is known with *Tiga Serangkai*. Because at the time the central of NU was in East Java, Fatayat was established and developed in East Java. Dahlan asked them to formulate Fatayat. Muslimat board also helped them in this process. Nihayah Bakri had been pointed to be the first Fatayat chair (Afifah, 2005. p. 10). NU Fatayat organization established process is not easy. Constraints and obstacles are many, both structural and cultural nature. According to Khuzaimah Mansur which is written by Umi Khusnul Khotimah (2005), there are some obstacles in realizing Fatayat NU: (1). Structurally many Kyai who were in *syuriah* (Advisory board) did not support Fatayat. As an illustration, KH Bisri Syamsuri strongly opposed the establishment of Fatayat. Syamsuri worried that women would go wild when they are too active in organizations outside the home. The support from the chairman of NU, Dahlan, was not able to guarantee if Fatayat would be received by *Syuriah* NU. (2_. Patriarchal culture was still strong in Indonesia. Indeed it was not profitable for Fatayat. Fatayat became very dependent on NU. In each of activities that was going to be held, Fatayat had to request permission to the NU board. Activities were often hampered just because of a permit from the NU board. NU was still dominated Kyai who trapped in the assumption that women's job is at home. (3). The less of human resources among young women of NU was another problem. At the time, Fatayat did not have many young women who had higher education. Education at the time remained a high price for women. These conditions made the development of Fatayat hampered because the board and the members of Fatayat did not have the ability to organize (Afifah, 2005, p. 11-12)

Since this period, Fatayat often made training for members. The trainings focused on many aspects such as in education. Fatayat taught the members how established educational institutions and how to teach. As a result, some of Fatayat's members started to create kindergarten institution (Taman Kanak-kanak). They also helped women in their communities to eradicate illiteracy. At the time, there was common condition that women only could read Arabic and they were illiterate

in Indonesian (Afifah, 2005. p. xvi). Organization was also a point in the training. To give the contribution on revolution, some Fatayat members joined in the military training such as how to use weapon etc (p. xvi), for instance Asnawiyah. In the political sphere during Soekarno's era, Fatayat and Muslimat took important roles. Aisyah Hamid Baidhowi who is one of pioneers in Fatayat gives the description about the condition politic and the position of NU women at the time:

In addition, it comes to education, when we also give attention to work together with elements of other youth. There used to be a forum for Muslim Youth Organizations. If there is a problem, we met at the forum before settled into a larger forum. Islamic youth forums is also becoming another embryo from KNPI. In 1954, when Moslem discuss under-age marriage and the eradication of illiteracy, Fatayat also intensively involved. There was a plenary where Fatayat-Muslimat join. The progress of thought appeared when it was the decision that the Muslimat had to be given the opportunity as a public leader in the real sense, not only in the internal Moslem, but in society at large. Therefore, the demand that has emerged among the Moslem woman was also entitled to be nominated a member of the legislature. In 1955, the existing Muslimat representatives who sit in Parliament, were Machmudah Mawardi and Asmah Syahrani. At NU Congress in 1957, it was decided formally NU women involved in politics, although in previous elections, in the year 1955, there have been legislative members of the NU women who obtained five seats from the fraction of NU. In the Constituent Assembly, as I recall, has increased to nine people, including Nihayah Bakry which later became known as Nihayah Maksum. In my opinion, for the situation of women are very advanced (Afifah, 2007).

It indicates that Soekarno opened the opportunity for women to involve in politic. The position of Muslimat NU was not only in legislature but also to be the executive in Religious department (Departement Agama) who was Machmudah Mawardi. Aisyah Dahlan at the time became the Secretary of Minister of religion. Another one is Abidah Maksum. She was the first-woman judge (Afifah, 2007).

Some Fatayat members became the member of DPRDS. Asnawiyah, for instance, in 1951-1956 was a member of DPRDS (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Sementara* – temporary regional representative council) in Gresik, East Java. According to Asnawiyah, at the time only three women in DPRDS which were Fatimah from Muslimat, Zulaikha from GPII and Asnawiyah that had been pointed out from Fatayat (Afifah, 2005, p. 40). Even though the debate about the existence of women's wing organization was still going, Syuriah NU began to receive women to be a NU board in 1956 which were Khairiyah Hasyim, Fatmah, and Mahmudah Mawardi (p. xix). It is a proof that NU women could exist in their internal organization. Generally, Soekarno's era was the important point for Fatayat since in this era Fatayat was established. The government also had a good understanding in the concept of gender equality. Fatayat which was the new women organization also had same opportunity in the parliament. As a result, Fatayat was able to take places in women movement in Indonesia. In the same time, Fatayat could also expand the internal organization. The position of NU which was one of the political party gave the chances for young generation who involved in Fatayat NU to learn how to be active in politics although the debate among NU board could be avoided in the existence of Fatayat. However, it did not stop the step of Fatayat to contribute in the women empowerment.

Fatayat in New Order : The Ideology of Ibuism

Actually, officially Soeharto was to be a president in 1967. However, his regime had de facto began shortly after the so-called 'coup' in October 1, 1965. In 1965, the Indonesian military attempted to killing the members of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). In the tragedy which hundreds people were killed, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a largest Islamic organization and one of political party contributed in this violence. According to Katharine McGregor (2008), in January 1966 the NU leadership affirmed that "PKI must be wiped out from the face of Indonesian and never given the chance to exist again," (p. 4). PKI was considered as a party which refused the existence of God. As a result not only NU supported to destroy PKI but also other religious organizations from Islam, Catholic, and Christianity. Fatayat,

in reality, as a part of NU organization, also followed what NU believed (McGregor, 2008, p. 5). I Gusti Agung Ayu Ratih (2009) argues that the involvement of women organization in the tragedy of human right in Indonesia contributed significantly in the hiding the story of women victim. Indeed, at the time not only PKI members became the object of swiping but also a women organization which was considered as PKI's supporter such as Gerwani. However the story of Gerwani had never been opened (p. 18-19).

After Soekarno felt, the New Order regime began. Indeed, this era became a new history for women's organization in Indonesia including Fatayat. Soeharto stood oppositely with the previous president in term of women's position. If Soekarno opened the chances for women to develop, in contrast, Soeharto wanted to bring back women in their line which was in domestic sphere. In the concept of Ibuism, according Djajaningrat-Nieuwenhuis (1987) that socially and politically, *Ibu* (Mother) and *Bapak* (Father) are the center, so that the responsibility for all matters relating to the family or group are on the shoulders of *Ibu* and *Bapak*. However, there is a fundamental difference between the position of *Ibu* and *Bapak*. The Power and privilege are in the hands of *Bapak*, while the mother should not expect any reply from the responsibilities entrusted except the reply given via her husband. Susan Blackburn (2004) and Julia Suryakusuma (1987) states that the Ibuism was the New Order gender ideology (p. 25). New Order regime was well aware of how the functions of *Ibu* which is to maintain the stability of the State. They mobilized *Ibu* to support the development of the country, to contribute the economy of family, but on the one hand it was done voluntarily, without any reward. Even state was deliberately banging women with the private sphere concepts, so that women are perfectly positioned as supporters for families, groups, and even countries.

The implication of this ideology was that women *kodrat* (inherent nature) is to give birth, and to be housewives and mothers. In every occasion, the government widened this idea. The government also created women organization which was as ambassador in the spreading the ideology. For instance, Dharma Wanita (Women's Service) was arranged for wives of civil servants, and the main agenda

of this organization sponsored PKK (Pembinaan Keluarga Berencana – family Guidance Movement) (p. 25). The implication of the ideology from government was that all activities of women organizations should be under government's control. Actually this condition occurred not only for Fatayat or other women organization but also for NU. The board and members of NU were afraid since they could not attend the organization's activities. If they still kept continuing with activities of organization, the consequence was that they would be fired from their job. Therefore, during twelve years in 1967-1979, Fatayat did not have any meaningful activities. It could be said that Fatayat was a dead faint. Aisyah Hamid Baidhowi assess that during this period many Fatayat board in Fatayat branches refused to be visited since they worried that they would receive the intimidation from government. She says:

There was a story, when Asmah H. Syahrani and H.S.A. Wahid Hasyim went to the Muslimat branched. They were often sent a letter of refusal to come to the house of committee Muslimat. For example, the former chair of Muslimat in Ponorogo rejected because her son was the village head. Rather than endanger of her son, she sent a letter: "I still love Muslimat, but please do not come to my house" (Afifah, 2005, p. xx).

It is a picture of the situation at the time. People lived under the intimidation of government. Although Fatayat still had board which the leader at the time was Malichah Agus, the activity stopped. During the period of twelve years in a vacuum, Fatayat started the activity with holding the congress in Semarang in 1979. Mahfudhoh Ubaid Ali was chosen to be general leader of Fatayat. Fatayat consolidation with branches all over Indonesia were carried out again. Fatayat activities at the beginning of the revival of this were done secretly. The risk of intimidation from the government made the board Fatayat using this way. However, when Fatayat joined with several activities planned by the government, Fatayat activity no longer carried out secretly. Fatayat supported government programs such as family planning. Joining the government has finally been chosen by Fatayat in order to avoid the ban from government (Afifah, 2005, p. xx).

Fatayat board's policies to collaborate with government programs such as Posyandu, dispensaries life, and *Dasa Wisma* had opposed by NU. NU as the parent organization of Fatayat had announced to return to *Khittah* 1926 in the *muktamar* 1984 in Situbondo. This meant that NU is no longer involved in practical politics. The another reason of the lack of freedom for Fatayat to active was because of the relationship between Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), chairman of the NU at the time, and Suharto. In the first term of Wahid, the NU and government relations was going well, even Gus Dur became one of the driving ideology of Pancasila. However, Gus Dur still kept critical to the government, especially regarding cases Kedung Ombo which received funding from the World Bank. In the second term, which began in 1989 Wahid and Suharto's relationship were more pointed, until Suharto blocked NU birthday celebration 66th in Jakarta. Then, when Wahid would run for the third time to be the chairman of NU, Suharto used his hands to block Wahid, but it did not succeed and Wahid leaded NU again. This situation would also greatly affect for Fatayat. Cooperation with the New Order Fatayat feared would bring NU back to the political arena. At that time NU maintain impartiality in politics. But as an organization, Fatayat will not stand only because of pressure from the new order. Fatayat tried to keep doing the activities, Neng Dara Afifah explains, " At the time, Fatayat made compromises to keep doing activities. The first step, Fatayat withdraw from politics, as was done by the parent organization, NU. The second step, Fatayat modernized the organization and its activities as in the workings and also the type of activities (Fatayat been actively involved in the distribution of Vitamin A in urban areas). With this two steps, Fatayat could still run events without the pressure from new order. " Wahid, as the leader of NU, pushed Fatayat to continue their activities. From it, Fatayat made networking with national and international organizations that focus on women's issues, and from this networking, Fatayat could create training for members. Basically, in this period, as other women organization, Fatayat began establishing the discussion about gender equality and gender empowerment. Although during New Order, Fatayat did not have more chances in the political sphere, it focused on the consolidation to spread out the ideas of the awareness on

women rights and empowerment. Nia Sjarifudin (2009) states that the women movement in this era to cadre. It exactly happened in Fatayat, so when this regime fell, Fatayat already had many good cadres and networking. In the political sphere, in New Order era, Fatayat had two important periods. First was the vacuum period. In this time, Fatayat did not have any activities. The internal and external factors were the causes. Second was the resurrection period. The collaboration to support government's programs on women and family became the entry point for Fatayat to exist again. In the last of this regime, Fatayat received the opportunity to establish the linking with national and international funding organizations. I can say that the last ten years in this period was the basic root of Fatayat in the promotion of women empowerment.

Conclusion

From the explanation above, I conclude some points. Firstly, Fatayat was established because of some reasons. At the time, women in Nahdlatul Ulama were not organized yet. In another hand, the willing of NU women, particularly the young organization, to involve in organization needed to be appreciated, so Dahlan, the leader of NU at the time, asked some women to establish Fatayat. Muslimat helped to realize this idea. Another reason was that Nahdlatul Ulama basically supported women to be active in public sphere. Secondly, Fatayat could develop because of the internal and external factors. One of the internal aspects was the full support from the progressive NU board. The potential members of Fatayat also became the essential cause of Fatayat's development. The external factor came from the government. During Soekarno's era, women had opportunities to be active in political sphere. Many women had been legislative members, and some of NU women had important jobs in government. The involvement of NU in political practice was also a chance for Fatayat to engage in politics. Thirdly, in New Order era, Fatayat turned into two conditions. In the early era, Fatayat was vacuum since the government controlled all organizations. Finally, Fatayat decided to collaborate with government to implement government's programs. It was the way for Fatayat to exist. In the late era, Fatayat started the existence in term of promoting

women empowerment in Indonesia. With support from many national and international organizations, Fatayat began promoting women issues particularly in political sphere. From these points, I can figure out that in the past the existence of Fatayat could not be separated from NU. In many cases, Fatayat depended on NU as Fatayat's patron organization. Although there are many opposite opinions between NU and Fatayat, Fatayat never gives up to negotiate and finding the right solution. In term of politics, Fatayat still depends on NU, eventhough Fatayat is the autonomous organization. Moreover, the successful Fatayat in term of political movement in the present era is also the contribution from Soekarno's government.

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