

DIFFERENTIATION IN HOW NAHDLATUL ULAMA (NU) WOMEN RESPONDED TO THE JIHAD FATWA IN THE 1945 BATTLE OF SURABAYA

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ABSTRACT

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The discourse on Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) women's response to the call for jihad in the Battle of Surabaya in 1945 remains a matter of debate among both conservative and modern Muslims. This article utilizes the Islamic spirit approach proposed by Kevin W. Fogg by examining the correlation between NU women's nationalism and their responses to the jihad fatwa during the Battle of Surabaya. The results of this study conclude that NU women's responses were influenced by three factors: religious understanding, political awareness, and socio-cultural background. Indeed, there were differences in the responses of NU women who belonged to families of *kyai*, or experts in Islam, and were affiliated with *pesantren*, or Islamic boarding schools, and those who belonged to ordinary families or farmers to the jihad fatwa in the jihad resolution proposed by NU. Women who belonged to *kyai* families and were affiliated with *pesantren* had a deeper understanding of religion and contributed more than women from commoner backgrounds. They were aware that defending their homeland is considered an obligation. For them, independence was for Islamic purposes as well as a means to greater religious purposes. The jihad fatwa during the Indonesian National Revolution was considered a form of Islamic struggle. The fact that NU women participated in the call for jihad undermines the view of NU as an inclusive organization.

Keywords: Differentiation response; women; jihad fatwa; Battle of Surabaya

1. INTRODUCTION

Women's response to the jihad fatwa in the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)¹ jihad resolution at the Battle of Surabaya in 1945 (Amin, 2018, p. 97) has become a concern in women's studies. Women's involvement in Indonesian historiography, especially in the jihad movement at both the local and national levels, has not been widely studied (Dobbin, 1980, pp. 44–51; Taylor, 1996, p. 13; Kuntowijoyo, 2005, pp. 14–15). Their involvement has not received serious attention from various parties and therefore does not get a good place in

¹ NU itself was founded in Surabaya on January 31, 1926. The main founders were K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari, K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah, both born in Jombang, East Java Province, the former in 1875 and the latter in March 1888, and K.H. Bisri, born in 1887 in Central Java Province.

women's historiography, resulting in their neglect. Their existence is increasingly marginalized and tends to be at the level of almost not being remembered. Research on women in the national movement has shown that the results of the study of women's involvement in Islamic politics during the national movement are not often mentioned by women in national politics (Sasi, 2022, p. 9). As shown by Wulandari, from the revolutionary period to post-independence Indonesia, women played a significant role in the political field, for example, the defense of the state identified with the duties of the Indonesian National Armed Force (TNI), in addition to other fields such as the arts and health (Wulandari, 2020, p. 133). This is evidenced by the many writings in the form of biographies about female figures during the National Movement era to the New Order era, published in the 1980s and 1990s, including biographies of Maria Ulfah Soebadio (Rasid, 1982), Sujatin Kartowijono (1982), Partini (Purbani & Singgih, 1990), SK Trimurti (Soebagijo, 1982), Nyi Hadjar Dewantara (Dewantara, 1984), Maria Walanda Maramis (Matuli & Matuli-Walanda, 1989), Nyi Ageng Serang (Sastroatmodjo, 1982), Dewi Sartika (Wiriaatmadja, 2009), and Toety Azis (Dhakidae & Azis, 1994).

To date, studies on women's studies have tended to focus on macro issues. The description of these problems is at least two trends that have been mapped from previous studies. The first trend is that in women's historiography, the reconstruction of history in the world and in Indonesia lies in existence and domination. History is centered on the activities of men or is androcentric (Kuntowijoyo, 2005, p. 99). This is reinforced by Ann D. Gordon that the study of women is considered real and visible when women are active in the political and economic fields or show macro life. However, the micro life of women is considered timeless-only focused on conceiving and raising children in a family environment (Gordon et al., 1976, pp. 75–76). Therefore, the existence of women in both daily work and political roles is almost invisible to historians (Burke, 2011, p. 73) because the patriarchal culture still dominates and is attached to nations in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia (Ratchatakorntakoon, 2019; Rahman, 2016). As early as the seventh century, it was narrated that women in battles nursed the wounded (Mikati, 2019; Hedström, 2022), brought food and water to the battlefield, and encouraged their (male) family members to support and join the struggle. Some of the names mentioned were Umm Umarah (Battle of Uhud), Aisha, Zainab, and Khaulah bint Al Azwar (de Leede, 2018). The second trend is that the existing studies have mostly raised women as historical figures and national heroes (Nuryanti & Akob, 2019, p. 1). The writings have mostly addressed the lives of the elite and presented biographies of female figures such as Ratu Sima of Kalingga who was a firm leader, Ken Dedes who was known for her beauty, Cut Nya Dien and Martha Christina Tiyahahu and their resistance against Dutch colonialism, and Maria Walanda Maramis, Rachmah el Yunusiyah and other female figures who fought for women's right to education (Wiriaatmadja, 2002, pp. 87–88). Female figures who are considered "the event making woman" in Indonesian national history include Kartini, Raden Dewi Sartika, and Rohana Kudus (Lubis, 2002, pp. 163–172). In the great event of the Battle of Surabaya, the involvement of the common people and women in the jihad was real (Parashar, 2011, p. 295). Women's response to the conflict allowed them to have dual capabilities as housewives while being involved in militant movements, for example, as political activists who sent weapons, ammunition, money, messages, and others (Parashar, 2011; K.C., 2019; Malkasian, 2021). From these two trends, it is evident that women's response to the call for jihad in the 1945 Battle of Surabaya was not the center of attention when viewed comprehensively from the micro side. In fact, women's involvement was very necessary at that time because of the emergency conditions. They cared for the wounded and provided logistics (emergency kitchen). The micro aspects of women's responses, either supporting and opposing the jihad resolution and fatwa issued by NU, are not widely known.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Response Differentiation

External stimuli in the adjustment method have been examined as a form of discrimination. Response differentiation is a psychophysical method of testing the response produced by the stimulus (Ferraro & Grilly, 1970). Response differentiation as it relates to human behavior consists of two models. First, reinforcement consists of positive reinforcement and negative reinforcement (Skinner, 1953, p. 3; Cho et al., 2019). Positive reinforcement is a procedure done to increase stimuli that strengthen or encourage action (Suprijono, 2009; Adams, 2000). Meanwhile, negative reinforcement is reinforcement that encourages individuals to avoid a certain unsatisfactory response action. Second, extinction is a strategy to stop reinforcing a behavior that is to be eliminated because it is not considered permanent or appropriate (Martin & Pear, 2003).

Response differentiation can be divided into two groups. The first group is reinforcement, a form of positive reinforcement given by Muslim women in response to the jihad fatwa in the jihad resolution issued by NU, which was preceded by a stimulus. The stimulus was the possibility of re-controlling the country by the Dutch colonizers (NICA) who accompanied the Allied Forces (Moehkardi, 2020). On this basis, the jihad resolution was adopted by *Ra'is Akbar Hadratussyekh* K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari together with ulama throughout

Java Island and Madura Island ("60 Mijoen Kaoem Moeslimin Indonesia Siap Berdjihad Fi Sabilillah," 1945; El-Guyanie, 2010). The positive reinforcement of women's response to the jihad fatwa more frequently came from the families of *kyai*, or experts in Islam, and *pesantren*. The center of political activity during the movement was more in areas close to the center of government, generally in urban areas. Meanwhile, the negative reinforcement of women's responses to the jihad fatwa came from NU women from commoner backgrounds, most of whom worked as farmers in rural areas. They understood and welcomed the call for jihad fatwa as a form of obedience to the ulama, although not as massive as that of women from *kyai* families or *pesantren*. Women's participation in jihad was only possible if they met the conditions.

The *ijtihad* of the ulama, even for ordinary people, is believed to be the right decision for the good of the people based on the arguments of Islamic law, which is the Quran and Hadith (Mostfa, 2021). One of the *lashkars* that responded to the call for jihad in the jihad resolution was the Sabilillah Lashkar. Its members were clerics, men, and women, and its motto was *Waman mujâhid fi sabilillah* (Those who fight in the way of Allah). In addition to the Sabilillah Lashkar, some troops are members of the Hizbullah Lashkar, which in some regions had female members who were members of the Sabilillah Muslimat. The female members were not only responsible for running the emergency kitchen and helping wounded soldiers, but also participated in battle when local conditions permitted (Manus & Nurliana, 1985, p. 2). The recruitment of women in the Second World War was greater and decreased after the war (Zalietok, 2021, p. 221). This is also shown in the writing of Nafilah Abdullah, who describes the presence of women in the Battle of Surabaya as members of the Sabil Muslimat troops (Abdullah, 2017, p. 79; Lathifah et al., 2020; Aly et al., 2023).

2.2 Women and the Battle of Surabaya

Woman is a gender, not a sex. The two categories within the complex biological boundaries of sex, male and female, are traditionally used for animals, especially in the Indonesian language context (Dessie et al., 2021, p. 331). Gender has been seen between men and women in terms of physical differences, work, and decision-making. Some people are still ambiguous in identifying the access of both in the economic and political fields seen from gender perspective (Ahdiah, 2013, p. 1086; Fine et al., 2020). This is evidenced by the dual position of women, not only in the domestic sphere, but also in the public sphere (Acree, 2013, p. 213). In emergencies, such as war, women can temporarily replace men's duties and occupy positions almost equal to those of men (Arinov, 2021, p. 136), since they pose lower risks (Armey, 2020, p. 34). In this case, the war exalted female figures who were physically and mentally brave and tough (Acton, 2021, p. 445). Considering the potential of women during the war in England, they were given the opportunity to occupy positions in the medical profession with high salaries (Watson, 2002, p. 509). However, after the war women returned their jobs to men and returned to domestic work by realizing their maternal instincts as the most important thing (Sheridan, 1990, p. 32).

The women who responded to the jihad fatwa as called for in the NU jihad resolution can be divided into two categories. The first category consists of women who had a close relationship with the leadership of ulama and *pesantren* or local Masyumi figures and had a special Islamic understanding of the revolution (Fogg, 2020, p. 141). This category of women was mostly at the center of Islamic organizations located in the cities. Reactions in support of the fatwa jihad would emerge even from grassroots pious Muslims over violations of Islamic symbols as a form of appreciation in the understanding of religion regarding the conflict. If the sentiment of defending Islam is linked to the homeland, they would automatically comply. The second category consists of NU women who were farmers in rural areas far from the center of the organization. Both urban and rural women also took their respective roles according to the political conditions and natural conditions, as women did during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) (Ackelsberg, 1993, pp. 367–368).

The presence of women in the Battle of Surabaya in 1945 made a very significant contribution both in the front line and in the back line. They were equipped with various skills useful for combat, sabotage, reconnaissance, first aid and of course emergency food supply. Among the women were members of Laswi, LPI, Laskar Perempuan, and other organizations (Amini, 2021). Some women militants were members of *lashkar*, such as Barisan Puteri and Pemuda Puteri Republik Indonesia (PPRI) (Soewito, 1995, p. 45). As early as October 24, 1945, Lukitaningsih, a chairperson of the PPRI, had already urged women to join the defense of independence through the newspaper Soeara Rakjat. "To all young women who love the country and wish to join the defense, please register at Jalan Sawo No.14, Surabaya, to enter the dormitory provided by each regional office," the newspaper wrote. A similar experience was shared by Dekik Moenari (Perdana, 2016) and Riet Boenakim, who helped in the emergency kitchen and served as nurses.²

² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RCe_QOg8eHw

2.3 Jihad in Islam

The definition of jihad³ in the jihad resolution and the demands proposed by NU were determined through a meeting or consensus. The meeting was chaired by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari in Surabaya on October 21–22, 1945, with the participation of ulama and representatives of NU branches all over Java Island and Madura Island. The contents of the jihad resolution demands proposed by NU were:

1) To urge the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to determine the attitude and actions that are real and commensurate with the efforts that endanger the independence of Indonesia and religions in the country, especially against the Dutch and their allies;

2) To order the continuation of the struggle in the way of God (*Sabilillah*) for the establishment of the independent Republic of Indonesia and the religion of Islam ("Toentoetan Nahdlatol Oelama," 1945; "60 Mijoen Kaoem Moeslimin Indonesia Siap Berdjihad Fi Sabilillah," 1945).

The technical guidelines for the formation and organizational structure of Laskar Sabilillah at the national and regional levels were decided on November 7–8, 1945. The spirit of nationalism promoted in the jihad resolution proposed by NU had religious underpinnings such as *jihad fi sabilillah* and martyrdom. The religious doctrine coupled with the spirit of nationalism became a great motivation for the people to join the struggle against the colonizers and defend Indonesia's independence. This spirit was the driving force behind the massive and powerful resistance to colonialism in Indonesia. People who supported the colonizers were considered traitors or seditionists. The law of defending the homeland was an obligation. Muslims were forbidden to leave the battlefield or retreat when fighting the colonizers within a radius of 94 km, while outside this radius, the obligation of Muslims to fight the colonizers was considered *farḍ kifāyah* (collective duty). If Muslims within the radius were overwhelmed or defeated, then Muslims outside the radius were obligated to fight for the cause of Allah ("Toentoetan Nahdlatol Oelama," 1945).

Jihad fi sabilillah can be divided into two categories according to the general and specific definitions of jihad. The first one is the general definition of jihad, which is to exert all one's abilities to fight for the truth and to fight injustice in the name of Allah. In this case, jihad is an obligation of every Muslim according to their abilities and conditions under Islamic law (Afifuddin et al., 2021, p. 4348). The second definition of jihad is specifically an effort to mobilize all capabilities to fight the enemies of Islam. In this case, jihad is based on the decision of the leader and is performed in an organized manner so as not to deviate from the provisions. Jihad is waged as the last alternative to defend people and religion, and it is waged defensively rather than offensively. Acts of terrorism, suicide attacks, and the like are not accepted as prescribed jihad (Toyibah, 2021, p. 141).

2.4 Islamic Spirit

Kevin W. Fogg explained that during the Indonesian revolution, devout Muslims understood the war differently from the elite (secular nationalists) and at the grassroots level. The devout Muslims and the grassroots (ordinary people) believed that the war of independence was a holy war in which every victim of which would become a martyr. Therefore, the jihad fatwa was presented as an Islamic struggle in the framework of *jihad fi sabilillah*, i.e. a war in the cause of Allah, and a war in defense of Allah's religion (Fogg, 2020, p. 123). Abbès added that it was not only a religious spirit, but also ethics, law, and politics (Abbès, 2014, p. 234). However, such beliefs were troubling to the political elite, who eventually warned against declaring a holy war and derided supernatural forces as un-Islamic superstitions. According to Chatterjee, the movement for independence by nationalists or Muslims was more of an anti-colonial nationalism. Anti-colonial nationalism separates the material world from the spiritual world that shapes the social institutions and practices of the people (Chatterjee, 1993, p. 6). The separation of religious affairs from the public sector is similar to the secularist understanding (Hurd, 2017, p. 109).

Homeland, nation, and independence are important things for Muslims to fight for. Defending the homeland is a form of defending religion. In other words, defending the homeland is the same as defending religion and fighting in the way of Allah. Defending the homeland as a form of practicing love for religion is a mainstream built by NU to awaken the spirit of resistance against the colonizers in Indonesia. This spirit continued to be nurtured and maintained by Muslims, especially members of NU, to provide a spirit of struggle for the grassroots community. The spiritual world shapes the social institutions and practices of postcolonial societies. Such strong beliefs, built and spread among the people by the kyai, were vital motivations that inspired courage in the face of death. To die in the war of independence is martyrdom, and martyrdom is the most honorable death. There is no death more honorable than martyrdom, and its reward is heaven.

The jihad resolution was a nationalist movement of the "spiritual world". Religion became the moral basis for mobilizing the masses through the concept of *jihad fi sabilillah*. The call for *jihad fi sabilillah* to defend

³ The word "jihad" is derived from the vocabulary of *al-jahd*, which is derived from various forms of the word, such as *jahada*, *yujahidu*, *jahid*, *mujahadah*, *jihad*, and *juhd*.

the country from the threat of the colonizers can be said to be an anti-colonial nationalist movement that emphasizes spiritual strength. This spiritual-based nationalism, according to Chatterjee, is a nationalist movement that developed in Asia and Africa as a form of resistance to the domination of imperialism and colonialism (Chatterjee, 1993). The jihad fatwa and resolution proposed by NU were defensive efforts in response to the arrival of the allied forces. The call to fight and defend independence emphasized the changing pattern of nationalism in Indonesia. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) came with a call for war in the way of Allah as *fard 'ayn* and the declaration of the jihad resolution was a confirmation of the political stance of kyai and NU that colonialism is a form of injustice that violates humanity and is forbidden. Therefore, every Muslim at that time was obliged to fight with their soul and body to defend their country and religion ("60 Mijoen Kaoem Moeslimin Indonesia Siap Berdjihad Fi Sabilillah," 1945).

The role of Muslims under the command of the ulama in the Battle of Surabaya inspired the spirit of the Indonesian people, who are predominantly Muslim. The center of resistance to colonialism was on the island of Java, especially in Islamic boarding schools or *pesantren*. The kyai, with their oral and written fatwas (El-Guyanie, 2010, pp. 73–74), were able to encourage the students and the people to fight against the colonizers. Religious leaders have the authority to convey certain doctrines and use religion as an agency. The spirit of Islam spread to several regions, such as the city of Bandung ("Bandoeng Mengikoeti Djedjak Soerabaja: Pertempoeran Sengit Di Bandoeng Oetara," 1945) and the Ambarawa district in Semarang Regency ("Dari Medan Pertempuran Amarawa: Semangat Membela Noesa Dan Bangsa Makin Menjala," 1945).

3. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The focus of this study is the deficiencies found in the analysis of the micro context of women's responses to the jihad fatwa in the NU jihad resolution. In line with this, this paper will explain: (a) the factors that caused NU women to respond to the jihad fatwa in the 1945 Battle of Surabaya, and (b) the implications of NU women's response to the jihad fatwa on the 1945 Battle of Surabaya.

Using qualitative methods with historical (Kuntowijoyo, 2005, pp. 101–102; Gottschalk, 1969, p. 18) and spiritual Islam approaches by Kevin W. Fogg (2020), this study combines both literature and field research (Hardjasaputra, 2010). Desk research was conducted to obtain data and information that may contain facts about women's involvement in war. Literature research sources were archives, contemporaneous newspapers, and other primary sources, as well as secondary sources from books and previous research results. Field research was conducted after the literature study with the aim of adding information from previous research. This field research was done by obtaining written sources that are still preserved and scattered in the community and unwritten sources that are not preserved in libraries or museums. Unwritten historical sources included artifacts, objects, and oral sources in the events of the 1945 Battle of Surabaya. This paper is based on the argument that the response of NU women in the framework of *jihad fii sabilillah*, especially in the Battle of Surabaya in 1945, was due to the NU women's deep understanding that the obligation to defend the homeland is in accordance with Islamic teachings. The response of NU women to the battlefield in various events is less known to the public. At the same time, awareness of the importance of women's response to the jihad fatwa in the NU jihad resolution as a source of historical learning and wisdom is still very low. The use of research on women in warfare in the educational world in Indonesia is still very limited, only as a proud history, but not used as study material. Limited knowledge and low awareness of women's response to the jihad fatwa in the Battle of Surabaya has declared their involvement in the battlefield as a social fact.

This study focuses on the issue of women's response to the 1945 NU jihad resolution. A review of the literature on women's responses in combat shows that there has not been much research on this topic. Previous research has mostly emphasized the role of the male-dominated army (*lashkar*) that were members of the Hizbullah and Sabilillah lashkars. This study is based on qualitative research using the Islamic spirit approach proposed by Kevin W. Fogg. This spirit also gives meaning to the struggle to regain the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. This research used historical methods including heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography to obtain facts about the response of NU women in the Battle of Surabaya. Data mining in this research was done in four stages. The first stage was the collection of facts from the 1945 Kedaulatan Rakjat newspaper, and supporting sources from various research results related to the fatwa jihad and women. The second stage was the verification of materials related to the research topic for credibility and authenticity after the fact-gathering stage. The third stage was the stage of interpretation by connecting facts to avoid subjectivity. Finally, the fourth was the stage of writing history as a form of representation of the author.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Results

The struggle to defend Indonesia's independence was based on three things: the spirit of Islam, and the political and social conditions during the revolution. These three conditions inspired several figures among the many women in Indonesia who responded to the jihad movement in the Battle of Surabaya in 1945 (Table 1).

Table 1: Some women leaders from various organizations who responded to the jihad movement in the 1945 Battle of Surabaya

Name	Organization	Region	Role
Mrs. Kusnah Ruswo Prawirosono and Mrs. Joyodiguno (Astuti, 1989, p. 83)	Badan Oeroesan Makanan (BOM)	Yogyakarta	Setting up a public kitchen for the logistical needs of soldiers
Teungku Haji Ainal Mardhiah, Rohana Hasyim, Tjut Mariam, Tjut Mirsan (Sondarika, 2017)	Barisan Srikandi	Aceh	Participating in military affairs, in public kitchens, and in radio broadcasts
Riet Boenakim (Janti, 2019)	PMI (Palang Merah Indonesia)	Surabaya	Combat, care of the wounded, and public kitchens
Lukitaningsih, Ny. Kalsum, Ny. Aminah (Soera Rakjat, 24 Oktober 1945) (Saraswati et al., 2019)	PPRI (Pemuda Putri Republik Indonesia) a military organization	Surabaya	Setting up public kitchens, assisting Red Cross members in treating the wounded soldiers, helping refugees, and serving as information carriers for combatants
Mrs. Soengkono (Malasari, 2019)	Head of Wirawati Catur Panca (humanitarian organization)	Surabaya	War casualty medical services
Munawaroh Solichah (Dahlan, 2001, p. 33)	NOM (Nahdlatoeel Oelama Moeslimat)	Surabaya	Participating in public kitchens, serving as paramedics, collecting clothes and food for soldiers, providing lighting, reviving the spirit of fighting against the enemy (Dahlan, 1955, p. 45)
Mrs. Dariyah Soerodikoesoemo (Mrs. Dar Mortir) assisted by Mrs. dr. Angka Nitisastro, Mrs. Soemantri, Mrs. Dirdjo/Ibu Moenandar, Mrs. Soepeno (Setyowati, 2017)	-	Surabaya	Initiating 100 public kitchens spread between Gresik and Sidoarjo and organizing Red Cross posts as places for treatment of war victims.
Mrs. Sumarsih Yati Arudji Kartawinata (Sadiah, 2018)	LASWI (Laskar Wanita Indonesia)	Bandung	Participating in public kitchens, serving as paramedics
Mrs. Awibowo and assisted by her daughter Mrs. Hatty Hadinegoro (Sadiah, 2018)	LASWI (Laskar Wanita Indonesia)	Yogyakarta	Participating in public kitchens, serving as paramedics
Rahmah El- Yunusiyyah (Lathifah et al., 2020; Abdullah, 2017)	Sabil Muslimat	West Sumatra	Participating in public kitchens

4.1.1. Islamic spirit in the struggle to defend Indonesian independence

The differentiation of women's responses in the jihad resolution proposed by NU in 1945 was motivated by religious factors. Muslim women, as part of the general Muslim community, participated in welcoming the call to jihad that was authorized by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. The duty to defend the homeland was the duty of every Muslim, including women and children. Muslim women are part of Muslims in general who have multiple roles as mothers, aunts, children, and wives. In the Battle of Surabaya in 1945, Muslim women had moral, physical, and social roles. The relationship between the jihad fatwa called for by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari and women's response to it was motivated by the similarity of the concept of the struggle against the colonizers. This was reinforced by the noble role of Islam in the national struggle from the colonial period to the revolutionary period (Madinier, 2013, p. 8). The victory of the Indonesian people over the British army in the Battle of Surabaya, according to Muhammad Natsir, was not by mortars or cannons, but by faith and piety ("Dalam rangka peringatan seratus tahun wafatnya Diponegoro oleh Pemerintah Republik Indonesia", 1955). The existence of the Islamic tradition was confirmed in the *takbir* shouted by Bung Tomo (Soetomo)⁴ (Waid, 2019) to incite the spirit of the troops of *santri*.

⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HelUWggFltc>

The jihad values intended in the jihad resolution proposed by NU emphasized the defense of the homeland as a very basic obligation. It even became part of the spiritual values of a Muslim with the expression *hubbul wathan minal iman* (love of the country is part of faith). The form of religious nationalism is implemented in the teachings of *Kitab Kuning* (Subair, 2019). The Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School teaches *Kitab al-Difâ' 'ani al-Wathân min Ahammi al-Wâjibât 'ala Kulli Wâhidin Minnâ* written by Kyai Muhammad Said (Ibrahim, 2018). The book contains the content of a high national spirit in loving the country, which must be possessed by santri, in addition to the classical book material (hadith, fiqh, ushul fiqh, tafsir, tawhid, and tarikh). Some other books that teach about love for the homeland are *Kitab Hilyat al-Awliya'* Volume VII by Abu Nu'aim and *Kitab 'Umdat al-Qariy* Volume X by Badr al-Din al-'Aini. Syi'ir *Ngudi Susila* and Syiir *Mitra Sejati* are works written by K.H. Bisri Mustofa on character education that include moral messages, national character, and nationalism (Isa, 2018).

The reference of NU scholars and the majority of scholars in Indonesia in giving a fatwa on jihad to fight against the Dutch colonizers was inspired by a scholar from Palembang, Sheikh Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbany (Pramasto, 2020), who said that war against infidels is *fard 'ayn* when the infidels invade the territory of the Muslims. The entire population is obliged to defend its territory as much as possible. If the situation requires it, everyone, including children, women, and the poor, must participate in jihad according to their abilities (Kruglanski et al., 2022). It is forbidden for soldiers to run away from the battlefield when they encounter enemy forces. He argued that the entire community should participate in jihad according to their abilities, such as providing shelter or protecting the property and families of mujahidin left behind by the war (Azra, 1999, p. 103).

4.1.2 Political conditions of the revolutionary period

The controversy over the status of women in natural law (*sunnatullah*) and in religious law keeps them out of politics. There is even a statement that if women enter politics, they will be trapped in it, or in other words, female dysfunction will occur (Al-Afghani, 2000). The same opinion reinforced by al-Ghazali regarding the position of women and men in politics was issued by Lajnah Fatwa al-Azhar (Fauzi, 2002, pp. 36–37); (Patoari, 2019). Regardless of their status as leaders or people, it is actually in the context of the benefit of the people and its implementation is under supervision (Muslikhati, 2004, p. 136). In Islam, women as part of society have the same obligations as men in politics.

The participation of women in jihad was motivated by the spirit of nationalism to defend the homeland by supporting the struggle of the combatants who fought on the battlefield. In the history of the battles of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), the role of women in warfare is narrated in the form of logistical assistance and helping the wounded (Golshani et al., 2020, p. 103). In emergencies, women can also replace the role of combatants to fight against the enemy (Cook, 2005, p. 375). Meanwhile, in the Western world, which demands absolute equality between men and women, it is not appropriate if it is used to see Islamic civilization (Majid, 2021). Islamic principles are very clear about the position of women as mothers, aunts, daughters, and wives in terms of status, rights, and rewards in this world and the hereafter (Patoari, 2019; Ibrahim, 2020). Their position is equal to that of men, but if there are differences, they are complementary.

There are similarities between the Aceh War (Perang Semesta) and the Battle of Surabaya in terms of the mobilization of all potential human and natural resources. This is evidenced by the involvement of leaders and ordinary people, both men and women. Natural resources, including all wealth and territory, were used to support the resistance against the colonizers (Siahaan et al., 2021, pp. 2546–2547). The involvement of women in the jihad to defend the homeland was exemplified by Acehnese heroes such as Cut Nyak Dien (Yuliati et al., 2020) and Cut Mutia (Zahrina, 2021). Meanwhile, NU women were involved in the Battle of Surabaya as a result of national political awareness during the revolutionary period. Their proximity to kyai families and pesantren or Masyumi figures gave them the opportunity to contribute to the struggle for independence (Adan et al., 2023; Madinier, 2013). Armed with their respective abilities, they participated in supporting the victory in the war. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) women who lived in the city (the center of the organization) had easier access to information about the latest political developments.

4.1.3 Social conditions of the revolutionary period

The existence of pesantren, which are identical with kyai and santri, helped to support the struggle for independence of the Republic of Indonesia with both resistance and diplomacy (Mas'ulah, 2019, p. 122). The socio-political resistance against the colonizers was initiated by clerical figures called the jihad movement. The jihad, which was conducted by pesantren and led by local kyai leaders, began when the colonizers arrived in the country and spread throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Its role in the life of society in Indonesia in general forms a relationship of reciprocity. The interdependence between the two has been proven to respond to the problems of the people with various innovations that have been pursued by the pesantren. Women from kyai families have faster and more complete access to information about current politics. Therefore, their

response and participation are greater compared to women in general. It is based on an understanding of the primacy of jihad as an obligation of every Muslim.

The position of women in the social life of the revolutionary period played an important role. In women's historiography, there is a contradiction between the opposing traditionalist and modernist tendencies (Chornodon et al., 2021). The fascist female model, which the historian Marina Addis Saba referred to as "donna muliebre" (feminine woman), was a woman who had the task of fulfilling her traditional role as a mother and housewife. In a broader dimension, they are characterized by a clear social and political value and are understood as a national mission for the benefit of the fatherland (Ascenzi, 2016, p. 497). The understanding instilled in NU women in pesantren emphasizes knowledge of religion, in which there is also an important lesson about the value of patriotism and nationalism.

According to Horikoshi, pesantren serve as a social control and social engineering. Kyai Bisri Syansuri and his wife, Nyai Nur Chadijah, pioneered the establishment of pesantren as a means of social control. They established an Islamic boarding school for women (*pesantren putri*) under the name of Pesantren Dinanyar in 1917. One of the goals of establishing of the pesantren was to eliminate the negative effects of the establishment of the Djombang Baru Sugar Factory, which as a place of economic activity at that time was associated with rampant crime and immoral acts. The same was done by K.H. Hasyim Ash'ari, who established Pesantren Tebuireng in a hamlet within the administrative area of Cukir Village, which had formerly been rampant with betting, cockfighting, drinking, adultery, and thuggery as a result of the establishment of the Tjoekir Sugar Factory there by the Dutch colonial government (Huda et al., 2021).

4.2 Discussion

The differentiation of NU women's response to the call for jihad in the 1945 Battle of Surabaya was influenced by three factors, namely religion, politics, and society. The religious factor was the main reason for the jihad to defend the independence of Indonesia because it was in accordance with the spirit of Islam as prescribed in the fatwa of jihad. The struggle of the people of Surabaya and its surrounding regions, led by clerics and supported by their students, was enough to prove the role of pesantren as a center of political and social control in the struggle. The second factor, the national political factor, contributed to the outbreak of the Battle of Surabaya. The people of Surabaya, both men and women, responded to the arrival of the Allied Forces, which brought with it Dutch colonial civil administration officers, whom it called the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA), by participating in supporting the struggle both on and off the battlefield. The Dutch intended to reoccupy Indonesia, which had just proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945. The third factor, the social factor, was the majority of Indonesian people who were Muslim with pesantren as the center of social control are an integral part.

The teachings of Islam are *shumuliya* (comprehensive), which means it does not separate religion and the state as it does in secularism. The threat to the sovereignty of the state becomes the concern of Muslims because the presence of foreign powers will affect the entire religious, social, political, and economic aspects (Tarusarira, 2020, p. 87). Islam became the spirit in the struggle to defend the independence of the Republic of Indonesia because the teachings of Islam adopted by the majority of Indonesian people teach that defending the homeland is the obligation of every Muslim (Toyibah, 2021, p. 141). A deep Islamic spirit can be obtained by learning religious knowledge from pesantren. Meanwhile, the existence of pesantren and people is an inseparable part of the life of the Indonesian people (Isbah, 2020, p. 65). Pesantren as the power base of Muslims becomes social control through the leadership of charismatic kiai and their students (Alkaf et al., 2022, p. 135). Therefore, if the country is threatened, then Muslims will automatically defend all souls and bodies in *jihad fi sabilillah*.

The involvement of NU women in the Battle of Surabaya was a form of sacrifice to defend the homeland and efforts to fulfill the call of jihad. Their contribution was channeled by joining Laskar Sabil Muslimat (Lathifah et al., 2020; Abdullah, 2017), LASWI (Laskar Wanita Indonesia) (Sadiyah, 2018), and PPRI (Pemuda Puteri Republik Indonesia) (Saraswati et al., 2019). Their role during the war was able to replace the role of men to adapt their skills, for example, by serving as a soldier, spy, nurse, cook, and so on. When the war ended, however, they returned to their natural position as mothers, wives or children. Such a position is the most important call of conscience for a woman. This proves the dual position of women, who not only contribute to the domestic sphere, but also exist in the public sphere.

Megacities are often seen as the centers of civilization. In Indonesia, large cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, and Ambon were targeted for conquest by the Dutch colonialists, despite considerable expenditures (Faruk, 2007, pp. 137–138). These cities became the grounds for the flourishing of educated elites (Davies et al., 2021) and socio-political organizations (van Klinken, 2009, p. 879) such as parties and nationalist, trade and industrial movements. Based on this analysis, NU women responded differently to the call to jihad in the 1945 Battle of Surabaya, especially women coming from families of prominent scholars and pesantren and women from ordinary families. Women from clerical backgrounds gained a deeper understanding of religion

and access to socio-political developments more quickly, resulting in a greater awareness of the call to jihad (Mashuri et al., 2024, p. 2). They usually lived with their families in pesantren or movement centers located in urban areas (Tzaninis et al., 2021, p. 229). On the other hand, women from ordinary families living in rural areas did not have access to information about national politics (Aspinall et al., 2021, p. 3). However, they were still able to contribute to jihad, even if they could not maximize it like their brothers who were close to the pesantren environment. This difference in contribution could be due to distance, material limitations, and the understanding of religion among women living in the interior.

5. CONCLUSION

Women's response to the fatwa on jihad in the jihad resolution proposed by NU was actually a differentiation of NU women's responses, ranging from active to passive attitudes. The differentiation was in terms of religious, political, and socio-cultural aspects in support of NU women. The differentiation of women's response to the jihad fatwa according to religious factors was due to the level of religious understanding. The obligation to defend the homeland in the teachings of Islam was known to almost all adherents, even at the grassroots level. However, only women with a deep understanding of Islam had the courage to answer the call to jihad. Women's political awareness during the revolution provided many opportunities to contribute to the realization of independence according to their respective abilities. Women who lived in the city, which was usually the center of the organization, had easy access to various information. The social background of NU women, who belonged to kyai families associated with pesantren, influenced their understanding of jihad. Without the contribution of women in the struggle, the survival of the nation and the country could be in danger.

This study proved that the response of NU women to the fatwa on jihad arose because of a deep understanding of the meaning of jihad in their souls as stated in theory of Islamic spirit proposed by Kevin W. Fogg. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), women who had a deep religious awareness, believed that the call for jihad by the ulama and kyai meant that they were waging a holy war against the infidel colonizers. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) women were fully obedient to help both in the front line and in the back line. The various training and education they received gave them various skills. In the front lines, they served as spies and couriers, provided and delivered food, evacuated refugees, and provided lighting. In the rear lines, they organized emergency kitchens and cared for casualties. Their presence in the war had an impact on the fighting spirit to achieve victory. This spirit was also followed by the combatants not only in Surabaya, but also in other areas, such as in Ambarawa and Bandung, through resistance movements against the colonizers.

This research focuses on only one aspect of women's studies, namely how NU women's responses to the jihad fatwa in the Battle of Surabaya influenced the struggle to maintain the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. In the future, more sources on the contribution of women in warfare in other regions in Indonesia and very possibly in other parts of the world should be explored, as the insight into this matter will be very useful for the younger generation now. The role of women shown by their predecessors can be used by the next generation to learn how to avoid the danger of polarization. Therefore, more research is needed on the existence of women during the revolution with all their abilities to participate in the struggle to maintain the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

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