

WOMEN'S POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: GARNASIH INVOLVEMENT IN INDONESIAN INDEPENDENCE

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Abstract

The independence of the Republic of Indonesia (RI) was not obtained through gifts but was the result of the hard work of all its people, both men and women. Indeed, not many female figures were mentioned in this struggle; the number can be counted on the fingers. Many have even been almost forgotten by history, one of which is Inggit Garnasih, a strong female figure from Pasundan. His skills in managing strategies to support the nation's independence are packaged in verbal and non-verbal communication. She played this role even before marrying Soekarno and after divorcing him. This study aims to describe the struggle carried out by Garnasih in pushing for the independence of the Indonesian people because, so far, his role has been almost forgotten. This article uses a qualitative-descriptive method with observation techniques and a literature study. Based on a feminist and communication approach, Inggit Garnasih played many roles during her lifetime. Apart from being a mother and wife, in the public sphere, she appears as a persistent hero, delivering her nation to independence. Through a communication approach, Inggit is a communicator with many strategies.

Keywords : *Inggit Garnasih, feminism, independence, women*

Introduction

Inggit Garnasih is a strong woman who not only fights for herself but also makes a big contribution to her nation. Despite her failed marriages, she married three times. Her role in fighting for independence was not easy. After marrying Koesno (Soekarno), to support his family, he worked making women's underwear—bras (bras=Sundanese)—and herbal medicine. At the beginning of her marriage, her husband (Koesno) was still a THS student (ITB, Bandung Institute of Technology, now). In Indonesia, in 1923, when it was under Dutch colonialism, Koesno and his friends actively fought to gain independence. They carried out various stages towards independence, such as holding meetings to formulate strategies and various other discussions. for things like this to be done at Garnasih's house, and automatically, it was he who prepared the banquet for these events. (Observation, September 2022). Almost silent, but Inggit was always ready to help the events run smoothly. These roles, in modern conversation, are included in political communication discourse.

Political communication begins with the earliest studies of democratic discourse by Thucydides, Aristotle, and Plato. Aristotle defines community as a collection of people with shared values and a way of living together to create a valuable life. Therefore, individual happiness is based on shared concern for those who live side by side in the community. From the Greeks, we derive the notion of legitimacy, in which the exercise of power is not based on

military force or the threat of force; rather, true legitimacy comes from the open acceptance by citizens that the government has the right to govern (Rawnsley, 2005: 23)

Modern political communication then relies on an interdisciplinary basis that refers to concepts from communication, political science, journalism, sociology, psychology, history, rhetoric, and others. Main sources of political communication and important political messages include political speeches, television political advertisements, political posters and print advertisements, television political debates, and Internet websites. Political communication channels include interpersonal and public communications, radio, television, newspapers, and the World Wide Web. News media coverage and journalistic analysis of politics, political issues, political figures, and political institutions are important topics included. The audience for political communication is also central, requiring concentration on citizens' reactions to political messages, how the general public and voters in democratic systems respond to political messages, and the effects of all types of media and types of messages. (Kaid; Bacha, 2008: xxxviii). Or, in short, there are three important elements in political communication, namely: Political organizations include Parties, public organizations, pressure groups, terrorist organizations, and governments. Media includes Programs, public relations, and advertisements. And public (McNair, 1995: 5).

Blumler and Kavanaugh present a division between three main epochs in political communication that took place in Western democracies during the last half century. The first epoch occurred before the advent of television, when the main channel of communication was strong and stable political institutions such as political parties. As expected, this form of communication is ideological in nature. In the second century, the focus shifted to conveying messages through mass media, which increased demand for communications professionals who were adept at utilizing these channels. In the third (and still emerging) era of media abundance, the professionalization of political communication is becoming increasingly evident. Political actors find themselves trying to send messages through multiple channels, each with its own demands and formats. (Maarek and Wolfsfeld, 2003: 2).

Communication and politics are two concepts that are not easily put together in a definition, but experts try to formulate them. Denton and Woodward, for example, provide a definition of political communication as a public discussion about the allocation of public resources (income), official authority (who is given the power to make legal, legislative, and executive decisions), and official sanctions (what states rewards or punishments). (McNair, 1995: 3). American writer Doris Graber proposes a more all-encompassing definition of what she calls 'political language', suggesting that it consists not only of rhetoric but paralinguistic signs such as body language and political actions such as boycotts and protests. Elsewhere in the work cited above, Denton and Woodward (1981) characterize political communication in terms of its sender's intention to influence the political environment. In short, all political discourse includes political communication. Therefore, political communication, like Graber, does not only think about verbal or written statements but also means of visual marking such as clothing, make-up, hairstyles, and logo designs, namely all elements of communication that form a political 'image' or identity. (McNair, 1995: 5).

Political communication, theoretically, is the process of conveying the opinions, attitudes, and behaviors of a person or institution that influence political decisions. (Susanto, 2013). Political communication, according to Rush and Althoff, plays an important role in a

political system. The dynamic role becomes a decisive part of the process of political socialization, political participation, and political recruitment. Open political communication can influence the public to be actively involved but is also able to suppress political participation (Nimmo, 2011). Political communication has an interest in efforts to form a political image while at the same time creating social stability by meeting the demands of society (Muchtar, 2016). Political communication is also defined as a process and activities that shape political attitudes and behaviors and are integrated into a political system by using a set of meaningful symbols. This understanding refers to the attitudes and behaviors of all individuals who are within the scope of the political system, government system, or value system, both as holders of power and as a society, for the realization of a relationship of communication between power holders (the government) and society that leads to integrative attitudes. (AP, 2010:117; Stempel and Gifford, 1999:vii).

There are two types of political communication: face-to-face and organized media. Face-to-face communication at the local level has traditionally not attracted much research (with the exception of New England town meetings in recent years, discourse analysis of community meetings, or roundtable formats), while the media has become a focal point at the local level. (Kaid, 2004)

Women in the political sphere, specifically in the case of the Indonesian nation, had their history long before independence; this was demonstrated by the establishment of women's organizations such as Poetri Mardika in Jakarta in 1912 (Suryochondro, 1984), Pawijatan Wanito in Magelang in 1915, Intercession of Mothers to Children Temurun (PIKAT) in Manado in 1917, Poetri Boedi in Surabaya in 1919 (Wulandari, Zahro, and Sujoko, 2022: 27), the Sumatran Mothers' Union in Bukit Tinggi in 1920 (Pradita, 2020: 74), and others. With the emergence of these women's organizations, in 1928 the first Indonesian Women's Congress was held. Since then, the awareness of Indonesian women's desire to participate in development, which is also included in the political field, has grown. History records that 6.5 percent of members of parliament in the first election in 1965 were women. Until finally, in 1987, the representation of women in parliament reached its highest rate of 13 percent, after experiencing previous ups and downs (Sugiharto, 2014). So that the discourse on the representation of 30 percent of women in parliament is also in the spotlight, with the hope of being able to realize the aspirations of women themselves. (Adeni & Harahap, 2017).

Furthermore, women's issues and politics in Indonesia are gathered around at least four issues, namely: the very low representation of women in the public sphere; the commitment of political parties that are not yet gender sensitive so that they do not provide adequate access to women's interests; constraints on cultural values and interpretations of religious teachings that are gender biased and biased towards patriarchal values; and the allegedly low interest, desire, or animosity of women to get involved in politics. (Adeni & Harahap, 2017).

By knowing the various issues and problems as described above, when women are pushed into the world of politics, they should have a strategy to deal with it. The political communication strategy itself is to consider a specific environmental setting; namely, the relationship of women with their environment in a specific political context, such as in the recruitment of membership or leaders in parties, campaigns, negotiations, daily meetings, parliamentary sessions, constituent meetings and other activities. (Applbaum, 1974).

Various articles on women's political communication have been published, both in the form of books and journals. *Gender And Political Communication In America*, a book published in 2009, edited by Janis L. Edward. The book says that politics in the United States is always related to gender. Not only were gender norms and expectations deeply ingrained in the institutions and procedures of society and public affairs, but, as Kann argues, masculinity was injected into the rhetoric of early American citizenship through the "grammar of manhood" adopted in the discourses of the Founding Fathers. Furthermore, an article entitled *The Role of Women in the Study of Political and Gender Communication, Reviewed in a Legal Perspective*, was written by Karman and published in 2021. This article describes the role played by women in political communication through various channels, both by actively conveying political messages in various political systems, such as political parties, legislatures, community organizations, and others. As political communicators, not many women are involved in the organizational structure of political parties or are members of the legislature. Furthermore, the typology of female political communicators can be classified into women as politicians, women as professional communicators, and women as activists.

The similarities between this research and the two writings above lie in the discourse of women's political communication with American and Asian backgrounds. While the difference is very clear, namely that the object of study being discussed in this study is focused on the figure of Inggit Garnasih, there are several articles that have been published about the figure of Soekarno's ex-wife, but not in the context of her political communication. Thus, Inggit's involvement in the political sphere as a strategy for the liberation of the Indonesian people is important to write about.

Method

Extracting and collecting data in this study was carried out through observation, both direct and virtual, and literature study. Through a descriptive approach, research results are narrated through words in several paragraphs as needed. And that's why this study uses qualitative methods. The analysis used in discussing the results of the research is carried out using a gender perspective and feminist theory. In addition to using communication theory.

Results and Discussion

Inggit Garnasih, born February 17, 1888, in Kamasan Village, Banjaran, South Bandung (Mayong, 2005; Observation, September 2022). She is not only beautiful, cheerful, and open, but also a simple Sundanese woman. Her mother, Amsi, and her father, Arjipan, have two brothers, namely Murtasih and Natadisatra. Arjipan Garnasih's father is a simple farmer, but because of his poor morals, he is respected and authoritative. Garnasih is a beautiful and elegant name, short for "fresh" and "asih", and this is the original initial name. As for the Call of Inggit, it has a different history. In the first story, among the Sundanese people, there is the term mahugi (to give something to someone you love). As explained above, Garnasih is a beautiful, charming woman. It's no wonder that many men want her to melt the heart of their idol; one of them is Mahugi with ringgit money, which Inggit later calls ringgit money, derived from the word ringgit. (Muhsin Z., 2009: 5). In the second story, there was a rumor at that time that if the youths were given a smile by Garnasih, it was as if they were earning a lot of money. (Hadi, 2000: 20).

Like Sundanese women in general, she spent her teenage years happily and cheerfully. After completing religious education equivalent to Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Hering, 2003:124), he grew up and moved to live with his family in Bandung. Inggit Garnasih has been married since a relatively young age. First, he married Nataatmadja, a native corporal who worked at the Residency in Bandung (Ramadhan K.H., 1988: 29). This marriage took place in the 1910s, when Inggit Garnasih was 20 years old. The first marriage did not last long because it was based on jealousy between the two. Inggit Garnasih later married Haji Sanoesi, a wealthy merchant who was active in the Sarekat Islam organization in Bandung. As a wife and a member of SI (Sarekat Islam), Inggit Garnasih helps her husband's efforts to advance the organization in Bandung. At the Sarekat Islam National Congress in Bandung in 1916, for example, Inggit was involved as chairman of the Consumption Commission to provide accommodation services for well-known Sarekat Islam figures such as H.O.S. (Haji Oemar Said) Cokroaminoto, Haji Agus Salim, and others. (Ramadan K.H., 1988: 31). Inggit Garnasih's involvement in the Sarekat Islam organization was the first step to entering the world of politics because, at that time, Indonesia was struggling against the Dutch colonialists. Being chairman of the consumption sector commission is certainly not a trivial matter, especially at the national level. Requires careful planning, preparation, and calculation. On the other hand, consumption in the form of food and drink is a primary need for humans. "The true history of the Women's Movement is the entire history of the nineteenth century." So wrote British feminist activist Ray Strachey in the preface to *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain*, published in 1928. (Midgley, 2007: 1). This statement at the same time strengthens the fact that Inggit Garnasih's existence in the world of politics is generally recognized by the world. In addition, the experience of working in the world of politics later became a provision in escorting and motivating Soekarno in liberating the Indonesian nation.

Inggit Garnasih divorced Sanoesi in 1923 but was still on good terms with him, then married Soekarno alias Koesno, a THS (Technische Hoogeschool) student in Bandung (Adams, 1965:80). Inggit Garnasih's age at that time—if the year of her birth was correct, 1888—was 35 years old, while Soekarno was only 22 years old (a 13-year difference). They lived on Jalan Jaksa, Bandung, and as written by scholars who have studied Sukarno's biography, this marriage lasted a long time and they were a well-matched couple (Legge, 1985:82), despite the large age gap between the man and the woman, whose ages were older. Therefore, 1923–1943 was an important period in Inggit Garnasih's life and struggle. At that time, Garnasih not only encouraged her husband to complete his studies at THS (ITB, Bandung Institute of Technology, or now Bandung Institute of Technology), but she also faithfully accompanied him in joy and sorrow in the struggle for the national movement. When her husband was arrested, convicted, and imprisoned (1929–1931) by the Dutch colonialists in Bandung, then exiled to Flores in eastern Indonesia (1932–1938) and Bengkulu in southern Sumatra (1938–1942), Inggit Garnasih was very loyal, tough, and always accompanied him to be happy.

Inggit Garnasih is said to have amazing emotional intelligence, so much so that she was able to "raise" Bung Karno. Inggit was also considered to be able to play three roles at the same time, namely mother, wife, and friend for Bung Karno. "Behind every great hero, there is always a great woman." Inggit Garnasih played an unforgettable role in Bung Karno's

struggle. Bung Karno himself admitted that he was indebted to Inggit. "All this time, you have been my backbone and my right hand for half my life," Bung Karno confessed to Cindy Adams in 1966.

The intelligence of a woman can change the world; this is one of the goals of Smart Girl Amy Poehler. An application that is specifically intended for women, especially in indexing a number of political and social issues and even respecting women's actions and involvement in social and political issues. (Anderson, 2018: 58). In Inggit Garnasih's identity, smart girl is a reality, no longer an application. Intelligence is one of the strengths of women.

Later in the late 1990s, the conditions above led to a revival, which is popularly called women's power. This coincides with the rise of the neoliberal economy. Women's power is the performance or embodiment of "individualism, rational choice, and self-realization" by women and girls as empowerment. The power of women is allowed for "joyful crossings of boundaries between childishness and female empowerment, the offer of modesty, and the demand for independence." This joy, to a certain extent, offers a liberating ambiguity when women and girls can "choose when to be feminine and when to be strong, when to be a mother and when to be professional, when to be sexy for male pleasure and when to be sexy for male pleasure themselves." Thus, women's power means that women and girls do not have to choose between being feminists or being feminine, strong or weak, independent or dependent, and so on. They can be whatever and wherever they want. (Anderson, 2018: 61).

The love story of Soekarno and Inggit began when Garnasih, who at that time was still Sanoesi's wife, became the boarding house for Soekarno, who was studying in Bandung. Soekarno, who was still in college, fell in love with Inggit, who was 13 years older than himself at that time. After divorcing Oetari and Garnasih, they were divorced by Sanoesi at that time, and the two married in 1923. During the 20 years of their marriage, Garnasih faithfully accompanied Sukarno in joy and sorrow. He has done many things, both in the domestic sphere and in the public sphere. Following are some of the activities carried out by Garnasih while she was Soekarno's wife: Motivate, support, and finance Soekarno, starting with tuition fees and political activities. After divorcing Sanoesi and marrying Soekarno, who was still in college and not yet working, it was Inggit who made a living for her daily life by selling herbs, powder, cigarettes, and bras. (<https://www.kompas.com/stori>). When studying at THS, Soekarno was confused and desperate to finish his studies, so at such moments, Inggit was present as a motivator and convinced Koesno (Inggit's affectionate nickname for Soekarno) that completing studies was important and would be very useful in the future. (Suwirta, 2009: 74).

Inggit Garnasih's entry into the public space has made her role no longer that of a wife and mother who takes care of her children but at the same time works to make a living. The phenomenon of women working in the public space for the purpose of earning a living is not an obligation, but in an increasingly difficult economy, it requires a wife and housewife to work in the public space to help her husband earn a living. Because he only graduated from elementary school, Inggit made a living by selling. Education is an effort that can later increase the ability to find a job, which can improve the economy of each individual. While the economy is an effort made by each individual to meet the needs of life, Even though she is only a graduate of Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (a religious school), what is great about Inggit Garnasih is that she is able to support her husband until he graduates from university, besides

having broad insights. She gave full support, both materially and spiritually, to her beloved husband, Soekarno. Thus, women are present in many social and even political situations, and this is part of the study of feminism.

Feminism is a set of ideologies, political movements, and social movements that aim to establish, interpret, and achieve gender equality in the personal, social, economic, and political spheres. Feminism is a movement for women's emancipation, a movement that loudly voices improving the position of women and rejecting the differences in degrees between men and women (Mary Wallstonecraft). This is due to society's point of view, which always prioritizes men and puts women aside. (Firdausi; Santosa, 2021: 919). In the context of Inggit and Soekarno's household, Inggit assumed many roles, not just multiple roles.

These roles are later used as material for study in feminism. Since its birth, feminism has been a very rich, multi-perspective, and multi-causal epistemological area in explaining the factors of women's oppression. Diaspora in the theory and flow of feminism makes the theme of gender equality a complex, intersectional, and multi-causal discussion space. Among these streams are Liberal, Radical, Marxist, and Socialist feminist. (Ulfah, 2011: 5).

Inggit's role in the public sphere for work is part of the study of liberal feminism. One of the contemporary thinkers is Betty Friedan, who was influenced by the thoughts of Mill and Taylor. In *The Feminine Mystique*, Friedan considers the institution of marriage, as well as the duties of household and motherhood, as shackles that impede the development of women's qualities as complete individuals. In this situation, Friedan proposed a solution to encourage women to fulfill jobs in the public sector. Besides education and political rights solutions, women also need creative work outside the home. This solution is not only for the sake of women's freedom and autonomy but also to hone the quality of individual women as whole human beings (Friedan, 1974: 11–27).

Garnasih's next activity was acting as Soekarno's interpreter when he held political courses. In written historical records, Inggit accompanied Soekarno a lot to go to the villages to visit with the community. The meetings are not held in houses, buildings, or other roofed places but in rice fields, gardens, or other places. It was he who was written about by the writer Ramadhan KH as the figure who led Soekarno to the gate of independence in the book *"Quantar To The Gate"*. (<https://www.kompas.tv/article/373144/kiprah-inggit-garnasih-istri-soekarno-dalam-duka-dan-perjuangan-diusulkan-jadi-pahlawan-nasional>, 2023). Soekarno often held political courses for the Sundanese people on the outskirts of Bandung at that time. Inggit always accompanied her husband when he was holding these activities and acted as a Sundanese translator for Soekarno, so that what his husband said was more understandable to many people. Apart from being a translator, Garnasih often acts as a mediator. When a meeting or discussion was held at his house and there was a rather loud argument, he intervened by simply clearing his throat or serving coffee and snacks. This is one of the forms of communication that was carried out by Inggit Garnasih, which in the future resulted in independence for the Indonesian people.

Liaison between Soekarno in prison and movement activists This is another role played by Garnasih. Even though her husband was in jail again and again, Garnasih remained loyal to Sukarno and regularly visited him in prison. During this meeting, if Sukarno wanted to convey a message to activists outside the prison movement, he would leave it to his wife. Soekarno's messages were then tucked into the cigarette he made. The cigarettes are then

marked with a red string and are only sold to movement activists. Such was his wife's intelligence that she was able to use code as a message effectively. The common thread attached to cigarettes was Soekarno's special message to other independence movers. Another struggle message was conveyed the other way around, from Inggit to Sukarno, using eggs. When visiting the prison, if Garnasih sent salted eggs, it meant that unpleasant things had happened during the struggle. Furthermore, if a normal egg is sent, there will be a pin prick in the crust of the egg; one pin prick means good news. Two punctures mean a friend is caught. Three stabs means a massive attack; all leaders are caught. (Adams, 1965:144–145 in Suwirta, 2009:77).

The exchange of symbols in political communication was carried out by Inggit and Soekarno. Blumer further developed Mead's idea by saying that there are five basic concepts in symbolic interaction, including the concept of social interaction. Interaction means that everyone mentally transfers themselves into the other person's shoes. By doing so, humans try to understand the intentions of the actions carried out by other people so that interaction and communication are possible. The interaction takes place not only through gestures but especially through symbols whose meaning needs to be understood. As in the husband-wife interaction above, there are symbols of red thread, salted eggs, pin pricks, and so on. All of that shows the meaning and determines what movement should be made according to the will of the messenger.

Another concept is the concept of collective action, meaning that collective action is born from the actions of each person, then matched and adapted to one another. The essence of this concept is the harmonization and fusion of many meanings, goals, thoughts, and attitudes. Therefore, social interaction requires a lot of time to achieve harmony and fusion. (Veeger, 1993:224-227). Likewise, the understanding that was built by Inggit and Soekarno and the togetherness that they went through for a long time resulted in rhythmic thoughts and actions.

Another movement carried out by Koesno's wife was to smuggle books that became Soekarno's reference for writing the pledoi "Indonesia Claims". In 1929, Soekarno was thrown into a small cell in Banceuy Prison, Bandung. While in this prison, all his activities were restricted. When Inggit visited, it was absolutely forbidden to discuss politics. But the smart wife is not at her wits end. He sent him the Koran, in which certain codes were made by punching holes in certain letters with a needle, so that when the strings of letters were strung together, they would give a message about conditions outside the prison. (Krismono et al., 2017: 42). It was in that small cell that Soekarno made a plea, which he would read before the Dutch East Indies Court in Bandung. In making the plea, it was Garnasih who later helped Soekarno obtain a supply of books that strengthened his plea. The wife was willing to fast without eating rice for three days until her stomach was really thin so that the prison guards would not suspect the books she had hidden under her clothes. As a result of this effort, Soekarno was able to make a famous plea, entitled "Indonesia Claims".

Loyalty: accompanying Sukarno to exile was a wise action taken by Garnasih. After reading the Pledoi "Indonesia Claims", the Dutch East Indies court decided that Soekarno was imprisoned in Sukamiskin. Even though the sentence handed down at that time was 4 years, Sukarno was released after 1 year in prison. Not long after, as a result of his speech at Tegalega Square, Soekarno had to be exiled to Ende on Flores Island. His wife at that time

could have chosen to stay in Bandung, but she decided to accompany her husband to a place he might never have imagined before. Not only Garnasih, but Mrs. Amsi, who is the mother of Garnasih, also accompanied her son and daughter-in-law. Even Amsi later died in Ende and was buried there. After four years at Ende, Sukarno was transferred to Bengkulu. The two of them then spent four years in Bengkulu and moved to several places before finally going to Jakarta during the Japanese Occupation. In Jakarta, Garnasih and Sukarno lived at Jalan Pegangsaan Timur No. 56, a place that would later become the site of the proclamation of Indonesian independence. However, when the proclamation was read, Inggit was not there. Inggit decided to divorce Sukarno in 1943 and returned to Bandung because she refused to be married to Soekarno, who wanted to marry Fatmawati. Divorce is the end of a marriage.

Family should be the safest, most peaceful, and most serene place for all its members. However, in fact, there are still many injustices in gender roles and the division of labor, causing divorce. Various problems that occur in the family are caused by social and cultural constructions that are understood and adhered to by society but are not based on the principle of gender equality. Understanding of subject-object, dominant-non-dominant, superior-imperial, and the unequal division of roles between male (father, son) and female (mother, daughter) family members. Society often positions men to receive more special privileges; for example, he is allowed to be polygamous. While women are second-class. Gender is an analysis used to place equal positions between men and women to create a more egalitarian social order. Gender is a measurement tool related to men's and women's issues, especially regarding the distribution of roles in society. Gender is not only addressed to women alone, but to men too. So far, it is women who have been marginalized, so women have been prioritized in several studies so that they can get equality just like men and so that women can play a role in various lines of social life. (Andaryuni, 2017: 161).

Divorce is a study of radical feminism. This type of feminism believes that the roots of women's oppression are tied to the system of sex and gender under the ideology of patriarchy. (Madsen, 2000: 152). In this structure, women are positioned as an inferior, subordinate sex class and must submit to the sentiments of patriarchal values. Based on this assumption, Radical feminists imagine that there is no way to complete liberation except by embracing androgynous culture and abolishing the system of sex and gender on earth. In this position, gender equality and justice are also imagined to be possible only if human culture has evolved to become androgynous. namely, a mental quality and individual character by combining the positive character of the values of masculinity and femininity.

Firestone, one of the leaders of radical feminism, also examines that, apart from the sex/gender system, the source of women's oppression lies in their reproductive capacity. (Firestone, 1972: 1). The capacity that allows women to bear all the risks of pregnancy, birth, and motherhood Based on this view, Firestone argues that there is no complete solution to women's oppression except by carrying out a biological revolution. The idea of a biological revolution not only recommends that women transform reproductive discourse from women's obligations into rights; more than that, this idea also encourages women to control the total production capacity they have through mastery over access to reproductive technology and pregnancy control. Inggit could not give Soekarno a child; this was one of the reasons for the divorce between them.

When in Ende, East Nusa Tenggara, Inggit Garnasih not only accompanied her husband but also contributed to advancing the lives of the people there. He taught women and children to dress neatly by bringing clothes from Bandung to be resold in Ende without making the slightest profit. He also teaches people to grow crops, especially vegetables. With this movement, the people of Ende have become more advanced than before. (Krismono et al., 2017: 42).

After divorcing Soekarno in 1943, Inggit chose to return to live in Bandung. He became himself by working and continuing to be active in social life. After the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence was read by her ex-husband, the state of Indonesia, which was visited by the Dutch military, became very chaotic. Until finally, in 1946, the Bandung Sea of Fire incident occurred. Inggit became one of the hundreds of thousands of Bandung people who, at that time, did not want their land to be re-occupied by the colonialists and chose to leave their possessions in Bandung and burn them. At first, he fled to the Garut area and then moved around until he finally returned to Bandung in 1950. When he returned to Bandung, he built a house on the land where Garnasih and Soekarno had lived before being exiled to Ende. The house was built at the initiative of Bung Hatta and other friends of Soekarno. (<https://www.idntimes.com/science/discovery/agithyra-nidiapraja/perjuangan-inggit-garnasih-c1c2?page=all>, Agithyra Nidiapra-ja, 2020). Those are the various activities of Inggit Garnasih as a form of communication in fighting for independence. Through the movements he made, he gained wider insights about political communication. It doesn't just count how many women occupy seats in the legislature or other positions; even without a position at the state level, it can actually be done, as Inggit Garnasih has started.

In addition to the various actions described above, as a smart woman, some of Garnasih's words, a reflection of her thoughts, are reflected in various sentences, including: Fortune and reason are always there to deal with the pressures of life, which are getting more and more burdensome day by day; to love is to accept the pain; you must have character, must have personality, and must have your own style; don't ever be like a cypress tree that is blown by the west wind, you go west, and you are blown by the east wind, you go east; completing studies is important and will be very beneficial in the future.

Between fortune and hard work; between love and pain; between personality and volatility, this is part of Inggit Garnasih's rhetoric. Rhetoric was defined by Aristotle as a practical art that lies on the boundary between ethics and politics; he understood it as a symbolic means of translating collective mores, or private virtues, into public action. In rhetoric, one can find the amalgamation of social-personal and political, which shows why the history of rhetoric and political history often move along the same path. The conceptual and practical connections between rhetoric and politics make the work of understanding their relationship difficult. The study of rhetoric and political science is a discipline that is easily separated, but rhetoric and politics are human practices that can unite both conceptually and practically. The word rhetoric, thus, has been branded as a hyper-emotional political vehicle since its invention. (Kaid, 2004: 136–137).

Conclusion

The political strategy undertaken by Inggit Garnasih was very unexpected. And that's a reflection of the intelligence he has, as part of the power of women. Besides having intelligence, as a communicator, Inggit has positive qualities such as the courage to become an espionage agent when Soekarno was in prison; the courage to smuggle books while Sukarno was in prison; fortitude in facing trials when in exile in Ende, where his life was quite difficult; patience in dealing with illness when his mother died of malaria and also her husband had the same disease; lightness of heart when divorced; broad-mindedness, never denouncing her former husbands; always giving the best support for others; and other positive traits.

The movements and thoughts that were carried out by Inggit Garnasih in fighting for the independence of the Indonesian people were very meaningful. He did it selflessly; his sacrifice was quite big; he was a hero in the conscience of the people. When he died in 1984, without any command, the people of Bandung unanimously flew the flag at half-mast to honor his services.

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