

THE FORGOTTEN LIONESSE: RASIMAH ISMAIL, MINANGKABAU WOMAN AGAINST DUTCH COLONIALISM IN WEST SUMATRA

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses Rasimah Ismail's role in resisting Dutch colonialism in West Sumatra between 1912 and 1933. The background includes the historical context of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and the political and social situation in West Sumatra during that period. The purpose of this study is to understand the role and contribution of Rasimah Ismail in the resistance to Dutch colonialism. The research methods used include historical analysis based on primary and secondary sources consisting of several stages: heuristic, criticism, interpretation, historiography. The sources sought include archives, photographs, and Dutch and Indonesian newspapers conducted online and offline. This research bases its analysis on the theoretical framework of feminism to uncover how Rasimah Ismail uses education, organization, and speech as a means of empowerment for Minangkabau women. In this context, the struggle carried out by Rasimah is not only understood as resistance to colonialism, but also as an effort to create opportunities for women to play a role in the social and political sphere. These findings highlight the important role of Rasimah Ismail in organizing Minangkabau women to fight against Dutch colonialism through various social and political activities and actively demanding Indonesian independence. Rasimah Ismail was also known for her courage and firmness in expressing her opinion against the colonial government's policies that led to her exile and imprisonment in Semarang. The conclusion of this article emphasizes the importance of women's role in the anti-colonial resistance movement and pays tribute to Rasimah Ismail as one of the active figures in the struggle for independence.

Keywords: *rasimah ismail, minangkabau woman, female fighter, colonialism*

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini membahas peran Rasimah Ismail dalam melawan kolonialisme Belanda di Sumatera Barat antara tahun 1912 dan 1933. Latar belakangnya meliputi konteks sejarah kolonialisme Belanda di Indonesia dan situasi politik dan sosial di Sumatera Barat selama periode itu. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami peran dan kontribusi Rasimah Ismail dalam perlawanan terhadap penjajahan Belanda. Metode penelitian yang digunakan meliputi analisis sejarah berdasarkan sumber primer dan sekunder yang terdiri dari beberapa tahap: heuristik, kritik, interpretasi, historiografi. Sumber yang dicari termasuk arsip, foto, serta surat kabar Belanda dan Indonesia yang dilakukan secara online dan offline. Penelitian ini mendasarkan analisisnya pada kerangka teori feminisme untuk mengungkap bagaimana Rasimah Ismail menggunakan pendidikan, organisasi, dan pidato sebagai sarana pemberdayaan bagi perempuan Minangkabau. Dalam konteks ini, perjuangan yang dilakukan oleh Rasimah tidak hanya dipahami sebagai perlawanan

terhadap kolonialisme, tetapi juga sebagai usaha menciptakan peluang bagi perempuan untuk berperan dalam ranah sosial dan politik. Temuan ini menyoroti peran penting Rasimah Ismail dalam mengorganisir perempuan Minangkabau untuk melawan kolonialisme Belanda melalui berbagai kegiatan sosial dan politik dan secara aktif menuntut kemerdekaan Indonesia. Rasimah Ismail juga dikenal karena keberanian dan ketegasannya dalam mengungkapkan pendapat menentang kebijakan pemerintah kolonial yang menyebabkan pengasingan dan pemenjarannya di Semarang. Kesimpulan artikel ini menekankan pentingnya peran perempuan dalam gerakan perlawanan anti-kolonial dan memberikan penghormatan kepada Rasimah Ismail sebagai salah satu tokoh aktif dalam memperjuangkan kemerdekaan.

Kata kunci: *rasimah ismail, perempuan minangkabau, petarung perempuan, kolonialisme*

INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in all aspects of human life is undeniable and essential, as this paper will demonstrate. Both before and after independence, women have significantly impacted the development of the Indonesian nation. The topic of women is always fascinating to research and discuss, particularly within the context of Minangkabau women (Lindayanti, 2019). Writing about women in the Minangkabau context is not only challenging but also complex and multifaceted. In Indonesian history, especially after the colonial period, the contributions of women as historical subjects and objects are often overlooked. Historical narratives tend to focus more on the roles of men, neglecting the presence and contributions of women. When women are included in these narratives, they are often associated with negative aspects such as violence, prostitution, or injustice (Arsa, 2017, p. 42). Bambang Purwanto, in his article titled "Historisisme Baru dan Kesadaran Dekonstruktif," states that the presence of women in postcolonial Indonesian historiography has become more apparent. For example, prominent historians like Darsiti Soeratman have only discussed women's lives in a limited scope, primarily focusing on their daily lives in the *keputren*, the part of the palace where royal or noblewomen resided (Purwanto, 2001, p. 40). However, the narrative about women is not confined to this aspect alone. They also played a highly significant role in Indonesia's historical struggles.

In the 19th century, Minangkabau women were primarily engaged in domestic affairs and played a crucial role in maintaining the *Rumah Gadang* according to tradition. Their status as holders of heritage property was governed by customary laws, as indicated by several studies (Angraini, 2021; Arsa, 2017; Ermagusti et al., 2023; Hanani, 2011; Riza, 2016; Yati, 2020). During this period, Minangkabau women were categorized into three

groups. The first group consisted of conservatives who strictly adhered to indigenous traditions. The second group included those who remained loyal to custom but were open to modernization, especially in areas influenced by Western values. The third group comprised individuals who adopted Western lifestyles, sometimes to the extent of compromising their religious beliefs (Abdullah, 2018).

At the beginning of the 20th century, significant changes occurred in social, economic, cultural, and political life. One notable aspect was the Ethical Policy implemented by the Dutch East Indies government, which placed a strong emphasis on the education sector as one of its main pillars (Insyarah & Yulifar, 2019). The Dutch colonial government's ethical policies greatly impacted the education system in the West Coast of Sumatra (then known as Sumatra's Westkust). This is evident from the increased access to formal Dutch education for Minangkabau people across various social strata. Consequently, the region saw significant educational advancements, with broader opportunities for people to acquire knowledge and skills previously restricted to certain groups (Yanti, 2017). The educational opportunities provided by the Dutch colonial government allowed Minangkabau women to engage in various fields such as politics, social issues, culture, and the economy. They gained broader opportunities beyond their traditional roles in customary practices.

The educational opportunities provided by the Dutch colonial government allowed Minangkabau women to engage in various fields such as politics, society, culture, and the economy. They received broader opportunities beyond their traditional roles in customary practices. With the emergence of a new mindset, the lifestyle of Minangkabau women transformed. They became more active and played a more significant role in the social structure of society (Angraini, 2021). Consequently, a new group known as the educated class emerged, derived from Dutch secular education (Zed, 2010). The first generation of educated Minangkabau women included figures like Sjarifah Nawawi and Siti Djawenar Bustami Aman (Hadler, 2013).

The modernization of education successfully produced educated Minangkabau women who became key drivers of the Minangkabau women's movement in the early 20th century. This led to significant advancements for Minangkabau women on a broader scale. Their increasing involvement in politics and the struggle for independence highlighted their importance in the history of the Indonesian movement (Arsa, 2017). Therefore, the medium of modernity, through Western education, created a new intellectual horizon for

Minangkabau women. Their ideas encompassed Islamic principles (Hamruni, 2004), progress, and nationalism (Yati, 2017).

Their ideas included Islamic principles (Hamruni, 2004), the spirit of progress and nationalism (Yati, 2017), and initiatives to establish schools such as Roehana School in Kotogedang (Hanani, 2011). Minangkabau women were also involved in Medan Poeteri and actively founded modern organizations such as Entjik-entjik goeroe in Padangpanjang and Fort van der Capellen, United Kaoem Iboe in Fort de Kock, Vrouwenbond in Pajakoemboeh, and Meisjesvereniging in Padang and Meisjesbond in Kotogedan (Hadler, 2013). This highlights the crucial role of Minangkabau women's emancipation in the national movement for Indonesian independence. Their efforts, alongside men, to expel the colonizers significantly contributed to the independence we enjoy today.

Several prominent Minangkabau women, such as Siti Manggopoh, Rohana Kudus, Rahma El Yunusiah, and Rasuna Said, were actively involved in the struggle for independence, each using different approaches. In 1908, Siti Manggopoh played a political role in West Sumatra by organizing and participating in uprisings against Dutch colonialism. Her actions were a form of protest against burdensome tax policies. Alongside her husband, several young men, and dragon leaders, Siti Manggopoh managed to retaliate by killing 55 Dutch soldiers, an event known as the Belasting War (Fatimah, 2022; Yuniarni, 2012; Zuhroh et al., 2022). In the same year, a larger rebellion took place in Kamang, but the Dutch colonial government swiftly suppressed it (Habibuna & Efrizal, 2022; Lionar et al., 2020). This rebellion was not well organized, which allowed the Dutch military to easily control the situation.

Siti Rohana Kudus went on to establish two schools, Kautamaan Istri and Rohana School. Additionally, she launched the newspaper *Soenting Melajoe*, aimed at providing a platform for women outside Kotogadang to express their thoughts through writing. This newspaper served not only as a space for women but also as an educational tool for its readers, including men (Agustiniingsih, 2019; Hanani, 2020; Jayudha & Darmawan, 2020; Tiawati, 2021). Rahmah el-Yunusiyah also played a crucial role in Islamic education in Minangkabau. She founded the Diniyah School for Girls in 1923, followed by the Diniyah High School for Girls and the Junior Diniyah School for Girls in 1947, and later the Diniyah Academy for Girls in 1964. Her efforts in establishing these educational institutions made her a highly influential female scholar, particularly in Padang Panjang and Minangkabau as a whole. Her contributions earned her recognition as a pioneer of

women's education in Indonesia (Fatmawati, 2020; Hamruni, 2004; Januar & Rahma, 2022; Nurul Syalafiyah & Budi Harianto, 2020; Rodin & Huda, 2020).

Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to refer to West Sumatra as the "Home of the Founding Fathers," as many prominent figures from this region significantly contributed to the formation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia on both local and national levels. According to Kahin, numerous Minangkabau individuals attained prominent positions in national political leadership after Indonesia's independence, more so than individuals from other ethnic groups. In fact, the Yogyakarta government can be seen as a government influenced by Minangkabau culture (Kahin, 2005, p. 248).

From the explanation above, it is evident that West Sumatra has produced numerous female figures who actively participated in the resistance against Dutch colonialism and fought for Indonesian independence. However, one female warrior who is often overlooked is Rasimah Ismail. She staunchly opposed Dutch colonial rule and actively advocated for Indonesian independence. Rasimah Ismail was the sister of Abdul Gaffar Ismail, a renowned cleric and warrior, and the aunt of Taufiq Ismail, a famous Indonesian poet from Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. The lack of recognition for Rasimah Ismail's role and spirit in the struggle motivates the author to conduct further research on this figure. This paper aims to address the gaps in previous studies, which have seldom analyzed her contributions and leadership in the fight for Indonesian independence.

METHODS

In conducting this study, the author employed historical methods. The historical method involves critically examining and analyzing events or occurrences from the past (Gottschalk, 2008). According to Syamsuddin, the historical method is a critical analysis process of historical sources to understand and explain records and remnants of the past. For this article, the author adopted a historical research method that includes several steps: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Darmawan & Mulyana, 2019) and This research bases its analysis on the framework of feminist theory. The initial stage of this study is heuristics, which involves the process of gathering sources. Heuristics is used to search for historical sources relevant to the research question, primarily focusing on literature searches in libraries. The sources sought include archives, photographs, Dutch and Indonesian newspapers accessed both online and offline. The data collected is then analyzed both internally and externally. During the analysis, data is organized

chronologically. The purpose of this interpretation is to reconstruct historical events as accurately as possible based on factual evidence. This interpretation process is grounded in scientific knowledge and the results of the analysis, preparing for the next step, historiography, which involves presenting the reconstruction results based on existing evidence. At the historiography stage, researchers interpret the data and facts found in research sources. They compile the data and facts, draw conclusions, and achieve reconstruction results in their research. These sources have been critically assessed for relevance, enabling interpretation within the context of the research being conducted.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Transformation of Minangkabau Women: From Rumah Gadang to the Stage of National Struggle

In the 19th century, the image of Minangkabau women was not significantly different from that of other women in the Dutch East Indies at that time. They spent their lives within the home, fulfilling roles as daughters, wives, mothers, and grandmothers. The education they received was limited to religious education and domestic skills, which prepared them for their roles as wives and mothers. Women's lives and behaviors were heavily regulated by the customs and traditions of their communities, with limited freedom of expression and adherence to customary norms. The matrilineal kinship system practiced by the Minangkabau community required women to take on multiple roles. Besides being mothers responsible for childcare and household management, they also had the duty of preserving family lineage. As heirs of the lineage, Minangkabau women were obliged to maintain family inheritance passed down through the maternal line, known as women's property or *harato padusi*.

The eldest woman in the family was bestowed with the honorary title of *amban puruekun citagueh* (peti simpanan pusaka berkunci kukuh), signifying her responsibility in safeguarding the family estate. This title underscores her crucial role in preserving family assets, including farmland, land, traditional houses, livestock, and the labor associated with the family inheritance (Blackwood, 2001). Minangkabau women play a significant role in managing family inheritance, which also promotes their involvement in the economic sector. The rural economy is predominantly agricultural, a common feature in Minangkabau and Southeast Asia. Additionally, Minangkabau women are active in handicraft industries such as weaving, spinning, lace making, gold screening, fabric dyeing,

pottery making, and various other household tasks (Loeb, 2013). Due to societal constraints, Minangkabau girls were denied access to formal education, leaving them unable to read, write, or perform basic arithmetic. They were confined to traditional roles within the household as daughters, adolescents, wives, and mothers, with no opportunity for further personal development. Despite Minangkabau emerging as a hub for intellectuals outside Java in the late 19th century, Minangkabau women were excluded from formal education. During that era, schooling was considered highly taboo and forbidden for them (Hadler, 2013). It can be concluded that in the early 19th century, women in Minangkabau received only religious education and household skills such as housekeeping, cooking, sewing, weaving, and embroidery from their mothers, grandmothers, and other female family members.

In the early 20th century, the Minangkabau community in West Sumatra underwent a period of advancement characterized by the rise of new elites and the adoption of modern lifestyles. This new elite comprised graduates of formal colonial schools where Dutch was the medium of instruction. Children from peasant and merchant backgrounds were the most eager to enroll in these institutions. Research conducted by (Graves, 2007), indicated that the children of farmers and traders predominated among the students attending formal Dutch schools in the highlands of West Sumatra. Social stratification in Minangkabau led the lower middle class to view education as a means to improve their socio-economic status. However, children of *panghulu* and *tuan kulareh* (nobility) were less inclined to attend school because they believed that the prestige and wealth inherited from their parents was sufficient to maintain their social status without the necessity of formal education. Consequently, they tended to undervalue the importance of schooling. Despite this, they continued to be respected in society and inherited wealth from their parents. As a result, aristocratic Minangkabau children more frequently attended Class II Malay-language schools rather than Class I schools, which were intended for the noble class and used Dutch as the language of instruction (Graves, 2007, p. 235). Therefore, the Ethical Political Policy introduced by the Dutch Colonial Government at the beginning of the 20th century promoted the modernization of education more broadly than ever before.

Sjarifah Nawawi, Sitti Djanewar Bustami Aman, and Ainsjah Jahya, the daughter of Demang Jahja Datoek Kajo of Koto Gadang, were among the first generation of educated Minangkabau women in the early 20th century. For instance, Sjarifah Nawawi attended Europeesche Langere School (ELS) Fort de Kock and later enrolled in the Kweekschool

Fort de Kock teacher education school in 1907, becoming the first female student to successfully attend Kweekschool Fort de Kock. Following her education there, Sjarifah continued her studies at Salemba School in Batavia (Hadler, 2013). Another Minangkabau educated woman, Sitti Djanewar, was the daughter of Chatib Maharadja Sutan Dilawit, Larashoofd Sumpur Kudus and Buo Lintau. At the age of six, Sitti Djanewar was admitted as a student at Hollandsch Inlansche School (HIS) Solok, and later continued her studies at Meijes Kweekschool Salatiga (MKS) in Central Java (Aman, 2006: 5-7). Additionally, Ainsjah Jahya, daughter of Demang Jahja Daetoeck Kajo, became a student at MULO Katolik Padang in 1918 (Hatta, 2013, p. 61).

The emergence of youth as the main catalyst for the rise of modernist Islam in Minangkabau also positively influenced the development of Islamic educational institutions in the early 20th century Sumatra's Westkust. Among these, Adabijah School (1909), Dinnijah School (1915), and Sumatra Thawalib were the pioneering modernist Islamic educational institutions that successfully produced graduates and disseminated new ideas advocated by the Minangkabau modernist Islamic movement. Haji Abdullah Ahmad, the founder of Adabijah School, and Zainuddin Labai, the initiator of Dinnijah School, were two Islamic reformers who advocated for educational access for Minangkabau women in modernist Islamic schools (Noer, 1991). The establishment of modernist Islamic schools not only introduced modern teaching methods with classroom setups equipped with tables, chairs, and blackboards, but also implemented a co-education system where male and female students were taught together in the same class. This model mirrored the secular school system of the Netherlands and provided greater educational opportunities for girls in modernist schools.

Education has proven to be a key factor in triggering the development of the women's movement. Therefore, the first feminist movement in Minangkabau in the 20th century aimed to ensure equal and fair access to education for both women and men. Educated women from modern schools led the movement for the advancement of their community by establishing schools specifically for women and skills institutions that not only taught household skills but also equipped them with reading, writing, and numeracy skills using the Latin alphabet. Roehana Koeddoes and Rahmah el-Junusiyah played key roles as pioneers in the Minangkabau women's advancement movement through education. Roehana Koeddoes became a pioneer in efforts to expand educational access for Minangkabau women by founding Roehana School in Bukittinggi in 1917. Even from the

age of eight in 1892, Roehana began teaching reading and writing to her peers as well as children and teenagers in Simpang Tonang, Talu Pasaman. At that time, societal customs considered women attending school like men to be unusual. Despite coming from an influential family, Roehana was not allowed to attend school. Her reading and writing skills were taught by her father and siblings at home (Ermagusti et al., 2023; Hanani, 2011, 2020; Tiawati, 2021).

While Roehana Koeddoes focused on general education such as literacy and practical skills for women, Rahmah el-Junusiyah concentrated more on developing women's education based on Islamic religious principles. In 1923, Rahmah el-Junusiyah established Al Madrasatud Dinijjah Lil Banaat in Padang Panjang, marking the beginning of Dinnijah School Puteri. Dinnijah School Puteri was the first all-girls school in the Dutch East Indies to adopt a modernist Islamic approach (Fatmawati, 2020; Mighfaza & Huriani, 2023; Nurul Syalafiyah & Budi Harianto, 2020).

Minangkabau women actively participated in politics to advocate for national independence, starting with their involvement in youth organizations and movements in Sumatra's Westkust, such as the *Jong Sumatra Bond* (JSB), *Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia* (Permi), *Perhimpunan Murid Dinijjah School* (PMDS), and PNI Baru. According to Hadler (2010), calls for political and public discussion spaces for Minangkabau women began to emerge after the events of the Belasting Rebellion (Fatimah, 2022; Yuniarni, 2012) and Kamang Rebellion (Fitri et al., 2022; Habibuna & Efrizal, 2022; Lionar et al., 2020). Efforts to expand the political rights of Minangkabau women continued with the formation of Minangkabau women's unions, which subsequently led to the establishment of women's organizations. These Minangkabau women's organizations were interconnected with women's movements in other regions of the Dutch East Indies.

Rasuna Said was one of Permi's most outspoken and influential female cadres. She earned the nickname "Lion of Minangkabau" for her bold critiques of the colonial government's exploitative policies in various Permi forums and meetings. Rasuna Said's public speeches were noted for their sharpness and passion, often surpassing those of her male counterparts (Kahin, 2005). Other prominent figures in the Permi women's movement who displayed steadfastness toward the Dutch colonial government included Rangkayo Rasimah Ismail, Fatimah Hatta, and Ratna Sari. They were also recognized for their courage and firmness in expressing their opposition to colonial policies (Noer, 1991).

Rasimah Ismail: The Struggle Until Exile to Semarang

Rasimah Ismail, the younger sister of Abdul Ghafar Ismail and aunt of the renowned poet Taufik Ismail, was born in 1912 in Jambu Air, Fort de Kock (now: Bukittinggi), just a year apart from her brother, Taufik Ismail. Her father's name was Kari, and her mother was Halimatussa'diah. At the age of 7, Rasimah began attending Volkschool (Village School). After completing her primary education there, she pursued Islamic studies at Diniyah School Fort de Kock under the leadership of Mochtar Luthfie. Later, Rasimah continued her education at Diniyah Putri led by Rahmah El-Yunussiah, where she encountered Rasuna Said, her teacher and political mentor. From Rasuna, Rasimah learned about the art of politics and public speaking, which closely tied her reputation with Rasuna Said, a renowned orator from Maninjau. Following her time at Diniyah Putri, Rasimah, alongside Fatimah Hatta, who later married Datuk Palimo Kayo, established Diniyah in Jambu Air. This pilot school gained popularity and eventually enrolled 400 students. In later years, Rasimah became increasingly involved in political movements (Hamka, 2014, p. 76; Pandoe, 2010, p. 29).

After Rasuna left Diniyah, Rasimah Ismail also followed in her footsteps by choosing to join the Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia (P.M.I). P.M.I was founded in 1930 with the motto Indonesia Merdeka and carries the ideology of National Islam. In 1932, P.M.I was renamed to PERMI. The political party Persatuan Muslimin Indonesia (Permi), based on Islamic principles and nationalism, experienced rapid growth. At its peak, which occurred in late 1932 and mid-1933, approximately 10,000 Minangkabau, including 30% women, became active members of PERMI in various branches in West Sumatra. By July 1933, the number of PERMI branches had reached more than 200, spread across 180 nagari (Putri, 2018, p. 74). Rasimah Ismail became a significant figure in PERMI's history, alongside Iljas Jacobeb, Djalaluddin Thaib, Mochtar Luthfie, A. Ghafar Ismail, Rasuna Said, Rasul Hamidy, Datuk Palimokayo, and others. In addition to Rasimah, several women activists were also active in advancing PERMI, such as Fatimah Hatta, Timur M. Nur, Khasyah, and Ratna Sari (*Pandji Masyarakat*, December 21, 1982). For a year, PERMI's activities proceeded smoothly without any issues. However, the situation changed when the Dutch colonial government issued the *Wilden Schoole Ordonantie* (Ordonansi Sekolah Liar) in 1928, targeting private schools such as Diniyah, Thawalib, and those affiliated with Muhammadiyah (*Deli Courant*, 20 November 1928).

On October 23, 1932, Rasimah Ismail did not remain silent. She organized a rally and delivered a speech in front of a crowd of 100 people at Sungai Puar, Agam. She boldly proclaimed, "The land of Indonesia has been divided, like bread by the Dutch colonial economy!" Rasimah also called out to the masses, "To achieve an independent Indonesia, I am willing to sacrifice my body and soul!" Rasimah was accused of delivering provocative speeches against the government (*deSumatra Post*, February 12, 1933). Consequently, as cited by Putri (2018: 74), a news article in the Medan Ra'jat newspaper reported, "Rasimah Ismail will face trial at the Landraad Court of Bukittinggi." The Bukittinggi City Court examined Rasimah Ismail's conduct in relation to her remarks in Sungai Puar, Agam.

After being examined by the Bukittinggi *diondorzoek* (kejaksaan tinggi Bukittinggi), Rasimah Ismail was not immediately jailed, but she was prohibited from leaving Bukittinggi. She received a court sentence that did not include detention, but required her to report twice a week to the Bukittinggi Prosecutor's Office, and she was forbidden to leave the city of Bukittinggi. Before her trial, Rasimah was accompanied by a lawyer provided by PERMI, Mr. Muhammad Djamin Datoek Soetan Maharadjo, a lawyer who practiced in Jakarta. The trial of Rasimah Ismail at the Bukittinggi District Court was like a massive gathering, attended by about 4,500 people. Security along the roads leading to the courthouse was tight, with armed police officers, but the visitors paid no attention. They included both men and women from various parts of West Sumatra, and even from Aceh, Tapanuli, Palembang, and Bengkulu. Those coming from these regions had arrived in Bukittinggi several days before the trial, bringing sufficient supplies and staying at the homes of PERMI members, mosques, and suraus in Bukittinggi (Pandoe, 2010, p. 80).

During the trial, Dr. Joesoef and Dr. Saleh (Chairul Saleh's parents) were among the attendees. The courtroom was so packed that visitors overflowed outside, eager to catch a glimpse of Rasimah Ismail. Despite police efforts to disperse them, the crowd was undeterred. Rasimah's speech at the Permi rally in Sungai Puar, Agam, was viewed as a criticism of Dutch colonial policies (Pandoe, 2010, p. 81). Rasimah Ismail viewed the trial not as a personal matter but as part of the Indonesian nation's struggle for independence. She believed she was on the right path toward an independent Indonesia. "The government's actions in disrupting the Permi rally on October 23, 1932, in Sungai Puar, where I was speaking, deeply hurt the Indonesian people. Coupled with this court examination," Rasimah said. She added, "Mr. Chief Justice, my party, Permi, was founded in 1930, and now it is three years old. I am a member of its women's section. We all kneel

and aspire to demand the independence of our homeland, Indonesia Merdeka. A lofty and noble goal. I acknowledge that every rally garners much attention from the people, not driven by heated speeches or incitement, but brought by the spirit of revival of the people throughout Indonesia." At the trial's conclusion, Rasimah Ismail was charged with a *spreek delict* (speech offense) by the Dutch government, which deemed her speech very dangerous. Subsequently, she was sentenced to 9 months in prison in Sxemarang (*De Sumatra Post*, January 30, 1934; *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, March 19, 1934).

Analysis of Feminism on the Struggle and Sacrifice of Rasimah Ismail

Rasimah Ismail's struggle against colonialism in West Sumatra reflects the influential role of women in the history of Indonesian resistance, especially in the early 20th century. Rasimah Ismail, as one of the Minangkabau female figures, not only challenged Dutch colonial domination but also patriarchal norms that limited the role of women in the public sphere. Armed with her education and critical awareness, Rasimah Ismail was able to take advantage of political and social space to mobilize society, especially women, against the injustice of colonialism.

From the perspective of feminism, Rasimah's struggle can be seen as a form of resistance to patriarchy reinforced by colonialism. In the context of West Sumatra under Dutch colonialism, women experienced two types of oppression: first, colonial domination that suppressed indigenous peoples in the economic and political fields. Second, the patriarchal system in customs and social norms that limits the role of women in the public sphere. Through education, his political activities and courage managed to penetrate these two forms of oppression. Rasimah Ismail understands that education is the key to empowering Minangkabau women. He established a school in Jambu Air to provide access to education for women (Hamka, 2014, p. 76; Pandoe, 2010, p. 29).

The education initiated aims to change the perspective and create space for women, thereby encouraging critical awareness of their position in society and encouraging active participation in social and political development. This thinking is in line with the views of feminist figures (Hooks, 2000), who in his work emphasized that education has an important role in efforts to achieve gender equality.

As an active member of the Indonesian Muslim Association (PERMI), a political organization that focuses on resistance to colonialism and community development through education, Rasimah has a strategic position in the struggle movement. PERMI at

that time was a forum that provided space for women to participate in political and social activities. Through this organization, Rasimah used her voice to criticize colonial economic and political policies that were considered oppressive to the indigenous people. His courage in criticizing and opposing colonial policies was a progressive step in his time. From the perspective of feminist theory, Rasimah's actions show the existence of a women's agency that is able to resist oppression in various forms, both from colonialism and patriarchy. Rasimah also realized that the struggle against colonialism was not only the responsibility of men, but also women. Rasimah Ismail's struggle is proof that women are not only followers in the history of the nation's struggle, but also leaders who have a vital role in creating social and political change. Rasimah Ismail seeks to build collective awareness to realize justice and independence not only for women but also for all Indonesian people.

CONCLUSION

From a young age, Rasimah Ismail demonstrated a keen interest in political and social affairs. She actively participated in various organizations, including the Indonesian Muslim Union (PERMI), which was established in 1918 as one of Indonesia's first women's organizations. PERMI aimed to advocate for women's rights, including education, gender equality, and women's political participation. Rasimah Ismail emerged as a prominent figure within PERMI in West Sumatra, using this platform to articulate the aspirations and demands of Minangkabau women. Rasimah Ismail not only engaged in women's organizations but also played a pivotal role in broader political movements aimed at securing Indonesian independence from Dutch colonialism. She participated in protests and demonstrations against colonial policies. Rasimah Ismail's leadership and ability to mobilize the masses were instrumental in inspiring Minangkabau women and the wider community to unite and fight for Indonesian independence. Through her courage in expressing opinions and leading resistance efforts, Rasimah Ismail made a significant historical contribution to the Indonesian independence movement.

Although not widely recognized by the general public, Rasimah Ismail made a profound impact on Indonesia's struggle for independence, particularly in West Sumatra. Her courageous and steadfast efforts as a Minangkabau woman against Dutch colonialism served as an inspiration for future generations. By examining and highlighting Rasimah Ismail's role in Indonesian history, we can enhance our appreciation of women's

contributions to the independence movement. Rasimah Ismail stands as a vivid example of women's resilience and determination in confronting challenges and injustice. This research seeks to honor her legacy and influence in shaping a better Indonesia.

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