

Palembang-Malay Women's Resistance against the Domination of Patriarchal Culture in the XX Century

Endang Rochmiatun*

Master Program of Islamic Civilization History, Faculty of Adab and Humanities,
UIN Raden Fatah Palembang
Jl. Prof. K. H. Zainal Abidin Fikri No. 5, Pahlawan, Kemuning, Palembang,
South Sumatera - Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: endangrochmiatun_uin@radenfatah.ac.id
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/ihis.v7i1.17624>

Abstract

Gender issues during the early twentieth century in Palembang were worth nothing. Among the reasons were that during the colonial period, women did not have equal opportunities to contribute to the public sphere as men. This proves that women's access to public activities is limited. This research manifests women's struggle for emancipation against patriarchal culture in the public sphere in the city of Palembang. This research uses historical research methods and qualitative research. It seeks to answer three questions; 1) How did the Palembang women carry out the emancipation movement against the domination of patriarchal culture? 2) What forms of movement did Palembang women take? 3) What public sectors could Palembang's women be achieved in the twentieth century. Until the beginning of the 20th century, the traditions and understanding of the people in Palembang did not realize the importance of women obtaining formal education. Not many parents want to send their daughters to formal schools. Whereas in Palembang there were already formal schools in the early 20th century, including: Madrasah al-Islamiyah, HIS School, Muhammadiyah School. Many parents who have daughters still view formal education as unimportant, women are only obliged to be in the domestic sphere (become a wife, do household chores). This condition is the reason why some women who have realized the importance of women getting formal education then voiced the public's awareness of the importance of women getting the right to go to school. Several forms of women's struggle so that the tradition in Palembang that views formal education as not important for women can change, including: Writing in a newspaper published in Palembang. This research shows the struggle of Palembang women in voicing their rights in the public sphere in the twentieth century through the mass media despite many obstacles. The evidence of women's struggle for emancipation gradually eliminates the patriarchal culture.

Keywords: Women's Resistance; Patriarchy; Emancipation; Voicing Rights; Education Equality.

Received:
March 10, 2023

Revised:
June 6, 2023

Accepted:
June 7, 2023

Introduction

Until the early twentieth century, women were considered second-class citizens. Their life depends on men. Women do not get what they are entitled to, such as education. This causes women to experience backwardness. Syainit et al. (2018) describe that women are equal to men in helping their family's economy. Still, in terms of public access, women are weak, backward, and marginalized. Education is crucial for women to eliminate ignorance and backwardness and avoid arbitrary actions against women (Syainit et al., 2018). In addition, Rahmawati argues that the recognition of women as second-class citizens or 'the other' creates ambivalence between being in a regulated and controlled position with rejection and rebellion against cultural ornaments that have curbed their rights as whole human beings. A woman's existence has never been seen as an integral part of the social life of society. Still, it shows the individual hegemony of power that indoctrinates the differences between men and women. Women are only considered objects of support (Rahmawati, 2009).

Studies on women's resistance are often explored through literary works such as short stories and novels (Adnani, Udasmoro, & Noviani, 2016; Kurnianto, 2016; Susilowati & Indarti, 2019; Turaeni, 2010). Among them is a novel titled *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*. The resistance is the efforts to fight injustices in the Islamic Boarding School. Some agents try to fight or break into the *ijbar* rights (forced marriage), *idah* rights (waiting), reproductive rights, sexual relations rights, and equal workload rights. The form of discourse on gender resistance in this novel is divided into two categories, namely women's discourse in the domestic and public spheres (Adnani et al., 2016). In a short story titled *Tandak*, the existence of women's resistance is carried out openly by female leaders to male and community leaders (Susilowati & Indarti, 2019). Another study of women's resistance is on the *Tandhak* dancer, as seen from their communication strategy, as they choose to remain silent and ignore the blasphemy by continuing their dance (Rahmawati, 2021). In this research, the researcher focuses on women's resistance during colonialism from the perspective of rights to education through mass media, literature, and social-religious and political organizations to fill the gap of previous research. Women tend to do open resistance and closed resistance. The tradition of the Palembang people who have not realized the importance of girls obtaining formal education and see women only having duties in the domestic sphere is the reason for the emergence of Palembang women's struggles to be able to change this tradition.

This research re-examines the resistance theory proposed by James C. Scott and prove that there were women in Palembang who fought for emancipation in the public sphere. Scott (2000) defines resistance as all actions subordinate groups take to reduce or reject claims made by superdominant parties or groups against them. This study applied the historical method with four steps: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Those steps were undergone to answer three main questions: 1) How did the Palembang women resist the domination of patriarchal culture?; 2) What forms of resistance did the Palembang women take?; 3) What public

sectors could the Palembang women achieve in the twentieth century? The contribution of this study is to present the spirit of the marginalized women's movement in a patriarchal culture, to carry out movements or resistance in various open and closed forms that women can follow in the future.

Method

The theme Palembang-Malay Women's Resistance Against the Domination of Patriarchal Culture in the XX Century was chosen as the object of study to prove that culture in Palembang until the early 20th century still placed women as subordinates. Women have not obtained equality in gaining access to education compared to men. This triggered Palembang Malay women to fight by voicing their aspirations to obtain equality in the public sphere and for women to gain access to formal education. This type of research is qualitative research using historical research methods with the steps of Heuristics, Source Criticism, Interpretation and Historiography (Dudung, 2011). The sources used are primary sources, namely manuscripts stored in the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia, the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, including Magazine Collection "Our World" Code: B. 2458 (National Library of Indonesia, n.d.), Newspaper "Soenting Melayoe" February 6, 1914 (Chaniago, 2014), "South Pertja" 1925-1939 (Rochmiatun, 2018), Soeloeh Land Company 1916-1939 (Rochmiatun, 2018), Voice of the Wives (Kemoedi, 1926a), and Wives' World (Teradjoe, 1926).

As for the secondary sources of this research, books related to the study of the Palembang region during the Dutch Sultanate and Colonial period, such as Paintings about the Capital City of Palembang by J.I. van Sevenhoven (1971) and the work of P. de Roo de Faille, From the Age of the Palembang Sultanate (1971), as well as Woelders' work, Het Sultanaat Palembang, 1811-1825 (1975), Jeroen Peeters, The Tuo-Kaum Mudo: Religious Changes in Palembang 1821-1942.

The data collection process starts from collecting contemporaneous sources, namely in the form of written documents written in the XX century related to the theme of the study. Information from texts in authentic manuscripts is used as data and historical facts. The source of the manuscript is then tested for its authenticity (authenticity) and validity (credibility) through internal and external criticism. Testing whether the source is genuine means selecting the physical aspects of the source found. The paper, ink, writing style, language, sentences, expressions, words, and letters must be examined if the source is a written document. Tracing the credibility of sources is carried out based on the processes in the testimony because testimony in history is the most determining factor whether the historical evidence or facts are valid or not. Therefore, criticism is carried out to control or check these processes and detect any errors that may occur.

Interpretation and explanation stages are carried out to get meaning and mutual relations between one fact and another. In the process of interpretation, selecting and concluding the factors that led to the occurrence of events. While historical data often contain multiple causes that can help achieve an outcome, it is also possible that the

same cause can lead to the opposite result. After testing and analyzing the data, the facts obtained are synthesized through historical explanation.

Patriarchal Culture

In Foucault's perspective, resistance is defined as a hidden or overt process of fighting or violence by marginalized groups as an impact on the power or dominance of a particular group (Richmond, 2011). Foucault said, "where there is power, there is resistance" (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). The definition of resistance refers to the position of an attitude to behave defensively, trying to fight, oppose, or attempt opposition. In general, this attitude is not based on or refers to a clear understanding. Power often gets resistance in social relations (Dosi, 2012). Resistance can be understood as strength and resistance that meet one another (Barker, 2005). So, resistance is an attitude force to behave to survive, try to fight, and oppose other forces in the social class that is in power in society. In line with that, James Scott revealed that resistance focuses on forms of resistance in everyday life, which are depicted as the weak minorities' resistance to the power system. (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013).

James Scott (2000) said that resistance in a community could occur due to domination by a majority group. Thus, resistance is associated with a stronger group economically, politically and militarily and commonly involves violence and war. Resistance is a strategy to fight and mobilize the decolonization movement to achieve independence and freedom (Glynn & Maimunah, 2021). Additionally, Hancock-Barnett (2012) wrote that resistance is part of the expression of power and dominance interwoven to stem and create fear against the opposition. Therefore, daily resistance will decline the influence of the opposition and force the opposition to surrender. Thus, resistance in the colonial period is a form of struggle. Resistance begins with the awareness of the natives of the structure of domination, exploitation, and colonial operations against society and resources. Then, resistance to colonialism is measured by violence against colonialism. Resistance during the colonization period was shown through the resistance of indigenous groups to colonial groups which led to fights and violence (Tanjung, Harahap, & Bulan, 2019). Resistance to colonialism occurs because foreign governments have violated legitimacy and interfered with state power in political, religious, economic, and social life.

Meanwhile, patriarchy is a system that places men in a central or most vital position, while women and children are positioned according to the interests of the patriarch (the men). In the patriarchal system, women are positioned as wives who are obliged to accompany, complement, entertain, and serve their husbands (the patriarch). Meanwhile, children are placed as their fathers' next generation and entertainers. Indonesian society adheres to a patriarchal system, so women are still seen as unable to exceed men, and men are positioned as more primal, superior, and dominant (Darwin, 1999). Indonesia possesses a patriarchal culture as a heritage from the colonial nation (Apriliandra & Krisnani, 2021). This culture is still pervasive quite strongly in the majority of Indonesians, where they believe men are in control of everything. Thus, it is not uncommon for women to experience unfair treatment in

society in various forms. People who adhere to a social system with a patriarchal perception often assume that men have a massive role in elevating women's status (Ahadia, 2020). This patriarchal value sees women as someone destined to accompany men to create a more harmonious and balanced social structure.

Patriarchal culture places men above women and directly affects other societal aspects. In other words, the social structure in society is often dominated by men than women (Purwanti & Suana, 2020). The problems women face, which include inequality in access to various aspects of society, arise because of the patriarchal perception, which is still a belief for most Indonesians. The marginalization of women issue lies in a patriarchal culture that places men as superior to women, who are in a subordinate position. The inferiority of women over men has permeated into a culture mainly seen in the resource system (Ch, 2006). This culture is one of the reasons for the many discriminatory treatments, restrictions, exploitation, and violent behaviour against women today. The existence of this patriarchal belief has made some women accept their 'nature' by the view of women's authority under men and see this patriarchal perception as something that should be done (Rokhima, 2015). Women are often seen as second-class citizens and as objects in society, as seen in the belief that men are more favourable (Hastuti, 2005).

Political Ethics and Education Policy in Palembang

Along with the structuring of administrative division and the modernization of the government system, the Dutch East Indies government attempted to introduce a modern education system in the areas they had conquered (Afandi, Swastika, & Evendi, 2020). Starting in the twentieth century, the Dutch colonial government implemented a policy that became known as political ethics. As a consequence, the procurement in educational institutions for the *Bumiputera* began. The policy on procurement in educational institutions also seems to have an effect in Palembang.

In general, the policy of the Dutch colonial government in Palembang was aimed at regulating the implementation of western-style education, both education organized by the government (*sekolah gouvernement*) and the community (*sekolah partikelir*) (Beautiful et al., 2013). Several policies are considered crucial in implementing education, namely 1) establish and improve the quality of government schools to meet the community's need for education and obtain cheap labour. 2) Several policies regarding private schools were issued relating to the growth of various private institutions (this was due to the increasing public interest in education, which the government cannot fully provide).

The first indigenous school at the Palembang Residency level was established in the early twentieth century. In 1912, a village school was built in Pulau Beringin (Mekakau Ulu). Due to a shortage of students, the school was closed in 1915. It was only around 1921 that the school was reopened on the initiative of *Kepala Marga* (Head of Surname), who had a nobility title with a teacher named 'Djanoem' (from Semendo Darat, Muara Enim). From January to April 1921, the school recorded around 275 male and female students and four teachers. The number of government schools in the

Residency of Palembang in 1916, according to Inspecteur C Lekkekerken, were; 1 HIS (149 students), 31 Class II schools (4,133), 99 Village Schools (6,985 students) and 1 Zending School (Zendingsscolen with 116 students), does not rule out the possibility that this number continues to increase in the following years.

Basic-level Dutch schools for *Bumiputera*, which the colonial government established in the Palembang Residency, can be divided into four types, namely Village Schools (Volksschool), Class II Schools, Connected Schools (Vervolgschool), and Holland Indlandscool (HIS). Before the missionaries established Xavier schools, the Dutch East Indies government had already established state schools. In 1911, in the city of Palembang, apart from having eight public schools, a prestigious school, the First Class School, was built. Apart from being intended for the children of the Palembang nobility, this school went there for a lot of *pembesar uluan* (ordinary people) (Budiriyanto, 2002).

Aside from taking advantage of the First Class Schools, many high school students attend prestigious Dutch schools, namely the Europeesche Lagere School or ELS. A great opportunity for the *uluan* to become citizens of the city arises when *gemeente* (municipality) provides opportunities for educated people to occupy new jobs, such as for positions in *commis, klerk, schrijver, veld-politie, agenten, mantri-politie, opziener*, other low-level jobs, and the rest worked for the Gemeente Palembang institutions. The children from *uluan* family did not need to think about this as they had to *ontwikkeling* (Progress), evolve, and eventually become smart through education.

HIS Negeri was founded on February 16, 1914, by the decision of the Queen of the Netherlands. For the Chinese population, the Dutch East Indies government established HCS in 1920. Apart from low-level schools, in 1927, the MULO secondary school was opened for the first time in the city of Palembang. In contrast to other public schools, MULO was intended for the children of government officials who came from noble and *pasirah* (Head of Surname) from *uluan* (Zed, 2006).

Apart from public schools, private schools have also been established. The Methodist School was founded in Palembang by Salomon Pakianathan, an Indian from Malaysia, in 1908. The school was named Mission School and was located in Lorong Basah. This school was for children from various backgrounds. In its development, only Chinese, Indian, and people who can afford it are more interested in entering this school. This Mission School changed its name to Methodist English School, located at Jalan Tengkuruk.

During the Dutch East Indies, children's condition was worrisome. As in various regions, the Dutch East Indies community in Palembang experienced strict and discriminatory social stratification, so they did not receive proper education and teaching (Idi, 2019). During the Dutch East Indies times, there was discrimination against indigenous children, European children, and Indo-European children.

Aspirations of Malay Womeni Palembang to Receive The Right To Education

In the early 1920s, the mass media in Palembang played an essential part/a significant role in elevating the spirits of the Malay women group. The goal was to develop a way of thinking and spread knowledge to women. This awareness cannot be separated from the role of mass media, specifically newspapers. Some of the newspapers published in Palembang in the second and third half of the twentieth century were *Perdja Selatan*, *Teradjo*, and *Kemoedi* (Triharyanto, 2009). In the two newspapers, there were separate columns that were provided for women, including the column "Dunia Istri" ("Wives' World") and "Suara Kaum Isteri" ("Voice of the Wives

In 1926, Women's resistance to the dominance of patriarchal culture in Palembang was vocalized by Palembang women through letters, namely "Kemoedi" in the "Voice of the Wives" column. The Palembang woman voiced her aspirations with the help and support of the "Kemoedi" newspaper editor. As Sitti Zakiah said in her first writing edition:

"Dear Editor-in-Chief. Allow me to publish my thoughts on this beautiful page of Kemoedi, a special tribute for women in Palembang..." (Kemoedi, 1926). And Ning Dap's writing: "...the writings of Sitti Zakiah have dared me to speak a little about my sisters in Palembang" (ibid)

Ning Dap wrote an allegory about girls in Palembang who did not have access to formal education:

"How beautiful the sun rises and sets and the night, the moon shines above the sky, on the fence by the millions of stars? Wow..all these women can only see in the cracks in the walls. Poor!!! (ibid.) ... what about the other parents and the Palembang girls. What a pity the girl was locked up at home. He doesn't know what's happening outside and doesn't take his eyes off the left and right. It was as if narrow walls, attics and floors bordered the field. That was the world, the realm of noble girls only". (Kemoedi, August 1926).

The resistance of Palembang women can also be seen when Siti Zakiah stated that "the development of a country depends on the development of the women," so Palembang women must be given access to school so they could become mothers who can educate their children and became good mothers. In her writing, Sitti Zakiah wrote:

*"Onderwijs (*meaning: education) is a factor that is especially important for the Progress of our nation. That's how we can achieve our goals and socialize with any nation in this world. That's why we must try to advance our nation and homeland by telling our children to go to school at our place or to a school that doesn't exist in our place (P.S.: outside Palembang)...girls should not be forgotten because people can witness the Progress of a country by looking at the Progress of the women. We send women to school not only for salary, such as being Doctores, Klerken, etc. but as Napoleon said, that I read in his book, that women are educated to become mothers who in the future will educate and become good mothers for their children" (Kemoedi, Sabtoe 21 dhoelhidjah 1344/3 July 1926).*

During the colonial period, women did not have a great opportunity to participate in the public sphere like men. This indicates that women's access to public activities was difficult (Urifatulailiyah, 2017). There were two limitations for women. First, since most women came from the lower middle class, they did not have the right to education. Second, women from the upper middle class did not get equal rights as men in education because the patriarchal culture was strongly rooted. This phenomenon impacts the emergence of the feminist movement in the early twentieth century in Palembang.

Feminism is an understanding or movement to create gender equality, which can be the basis for thoughts, movements, and policies (Delmar, 2018). In Palembang, feminist movement has arisen since the Dutch colonial era. Newspapers published in Palembang in the second decade of the twentieth century, namely the *Pertja Selatan* newspaper in 1930 and *Teraju* in 1926, proved that Palembang women's thinking as a form of resistance to the marginalization of women that was due to patriarchal traditions which created gaps in access to education. **Sitti Zakiah** was a Palembang-Malay girl who vocalized her aspirations on the importance of women in pursuing education.

"Remember, my people, knowledge does not run out until the Day of Resurrection" is one of Sitti Zakiah's expressions which is intended to invite her people (women) to seek knowledge and the importance of seeking knowledge for women. One of the newspapers published in Palembang in 1926 with the "Voice of the Wives" column (In Proefnummer, Palembang: Jacob, 1926) had an important role in the effort to achieve this emancipation. The newspaper had an interesting tagline: *Mencari Kebenaran, Keadilan dan Persamaan Menurut Kemajuan* (Searching for the Truth, Justice, and Equality, in line with Progress).

The patriarchal culture, which is still very strong in Palembang, is also portrayed by many parents who do not send their daughters to school (Putra, Asri, & Hayati, 2018). However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were schools already. HIS Negeri was founded on February 16, 1914, by the decision of the Queen of the Netherlands. For the Chinese population, the Dutch East Indies government established HCS in 1920. Apart from low-level schools, in 1927, the MULO secondary school was opened for the first time in the city of Palembang. In contrast to other public schools, MULO was intended for the children of government officials who came from noble and *pasirah* from *uluan* (Zed, 2006).

Apart from public schools, private schools have also been established. The Methodist School was founded in Palembang by Salomon Pakianathan, an Indian from Malaysia in 1908. The school was named Mission School and was located in Lorong Basah. This school was for children from various backgrounds. In its development, only Chinese, Indian, and people who can afford it are more interested in entering this school. This Mission School changed its name to Methodist English School, located at Jalan Tengkuruk.

In contrast, some parents were aware of the importance of education for their daughters. So, they sent their children to school as stated by Ning Dap in the newspaper:

"I was born in the city of Palembang when I was three years old ...my parents left.... ...I think they paved the way for their daughter of my nation, Palembang. At first, I wouldn't say I liked being sent to a Dutch school because none of my female family had ever been to school, let alone enrolled in a Dutch school, so I was the first in my family to say that I was among the children who were sent to a Dutch school. In a school with so many students, only me came from Palembang. The others were children of the Sundanese and Padangnese in Palembang. The behaviour of my friends is too kind and gentle. My younger male friends respect us girls. What a difference to the young people in my homeland! Who doesn't care about and respect women" (Kemoedi Newspaper, August 1926)

A Palembang woman named Sitti Zakiah also described how many mothers had an ancient perspective despite the development of Palembang at that time (in 1926). It became a crowded city and underwent many changes in economics and education. Her concern about the lack of encouragement of mothers in Palembang to send their children to school can be seen in her writing:

"My heart is saddened, these women in Palembang. They don't want to send their daughters to higher schools because she is afraid that her children will receive Christian teachings etc., although there are also those who want to send their daughters to school, only in grades 3 or 4 they stop. They say it's no longer useful for girls to be sent to school anymore. It's enough to know numbers and read -a-b-c-. this is the "ancient" thoughts that nowadays does not sell" (Kemoedi Newspaper, August 1926).

In some of her writings in several editions of the newspaper, "**Kemoedi**", Siti Zakiah wrote a reminder on the importance of mothers encouraging their daughters to go to school or get an education both in and outside Palembang and hoping to have the Palembang daughters became smart, kind, and safe. The expression in her writing was:

"their parents should pay attention to my writing so that in the future, they don't expect that their children will become smart and good children and be safe in the hereafter. That's why my people in Palembang should pay close attention to girls and tell them to study and seek knowledge. Remember, my people and knowledge do not run out until the Day of Resurrection."

Resistance of Malay Women in Palembang Through Literature

Kemoedi and Perdja Selatan newspapers are the pioneers of newspapers, including a column for women with aspirations (Triharyanto, 2009). Among the resistance of Palembang women in conveying these aspirations is through the form of poetry. Bahria Ideriess wrote one of the poems published in the Perdja Selatan newspaper in 1930, namely:

*Can't stand at the window
Look to the king's path
Sad to hear the sound
All work gets declined*

*If you stand straight at the door
Comes a reprimand from the stepmother
Immediately ordered them to run
Into the house to a quiet place*

*If a guest comes
mother orders
Boil water to cook potatoes
Cook food for the guests*

*If the body is exhausted
rarely get break time
The sounds of the order are often heard
ordered to work endlessly*

*That's daily work
Until it's time to get a husband
unknown husband
because my parents will*

The poems above show that the representation of Palembang-Malay women at that time revolved around the domestic sphere. That role showed that until the third half of the twentieth century, women in Palembang had no access to the public sphere, especially in formal education.

The Progress of Palembang-Malay Women in Socio-Religious and Political Organizations

In the 1950s, the role of Palembang-Malay women still revolved around family or household matters as they believed in deeply rooted customs (Fauzia, 2004). However, their role in the public sphere began to exist, although it is not yet prominent. The Progress of Palembang women began in the third half of the twentieth century with a Palembang woman named N. Samina Samid. She took part in the field of journalism as a permanent assistant in the women's magazine "Dunia Kita" ("Our World"), which was published in Batavia in 1939. Additionally, in 1926, "Kemoedi" newspaper had an article with the title "Suara Perempuan" ("Women's Voice") as a form of resistance by a Palembang woman named Siti Zakiah. It was due to the condition that the people of Palembang did not yet have the awareness to send their daughters to get formal education. In the same newspaper, another woman named Ning Dap also said that

girls in Palembang were not allowed formal education. Another woman, Bahria Idris, resisted through her words in the *Pertja Selatan* newspaper in 1930. She believed that women were also obligated to their homeland through education.

The Progress of Palembang-Malay women in the public sphere can also be discovered through a newspaper in 1930. Some Palembang women had joined the management of the Palembang branch of the organization "Indonesia Moeda". The names on the board are *Entjik Siti Malekha* from *8 Ilir* as the head, *Entjik Rakhma Lizo*, *Entjik Sopia*, *Entjik Fatimah*, *Entjik Jenab*, *Raden Ayu Djenawati*, *Raden Ayu Zuriah*, *Raden Ayu Zoelaima*. The newspaper published in Palembang in 1930, "*Pertja Selatan*", provided information on the existence or Progress and thoughts of Palembang-Malay women. The names involved Bahria Ideriess, Raden Ayu Asiah, Leila Rs, Ana Laila, and Raden Ayu Sriani ("*Pertja Selatan*" newspaper 1930, Collection of the National Library of Indonesia, Roll 3485).

From the middle of the twentieth century until the beginning of the twenty-first century, a Palembang woman, Wantum Gathmyr, was active in the Nahdatul Ulama women's organization (Fathayat NU). She was the third child of seven children of Mr. Ali Gathmyr. The seven children of Ali Gathmyr are Khodijah (Wak Ayu), Hasan, Wantum, Ahmad Taufik (Wak Cak) Muh. Husni Thambrin, Ummi Kalsum, and Hindun. Wantum Gathmyr had a husband named Abdullah Bin Muhammad Alkaf or famously called Wak Dollah. From this marriage, Wantum Gathmyr and Abdullah Bin Muhammad Alkaf had one child named Ubaidillah or fondly called Ami Ubay. Other than his brothers, such as Muh Husin Thamrin or Bang Husni, he has four children from Mrs Linda Farida Binti Azis. Wantum Gathmyr's husband died first. Then, Wantum Gathmyr's mother died and was buried in Jakarta. Gathmyr's family were fighters from Palembang, as told by Abdullah, Taufik A's father. Gathmyr and Ali Gathmyr were detained during the G30S PKI war. They were also close to Soekarno, as seen in the photos discovered in the house that Mr Soekarno occupied. Taufik A. the Gathmyr. The name of Mr Ali Gathmyr is also immortalized as a street name in the 10 Ilir area of Palembang. They were also close to Mr Soekarno, as evidenced by the photo we found in the house occupied by Mr Taufik A Gathmyr. The name of Mr Ali Gathmyr was used as a street name in the 10 Ilir Palembang.

The Gathmyr family's careers were passed down from generation to generation. This family was not only a preacher but also a warrior. It was proven as Wantum has formed women in the Fatayat NU movement and has also served as a member of the legislature after a period of Mr Taufik A. Gathmyr. Now, the family's descendants are also a preacher. It is because his old house in Palembang was built as a hall that functioned as a place for recitation, gathering of scholars and as a place for studying religion. The building was erected approximately 12 years ago and is still well-functioning. The Gathmyr family established schools in Gathmyr's name at OKU and Bengkulu. Figure 1 shows Mr Ali Gathmyr, Wantum Gathmyr's father. Wantum Gathmyr has also been a member of the Palembang Municipal legislature from the PPP party. This shows that Palembang women in the mid-20th century-early XXI century were given access to education.



Figure 1 Mr. Ali Gathmyr (Above), Wantum Gathymir's father (Down)

Conclusions

Three feminists, namely Ning Dap, Siti Zakiah and Bahria Ideriess, voiced their aspirations through newspapers on the importance of education for women in Palembang and proved women's emancipation in Palembang was achieved through struggle. The patriarchal culture in Palembang, which was still strong until the twentieth century, gradually diminished. This can be proven that the number of Palembang women who participate in the public sphere in the socio-religious and political organisations is increasing. The results of the study on the resistance of Palembang-Malay women to the dominance of patriarchal culture show the old perspective that the emergence of feminism is one of the reasons that women's access to public activities is difficult.

Since this study prioritizes primary sources from contemporary newspapers, this study does not allow generalizations to be made. A more general and comprehensive understanding of the Palembang-Malay women's resistance in the twentieth century is urgently needed to complete Indonesia's national history. In line with this, it is recommended that further research is carried out by accommodating the approaches of other social sciences. In addition, further research needs to add other contemporary sources.

References

- Adnani, K., Udasmoro, W., & Noviani, R. (2016). Resistensi perempuan terhadap tradisi-tradisi di pesantren analisis wacana kritis terhadap novel perempuan berkalung sorban. *Jurnal Kawistara*, 6(2), 144–156.
- Afandi, A. N., Swastika, A. I., & Evendi, E. Y. (2020). Pendidikan Pada Masa Pemerintah Kolonial di Hindia Belanda Tahun 1900-1930. *Jurnal Artefak Vol*, 7(1).
- Ahadia, S. (2020). *Pengaruh Patriarki, Seksisme Ambivaleen, Konservatisme Terhadap Persepsi Masyarakat Pada Pelaku Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga*. UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA.
- Apriliandra, S., & Krisnani, H. (2021). Perilaku Diskriminatif Pada Perempuan Akibat Kuatnya Budaya Patriarki Di Indonesia Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Konflik. *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik*, 3(1), 1–13.
- Barker, C. (2005). *Cultural studies: teori dan praktik*. Yogyakarta: Bentang.
- Budiriyanto. (2002). *Darah Pemimpin Terus Mengalir: Biografi Inspektur Jenderal Polisi Haji Achmad Bastari Gubernur/KDH Sumatera Selatan Pertama*. Jakarta: Radja Grafindo Persada.
- Ch, M. (2006). Rekonstruksi Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender Dalam Konteks Sosial Budaya dan Agama. *EGALITA*.
- Chaniago, D. M. (2014). Perempuan bergerak Surat Kabar Soenting Melajoe 1912-1921. *Kafaah: Journal of Gender Studies*, 4(1), 80–99.
- Darwin, M. (1999). Maskulinitas: Posisi laki-laki dalam masyarakat patriarkis. *Center for Population and Policy Studies Gadjah Mada University*, 4, 1–10.
- Delmar, R. (2018). What is feminism? In *Theorizing feminism* (pp. 5–28). Routledge.
- Dosi, E. (2012). *Media massa dalam jaring kekuasaan: sebuah studi tentang relasi kekuasaan di balik wacana*. Ledalero.
- Dudung, A. (2011). *Metodologi penelitian sejarah Islam*. Ombak, Yogyakarta.
- Fauzia, A. (2004). *Tentang perempuan Islam: Wacana dan gerakan*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Glynn, T., & Maimunah, S. (2021). Unearthing conscious intent in women's everyday resistance to mining in Indonesia. *Ethnography*, 0(0), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14661381211039372>
- Hancock-Barnett, C. (2012). Colonial resettlement and cultural resistance: The mbira music of Zimbabwe. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 13(1), 11–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2011.635799>
- Hastuti, E. L. (2005). Hambatan Sosial Budaya Dalam Pengarusutamaan Gender Di Indonesia (Socio-cultural Constraints on Gender Mainstreaming in Indonesia). *SOCA: Jurnal Sosial Ekonomi Pertanian*.
- Idi, A. (2019). *Politik Etnisitas Hindia Belanda: Dilema dalam Pengelolaan Keberagaman Etnis di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- Indah, W., Maskun, M., & Syaiful, M. (2013). Kebijakan pemerintah Hindia Belanda mengenai pendidikan bagi kaum bangsawan di Indonesia tahun 1900-1920. *PESAGI (Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Penelitian Sejarah)*, 1(2).
- Kemoedi. (1926a). *Suara Kaum Isteri*.

- Kemoedi. (1926b, July 3). *Siti Zakiah*.
- Kurnianto, E. A. (2016). Resistensi perempuan terhadap wacana ratu rumah tangga dalam cerpen Intan Paramaditha. *Atavisme*, 19(1), 88–101.
- National Library of Indonesia. (n.d.). *Magazine Collection "Our World" Code : B. 2458*.
- Purwanti, A., & Suana, S. (2020). Makna Representasi Tokoh Arini Sebagai Obyek Patriarki Dalam Film Arini. *Commed: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Media*, 5(1), 54–62.
- Putra, A., Asri, Y., & Hayati, Y. (2018). The Construction of The Role of Women in Indonesia Novels in the 1920s. *International Conference on Language, Literature, and Education (ICLLE 2018)*, 445–449. Atlantis Press.
- Rahmawati, S. (2009). Resistensi Perempuan Multikultural dalam Karya Sastra Indonesia (Kajian Berperspektif Feminis). *Mabasan*, 3(2), 108–122.
- Richmond, O. P. (2011). Critical agency, resistance and a post-colonial civil society. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 46(4), 419–440. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836711422416>
- Rochmiatun, E. (2018). Elite Lokal Palembang Abad XIX-Abad XX: Kajian Terhadap Kedudukan dan Peran 'Haji Mukim.' *Jurnal Adabiyah*, 18(1), 64–81.
- Rokhimah, S. (2015). Patriarkhisme dan ketidakadilan gender. *MUWAZAH: Jurnal Kajian Gender*, 6(1).
- Scott, J. C. (2000). *Senjatanya Orang-orang yang Kalah: Bentuk-bentuk perlawanan sehari-hari kaum tani*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Susilowati, E. Z., & Indarti, T. (2019). Resistensi Perempuan Dalam Kumpulan Cerita Tandak Karya Royyan Julian (Teori Resistensi-James C. Scott). *Jurnal Bapala. Jurnal mahasiswa. Unesa. Ac. Id. Surabaya: JBSI FBS Universitas Negeri Surabaya*.
- Syainit, R. A., Hayati, Y., & Nasution, M. I. (2018). Perjuangan Perempuan dalam Kumpulan Cerpen Nadira Karya Leila S. Chudori: Kajian Feminisme. *Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 6(1), 53–61.
- Tanjung, Y., Harahap, A., & Bulan, A. S. (2019). *Sejarah Pasifik Barat Daya*. Yayasan Kita Menulis.
- Teradjoe. (1926). *Dunia Istri*.
- Triharyanto, B. (2009). *Pers Perlawanan, Politik Wacana Antikolonialisme Pertja selatan*. LKIS Pelangi Aksara.
- Turaeni, N. N. T. (2010). Resistensi Perempuan Multikultural dalam Novel Seroja Karya Sunaryono Basuki: Kajian Feminis. *Atavisme*, 13(2), 257–264.
- Urifatulailiyah, N. (2017). Pemikiran Pendidikan Perempuan Pribumi Jawa Dalam Pers Kolonial Tahun 1908-1928. *Avatara*, 5(1).
- Vinthagen, S., & Johansson, A. (2013). "Everyday Resistance": Exploration of a Concept and its Theories. *Resistance Studies Magazine*.
- Zed, M. Z. (2006). *Kepialangan Politik dan Revolusi*. Jakarta: LP3ES.