

The ICoTiC 2015:

TOPIC: TRANSFORMATION IN COMMUNICATION PERSPECTIVE

ANALYSIS OF POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM THEORY:
NOTE OF A WOMAN'S STRUGGLE IN NOVEL
"PANGGIL AKU KARTINI SAJA"

Roro Retno Wulan

Faculty of Communication & Business

Telkom University

Jl Telekomunikasi Terusan Buah Batu, Bandung 40257

(rorowoelan28@gmail.com/ rorowoelan@telkomuniversity.ac.id)

Abstract

The struggle of a nation will be remembered if the nation treasures it as a heritage of knowledge and makes the history of the nation be passed on to generations after. Communications Study sees the process of knowledge heritage as one of its fields of study. Historical narration which depicts the nation's struggle is in the field of Communications Study. Therefore, this research used historical and bibliographical approach. This research was based on a Postcolonial analysis of a biography novel by Pramoedya A. Toer titled "Panggil Aku Kartini saja" as a historical note. A rare study in communications, this research tried to display women's efforts in freeing their gender off of "men-writers' eyes" domination. They are the women who want to grab the opportunity to go forward and to have choices in their life. The conclusion of the results of this research showed that firstly, as an evidence of the existence of postcolonial feminism theory, this novel had created a different point of view on communication studies. Secondly, the writer's opinion towards Kartini's struggle is very different with what had written by the colonials, since it bears a thicker "native" side on Kartini's struggle. Personal conflicts and the success of the struggle was narrated through a Javanese cultural context which is dominated by patriarchal environment.

Keywords: postcolonial, feminisme, double burdens, historical narration, marginalization

INTRODUCTION

A very long time period of the colonial domination in Indonesia had given many changes in social culture of the society. This is not only about physical matters but also non physical items like the tendency of unconfident behaviour, lack of initiation and lazyness. Universally speaking, the negative effect resulted by colonialism is the stereotype saying that Eastern people are weak, inferior, pay more attention to spiritual matters, superstitious, more into feelings, and uninstantly in acceptance of western domination. Lazyness with many behavioural implications such like corrupt, less creative, non-responsive/passive, apathetic, more selfish towards personal or own group's needs rather than broader society's needs, etc (Kutha Ratna, 2010: 238). Those stereotypes have been beared by Indonesian people, being a colonialized nation for centuries . That colonial contexts of life are still attached now inside the heart or mind of an Indonesian, realized or not.

In colonial condition, the initiative of the society was put to silent and deleted. The main purpose was to keep the spirit of freedom down. Freedom means a condition which makes the society becomes independent and has a bargaining position so they will be difficult to be controlled. The fear of such condition had made the colonials tried to remove the nation's identity.

Indonesia which at that time was a dominated nation of the Dutch undergone a *devide et impera* politics. Indonesian suffered from ignorance, weakened will , the big gap in social class by limitation of education, culture and economy. Impoverish action had done by sucking all the natural resources. Politically and economically, the impoverishment of indonesian people had happened to support the welfare of the colonials. Therefore, for Indonesian people, it is still difficult to move forward to become a developed and independent nation until now. The process to heal the effects of the colonial domination was still far from success. Feeling that the negative impacts of the Dutch colonialism is still existing until now is agreeable with the Postcolonial Theory.

To prove a history, it is difficult for us to find the facts which support the concept. Some thinkers believe that history was written by the winner, while the defeated group was unable to speak up or defend themselves. But a research based on a note of a history actor sure can be a legit evidence in revealing the real situations and conditions at that time.

Raden Ajeng Kartini's biography by Pramoedya Ananta Toer (Pram) was previously written in 2 volumes (1962). Later on, because of the issues and political condition of the country which chaosed in 1965, Pram lost volume 3 and 4. Political heat had destroyed the evidence of history of indonesian women. In Soeharto era, or Orde Baru (new order), his novel seemed to be disappeared. After the political reformation, in 2003 "Panggil Aku Kartini Saja" were re-published; then until 2010 the novel has been re-published 5 times.

The biography uncovered the side stories about Kartini as a "pingitan" noble girl and she was forcefully engaged with a married noble man because the culture makes her to accept that. Later she died and left an unfinished struggle. Kartini

who was the symbol of Indonesian women emancipation was still described in a strong patriarchist environment. As a woman who could not oppose to some 'policies' in a noble's life at that time such as arranged marriage, or polygamy, Kartini was doubtful whether she was worth to be called a saviour of her gender to freedom. . This research is aimed to re-open Kartini's story of life from a point of view of a man writer and through which Postcolonial analysis in this biography is considered suitable to be selected as a postcolonial depicted reading?

THEORITICAL STUDY

a. POSTCOLONIAL THEORY

Many opinions on the existence of postcolonialism emerged from academics society or common people. The same with postmodernism and other various theories using the prefix "post-", the historical aspects and main problems discussed have to be cleared. First, as poststructuralism can be tracked by its intellectual roots in (opposite towards) structuralism, therefore, historical roots of postcolonialism can be tracked with colonialism. Second, as a postmodern theory, both obviously do not approve of biner opposition. Biner opposition which is declined in postcolonialism is a difference diametrically between West and East. Hutcheon in Kutha Ratna (2010: 234) stated that basic meaning of the term 'post' in postcolonialism and postmodern are the same, i.e; 'after'.

Based on research, postcolonial theory appeared from Sociology and Literatures.theoretically, according to Kutha Ratna (2010: 233-234) postcolonial as an early study of postcolonial feminism was triggered by and therefore took advantage of some concepts in postmodernism. The difference is, while in postmodernism, modernity seemed to be held on and given a new meaning, in postcolonialism each form of colonialism with its variants have to be left behind. Postmodernism contains continuity, while postcolonialism is a result, which happened in an era after colonialism. Therefore, postcolonialism become problematical, as an era, a milestone, it has negative sentiment, on the contrary becomes culture study which is critical, positive, improving as a theory building. Because of that, Robert Young in Hutcheon (Kutha Ratna, 2010: 234) stated that postmodernism is dialectical turn over, as orientalism deconstruction, as well as consideration that history does not move in a linear way. In deconstruction study, the meaning of deconstruction itself is defined as a kind of destruction with the final goal is a reconstruction into a more significant order and level so that the analyzed aspects can be used optimally. Deconstruction in this relations is meant as an effort to give a meaning to the weak group, which were less understood, even ignored. Kristeva (Kutha Ratna, 2010: 246) explained that deconstruction is a union between destructive and constructive essences . The meaning is to destroy to reconstruct a better building.

Based on above explanation, then postcolonialism theory can be defined as a critical theory that tries to reveal the negative effects caused by colonialism. These are more related to mental degradation rather than material damage. The

same in relation with feminism, this leads to women freedom of the negative impacts of colonialism. Postcolonialism considered to have strong and wide influence. This global and universal influence has an impact on the colonized area and also on the colonials themselves. Loomba (Kutha Ratna, 2010: 235) The global and universal characteristics appeared because ex-colonialized people then spreaded out all over the world.

Several scholars (Shelley Walia, 2001:6 dan Edward Said, 2003: 58-59) have the opinion that postcolonial theory is the mother of postcolonial Feminisme theory, which its born marked by the publish of Frantz Fanon (1967) "*Black Skin White Mask and the Wretched of the Earth*". Fanon started from Psychology by analyzing sociopsychological of colonialized society. Through the East-west dichotomy of discourse, Orientalism had create a huge psychological alienation and marginalization; East and West will not unite, instead they build a wider gap (Kutha Ratna, 2010: 236). India as a former British's colonialized country represents the East group. There are many cases turned up and representative enough to depict the conditios of Eastern countries which once were Western colonialized. In other words, the USA and Australia also represent different colonialism cases. India as a former British colonials uses English as formal language. This means Indian people still accept British culture in their life. Through language, all cultural aspects were embedded, then automatically the domination lives on.

Edward Said through his book "Orientalisme" (1978) realized that the writings mentioned to give back Eastern concern contains hidden values. Basically, it can evoke the difference between East-West intensively with all its implications. Therefore, Postcolonial object in general is postcolonial issue, which are many forms of story telling, narration, in relation with the heritage of colonialism (Kutha Ratna, 2010: 239). Postcolonial issue on one side analyzes East-West relationship after the ex-colonialized gained their own independence, also some issues which formed in the nature of the local people, which was caused by colonialism such as oppression, racism, gender, and many forms of domination.

Orientalism derived from the word "*orient*" which means East. People who wrote about Eastern nations are called orientalist. This 'ism' analyzes unbalanceness of the West in seeing the East. In contrast to postmodernists who fight for universal, multikultural society, the orientalist write about the West's one sided point of view towards the East world. But in various writings, they still make the Western the winner. Examples of several literatures with orientalism are literatures from Rudyard Kipling, Jane Austen, Charles Dickens and many more. Said defined Orientalism in his point of view as:

1. Classical traditions study an area by using local ways applied on the area. Because the area in the East region, then it is called oriental, while the person is called orientalist.
2. The way of thinking based on onthology and epistemology differences between *the orient* and *the occident*.
3. There are always opinions that put aside the East.

4. In corporation institution related to the East, Western ways always dominate Eastern..

Actually, Abdul Latif Tibawi (Suriah), Hichem Djait (Tunisia), and Syed Hussain Alatas (Malaysia) are people who concern about postcolonial readings. Orientalism created critical ideology called postcolonial, discourse on oppression formed after colonial imperium. As a cultural study, postcolonialism is a multidisciplinary study. Bill Ashcroft (Kutha Ratna, 2010: 242) differed postcolonial model research by 4 characteristics:

1. National or regional model, many different descriptions on national and regional culture, national awareness was the one that triggered postcolonial discourse.
2. Based on race model, it identifies national literature, such as white diaspora literatures, black diaspora, or combination of both
3. Comparative model, analyzes two or more postcolonial literatures, explains certain linguistic characters, history, and culture which crossed in two postcolonial literatures.
4. Wider comparative model, highlights hybridity and syncretic culture.

The appearance of the terms creolization, Hybridity, Diaspora showed that the models are not just theoretical like said by Saussure. On the contrary, language and culture is a practice, the content is human behaviour. The relevance of the Postcolonial theory in cultural study is an awareness that intendedly or unintendedly, West literatures, especially those written by orientalist, contained ideology. This ideology is what made the East inferior to the West.

There are many advantages by using Postcolonial theory. Based on the thought that this theory is aimed to open the view in solution finding and to predict problem, then new dimension will be revealed. Postcolonial basically also imply feminists theory, how the West sees Eastern women. In this relation it can be said that Eastern women experienced double oppressions, from local and white men ideology.

b. POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM

Postcolonial Feminism study explains the condition of women's struggle culture in ex-colonial countries. It reveals due to the oppression felt by the colony society especially women, until the end of the colonialism. Started by anti-west movement, the appearance of anti-colonial nationalism, and fight from sub-groups such as religious society and women.

In this research, it should be understood that postcolonial feminism theory was born from Postcolonialism. The essence of this theory assumes that it criticized western's perspective towards issues on gender, race, social classes and sexuality and also questioning about the remains of colonialism influential in the relations between West and East relationship as the colonizer and the colonized.

Perspective similarity on the *third world* feminism centered on ideas and experiences of eastern women and transnational feminism which explore gender

construction over nations borders in globalization context. Prominent figures who took great part in this theory were Gayatri Spivak, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, and Trinh T. Minh-ha. Their writings which take the side on the eastern women and showed that the women had received “oppressed” actions by local or non-local men are also the same with the concept of western/white women. Quoted from Spivak on the third world women’s position (Kutha Ratna, 2010: 248) that the difference of man is more important than the similarity. In other book, Spivak (Gandhi, 2007: 108) said that “if there are rumours on cultural critics at this time, that is marginality. This is related with western culture being more powerful in getting into the life of the society and the worse is, that western lifestyle is being glorified by the lifestyle adopted by the third world society. For instance there are dominations of taste of food by the globally widespread franchises of McDonalds, KFC, Dunkin Donuts. Spivak insisted that “when culture identity is embedded in someone, because the center wants limits that can be identified, it requires marginality to guarantee validation from the center” (Gandhi, 2007: 109).

Postcolonial feminism showed up in social and society studies since the end of the 80’s and was seen in creations by Radha S. Hegde, Raka Shome, Radhika Parameswaran. In the article “*Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses*”, Talpade Mohanty (1988) see with the same way towards discursive colonialism game in third world women’s production as single monolithic subject in several texts by western feminist (Gandhi, 2007: 110). Mohanty uses the term “colonialism” to state the relations of structural domination which emphasizes awareness of self-service of the heterogeneity of problems discussed. So, the third world women or eastern women who are categorized as analytic are colonialist, with two reasons: first, the shallow, ethnocentric point of view, ignorant of big material and historical differences of the third world women. Second, because it combines “othering” to become a consolidation project for western feminists not eastern feminists.

As a point of view, Postcolonial Feminism theory began with two projects:

1. Critized western feminism hegemony like in the USA and Western Europe
2. Formulated the basic of Feminist theory based on culture, geography, and history and also the relations with politics to widen the process of transnational relations.

For the initial project, postcolonial feminist divided it with other postcolonial theory experts as a critic in description of east world by the west world. Began with the appearance of Orientalists who tried to uncover the beginning of colonialism. Leela Gandhi (1998: 105) stated that “Orientalism is not able to define sufficiently the struggle of the non-europe world towards the attack of colonialism which natures are material and vast”. Eastern feminists see that western feminists often adopt and recycle many same representation mistakes from the East just like Western humanists. Especially in the description and treatment of the third world, labour and women marginalization so that often create colonialization by displaying third world women as a single object as

victim of universal patriarchist condition and men domination. Meaning, the assumption formulates that double colonization on women happens.

Third world women are victims of *par excellence* – the unforgotten victims, from two ideologies of imperialism and patriarchist asing (Gandhi, 1998: 108). In homogenization towards all women, third world women are often being talked about not only as victims but described to have no power and still traditional. Talpade Mohanty (1994: 200) showed that the feminist tried to suit between kematangan western politics and the spirit of western feminism :

“third world women in general are stupid, poor, and unmodern, binded to tradition, family oriented, always become victim, who push and elevate representation western women who are modern, educated, independent, physically and sexually healthy, also have the freedom to determine their own decisions”.

Later, the concepts like reproduction, family, and patriarchy often linked to desription of women’s experiences without concerning about geographics, culture, and exclusivity of culture which make all the experiences have more meanings. The results are a denial and silencing of institution and women’s capability individually to create and respond their unique situations. This is the power of the theory. Criticizing western feminist investation in the problem related to postcolonialism.

As an addition to challenge the etnocentric universality in which trust and euro-american ideology becomes a norm when finally the whole culture, politics and family formal being evaluated , postcolonial feminists also pay attention to power issues. Everybody is a subject on culture and social relation from where they come from, but when third world women appear as coherent entity, power appears unilaterally and unchanged throughout time, place, or cuture. Power is seen in two terms, powerless and powerful, while women are powerless and men are powerful. In line with critics from postcolonial to the first world, the third world become powerless party. Postcolonial feminists argue that depiction of third world women as powerless party, not like western women who are secular and free as the opposite of eastern women who are traditional and restrained.

Main concepts in Postcolonial Feminism theory are:

1. Third world women or eastern women experienced oppression against modern imperialism and patriarchy.
2. Eastern women have the rights to work and create like free human.
3. Modern colonialisme nowadays has got into all aspects of the life of the society and eastern women are still being marginalized.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research method used in studying this biography is in the field of qualitative study. Moleong (2000: 3) stated that qualitative method is a method

which produce descriptive data inform of written word from persons and behaviour studied. This study is bibliographical and historical, meaning it relates the texts in the biographic novel with history condition which was the context of the narration. Besides using the novel itself as a resource, bibliographical study and internet browsing had helped accomplish the research.

This research worked through relevant bibliographical data collecting for three months. Then the available notes were selected. Next step is analysing, helped by study of Postcolonial Feminism Theory which aimed to see the marginalization and double burden of women of the third world, then the data were abstracted. The results were then written as the research results.

CASE ANALYSIS

In some literatures, it was explained that Postcolonial Feminism Theory usually takes in some books and journal reviews from several women writers describing the lives of women oppressed by imperialism and patriarchy. The cases of double burdens all over the world were undergone by victims of colonialism. Then in application of the theory, discussing biography by Pramoedya Ananta Toer (Pram) "Panggil Aku Kartini Saja" is a suitable choice. The strongest reasons to discuss the novel by Pram is because of his courage in showing the struggle through his writings. One of the struggles by marginalized groups in Javanese patriarchist culture, is the women group. His courage had produced some works that once were prohibited and burnt by Orde Baru regime. Besides, as a writer, Pram is the only representative from Indonesia who had repeatedly got into the list of winning nominators of Nobel Prize in Literature.

In the beginning of the novel Pram wrote: "As an author, I will work effortlessly to fulfill my goals, and work to raise our nation's dignity and civilization. The pattern of fight towards domination by other nation or our nation (patriarchy) was very openly explained in the novel. The novel which was a biography of Kartini in 305 pages, are a writing about the icon of women emancipation in Indonesia. Pram's writing also shows the sides of the struggle of a woman who inspired the fight of women all over Indonesia. Pram explains Kartini's position as a woman who suffered from Javanese culture domination and the Dutch colonialism in colonialism era. If we see from the assumption of Postcolonial Feminism, that there were double burdens, then the conditions can be seen in some of Kartini's writings in her book "Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang", quoted by Pram.

From Kartini's letters, Pram showed that Kartini's mind and soul were far beyond her time. Native world known by Kartini was at the time when feudalism ruled. Women's position at that time was very cornered. Without spirit and hope to determine her life. Here is the quote :

"...tell me Ni (Kartini), you never told me, what do you want to be in the future?" a couple of big eyes stared at the speaker, looking amazed. "Go on, tell me." The Javanese shooked her head and answered shortly, : "don't know". Her white girl friend's question left a deep impression. The question

tortured her, buzzing repeatedly on her ears: “what do you want to be in the future?” (Toer, 2010: 63)

On the other side, the Dutch influence on the economics, politics and culture had also influenced her life. In the biography novel, Pram referred to Kartini’s letters and writings to explain more about the meanings of Kartini’s opinion. This is what Pram praised for, Kartini as a Javanese woman who was born in the middle of colonialism condition were able to produce a power that can give a big push towards Indonesian women’s development. Pram himself as man writer had been able to understand Kartini’s feminist side and translated it brightly.

“Those Dutch people laughed and made fun of our ignorance, but we tried to move forward, then they acted against us. Oh my God! How many sorrows when we were kids in school; our teachers and many of our friends are against us. Most teachers were reluctant to give the highest score to a Javanese kid, even though the student really deserved it. (Toer, 2010: 62).

If compared with several of his works, it seemed that Pram has never been trapped in stereotyping a woman character who is *nrimo* (submitted to her fate), feminine, and keep silent when being opposed. His women characters are always to the point, firm, and has fighting spirit. for example, like Nyi Ontosoroh in “Bumi Manusia”. Next is a quotation on Kartini’s opinion on her school activity which was to her bestfriend Estella Zeehandelaar:

“The greatest betrayal to my country’s culture, we little girls went out of our house to study and therefore we had to leave home everyday to visit the school” (Toer, 2010: 60).

This quotation described how patriarchy and feudalism at that time were shocked by the activities of the daughters of Jepara’s Regent. Even though, in other note it was found that the students were put into classes based on social strata and their skin colors. The colonial government obviously had done discrimination based on the ranks and social economic status of the students’ parents..

Actually Pram was really aware that many had doubted Kartini’s spirit and thoughts. The originality of Kartini’s thoughts were doubted by many. But Pram could explain clearly how the struggle of kartini’s in freeing herself and her people from two hegemonies, feudalism (as the representation of patriarchal) and colonialism. On page 93 Pram wrote “Kartini wanted to heal the “sick feudalism” order of life and return its duty like the time before the down of Majapahit.”. Pram explained that Kartini’s struggle position was actually the initiator of Indonesia’s modern history, closing the era of local feudalism. “In her other letter Kartini said, that as a person who had tasted democracy world, to her it was impossible to get back into the ancient world, the past world- and also according to her own words with fake evaluation on human.” (Toer, 2010: 94).

Pram believes that feudalism which has not been removed by the presence of Islam, has to be erased because local feudalism, which had separated the people

into noblish strata, was the root of the very long time period of colonialism in Nusantara, it was stated, "by feudalistic people, in feudalism life order, local people were commanded by the colonizers (The Dutch, British, Portuguese, French) so the colonizers themselves did not have to work hard" (Toer, 2010: 92).

Kartini's writings were also a portrait of the development of the history of Colonial Ethic Politics in early 20th century, when finally at that time the local nobles got the advantages to have Western education and learned the Dutch language. But then for the very first time the Dutch received sharp or light critics which both lowered the prestige of white power towards the brown race. This was seen in Kartini's courage (Toer, 2010: 122) when she wrote down her thoughts to her bestfriend Abendanon.

"From you there are nothing else we can hope for, that you can not and will not let the workers be beaten on your orders. I myself can not stand to see someone's got beaten up. The view of it creates pain, pain to see the beast inside a man, uncontrolled beast, which change him that low from human into animal."

In the biography it is revealed that one of Kartini's readings is "MaxHavelaar" by Multatuli; there then emerged conciously in Kartini's mind the sentence "Man's duty is to become human". Then Kartini realized the importance of education for women in her time. At that time also, the idea of creating a school for pribumi came up, because Kartini experienced discrimination from the school and social enviroentment of colonial feudal because she was not of a white race, so not every opportunity to knowledge was opened to her. This was what Kartini wanted to change; to her, education belongs to all people.

The opinion on the Dutch influence as colonizer, was told by Kartini to her bestfriend Estella Zeehandelaar, the closest example was her own father. Who had a big influence as a Regent, but according to Kartini, power is something else. "power only holds by the rulers" (Toer, 2010: 65). About her father, Kartini respected him a lot like Javanese girls in general who obey their parents. Kartini understood that the modernity of her father's got some oppressions from Javanese people at that time. His courage to send his daughters to school was challenged by many people, and Kartini then wrote:

"...people said that Father was guilty to have given me education. No! No! Don't throw the blame on my beloved Father! ... Father could not do anything, he could not foresee, that the education he gave to all his children had made one of them this way. Many of the Regents gave or have given the same education like we had received, and it did not make them like this, except for the ability to speak Dutch and imitating the traditions a little bit".

Kartini had a great spirit in dealing with unbalances in her life. Kartini had knowledge and intellectuality, moreover she was aware about ways that have to be taken to support, to educate, and to elevate the rank of commoners. This is what Pram said as the massage of the people's suffering (amanat penderitaan rakyat). Kartini understood that the condition of the colonizer and the colonized happened because education and development was not equally applied in order to

have everyone lives in one world, not the world of masters and slaves, the Dutch and the pribumi. Kartini's figure described successfully by Pram was a woman who had awareness on her identity as a Javanese who intended to take the good sides of European.

The important matter needed to be studied in this biography was not about Kartini's womanism, but about Kartini's wide comprehension on classes, race and gender differentiation. Men and women were placed into a work division by genders, where men got the higher position than women. As the effect, there was unbalanced relation in western imperialism domination. This was the reality portrayed by Postcolonial Feminism. Until in the end, this biography novel is worth to become an example of Indonesian postcolonial feminism's discourse.

CONCLUSION

The development of Communications theories can not be separated from the development of technology and culture which influenced the development of communications study.. Communication theory is a symbiotic creation made to describe phenomenons happened and become a pattern we can observe. The main purpose of a theory is to explain, to predict, and to control phenomenons happened or about to happen. The function of a theory (Ifante et all, 1993: 65) is to organize experience, to develop knowledge, to stimulate and to direct the next researchs, to give way to researchers to anticipate incidents which they probably can not observe.

Postcolonial feminism born from the existance of differences between the colonizer and the colonized, had revealed third world women who are capable to represent their struggle against two hegemonies; patriarchy and modern imperialism as heritage of colonial culture. As a theory study, postcolonial feminism starts from the side of cultural studies. It shows how the methodology of postcolonial feminism's concepts be more discovered through sexual identity characters description which are specific historically, unstable, plastic and flexible. The results of the study of this theory guide us to read Kartini's biography "Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang" summarized by Pramoedya Ananta Toer in his book "Panggil Aku Kartini Saja" as a written evidence on how colonization has to be banished from the world. The problem is that colonization has always had the element of domination, oppression, and hegemony of colonials cultural values. Cultural values are surely do not give advantage to the social, politics and economy conditions of the colonized nation.

This research has also become a study of postcolonial feminism theory based on the case of Kartini's biography. The advantage of Postcolonial Feminism theory is that it is rich in uncovering colonialism cases experienced by women, but also has some setbacks like ;

1. Only reveals the movement of social change especially women, do not contain matters related to the concerns of the whole society.

2. Still lack of scientific method, because the study is categorized as new. This has some impacts on the lack of comprehension on the research's validity.
3. Emphasizes more in representation of language, picture, and texts. It could be more applicative if the texts narration also includes non-verbal communication.

So, Postcolonial Feminism tried to describe the struggle of Eastern women through narrative texts, which this time represented by Pram's "Panggil Aku Kartini Saja", stimulated in the escalation of political and economical one-sidedness, direct researchs about the improvement of women condition in colonial society who take double burdens which are subordinated by colonialism and local men's domination. However, the development of feminism literacy in the view of Gramscian ethic, is a part of *counter-hegemony* towards masculine identities dominating the material world and simboly of all society all over the world. In the end, a theory will create a long discussion in finding the truth. How long the debate is going to take place is intellectuals effort to find the truth.

REFERENCES:

- Ashcroft, Bill. Garreth Griffiths & Helen Tiffins. (2000) *The Key Concepts in Post Colonial Studies*. Routledge. London
- , (1989) *The Empire Writes Back, Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature 2nd Edition*. Routledge. London
- Barker, Chris. (2004) *Cultural Studies Teori & Praktik*. Kreasi wacana, Yogyakarta
- Gandhi, Leena. (1998) *Teori Pascakolonial, Upaya meruntuhkan Hegemoni Barat*. Qalam. Jakarta
- Guha, Ranajit. (1982) *Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asia History*. Oxford University Press. India
- Homi, Bhaba. (1994) *The Location of Culture*. New York. Routledge
- Infante, Dominic. Andrew Rancer & Deanna Womack. (1993) *Building Communication Theory 2nd Edition*. Waveland Press Inc. Illinois
- Kutha Ratna, Nyoman. (2010) *Sastra dan Cultural Studies Representasi Fiksi dan Fakta*. Pustaka Pelajar, Jakarta
- Littlejohn, Stephen and Foss. (2008) *Theories of Human Communication, 9th Edition*. Thomson Wadsworth. Belmont. California
- Loomba, Ania. (1998) *Colonialism/Postcolonialism 2nd Edition*. Routledge.
- Moleong. (2000) *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Remaja Rosdakarya. Bandung

- Mulyana, Deddy. (2010) *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Remaja Rosdakarya. Bandung
- Prabasmoro, Aquarini Priyatna. (2006) *Kajian Budaya Feminis Tubuh, Sastra, dan Budaya Pop*. Jalasutra, Yogyakarta
- Said, Edward. (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc.
- (2003) *Imperialism, Western's Conception of the Orient*. Penguin. UK
- Spivak, Gayatri. (1985) *Can Subaltern Speak?: Speculations on Widow-Sacrifice* University of Illinois Press
- (1999) *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward the History of Vanishing Present*. Harvard University Press
- Tyson, Lois. (2006) *Critical Theory Today A User Friendly Guide 2nd Edition*. Taylor & Francis Group. NY
- Young, Robert. (1994) *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. Routledge
- Yin, Robert. (2000) *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish*. The Guilford Press. London. England