

POST COLONIAL STUDIES IN INDONESIA: WOMEN IDENTITY IN COLONIAL MECHANISM

Roro Retno Wulan
Telkom University
rorowoelan28@gmail.com

Atwar Bajari
Communication Department, Universitas Padjadjaran
atwarbajari@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

From the very beginning, Postcolonial and feminism examines how women are oppressed in their life. Colonialism and patriarchy have been closely entwined politically and historically, but an end in colonial era in Indonesia had not meant an end to the oppression of women in former colony areas. In this research, Postcolonial feminist points out the way in which women continue to be stereotyped and marginalized, ironically it happened by their own culture through norms that oppress women. Patriarchy produced double oppression on tea-picker women labour life.

As a case study, this study tries to examine the nature of women as tea picker labour and their life in West Java, Indonesia. As an analysis of colonial concept, this paper could serve as a new insight for communication science and became a bridge to open another research about Gender and Postcolonial theory. Analysis covered the assumption of postcolonial theory: the colonial ruler had the power to shape attitudes and to perpetuate the status quo, included women marginalization, the living and working patterns in tea plantation in West Java. This has revealed the identity of tea-picker women in colonial mechanism environment. This research is based on depth interview with several woman workers who have been living in the plantation area for generation to generation until now.

This research also tries to cope with all the exploitation that has never been revealed in the life of tea-picker women. These included pictures of how women struggled to overcome their problems and how their identity constructed socially. Thus, woman-woman relationship may reflect the strength of women to live their life in modern world with colonial mechanism environment. Conclusion of this research shows tea picker women's action of communication reflected in their social life. It is a representation of the repressive identity.

Keywords: postcolonial theory, woman, marginalization, identity, double oppression

INTRODUCTION

Tea plantation in Indonesia was historically inherited from Dutch colonial era. The remote location in the highland of West Java isolate the indigenous people from changes. Their culture and perspective of life are different from others. Eventhough Indonesia has gained its independence since 1945, the time seemed to freeze in the tea plantation. Colonial culture remains in their lives. As colonialized people, their culture has been influenced and constructed by the European Planters. Colonialist ideology, which is inherently Eurocentric, was a pervasive force in tea plantation to inculcate European culture and values to indigenous people who worked with them.

Since Ehrfacht system (1930) had started in West Java, the European Planters built their “empire”. Their land had become a small kingdom and they had become the king, who ruled the land with their power and ideology. There was landelijk stelsel as a capitalism system which made the landlord became more powerful to control the land and made the land as “a small country in a country”.

In literature research, it is showed that since Culturstelsel and Agraria Wet in 1870, the exploitation on human capital has happened in Indonesia. Local people had to give one fifth of the land production to the landlord, otherwise they had to work in the plantation. This condition has reduced the local agriculture and almost all people’s lands became the plantation. This was the beginning of exploitation of local people and it has been continuing until now. The repressive condition on land and the people also happened to women as subaltern. Women had suffered double oppression since colonial era.

Based on the description and observation during the research, life in the plantation was defined by company culture which adopted the colonial characteristics¹. Such condition revealed in a clear differentiation between labour and employer (administratuur) in the organisational structure of the tea plantation. The concept of labour and employer starts from foreman (mandor) rank as “minor” boss/employer to the head of the tea plantation (administratuur) as “plantation owner”. These attitudes and acts of colonialistic is clearly followed and continued, as they were inherited from colonial era. According to the plantation worker experience and knowledge, this structure has not been change. This means that the lowest rank in the society would be the most oppressed. Their interests have been marginalized by many other interests. They have to receive the worst treatment because they are in the lowest rank of such system of colonial mechanism. The lowest rank in this system is tea picker. Since then women was marginalized. By this description we see that there are characters, values, norms, and culture, which are inherited historically. Years have passed since colonial domination but mental condition of European authorities (indische mentality) and their behavior are still embedded in the modest life of the tea pickers. Living in a tea plantation whole their life, these women labour could not ask for more than relying their future in the plantation, being solely workers to continue supporting their family life. Their part in supporting their family needs has never been properly appreciated. All was

¹ The company remains organization structure in Dutch language such as administratuur, sinder, sinder kebun dan mandor (interview with Bapak Beben – Agrowisata Kebun Ciater, 20 November 2014).

considered as a mere duty. Seems like the women labour have been pushed away from their own community.

In the life of a plantation in Indonesia, the story of Western domination has not been revealed much. The unbalanced condition between labour and employer is still happening nowadays. It should be that history is not “created” alone by those elite groups who come out as winners, but the so-called lower society must be able to make their own history. Therefore, the life of the tea picker women would be an interesting matter when it becomes an issue of a research in term of postcolonial case study. Colonialization history always exhibits winners who dominate the history. Many stories of marginalized sub society have been forgotten. There was Ranajit Guha (1982), an Indian historian who took and developed the idea of Gramsci- about subaltern- then re-write the Indian history in *On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India*. The idea was carried on afterwards by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1985) through her well- known article, “Can the Subaltern Speak?: Speculations on Widow-Sacrifice”. In this article, Spivak wrote about ‘sati’, widow-sacrifice in India. Spivak questioned out about the role of postcolonial intellectuals who were supposedly capable to speak up on behalf of the voice of the subaltern, the voice of the oppressed society. The subaltern society or the oppressed society had no power to speak their minds. They were forcefully put to be silent since they have suffered under patriarchy and colonials domination. In the feminist view, the condition is stated as “Women are characterized as a singular group on the basis of a shared oppression. What binds women together is a sociological notion of the ‘sameness’ of their oppression” (Mohanty, 1995: 337). Eventhough actually, women’s problems are very complex, they share the same pain. This was stated by Simone de Beauvoir as ‘second sex’. The first sex is male and female on lower class, the second.

In public reality, women are positioned as complementary. Object, rather than subject. Tea picker women are still colonialized culturally due to the domination of patriarchal culture in the plantation, which has resulted in making their position got into a circle of poverty reproduction. This was the basic of the term ‘subaltern’ by Mohanty (1995). Colonial structure bound the tea picker women as one of the production agents in a long chain of tea industry. Those women were also the subjects who have always been in a life condition which is dependent on the plantation, physically (wages, housing facility, and work opportunity), psychologically (as secure feeling on having a place to stay, a chance to be a permanent employee, hope to get bonus, possibility of bigger salary, hope that her children can also work in the plantation, or health installment for her family).

According to Gramsci, subaltern means ‘of inferior rank’. It refers to a group in society who subjects to the hegemony of the ruling classes (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2000: 198). The term ‘Subaltern’ jots down from Gramsci’s idea which Spivak (1985: 285) called it as “...a deviation from an ideal- which is itself defined as a difference from the elite”. It was a form of ignorance of equality amongst God’s creatures; at the same time it was also an elimination of women’s self-awareness and dignity. Indonesian women were subjected to be commodity on the hands of white men. Policies on tea picker women have been discriminative and oppressive. This condition

has been ongoing since colonial era and in accordance with Spivak statement (1988) that “...the phased development of subaltern is complicated by the imperialist project”.

Homi Bhaba (Gandhi, 1998) analyzed relations between colonizer and colonized by stressing on the presence of mutual dependancy and supportive construction of their subjectivity. Meaning, there were an unbalanced relation between the plantation authorities with tea picker women. Each party stands on its position because there is hegemony which made the condition seemed to be natural so it was accepted by both parties. If we refer to the history, then it was clear that the colonials have conducted identity elimination by relocating the tea pickers from Ciwidey to Ciater. This way, the tea pickers’ new identities were first constructed.

Patriarchy exploitation which is interesting in this research is the foreman (called mandor) position as representation of men as superior. Mandor has authority and can easily define the luck of the tea picker women whether or not they can still work tomorrow. Or whether they can have a loan from the company or not. Mandor’s position is very crucial in organization structure. So the miserable life of the tea picker women was not only derived from economic and work problems, but also due to the huge domination of patriarchy culture (through mandor as the closest symbol, and plantation manager or administrator as the highest symbol- all of them are men) which is constructed by plantation colonial authorities over hundreds of years. One way is by concentrating the women to certain working shift, so that such kind of work has gone through ‘feminization’. This means that tea-picking has become women area and foreman work was men’s priviledge. Based on observation result, there has never been a female mandor (forewoman) in the plantation history in West Java.

All those explain that a tea picker woman does not only undergo exploitation practices in social class dimension, but in gender dimension as well. So, tea picker women, are subaltern who continually be in an repressive and weak position, because of their existency as the lowest and most inferior rank in tea plantation environment. In Postcolonialism perspective, this research was focused on women marginalization, the living and working patterns in tea plantation in West Java. This research aim tries to reveal the identity of tea-picker women in colonial mechanism environment using Communication paradigm.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Creswell (1998: 15) defined qualitative research as “an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem”. Furthermore, Denzin & Lincoln described that in conducting qualitative research, various empirical materials are used, “Qualitative involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials –case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moment and meaning in individual’s live (2009: 2). Agree with Denzin & Lincoln, Creswell also explained that in a qualitative research, knowledge is built through interpretation towards multi

perspectives insight gathered from inputs of all research participants, not merely from the researcher alone. There are various data resources such as observation notes, interview notes, narrative of individual's experiences, and historical writings. In qualitative research, researcher is the main instrument. Especially because this type of research uses data collecting technique of observation participatory, in which researcher will be completely involved.

To compile more information from different perspective of source, this research uses case study as a method. Robert Yin (2000:18) gave boundaries on case study method as a research which learns phenomena in a real life context. If limitations or boundaries of the phenomena and context were unclear, then multisource evidences will be used. As we explain before, we used multisource as validity technique also. According to Mulyana (2010:201) in case study, researcher works thoroughly and in every way to evaluate a large numbers of variables on a special case. This time, it was the case of revealing the identity of tea picker women. What factors that influenced women identity in colonial mechanism. By thoroughly studying the life of the tea picker women as a group (subaltern), researcher aims to give indepth description on researched subject. Research validation was conducted with triangular source method (metode triangulasi sumber) by gathering deeper information as reported by people around the plantation area, as a cross check method.

From the theory perspective, Postcolonial theory argues that third-world women have different relationship to racism than white women. Stereotype also influences this colonial relations. Postcolonialism refers to phenomenon that is more extensive than the particular time period after independence or imperial occupation. On postcolonial perspective women' experience of patriarchy and those of colonized subjects can be paralleled in a number of respects.

From first observation, the researchers saw the unbalanced relation between tea picker women and plantation authorities, and also between tea picker women and patriarchal society as dominant culture. The awareness of postcolonialism started from the fact that there are some evidence of colonialism mechanism in plantations. Due to the reasons that all forms of colonialism have psychological impacts, and have reflects in social condition. The impacts are embedded through generations dan lingered in tea pickers' social environment. In the end, these constructed the tea picker women's identity.

Postcolonial perspective born from Edward Said "Imperialism" (1993 & 2003). He spread out the awareness that domination of empire extended until now. Said uses imperialism in this general sense to mean "The practice, theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distance territory". Since 1880's the classical imperialism became dominant in European country. After World War II surprisingly, imperialism did not die and transform into new colonialization. Here the the important reason why a perspective of Postcolonial have to be done in Indonesia as former colonial country.

Ashcroft et al, (1989:2) defined Postcolonial as "all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present". Where the researchers enter a place with all the symbolic and material remnants passed down from the history

of colonialism. Here the uniqueness of the postcolonial research who examine how the colonial epoch –for better and worse- profoundly affected education, language, geographic borders, religion, governmental structures and cultural values that are carried forth to present and will continue to be carried forth in the future (Madison, 2012:55).

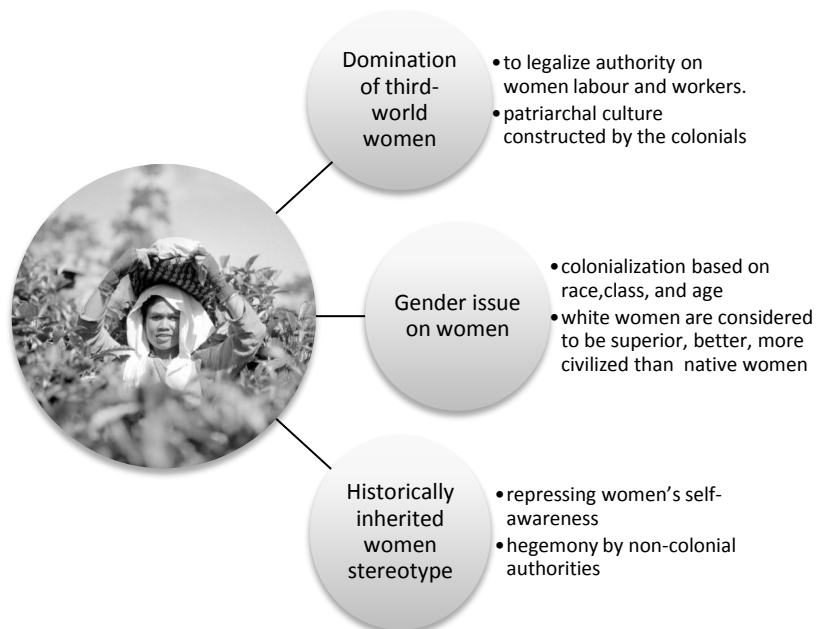


Figure 1: Conceptual Framing in Postcolonial Theory
(Sources: Littlejohn & Foss (2008), Said (1993), Spivak (1999), Mohanty (1995), Gandhi(1998), Loomba (2005), Bhaba (1994))

Postcolonial often concerned with representation and language that are crucial to identity formation. Identity can not be separated from the historical background, political factor and environment where these women lived. This research used Identity theory to explain all the women's experiences in colonial environment in tea plantation:

1. Identity Negotiation Theory by Stella Ting-Toomey (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008: 90) help to uncover the identity of tea-picker women. Ting-Toomey in her research sees that identity is always negotiating actively in interaction among others. Identity becomes a kind of self-reflective image, because it changes, challenged, and modifies itself, everytime. It usually begins in the family as an initial process of identity formation. Littlejohn & Foss (2008: 90) stated that "The development of initial gender identity also occurs in the family and subsequently becomes a very important part of social identity". This theory refers to the actor who delivers the message. From the communicator's point of view, it is assumed that:
 - a. Human gather as a group based on the needs of security and inclusion
 - b. Human as a part of the group needs differentiation from the group
 - c. The more open the person, the more he/she is able to adapt easily in a group, especially towards group with different culture.

This theory explains that relationship amongst the tea pickers created collective identity. Individual identity is understood to be collective identity. Mainly because these tea pickers share the same difficulties in their everyday life. One is to answer the question on communication which maintains the colonial hegemony in the life of the plantation. Such hegemony was mutually understood as an existing power and have to be followed through by the tea picker women. The assumption was based on the statement of Ting-Toomey (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008: 90) which focus the identity as part of cultural and ethnical negotiation. "Identity, thus, is constructed in communication in various cultural settings".

In reality, life in the plantation with all its symbols, naming, dan exact same location as those in the colonial era, have resulted in understandable mutual relations as a negotiation between the society's genuine culture and colonial culture. The negotiation was done to create secure feeling for the native people. By opening up to the education, values, norms of the European people, indigenous people can be more adaptive and acceptable in the relationship. It does not necessarily be a mutually balanced relation, but it might avoid more harmful repressions. The closeness to colonial society might resulted in better working position, and also wider and more varied job opportunities.

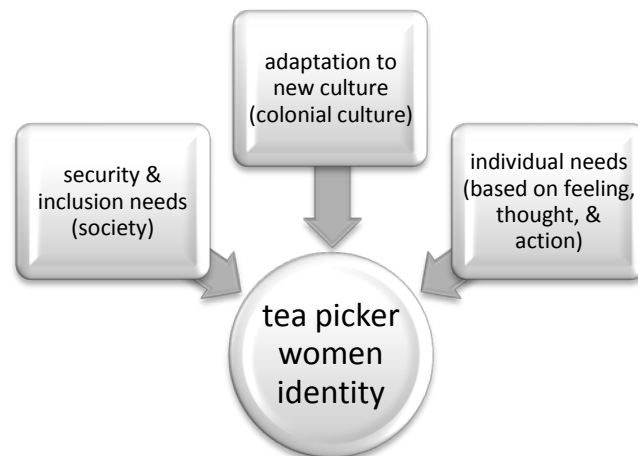


Figure 2: Tea Picker Women Identity Construct in Tea Plantation
(source: research, 2015)

2. In the assumption of Hecht (1980) The Communication Theory of Identity, it was explained that cultural context played an important part in identity construction. Cultural context is the collaboration between, individual, communal and societal. In this theory, identity is a joining point between the individual and the society, and communication is the link that allows this intersection occur (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008: 89). This theory explains that identity is a central element of human existence. This theory argues that humans are inherently social beings whose lives revolve around communication, relationships, and communities. Identity and identification are key processes through which people and groups orient themselves to each other and the world around them (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009: 139). There are three cultural contexts in

identity change, i.e : Individual - Society -Community. Hecht in his reserach identified that identity dimensions consisted of three aspects:

- a. Feeling or a person's affective dimension
- b. Thoughts or a person's cognitive dimension
- c. Action or a person's behavioral dimension

Other than three dimensions mentioned above, Hecht believes that there is a transcendental or spiritual dimensions in a person's identity construction. Nevertheless, once the identity is formed, it does not mean it will always stay fixed forever, "Identity is never fixed but always emergent" (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008: 90).

To build the model of the identity construction of tea-picker women in tea plantation it is crucial to include Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978; Breakwell, 1993). This theory attempts to explain intergroup relationships, is a model which focuses upon individual needs and motivation. In this research it is proved that tea picker women tried to cope with their need of life, tried to fulfill their dream to have a better life. It explains interpersonal and intergroup dynamics. By addressing the issues of social representation, it can provide a model of the broader role of identity process in directing the social construction of what passes for reality (Breakwell, 1993: 2).

The social identity leads us to see that colonial mechanism environment resulted hybridity. Young (1994) assumes hybridity not only in area of Biology but also in social life. According to Ashcroft et. al (2000) hybridity has frequently been used in postcolonial discourse to mean simply cross-cultural exchange. The idea of hybridity also underlies others attempts to stress on mutually communication action. This term has been most associated to the work of Homi Bhaba, "The Location of Culture" (1994). In hibridity context, there is always one dominant culture which affected others. Related to our research, the Dutch culture remains in the mind of indigenous people who live in plantation, in this case is tea picker women.

Derived from those theories and facts in the field, the identity of tea-picker women can show as below:

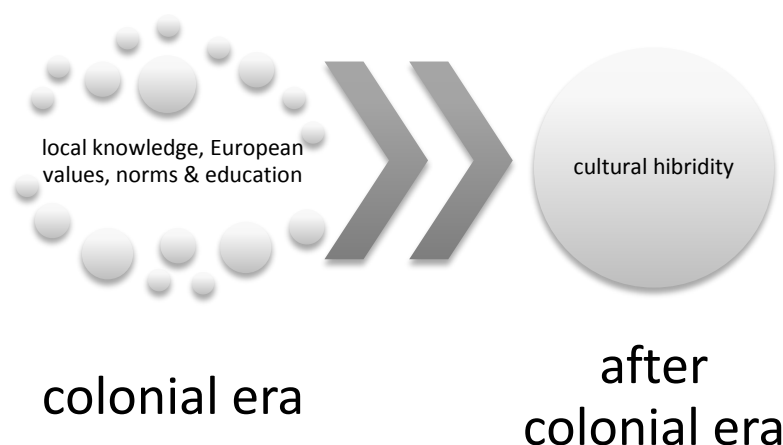


Figure 3: Cultural Hybridity in Tea Plantation
(source: research, 2015)

FINDINGS

WOMAN IDENTITY IN COLONIAL MECHANISM ENVIRONMENT

From in-depth interview and observation for six months, researcher found that these tea-picker women had housing facility with water supply and electricity from the plantation. The houses like huts in the middle of the tea plantation. In the earlier years of the plantation it was free, but since the year 2000 they had to pay. Pay for electricity only. For water facilities, the land had supply them with abundant water source. In Malabar and Pangalengan they built water reservoir to support electricity needs since 1900.

At the plantations, there are afdelings (area of work) and tea picker villages. Common villages are different from the settlements of the plantation workers. Ever since the colonial era, there have been some norms or unwritten rules that if a plantation worker intend to keep the facilities (the hut) as his/her own, she has to inherit the job to her heirs – daughter or son. Otherwise, when she retires and no one replaces her, she has to leave the settlement, or in their term, ‘pulang kampung’ (move to their village). This rule has been constructed since colonial era. Until finally the huts have captured their freedom. Like it or not, they have to prepare one of their family members to continue to work on the plantation as a tea picker in order to keep the facilities. Or they have to leave the huts as the huts were the privilege of plantation workers. Therefore, their identity as plantation workers have been constructed by domination of life in the plantation. This was as the result of mutual relations in communication between workers and the authority throughout the years. This mutual relationship has formed individual identity which was spread out as social identity among the tea picker women. Feodalistic values and norms have also took part in creating this worse condition of tea picker women become harder and they suffered from double oppression by both the colonial and feodalistic of patriarchy system.



Figure 4: Tea-picker women identity influenced by three elements
(source: research, 2015)

Social conditions which have existed since colonial era affected the identity of the tea pickers. Spivak (1988: 277) concluded “Class consciousness remains the feeling of community that belongs to national link and political organization”. Politically,

plantation authorization began with political attempts. Until the transfer of government era towards Indonesian independence, plantation was so closely related to political authorization. Plantation became part of BUMN (Badan Usaha Milik Negara or state corporation) because it was believed to give maximum income for the nation, the same with petroleum. It is political. The State relies on plantation to give income for people prosperity. But the fact is people in plantation, special in tea-picker women live below the prosperity line. This is the real life of tea picker women who oppressed by the State.

On the other side, colonial ideology was unconsciously attached to the plantation society. Their social conditions depend on the condition of the company. The richer and bigger the company, it does not mean that the workers will gain any benefit from that. But when the company is in loss, the workers –especially women- will be the most oppressed party. For consideration, as tea picker women, their wages since 2005 – 2015 has only raised by 10% in 10 years. This condition has no difference when they employed by the Dutch. The colonial brought the money to build and develop their own country leaving the labours in poverty. This is what we believe as colonial mechanism environment.

The colonial mechanism as we mention before refers to colonial patronage. Patronage is a term that refers to economic or social power that allow cultural institutions and cultural forms to come into existence and be valued and promoted (Ashcroft et al, 2000). Patronage systems continued to influence the development of plantation culture, written and orally. Lefevere (1983) Griffiths (1996) in Ashcroft et al (2000) agree that colonial patronage system actively promoted some forms of expression over others. Identity is one entity that can be recognized to see colonial patronage.

Tea picker women had constructed their identity layer by layer, years by years. They share their world life and accept the hegemony rules them. Antonio Gramsci, Italian Marxist, who introduce the term of hegemony, believe that there are consensus between classes before the oppression happen. Hegemony is the power of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interest of all. Here is the time when indigenous believe to follow the colonialist. By the time passed by, their constructed their identity to be lower than the colonial. Tea picker women in the lowest level of the structure suffered. They had double oppression. First, in their social life and the second, in working environment. So their identity never revealed. They muted by the culture. This is what we named as Repressive Identity. The identity that had been muted and hide over decades. Construct of women identity in colonial mechanism environment can be concluded as seen in this table:

Identity Frame:	Explanation:	Fact findings:
Personal Frame	The way of individual conceives of self	Women as tea-picker thought they lived poorly, not only have lower salary but there is no safety and insurance in their work place
Enacted Frame	The expression of identity	Women never asked for better salary, or safety in their workplace. They believe what they do is very noble for their family life
Relational frame	The identity ascribed in and through relationship	Women and relationship by marriage, place of living, seniority in team work
Communal Frame	The identity showed the mean of succesful in life	The life world of tea picker women saw success are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working in plantation more than 10 years - Had a marriage life - Their children are going to school (to senior high school, the highest school level in their life)

Table 1: Layer of Repressive Woman Identity in Colonial Mechanism Environment (source: research, 2015)

ASPECTS OF REPRESSIVE IDENTITY

A. Working Relations System

Unbalanced relations between nation and the people kept on going. The condition resulted unequal balance in micro level, also in the relations between men and women. Men are always considered as the superior gender, rational actors, while women are emotional, weak, nurturing and submissive (Tyson, 2006). Therefore, women will always be the less fortunate party in capitalistic system.

In economic politics, the world functions globally as capitalistic market. In domestic level, factories are authorized by men, from worker level to managers. Domination of economic resources have taken women's position to the repressive rank and they had been marginalized economically. Because men are considered rational actors, then society had placed them in public sectors and gradually women are eliminated from the system. This is what actually happening in global world, so working women are always in difficult position.

Starting from waging system, then women seem to receive equal salary. Unlikely, in working rank, women are allowed only in group of workers/labour level. Like in the plantation, the working area available for women was only picking, planting, and taking care of the tea plant. All jobs are doing on land. They had to face the harsh climate in mountains' slopes. Meanwhile in the factories, some of the main works are in sorting division and drying division. The kinds of job which are more available for women only in the lower level. Eventhough, there were no women as

“mandor/foreman” at all levels of work. The position of mandor, both in the factory and in the land was men’s prerogative.

B. Marriage System

Marriage is a relationship bound by rules of the religion and the nation. Marriage system was the prerequisite of a family. As for tea picker women, marriage is an important matter. Relationship between man and woman becomes important if bounded by marriage. Marriage is considered to be “must” institution for women in their culture. Unmarried woman will be considered unusual. Even if they are widows, they need marriage. Women’s life without marriage will change their identity. The culture teaches them to enact themselves to a man. A man will protect them and help them living peacefully.

Marriage is also an effort to step up to higher social status. Individual status or extended family status. Women who married men will be able to raise their level of social status. For example, Mak Oom (80 yo), as an informant in this research, she described all her five marriages proudly. There were a sense of pride because she managed to have her own house by herself, not given by the company. She admitted “rich” condition was gained through her marriages. Her first husband was a “sinder”. Sinder is a subordinate of mandor in the structural rank in a plantation or the same as level of manager in ordinary company. Mak Oom had a proper land and housing back then. Mak Oom’s residence located near the village road, close to the house built for Dutch meneer (100 meter). For the tea picker women culture, marriage is a form of security that can avoid them from receiving the oppressions to many. They might have if they are not married, or if they are widows. Widows will face difficulties at working environment due to men authorization on their widow status. Women who are widows are more vulnerable because men tend to be more subjective with their power upon women, and this vulnerability might get in touch with the private area. For instance, the needs for food and clothing can make women workers willing to go to bed with those men, including foreman and other men workers as their rank is higher than her.

C. The Plantation Colonial Culture

In the research, one of the mandors at Kebun Ciater, Ace (49 yo), in an interview with the researchers told that he was a descendant of tea picker from Ciwidey, and worked as a mandor because he inherited the position from his father. The job of tea picker were also passed on from parents or parents in law. It is a commons norm in plantations. If you don’t have any relative working in plantation, it would be difficult to get a job from the company.

In another case, Ai (40yo) testified that her family tried hard to change their life. She thought that living in plantation never gave them better life. She choosed to educated her children and hope the education degree can be more helpful for her children’s life in the future. She had been working as labour in tea plantation for several years and then she quited and tried to be a food seller in the resort area near the plantation. She thought it had the same income and lesser burden than working in plantation.

The culture in plantation area showed that since the Dutch colonial era the condition and situation never changed. Everything that planned by the Dutch remains there and the people in the plantation area felt it is fine to run their life like that. The hegemony is strong and planted deeper. It is the ideology of colonial that oppres their

life. They know but they believe it the suitable condition for them. As indigenous people, the Dutch made them obey all the rules and they believed rules as normative norms, values, and ideology.

DISCUSSION

The result of this research showed how colonial mechanism is living in tea plantations. Colonial hegemony is coloring strongly characteristic of tea picker women's identity. The characteristics are first, there was silent resistancy towards foreign culture and tradition. Meaning, these women had never protested openly upon the authorities' misdoings. Even it was the Dutch nor Indonesian. They fight to get better life through their offspring. They believe the ideas or intention to get higher education for their children, for example pursue education until SMA or SMK (Senior High School). They try hard to get the children out from the plantation's circle of life in a modest way. These women just keep on working and waiting for the result. Secondly, this research defined description about colonalized people, as to foreign people or towards the existency of repressive local patriarchal power. This means that as women, these tea pickers accept the double roles burdened on them. They never realize about double oppression in their life. In their humble life, good woman is a woman who never hesitated to work for her family. They taught to be respectful to their parents and life peaceful with other. Like tea plant, they beauty outside and trembling inside.

In a society with colonial environment mechanism, like in the tea plantation, there will always be resistancy towards foreign culture and tradition. Hybridity culture showed it. At the same time, there are some efforts to find similarities between culture holds by the colonalized people and the long time dominating culture. What is meant by this effort is that repressed colonalized people will make symbolizations towards the colonialism in its communication system. The action of communication shows those dominant characteristics and the characteristics are represented by the women identity which reflected in their social life, The repressive identity.

Acknowledgement

The authors offer their heartfelt thanks to all tea picker women and their family who have allowed them to make use of their stories and experience, to note that without them this study would not have been possible. The authors also thank to PTPN VIII West Java and tea plantation society for helpful research assistance.



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