

**MORAL VALUE OF AUSTRALIAN FEMINISM IN THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF BUGINESE AND MACASSARESE WOMEN'S CHARACTERS  
(ANALYSIS ON HELEN GARNER'S SELECTED WORKS)**

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**ABSTRACT**

The aim of this study is to explore the idea of Australian feminism and how it is viewed from a Buginese perspective. In exploring this idea, the data are taken from selected short stories including "Postcards from Surfers", "La Chance Existe", "The Art of Life", "All Young Bloody Catholics", and "Civilization and Discontents" written by Australian woman writer, Helen Garner.

By using Said's work on contrapuntal reading, Mohanty's feminist-as-explorer model, and Lazar's Critical Discourse Analysis, this research examines the potential dialogue between Australian culture and Buginese culture in terms of feminism.

From this dialogue, it results cultural hybridity where some Australian feminist thoughts are applicable to Buginese culture but some are not. It is also found that both Australian women and Buginese women have their own sets of issues stemming from male domination. The way they empower themselves to resist are also different. Therefore, this research centers a Buginese standpoint while dialoguing with Australian feminism.

Keyword: literature, Australian feminism, Buginese culture

**1. Introduction**

There are still many Indonesians who have an aversion to anything related to gender or feminism due mostly to the fear that Western perspectives and feminist ideas would harm Indonesian cultures. In addition, some are also confused because they believe that gender equality was already achieved a long time ago in the pre-independence period.

Edmunds says that in addressing the third Millennium Development Goal (MDG), Indonesia has achieved considerable progress, the target of which is to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education (2). However, Edmunds adds, that despite the

progress made towards gender equity, the core structure of gender beliefs has not changed due to the result of hegemonic cultural beliefs about gender (1). Edmunds confesses that Indonesia has a long record of legislation empowering women, but the biggest hurdle that women face in the fight for rights is the cultural perception that women are not equal to men (3-4). Meanwhile, women in Indonesia are marginalized socially, culturally, economically, and politically, even though, demographically speaking, they constitute the majority (Seda 1).

The realities that women are still marginalized and that gender inequality and disparities persist in Indonesian society become a motivation to carry out this study. The opportunity to study Australian culture and literature, allows me to increase my global and local complexity as an individual what Pieterse refers to as “ a process of hybridization” and to become as Beck terms an “actor” and “manager” of my life, building social links and networks with a “polygamy of place” (Edmunds 1).

In this study, moral value in Australian feminist idea which represents Western thought is examined to see whether it is helpful or not to the development Buginese and Macassarese women’s characters.

## **2. The Buginese and Macassarese**

The Buginese and Macassarese are two of four main ethnic groups who occupy mainly lowland and hilly areas to the south of the province of South Sulawesi in Indonesia. The Buginese, especially those who live in the villages, are still bounded strictly by *ade*’ (custom) or pangadereng (customary law). This concept of *ade*’ provides living guidelines for Buginese and consists of five components including *ade*’, bicara, rapang, *wari*’, and *sara*’. Pelras clarifies that pangadereng is ‘adat-hood’, a corpus of interlinked ruling principles which, besides *ade*’ (custom), includes also bicara (jurisprudence), rapang (models of good behaviour which ensure the proper functioning of society), *wari*’ (rules of descent and hierarchy) and *sara*’ (Islamic law and institution, derived from the Arabic *shari’a*) (190). So, pangadereng is an overall norm which includes advice on how Buginese should behave towards fellow human beings and social institutions on a reciprocal basis. According to Mattulada, these noble principles become guidelines for Buginese for their everyday life, both in the family and working place (58).

In addition, the Buginese together with Makassarese mind what is called *siri* (honour and shame), that is the sense of honour and shame. Abdullah writes:

In the life of the Buginese-Makassar people, the most basic element is *siri*. For them, no other value merits to be more detected and preserved. *Siri* is their life, their self-respect and their dignity. This is why, in order to uphold and to defend it when it has been stained or they consider it has been stained by somebody, the Bugis-Makassar people are ready to sacrifice everything, including their most precious life, for the sake of its restoration. So goes the saying.... 'When one's honour is at stake, without any afterthought one fights.' (Pelras 206).

With regards to the role of women in society, "the Buginese take the principle of non-differentiation between gender" (Pelras 160). However, in practice Buginese women are still often treated differently. The Makassarese women are as well. On the one hand, they are respected as equal with men but on the other hand they are still placed subordinate to men in many instances, for example in making decision. In such cases, men act as decision makers while women are expected to follow whatever the men decide.

This study juxtaposes Australian culture with Buginese and Makassarese culture in terms of feminism to see which ones of moral value of Australian feminism which is good and helpful to develop Buginese and Makassarese women's characters.

### **3. Postcard from Surfers**

Postcards from Surfers is a collection of short stories written by an Australian woman author, Helen Garner. The book consists of eleven short stories. Five stories of the book became the objects of this study including "Postcards from Surfers", "La Chance Existe", "The Life of Art", "All Those Bloody Young Catholics", and "Civilization and Its Discontents". These stories were chosen deliberately as they possess a variety of themes which represent Garner's feminist concerns and which provide relevant links to Indonesian cultures.

By readings and examining Garner's stories and their embedded feminist portrayals and purposes, Indonesian readers will be provided with an insight into contemporary mainstream Australian culture and life that reveals the benefits and the silences of feminism.

### **4. Supporting Theories**

In analysing Australian feminism reflected in Postcards from Surfers and determining moral value that can develop the Buginese and Macassarese women's characters, this study used 1. Said's work on contrapuntal reading to juxtapose Anglo-Pacific communities with Buginese and Macassarese; 2. Mohanty's feminist-as-explorer model to see Australian women as the object and subject of knowledge; 3. Lazar's Critical Discourse Analysis to see how power and dominance are discursively produced and resisted in textual representation of gendered social practices and through interactional strategies of talk.

I used Said's work on contrapuntal reading because I employed it as a signifier of my movement between insider (of Buginese and Macassarese) and outsider (of Australian feminism), that is, I extended it from just a literary reading to a whole body experience. A contrapuntal reading is important "partly because of empire, all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure; all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic" (Said xxix). Singh and Greenlaw convey that:

Contrapuntal pedagogy is a comparative method in which teachers juxtapose Eurocentric and post-colonial texts about Asian people and cultures. The term contrapuntal is a metaphor Said has taken from musical theory and which means to counterpoint or to add one rhythm, melody, or theme to another as an accompaniment. In order for students to begin to recognize some of the complexities that exist within relationships among Asian and Anglo-Pacific communities, we argue that it is necessary for their teachers to enable them to compare representations of Asian and Anglo-Pacific peoples and cultures in a variety of texts written from both postcolonial and Eurocentric perspectives (194).

The problem of identifying different women's concerns and oppression in another country, without just assuming them, is addressed by Mohanty. Mohanty suggests three models to solve this problem: "feminist-as-tourist model, feminist-as-explorer model, and feminist solidarity or comparative feminist studies model" (518-524). Although Mohanty suggests these models as a way of understanding women's problems in Third World countries (developing countries), they are applicable too to women's problems in First World countries (developed countries).

In this study, I used Mohanty's second model, feminist-as-explorer model. In this model, Australian women were treated as the 'Western woman'. So, from Buginese and Macassarese perspective I viewed 'Western' woman as the object of analysis and at the same time as the subject of engaging knowledge of hegemonic masculinity. In this study,

Mohanty's feminist-as-explorer model was applied to see hegemonic masculinity in Australia through literary works. However, because of my location in the production of knowledge, I applied the feminist-as-explorer model strategically to link Buginese and Macassarese with Australian issues. In my analysis of Garner's work I seeked out what Zinn et. al write as "intersecting forms of domination that produces both oppression and opportunity" (327).

Datuin argues that traditional disciplines of the humanities, sociology, anthropology and political science rely on a binarist logic between male and female: "women are either relegated to a private space, and, therefore, excluded in the public domain, or assimilated into the public/political sphere becoming apparently less invisible, but still absorbed into the paradigm of the productive male" (96). Part of my notion of moving between insider and outsider positions and between Western and Indonesian culture, involved dismantling this dualism; grappling with the complexities and tensions that emerge "puts forward the idea of multiple, fluid structures of domination, collaboration, and resistance which locate women [and men], not only in distinct historical conjunctures but also in spaces where oppositional agency is possible in their daily lives and as part of their communities" (Datuin 104). Moving away from a binarist logic means that women cannot simply be made to act like men to be accepted in the status quo nor that in entering traditionally defined women's spaces men do not become effeminised. Instead, the agency of each in any space is enacted.

In terms of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Lazar points out that:

The masculinization of talk by women in power, and the feminization of forms of masculinity in the home, on one level may appear to redefine conventional gender norms for women and men in particular communities. However, on another level, these gender crossings index (and perpetuate) the underlying dualism of the gender structure – the behaviour of the masculine woman and the feminine man gets read against the expected behavioural norm of the 'other'. These studies also suggest that deviations from gender-appropriate norms are policed and contained in the presence of a prevailing discourse of heteronormativity. (147-148)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) contributes to emancipatory social justice by critiquing patriarchal discourses and surrounding social ideologies. Lazar adds that "analysis of discourse which shows up the workings of power that sustain oppressive social structures/relations contributes to on-going struggles of contestation and change through what may be termed "analytical activism" (145). Such analytical activism is referred to by Lazar as "raising critical awareness through research and teaching" (146). A neutral stance cannot be

employed, or pretended, biases are part of the argument – another reason I have written my paper in first person and located my researcher role within a Buginese standpoint. My country, my culture, my language, my experiences, inform my theoretical and practical approach: it shapes the theory and guides practices for developing strategies for resistance and change. By employing elements of feminism and CDA, I have opted for praxis-oriented research which allows a dialectical relationship between theory and practice.

Poststructuralist theorization offers a critically useful view of discourse as a site of struggle, where forces of social (re)production and contestation are played out. Within feminist scholarship, the discursive turn is reflected in books outside linguistics as well as within linguistics under the rubric of ‘gender and language’ research. Feminist CDA, with its focus on social justice and transformation of gender, is a timely contribution to the growing body of feminist discourse literature, particularly in the field of gender and language where feminist CDA has occupied a surprisingly marginal position (Lazar 144).

Van Dijk notes that the west and north are bound by an academic ethnocentrism and this is a particular area my own research has had to negotiate. Methodologically I have provided a comparative rather than a universalising perspective, engaging with middle-class, heterosexual, western, white women feminism but not privileging them. Regarding this, Lazar states that “the task then of feminist CDA is to examine how power and dominance are discursively produced and/or (counter-) resisted in a variety of ways through textual representations of gendered social practices, and through interactional strategies of talk. Also of concern are issues of access to forms of discourse, such as particular “communicative events and culturally valued genres” (149). To achieve this, my critique involves using critical discourse analysis.

According to Van Dijk “CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political contexts”(Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton 354). Garner’s use of particular discourses justifies Van Dijk’s statement. It is important for Buginese and Macassarese to use language discourses as a weapon to gain power because particularly as McGlynn claims, “generally Indonesians are not particularly outspoken” (38). So, Garner’s short stories are examples of resistance to male domination and empowerment through language. The application of CDA analysis allows me to integrate three guiding

principles of inclusive feminist inquiry in my analysis that is to “build complex analyses, avoid erasure and specify location” (Zinn et. al 328).

## **5. Discussion**

The discussion of this study is divided into four themes including the Kitchen, Language, Landscape, and Sexuality. Each section examines discourses of power and identity as they manifest in domestic and public spaces according to my analysis of the five short stories. These themes are viewed in the context of Australian feminism as well as through Buginese and Macassarese lens to highlight cultural similarities and differences between mainstream Australian feminism and Indonesian cultures and knowledge and to finally see what moral value of Australian feminism that can be applied to develop Buginese and Macassarese women’s characters.

### **The Kitchen**

According to Yuval-Davis, kitchen is a space that offers multiple and overlapping ways in which “women’s distinctive experience as women occurs within spaces that have been socially lived as the personal – private, emotional, interiorized, particular, individuated, intimate” (364). My analysis considers the implications of this gendered space for both feminine and masculine identities.

In “Postcards from Surfers” there is one particular scene that centres the kitchen space as open to both men and women. The protagonist’s father is preparing his lunch in the kitchen by himself.

Twelve o’clock,’ says my father.

‘Getting on for lunchtime,’ I say.

‘Getting towards it. Specially with that nice cold corned beef sitting there, and fresh brown bread. Think I’ll have to try some of that choko relish. Ever eaten a choko?’

‘I wouldn’t know a choko if I fell over it,’ I say.

‘Nor would I.’

He selects a serrated knife from the magnetised holder on the kitchen wall and quickly and skilfully, at the bench, makes himself a think sandwich. He

works with powerful concentration: when the meat flaps off the slice of bread, he rounds it up with a large, dramatic scooping movement and a sympathetic grimace of the lower lip. He picks up the sandwich in two hands, raises it to his mouth and takes a large bite. While he chews he breathes heavily through his nose.

‘Want to make yourself something?’ he says with his mouth full. (PFS 4-5)

The women move, in, around and outside of the kitchen while the father, recognising his lunch time, enters the space to prepare food by himself. For Australians, the illustration of a man being in the kitchen preparing his lunch is presumably a normal occurrence. Many Australian men do not mind cooking and preparing food for family meals especially when the wife is busy. It is clear from this depiction of the kitchen as both a physical and culturally constructed space that the female homemaker and the male breadwinner are no longer oppositional figures. This traditionally domestic sphere is opened to all individuals. The kitchen has been reimagined as a shared feminine and masculine space.

In Buginese and Macassarese society, even until now it is only women, not men, who carry out food preparation in the kitchen. Many Buginese and Macassarese men think that as long as they can provide the needs of sandang (clothing) and pangan (food) for the family, that they have fulfilled all their responsibilities. As a result, other responsibilities including preparing food, taking care of children, helping the children doing their homework are imposed on women. Although there are many Buginese and Macassarese women work and earn money for the family; but they still have to do domestic work. Having a husband who is willing to help with food preparation, like the father figure in “Postcard from Surfers”, can reduce women’s domestic workload.

### **Language**

Garner is an Australian author who engages with language and its forms of domination both covertly and overtly in her constructions of femininity and masculinity. This is in line with Rowbothan who states that “language conveys a certain power and it is one of the instruments of domination”(Elshtain 603-604). There are two significant points from Garner’s Postcards from Surfers that I find reflect her feminist ideas – her use of lexical items and her content. Garner’s use of lexical items is not “women’s language” as termed by Lakoff (53-56).



Garner's work offers examples of language in action as both repressive and productive agents of power. The male and female characters communicate according to their social, cultural, historical and gender positioning and they resist these positions at times too. Garner's use of language, at times "men's language", provides examples of resistance to social and cultural expectations. Garner's use of "men's language" proves Lakoff's recognition of women's efforts to resist inequality through language.

My reading suggests that she resists male oppression through the use of her lexical style. She protests against women being differentiated by the use of language and the associated expectation of the feminine. She gains power by using "bad" language and showing that women can also use languages which tend to be "men's language". By doing so she resists patriarchal ideology of what is appropriate language and forces notions of masculine and feminine to be reconsidered and at times, repositioned. This is contrary to typical Buginese and Macassarese language use, especially their use of lexical items.

To be called *malebbi* (modest) for instance, Buginese women are supposed to speak politely and not use coarse and vulgar language. Mahmud writes that "the Bugis people have high expectations of practicing and maintaining politeness which is influenced by Bugis cultural, religious, and hierarchical characteristics" (Mahmud, "Pronoun Choices in Bugis: The Road to Encode Politeness" 2).

Consider the following example:

'How long've known this feller?

'I beg your pardon?'

'I said, how long've you known this feller you're travelling with?'

You can't take that tone to a woman these days. 'What's that got to do with you?' said Julie. (PFS 48-49)

In this excerpt of "La Chance Existe", the female character argues bravely with the Customs officer who naggingly asks her personal questions about her gay friend. The officer exerts his power by intimidating her with the question but Julie remains unperturbed. She responds angrily and reminds the officer not to speak with that tone to a woman. Although arguing in public with a man is not appropriate to Buginese and Macassarese women but to some extent it shows woman's resistant to male domination. In other words, the Buginese and Macassarese are supposed not always to be silent but when the time comes, they have to speak. They have to resist to this particular male domination.

“All Those Bloody Young Catholics” is another example of Garner’s use and manipulation of language to convey dominant representations of masculinity and femininity but at the same time challenge these notions. This story is written in first person from the perspective of a working class, white, male Australian. It is only via his monologue that the reader is made aware of his positioning and how he positions others – in this case white Catholic, Australian men and women. In the following extract, the male protagonist is informing the two women he is talking to about their mutual friend Gerry:

Watto. Me old darling. Where have you been. Haven’t seen you since ... Let me buy you a drink. Who is your mate? Jan. Goodday Jan. What’ll it be, girls? Gin and tonic, yeah. Lemon squash. Fuckin’ – well, if that’s what you. Hey mate. Mate.....

Gerry? Still in Perth. I saw him not so long ago. Still a young pup, still a young man, a young Apollo, a mere slip of a lad. I went over to Perth. I always wanted to go over. I’ve been everywhere of course in Australia, hate to hear those young shits telling me about overseas? what’s wrong with here? Anyway what? Yeh well I’ve got this mate who’s the secretary of the bloody Waterside Workers, right? .....I’m gettin’ to Gerry. (PFS 65)

The use of a monologue here emphasises the notion of dominant male voices as the reader is not provided with any other voices or perspectives. Explicitly, his language is indicative of his position, role and power in mainstream Australian society: his use of Australian slang, nicknames, Australian names, places and cultural icons, or instance, “the bloody Waterside Workers” represents both an iconic movement in colonial Australia’s history as well as working-class Australia’s association with social drinking and activities. This particular story centres working class Australia, emphasising mateship, drinking, religion, class and places and in doing so makes visible discourses of gender and power that run through them. Throughout the 1900s, mainstream Australian society experienced what has been termed a “cultural cringe” and the male speaker’s centring of Australian culture, for example, when the speaker refers to those “young shits” preferring overseas to their own country, stems from this

In Buginese and Macassarese culture, as well as Indonesian national culture, women using such vulgar language is unacceptable and automatically lowers the esteem of readers for these female characters and for the literary text itself, which poses a significant challenge. However, the Buginese and Macassarese/Indonesian aversion to vulgarity becomes an advantage in a story like “All Those Bloody Young Catholics”, where the speaker uses coarse

language and subject-matter. This means the Indonesian reader is likely to not sympathise with the speaker and sympathise with the woman he is addressing. Furthermore, scenes where women are verbally defending themselves or sparring with men offer positive examples of possible behaviour for women, challenging Buginese norms by inviting them to reconsider whether verbally challenging men might be possible.

### **Landscape**

In this section, my focus is on the embedded discourses of power apparent in the landscape. My use of landscape refers to culturally and physically powered sites – whether from the natural or built environment or a specific locality in time and place. This also includes depictions of the physical environment in paintings and poems and representations of cultural and social settings in magazines and other intertextual references in Garner's texts.

My analysis of Garner's stories under this subheading focuses on the representation of place and its relationship with (Western) male domination through the narratives from Postcards from Surfers. In all five of Garner's stories, mapping the land, physically, historically, culturally and generationally provides a strong foundation for understanding the positioning of male and female subjectivities.

Idrus writes that in Buginese society, a "woman's body is often thought to represent the moral integrity of the family (and the society), breaking the code for conduct is considered to dishonour the family and the society" (46). Therefore a Buginese woman who lets her sexual body be visualized and gazed at for commercial purposes is regarded as having no *siri'* (honour, shame). Idrus states, if this happens to a Buginese woman, other people will regard her *de'na maringngerrang* (she was not conscious) (45). "She was not conscious" means she is insane or idiotic for behaving this way because any Buginese woman willing to sell her *siri'* for money is considered mad or stupid. The importance of the *siri'* being preserved for Buginese women compared to men is stated in a Buginese saying: 'urane *seddimi siri'na, makkunraie asera pulona asera siri'na*' (men have only one *siri'*, women have ninety-nine) (Idrus 46). This implies that Buginese women are especially vulnerable when it comes to possibilities that could cause her to transgress the *siri'*. For Indonesian readers, this particular insight into Western objectification of the female body, and women

involvement in it, or resistance to it, provides a comparative perspective of Indonesian and Australian patriarchy.

The right of a woman over her body, how far those rights extend according to the place/space you are positioned, is also considered in “Civilisation and its Discontents” when the local newspapers report the “scandal” of a woman who was having a childless couple’s baby but when the baby was born she refused to give it up (PFS 96).

There was a scandal in the papers as I passed through the airport that evening,  
About a woman who had made a contract to have a baby for a childless  
couple. The baby was born, she changed her mind, she would not give it up.  
Everyone was talking about her story (PFS 96).

Garner’s narratives create spaces for traditionally silenced female experiences to begin to emerge in more public and less taboo conversations that society is having. A woman’s body, what it experiences and how that is viewed by hegemonic ideals are interrelated with where they are, that is, how they have been positioned and how the environment around them. What has been positioned as a “natural” thing, i.e., giving birth, is entangled with cultural notions and forced to be reconsidered.

Saugeres states that “women are seen as embodying nature and nature embodying women, while men are seen as representing culture”(375). This is in line with what Ortner writes that “women tend to be identified with ‘nature’ while men tend to be identified with ‘culture’”(Yuval-Davis 6). Yuval-Davis adds that “the identification of women with ‘nature’ has been seen not only as the cause for their exclusion from the ‘civilized’ public political domain but also as the explanation of the fact that in certain cultures women are less valued socially than men”(6). So, potentially, it could be read that through the different landscapes Garner portrays – physical, urban and cultural -- she shows that ‘men’s domination and mastery over women is parallel to men’s domination over nature’ as stated by Saugeres (375).

### **Sexuality**

Under this subheading of sexuality, my analysis of Garner’s stories focuses on her representation of sexual subjectivities and heteronormative expectations. Sex, gender and sexuality are terms which are interconnected. In general, sex refers to biological differences between male and female; gender refers to social and cultural role differences between male

and female; and sexuality refers to individual personality and related sexual behaviour. This is in line with what Oakley writes that “sex refers to biological maleness and femaleness while sexuality refers to behaviour related to copulation”(Jackson and Scott 35).

Meanwhile, Jackson and Scott write that “gender is the cultural distinction between femininity and masculinity along with the social division between women and men”(35). From these statements, it can be concluded that when sex is related to biological differences between male and female it is termed “sex”; when sex is related to the role of male and female socially and culturally, it is termed “gender”; and when sex is related to sexual behaviour between male and female, it is termed sexuality.

Melliana divides “sexuality into three categories including reproductive sexuality, erotic sexuality, and gender sexuality”(Munfarida 123). According to Melliana, “reproductive sexuality focuses on the sex in relation to the reproductive organs; erotic sexuality focuses on the body’s pleasure resulting from the sexual organs; and gender sexuality focuses on the social division between male and female”(Munfarida 123). These categories can be applied to my analysis of how Australians with Buginese and Macassarese address issues of gender sexuality and power.

When I first met my friend she was engaged. She was wearing an antique sapphire ring and Italian boots. Next time I saw her, in Myers, her hand was bare. I never asked. We were students then. We went dancing in a club in South Yarra. The boys in the band were students too. We fancied them, but at twenty-two we felt ourselves to be older women, already fading, almost predatory. We read *The Roman Spring of Mrs Stone*. This was in 1965; before feminism. (PFS 56)

This example of “*The Art of Life*” suggests the potential power Garner gains through language expression which is implicitly reflected by the idea that marriage is both empowering and disempowering. The implicit message is that an engagement or marriage can be a form of domination where it limits the power of women, while strengthening the power of men, especially in terms of sexuality. Josephson argues that “women are marked by the institution of marriage as sexual beings in need of control, so that paternity can be definitively established”(275). Josephson adds that this function of marriage is seen as so crucial to social order historically that it justifies intimate and physical control of women by their husbands. What Josephson writes here is in line with Wolf’s statement that “women sometimes find there is a gap between their ideal of sexuality with the reality of it”

(Munfarida 122). The lack of a ring and the protagonist's unwillingness to mention it reveals power being exercised both repressively and productively. As a woman from post-1965 Australia, it can be empowering to be single but at the same time it is disempowering to be positioned as spinsterish, predatory and unmarried.

The complexity of linguistically translating cultural constructions of marriage and shame informs both my research and my analysis of Garner's Postcards from Surfers. The cancellation of an engagement in Buginese society and Macassarese is something that cannot be done easily. It is a very difficult and complicated process because it has a relationship with *siri*'. If this happens, the cancellation usually comes from the groom's side. If the groom does something bad before the marriage and the bride wants to cancel the engagement, she usually will not do so until after the marriage ceremony is held. Then she will ask for a divorce. Buginese women and their family usually do not dare to break an engagement because it creates hostility between the bride and the groom's families. To prevent dissention, the bride's family usually prefer to succumb, especially if the groom's family have a powerful position.

## **6. Conclusion**

Garner's Postcards from Surfers and her understanding of feminist ideas and challenges will provide Buginese and Macassarese women with insights into discourse of power as both productive and repressive in an Australian context. This insight into a "western" perspective allows them to maintain their own cultural positioning while at the same time developing an awareness of how it has been constructed for them.

From this dialogue, it results cultural hybridity where some Australian feminist thoughts are applicable to Buginese culture but some are not. It is also found that both Australian women and Buginese women have their own sets of issues stemming from male domination. The way they empower themselves to resist are also different. Therefore, this research centers Buginese and Macassarese standpoint while dialoguing with Australian feminism.

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