

## ABSTRAK

Fotografi pada masa kolonial merepresentasikan perempuan pribumi dalam berbagai citra. Arsip-arsip foto perempuan dari masa kolonial menyimpan citra yang dibangun oleh para *operator* pada masa kolonial, termasuk perempuan Jawa dan Bali yang menjadi fokus di sini. Arsip seringkali dipandang menyimpan kebenaran atas suatu peristiwa di masa lalu. Hingga hari ini sebagian besar orang menilai foto-foto perempuan pribumi dalam arsip kolonial dianggap sebagai kebenaran. Fenomena itu cukup mengganggu dan menggelisahkan saya. Kenyataannya, sebuah foto tidak bisa dilepaskan dari *operator* yang mengoperasikan kamera dengan segala kuasanya.

Pada awal masuknya teknologi fotografi di Hindia Belanda, hanya orang-orang Eropa yang bisa mengoperasikan kamera. Melalui kamera pemerintah kolonial Belanda dapat melihat lebih dekat tanah koloninya. Kamera dan foto menjadi alat legitimasi baru sebagai bagian dari aparatus kolonialisme. Penelitian ini mengemukakan tiga rumusan masalah (1) bagaimana fotografer pada masa kolonial (1850-1912) mengimajikan tubuh perempuan pribumi (Jawa dan Bali); (2) bagaimana imaji/ citra yang diproduksi tersebut berhasil mengkonstruksi tubuh perempuan hingga dipahami sebagai sesuatu yang bersifat natural; dan (3) Bagaimana relasi kuasa kolonial mempengaruhi performativitas gender dalam foto?

Ada tiga operator yang 10 karya fotonya digunakan dalam analisis ini, yaitu Isidore van Kindsbergen, Kassian Cephas, dan "Woodbury & Page". Di tangan *operator* bermain kode-kode kultural yang ditempatkan secara sadar guna membentuk konotasi yang dapat dengan mudah dipahami oleh *spectator* Barat. Melalui *studium* dan *punctum* dalam "Camera Lucida" Roland Barthes, gagasan pada foto diuraikan. Makna fotografis diungkapkan. Yang dijumpai tentu serangkaian wacana Orientalisme yang "dilekatkan" pada foto-foto perempuan pribumi.

Melalui teori performativitas gender karya Judith Butler yang saya peroleh dari kajian Reina Lewis tentang *Rethinking Orientalisme*, saya memahami ada ketimpangan relasi kuasa dalam kaitan antara *operator* dan subjek dalam foto. *Operator* membentuk citra perempuan pribumi lebih pada apa yang diimajikan *operator* atas subjek, bukan bagaimana subjek "ingin tampil" seperti apa dan sebagai siapa. Subjek hanya "perform" sesuai arahan *operator*. Ia mem-"perform"-kan subjek yang bukan diri mereka hingga performativitas yang dihadirkan adalah performativitas yang "direkayasa". Namun melalui teori ambivalensi Homi K. Bhabha dapat diketahui bahwa sesungguhnya baik dari pihak "colonizer" maupun "colonized", pada masing-masing subjek terjadi tarik menarik sikap yang memunculkan kemampuan mimikri dan hibrid, termasuk dalam mem-"perform"-kan citra subjek sesuai dengan identitas yang hendak dibentuk oleh *operator*.

Kata Kunci:

*Fotografi, imaji kolonial, perempuan, Orientalisme, performativitas gender*

## *ABSTRACT*

Photography in the colonial era represented indigenous women in various images. Women's photo archives from the colonial era preserve images which built by operators in the colonial period, including Javanese and Balinese women whose are our focus in here. Archives are often considered to keeping the truth of an event in the past. Today most people seen the photographs of indigenous women in the colonial archives to be regarded as the truth. This phenomenon is quite disturbing and unsettling me. In fact, a photo cannot be released from the operator who operates the camera with all his power.

At the beginning of the coming of photography technology in the Dutch East Indies, only Europeans could operate the cameras. Through the camera the Dutch colonial government can get a look at the land of its colonies closer. Cameras and photos became new tools of legitimacy as part of the colonialism apparatus. This study presents three problems: (1) how photographers during the colonial period (1850-1912) presented the bodies of indigenous women (Javanese and Balinese); (2) how the image produced constructs a woman's body successfully to be understood as something that is natural; and (3) How does the relations of colonially power affect gender performative in the photographs?

There are three operators whose 10 photographic works are used in this analysis, namely Isidore van Kindsbergen, Kassian Cephas, and "Woodbury & Page". Operator playing cultural codes consciously to form connotations that can be easily understood by Western spectators. Through the "studium" and "punctum" of Roland Barthes in "Camera Lucida", the ideas in the photo are elaborated. The meaning of photography is expressed. What I found is of course a series of discourses of Orientalism which are "attached" to photograph of indigenous women.

Through the theory of gender performative by Judith Butler that I obtained from Reina Lewis's research in "Rethinking Orientalism", I understood that there was an imbalance of power relations in between operators and subjects in the photos. Operators form the image of indigenous women more on what his believe on the subject, not on how the subject "wants to appear" as what and as who she is. Subjects only "perform" according to the direction of the operator. They "performs" subjects that are not themselves until the performative presented it is a "engineered" performativity. However, through the theory of Homi K. Bhabha's ambivalence it could be seeing that in fact both from the "colonizer" and "colonized", in each subject there is a tug of war that raises the abilities of mimicry and hybrid, including in "performing" the image of the subject by accordance with the identity to formed by the operator.

Keywords:

*Photography, colonial images, women, Orientalism, gender performative*