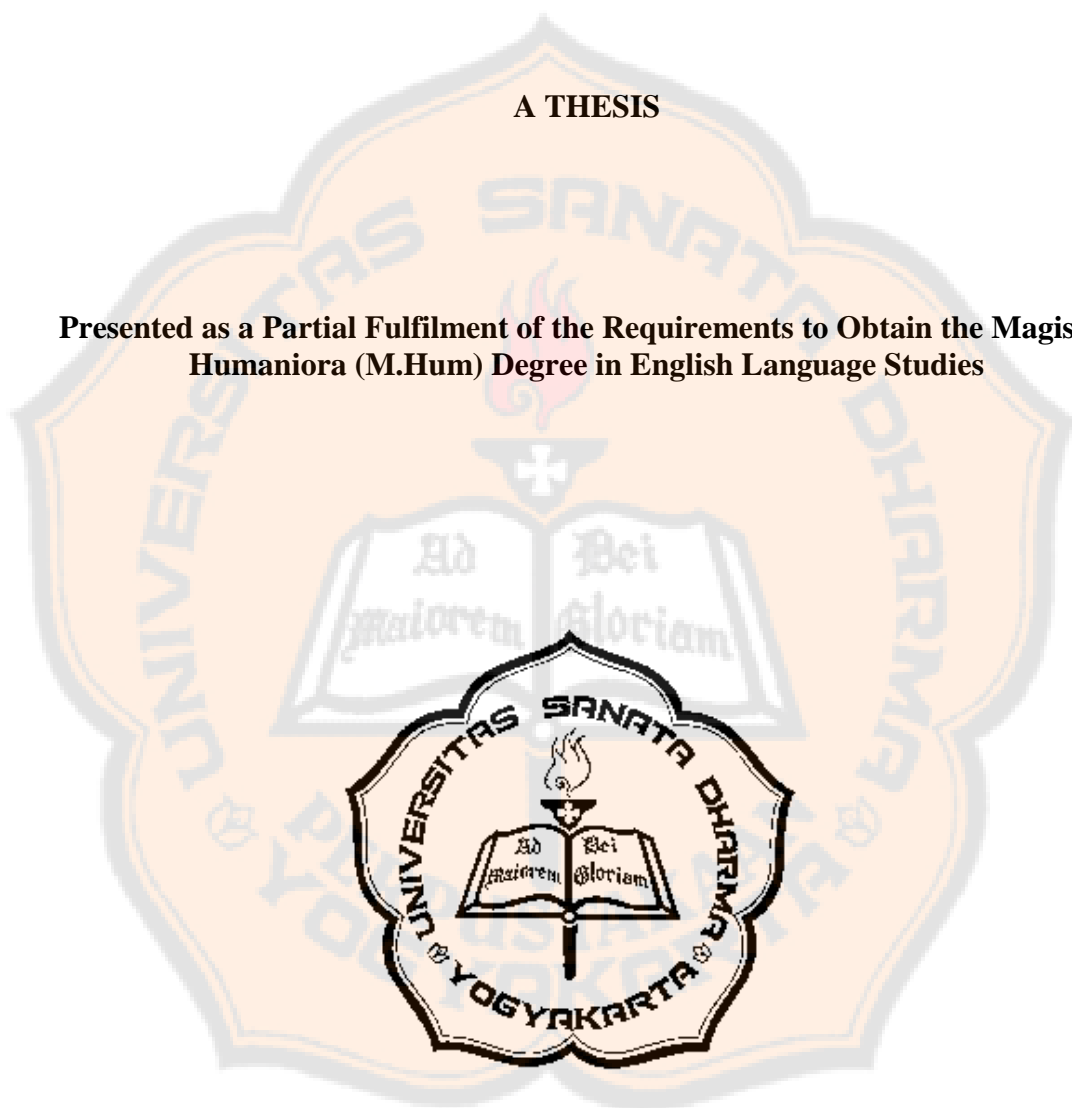


**CULTURAL FLUIDITY AS THE CORE FOR IDENTITY FORMATION  
IN PREMOEDYA'S *FOOTSTEPS***

**A THESIS**

**Presented as a Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements to Obtain the Magister  
Humaniora (M.Hum) Degree in English Language Studies**



by  
Maxianus Nitsae  
Student Number: 126332041

**THE GRADUATE PROGRAM IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES  
SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY  
YOGYAKARTA  
2015**

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Approved by



Mutiara Andaras, S.J., S.TD.  
Thesis Advisor

Yogyakarta, 04-09-2015

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Defended before the Thesis Committee  
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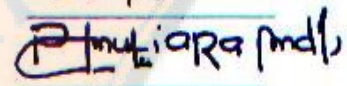
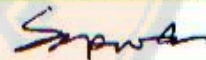
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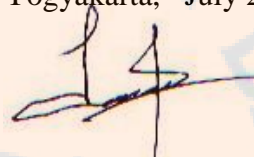


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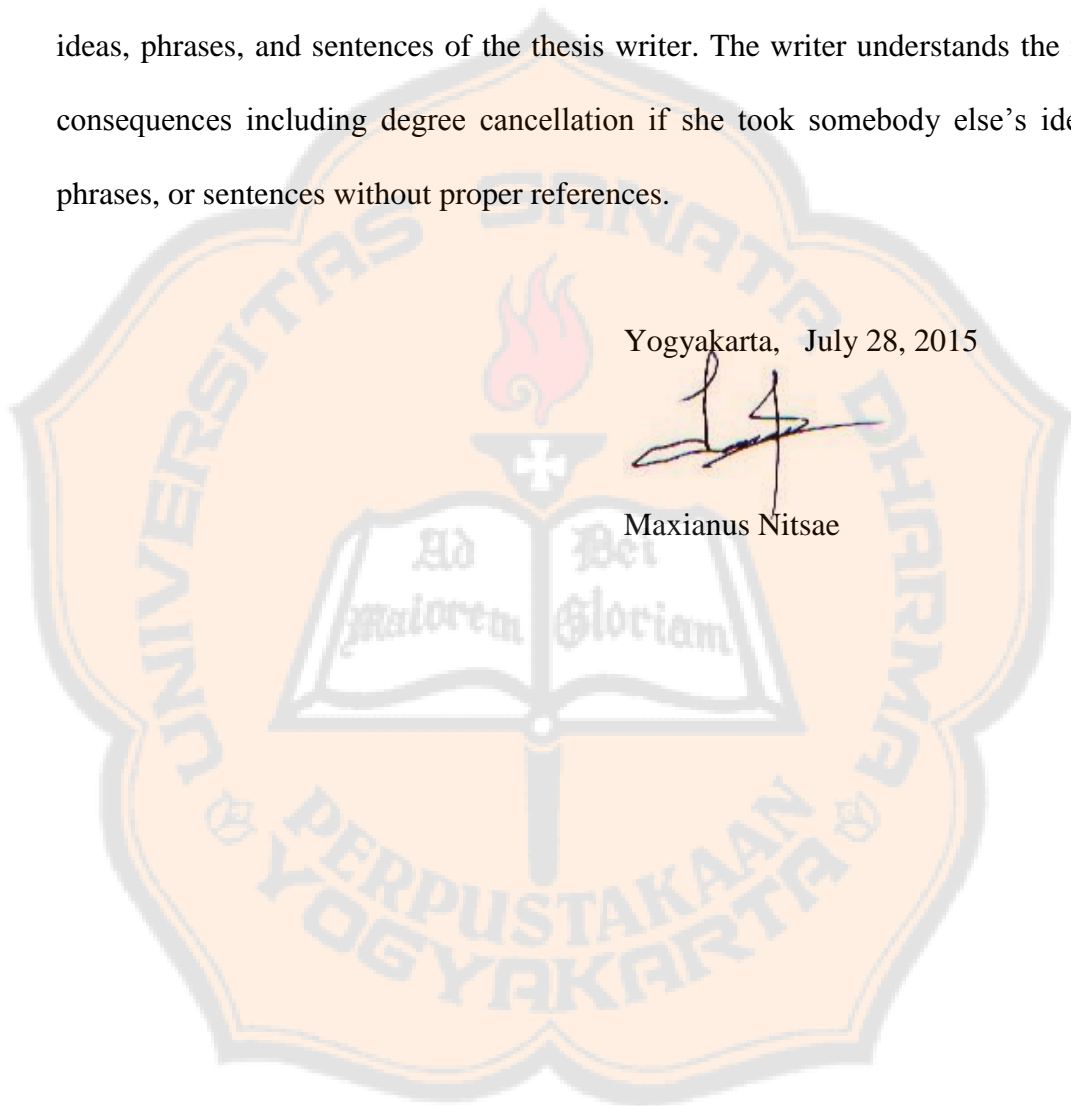
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### Abstract

Maxianus Nitsae 2015. **CULTURAL FLUIDITY AS THE CORE FOR IDENTITY FORMATION IN PRAMOEDYA'S *FOOTSTEPS*** Yogyakarta: The Graduate Program of English Language Studies, Sanata Dharma University

This study explores the issue of Indonesian identity construction in Pramoedya's *Footsteeps*. This novel primarily deals with the issue of Indonesian identity construction represented by Minke, the protagonist character of the novel by examining the history of the early awakening of Indonesian nationalism under Dutch colonialism. Minke's identity is constructed within Javanese and Western culture. This study uses Bhabha's concept of Mimicry and Hybridity in making an in-depth analysis of the process of Minke's identity construction.

This study shows that Minke appears as a modern man. However, the sense of Minke's modernity is hybrid. It is the mix of Javanese and Western culture. Minke who has internalised the spirit of modernity believes that it can change people. It releases people from cultural boundaries, advances human's life, enforces people to be independent therefore he attempt to impose this spirit national culture.

This study also points out that Minke employs modernity a form of resistance. His effort aims to deconstruct feudal tradition that he considers as a culture that degrade human dignity and colonialism in Indies and it also deconstruct colonial discourse which depends on cultural fixity.

Keywords: identity, construction, hybridity, mimicry, modernity



## ABSTRAK

Maxianus Nitsae. 2015. *Keterbukakaan Budaya Sebagai Dasar Pembentukan identitas dalam Jejak Langkah oleh Pramoedya*. Yogyakarta: Kajian Bahasa Inggris, Program Pasca Sarjana. Universitas Sanata Dharma.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi isu pembentukan identitas Indonesia dalam novel yang berjudul *Jejak Langkah*. Novel ini berkisah tentang pembentukan identitas Indonesia yang direpresentasikan oleh Minke, tokoh utama dalam novel *Jejak Langkah* yang mengkaji sejarah awal kebangkitan nasional Indonesia pada masa penjajahan Belanda. Identitas Minke di bentuk diantara budaya Jawa dan budaya Barat. Penelitian ini menggunakan konsep Hibriditas dan Mimicry dari Bhabha untuk menghasilkan sebuah analisa yang mendalam tentang proses pembentukan identitas dari Minke.

Penelitian ini menunjukan bahwa Minke nampak sebagai seorang modern. Namun modernitas Minke adalah modernitas yang hybrid. Ia adalah pencampuran dari budaya Jawa dan Barat. Minke yang telah mengiinternalisasikan semangat modernnitas dalam dirinya percaya bahwa nilai-nilai yang terkandung dalam modernitas dapat mengubah orang. Ia membebaskan orang dari kungkungan budaya, meningkatkan taraf hidup manusia, mendorong orang untuk menjadi independen. Oleh karena itu ia berusaha untuk menginjeksi spirit modernitas pada budaya bangsanya.

Penelitian ini juga menunjukan bahwa Minke menggunakan modernitas sebagai sebuah bentuk perlawanan. Tujuannya dari usahanya adalah untuk mendekonstruksi tradisi feodal yang menghina derajat manusia dan kolonialisme di Hindia serta mendekonstruksi wacana kolonial yang tergantung pada pandangannya tentang budaya yang statis.

Kata kunci: identitas, konstruksi, hibriditas, mimicri, modernitas

## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

### A. Background of the Study

Each of us has our own name and the name we have is a part of our identity. However, identity is not simply a matter of a name giving. Identity is a property or a set of properties that makes one unique as an individual and different from others, or it can be the way a person sees or defines himself or the network of values and convictions that structures one's life. In other words identity is a set of personal and behavioral characteristics which define an individual as a member of a certain group.

Identity is a fascinating issue that attracts many people to study on it. Identity, however, is not a simple issue concerning the process of its construction. Stuart Hall for example, states that "identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as 'a production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation."<sup>1</sup>

Identity presumably is a conditional element. As a conditional element identity construction is determined by many aspects. One stated by Diana Fuss is place.<sup>2</sup> Identity is a creation of a variety of interactions with the world around us. However, a place is never neutral; every place has its own history, its political

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<sup>1</sup> Hall, Stuart, *Cultural identity and Diapors in Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*, (Colombia University Press, New York, 1994), 392.

<sup>2</sup>Rusell, D. *Between the Angle and the Curve: Mapping Gender*. (Taylor& Frances Grop : New York, 2006 )

situation or many aspects. This condition constantly haunts the process of identity construction and drives it into a certain difficulty.

Accordingly, constructing Indonesian identity is problematic due to the fact that Indonesia is a country of multi-ethnics people. Indonesian people are separated into communities and groups by several factors such as religions, customs, racial origin, and beliefs. 'Other nations arose from certain forces of unity-a common language, a common tradition and culture, a growing feeling of nationality brought about by sharing in a common task.'<sup>3</sup>

The predicament of Indonesian identity quest is expressed by Adrian Vickers who states that the idea to construct the national identity is difficult because a country as huge and heterogeneous as Indonesia does not have a single narrative.<sup>4</sup> It is because Indonesia, a country of 3000 islands is occupied by more than 300 ethnic groups distinguished by name, language, custom, ecology, and social organization.<sup>5</sup>

Indonesian people tend distinguish among themselves on the basis of subtle differences in language, and culture, between those of the north coast, those of the former Mataram court as the heartland of things Javanese, and several other locations like the outer lands, of East Java. Ethnic cultures, as depicted in distinct language, social etiquette, dress, food, dance, and theatre are of passionate interest to most Indonesians, constituting unveiling sources of conversation, particularly

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<sup>3</sup>J. Spruyt B Econ. & J. B. Robertson B.A., Dip. Ed. *History of Indonesia*, (Macmillan Company of Australia, Pty Ltd Melbourne, Sydney: 1973), p.120

<sup>4</sup>Adrian Vickers, *A History of modern Indonesia*, (Cambridge University Press. New York.:2005), p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>Guinness. Patrick, Local Society and culture in *Indonesia's New Order, The Dynamics of Socio Economic Transformation*, (Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd; Australia', 1994), p. 267

for those in urban or resettlement areas faced with this cultural diversity. Equally important are the religious differences between the various world religions and the wide range of beliefs and practices of the Javanese. Less commonly discussed are the differences in social and political organization, in agricultural practices and in the social values that also characterise these diverse groups.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, Guinness states that throughout the history of the Indonesian people, local traditions and expressions of social and cultural autonomy have been pitted against external pressures for change. Within contemporary Indonesia this dialogue continues between *adat*, as expression of local identity and order, and the forces of external influence encapsulated in the state, the capitalist economy, and its consumer culture, and the world religious ideologies and practices. It is not a matter of local identity disappearing in the face of such forces, but of bending and transforming. While these external forces are intent on creating social and cultural forms that are more amenable to political and economic penetration, expressions of localised sentiment and identity persist, even as they draw an elements introduced as a result of these forces. Their strength is their claim on communal loyalties, fostered by an appeal to the past.<sup>7</sup>

The difficulty in constructing Indonesian identity is sharpened by the history of Indonesia as colonised country. Long before achieving its independence it was occupied by Dutch. Some parts of Indonesia were ruled by the Dutch for

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<sup>6</sup> Guinness. Patrick, Local Society and culture in *Indonesia's New Order, The Dynamics of Socio Economic Transformation*, (Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd; Australia', 1994), p. 267

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. P.270

300 years, others for less than thirty.<sup>8</sup> The reason is that the presence of Dutch introduces a different culture which is different from the Natives' culture.

Commonly a coloniser does not merely control the territory, takeover the material resources and exploitation of human, but it also interferes the political and cultural structures of the colonized country. A related idea is proposed by Pennycook. According to him, 'The practice of colonialism produced ways of thinking, saying and doing that permeated back into the cultures and discourses of the colonial nations.'<sup>9</sup>

Memmi therefore stated "the people who are within the colonial spectrum consciously or unconsciously act according to the rule that society given to them. The colonial situation is what helps to define people that dwell within it and it is the choice of person to act according to it or not. Often people who are in colonial situation are not conscious of their condition."<sup>10</sup> This condition then generates complex psychological disturbances expressed in what is called the inferiority complex of the colonized.

Indonesia did not come into existence as a country until the middle of the twentieth century. The physical boundary of Indonesia is sharpened by the Dutch when they took over the islands and made them into a single colony. 'The Dutch, and for a short time the British, colonial officials recognised the cultural diversity of the country. Then 'they attempted to centralise control over the widely dispersed Indonesian peoples by recognising local leaders of diverse political

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<sup>8</sup>Vickers, Adrian, *A History of modern Indonesia*, (Cambridge University Press, New York: 2005), p. 3.

<sup>9</sup>Pennycook, Alastair, *English and the discourse of Colonialism*, (Routledge, London, 2002)

<sup>10</sup>Memmi, Albert, *The Colonized and the Colonizer*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965)

traditions, and codifying custom under what the Dutch termed *adatrect* (adat law).<sup>11</sup>

This nineteenth-century exercise had the effect of freezing into written law what had previously been a continuing revision, review and reaffirmation of social norms and values through the consensus of elders and people in each ethnic group. However the *adat* law written into the texts of Dutch colonial administrators allowed them considerable control over the cultural centres of the many ethnic groups all over Indonesia. The diversity was guaranteed, but ultimate authority over people's ways was centralised in the colonial regime.<sup>12</sup> Thus the presence of Dutch and the British during colonial period sharpened the cultural diversity of Indonesian people by formalising it.

Being interviewed by Andre Vitcheck, Pramoedya Ananta Toer expresses his view of Indonesia as follows:

“[...]What we know as Indonesian culture is just something we can describe as local or provincial cultures. What is Indonesian culture? There is some literature, true. That can be considered as Indonesian culture, because it uses the Indonesian language. What is else there? There are only some local cultural forms, like Balinese dancing. Every province has some folklore, especially Aceh.[...] Indonesians constantly glorify their culture but I keep asking, ‘what’s there to glorify?’<sup>13</sup>

In his interview, Pramoedya indicates that Indonesian identity concerning its culture is in quest. Identity then is something that must be achieved. Therefore, as an Indonesian nationalist and novelist, Pramoedya constantly invites Indonesian

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<sup>11</sup> Guinness. Patrick, Local Society and culture in *Indonesia's New Order, The Dynamics of Socio Economic Transformation*, (Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd; Australia', 1994), p. 268

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* P. 268

<sup>13</sup> Vitcheck, Andre. *Indonesian Archipelago of fear*. (Pluto Press. London: 2012), p.202.

people to think about Indonesia through his literary works. For him Indonesian culture has not been yet born.

Pramoedya, has been recognized as the most prominent Indonesia's prose writer who continuously voices the issues of Indonesian identity. It can be seen from the major themes of his works that mostly revolve around Indonesian nationalism and the history of Indonesia such as *Kranji Bekasi Jatuh*, *Perburuan*, *Arok Dedes*, *Arus Balik*, *Korupsi*, *Gadis Pantai*, and others. The portrayal of Indonesian identity quest is coherently described by Pramoedya Ananta Toer in his *Buru Quartet* specifically the third volume of this *Buru Quartet* series, *Footsteps*.

*Buru Quartet: Bumi Manusia (This Earth of Mankind)*, *Anak Semua Bangsa (Child of All Nation)*, *Jejak Langkah (footsteps)* and *Rumah Kaca (House of Glass)*. The manuscripts of these novels are completed by Pramoedya during the last year of his imprisonment in Buru Island. All of these novels had originally composed as oral literature, stories related to his fellow prisoners in the early years of his imprisonment when he was unable to write.<sup>14</sup>

*Buru Quartet* has been established as the first Indonesian literary works examined the historical event of Indonesia particularly the early awakening of Indonesian nationalism. *Buru Quartet* series precisely maps-out 'the struggle of the generation of Indonesia to which R.A Kartini belonged to reconcile their rejection of those indigenous cultural mores they perceived as "feudal" and humiliating to human dignity, with their growing awareness that the very Western

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<sup>14</sup>Keith Foulcher, Keith. "In search of the Postcolonial in Indonesian Literature" *Journal in social issues in South East Asia*



culture which had so “liberated” their consciousness was holding the people of the Netherlands Indies in a continuing grip of exploitation and oppression.’<sup>15</sup>

While GoGwilt proposed that, “the historical emergence of Indonesian nationalism in Pramoedya Buru Tetralogy is structured around the device of two distinct, opposed narrative perspective: that of Minke (based on the historical proto nationalist, Tirta Adi Suryo), who recounts the early awakening of anti-colonial nationalism in the first three volumes; and that of his adversary, the secret police agent, Pangemanan(D. A. Rinkes director of Balai Pustaka and the colonial political official who monitored Tirta Adi Suryo) who takes over the fourth volume to narrate Minke’s arrest and exile the confiscation of his manuscripts, and the subversion of his political organizations.”<sup>16</sup> Yet, the details of historical events in the novels do not reduce the process of subjectification in the novel.

Pramoedya as quoted by GoGwilt has stated that:

“the historical ambition of the work he undertakes on Buru, emphasizing that he is a writer, not a historian-“it is not the materials of history that I examine, but its spirit” (jadi bukan materi-materi historis yang kukaji, tetapi semangat-semangatnya’)-he explains: “I began deliberately with the theme of Indonesia’s National Awakening-which, while limited regionally and nationally, nonetheless remains part of the world and of humanity. Step by step I am writing to the roots of its history, [in a body of work] never be published I examine, but its spirit.”<sup>17</sup>

It could be seen here that Pramoedya intentionally composes the novels to confront the readers not only the history but the spirit of the early Indonesian

<sup>15</sup>Foulcher, Keith. “Bumi Manusia and Anak Semua Bangsa, Pramoedya Ananta Toer Enters the 1980s”, *Journal by Southeast Asia Program Publications at Cornell University*. 2

<sup>16</sup>GoGwilt, Christoper, *The passage of Literature, Genealogies of Modernism in Conrad, Rhys, & Pramoedya*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), p.154

<sup>17</sup>GoGwilt, Christoper, *The passage of Literature, Genealogies of Modernism in Conrad, Rhys, & Pramoedya*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), p.177

nationalist in constructing Indonesian identity or the spirit of change that happen around the end of nineteen century and the beginning of twentieth century under the Dutch occupation. It implies that Indonesian identity is in process, therefore Pramoedya intends to fuel the spirit of his readers to involve in the process of Indonesian Identity construction. Or As Razif Bahari points out, Pramoedya's interest in the history covered by Tirta's life is not revisited to get the history right, but to bolster the thesis that Indonesians in the present must come to grips with their participation in Indonesian becoming.

This study however focuses on *Footsteps* and the three other novels from *Buru Quartet*; *Bumi Manusia (This Earth of Mankind)*, *Anak Semua Bangsa (Child of All Nation)*, and *Rumah Kaca (House of Glass)* are used as the supporting resources. *Footsteps* deals with Minke, the protagonist character of the novel who realizes that the suffering of his fellow native is caused by the native's tradition and their leaders and it is sharpened by the Dutch.

Minke is called to liberate his fellow Native from cultural detention and Dutch determination. Minke uses political way to liberate the Natives from Dutch subjugation before developing the people. Minke believes that the development of the Native is determined by Native themselves and it can be done only if the Natives are free from Dutch determination. From his contact with other people such as Ang San, Ter Haar and an Old Java doctor Minke is enforced to apply organisation to unify the people under the consideration that it is legal in front of the Dutch law and it is a new way for political struggle in modern era.

However the attempts to unify the people are difficult due to the fact that Indies society is occupied by many different ethnic and class group and the ways this difference is emphasized by the colonial state. This state demands a hard work in order to successfully establish an organization that can unify all Natives. In addition, it requests a means that will bound the differences. It is confessed by Minke in his conversation with his mother “I told her of my ideas about the multi-racial nature of the Indies, that I wanted to build an organization that reflect that reality, but that I had not yet found the means for unifying the people.”<sup>18</sup> How does Minke struggle to overcome this problem?

This study is aimed to discover the process of identity construction in Pramoedya's *Footsteps* by using Bhabha's concept of Mimicry and Hybridity in postcolonial discourse. Hence, to dig out the aspects that important in identity construction and how an identity is constructed, this study formulates the research questions as follows:

- a. What ideal identity does Minke persevere to achieve?
- b. How does Minke struggle to construct his ideal identity?

## **B. Urgency of the Study**

The birth of a nation often represents the product of struggle by a unified people. Indonesia is an example. The complexity of Indonesia's geography and its tremendous ethnic and cultural variety make it difficult to unify the people. Through the centuries of Indonesian history, numerous individual stands out of their people try to release themselves from the domination of colonialism.

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<sup>18</sup>Ananta Toer. Pramoedya, *Footsteps*, 226

Indonesia eventually achieves his independence because of the spirit of nationalism.

This present work is also expected to give contribution toward a better understanding on Pramoedya's concept of nation and Homi Bhabha's concept of Mimicry and Hybridity for the readers. This study also finds some information regarding the application media in society. It is an advantage that can be useful for the readers.

### **C. Scope of the Study**

The study focuses on Pramoedya's novel entitled *Footsteps*. It is the third volume of Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet*. The analysis is focused on the dynamics of identity formation of the protagonist character through interaction and dialogue with other people that have different background of culture, ethnic, language, profession, religion in colonialism era.

*Footsteps*, the selected novel in this study depicts Indonesian identity construction. It reflects the concept of Mimicry and Hybridity. Therefore, this study should reveal the influence of Mimicry and Hybridity of Indonesian identity construction.

### **D. Research Method**

Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Footsteps* is the primary data for this research and the three other novels of Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* as the supporting sources; *This Earth of Mankind*, *Child of All Nation* and *House of Glass*. The application of postcolonial approach in this study is aimed to figure out the social situation during colonial period in Indonesia and the awakening of nationalism

that leads to Indonesian independence. It is also helpful in understanding how Minke struggles to define himself through interaction with other people from different cultural background during colonialism.

The procedures of the study are as follows: firstly collecting data from the novel and then classifying them by referring to the research questions, secondly analysing data by indicating citations from the text and afterward explaining them in details and lastly identifying the issues based on the research questions.

#### **E. Chapter Outline**

This work is divided thematically to ease the discussion. Chapter one is the introduction where the background of the study, research questions, and significance of the study are discussed thoroughly. Since the study will use library research methodology used in this study is also outline here.

Chapter two is the literature review. It discusses some related studies that have been conducted on similar literary work. It also contains the overview of Hybridity and Mimicry, the theories employed in the study, and the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter three and chapter four discuss the answers to the research questions. Each answer would be worth one chapter discussion. Thus, chapter three discusses the influence of Hybridity and Mimicry in Minke's identity construction within his Javanese and western cultures. Chapter four discusses the struggle of Minke to inject the spirit of modernity to be his national identity.

The final chapter concludes the work by presenting the findings and implications of the study. Selected bibliography that contains of the works cited

in this study as references or works which are not cited, but have been helpful in the process of writing will be placed on the last part of the thesis.



## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### A. Review of Related Studies

As the masterpiece of a great novelist, Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Buru Quartet has appealed many people to do research on it. This section is intended to present a short review of some previous studies that have been conducted. The purpose of doing this review is to know the similarities and differences between the finished works that have been conducted by the previous researchers and the current study that is going to be conducted.

Keith Foulcher's essay on *Bumi Manusia and Anak Semua Bangsa*, the first and the second volumes of Pramoedya's Tetralogy, prefers to perceive this novels and the other novels of Buru Tetralogy as historical novels rather than postcolonial novels. Foulcher states that the novels are intended to confront young Indonesian readers with the historical forces that have shaped their present. Therefore in order to be understood by the target readers, Pramoedya according Foulcher describes this complex historical picture in the racy, spoken-language style of the popular commercial literature developed during the period of his imprisonment. For similar purpose, the characters of the novels are designed differently from the folklore convention of contemporary Indonesian commercial literature.

Foulcher concludes that together with Pramoedya's fluent narrative ability, they make the novels a remarkable fusion of the linguistic conventions, characters types, and narrative style regarded by critics as the hallmarks of popular literature,



with the wide ranging intellectual analysis of social and cultural issues which those same critics assign the serious literature.<sup>19</sup>

GoGwilt in his essay entitled “*The Voice of Pramoedya Ananta Toer*” states that Buru Quartet is reconstructed from memory from the research and documentation that almost entirely lost when Pramoedya’s manuscripts, papers, and books were destroyed or scattered following his arrest. The notes that make up Pramoedya’s memoir are especially valuable because they record the personal, literary, and historical coordinates of what was lost in the most traumatic moment of contemporary Indonesian history.

In his findings GoGwilt stated that there are at least three different contexts through which the voice of Pramoedya Ananta Toer from Buru Quartet can be refracted: the silenced space of imprisonment in Buru exile; the censored public sphere of New Order Indonesia; and the international circulation of information and ideas through the free press and the world. Regarding Pram’s masterpieces, GoGwilt states that Pram’s Buru quartet is the historical novels from which his international reputation is largely based.<sup>20</sup>

Razif Bahary in his book entitled *Pramoedya Postcolonially* stated that Pramoedya’s Buru Quartet is postcolonial novels for in the novels Pramoedya has succeed to challenge colonialism’s enunciation, dislodging it and multiplying its centre. However, in conducting his research on Pramoedya’s Buru Quartet

<sup>19</sup> Foulcher, Keith. “Bumi Manusia and Anak semua Bangsa, Pramoedya Ananta Toer Enters the 1980s” *South East Asia Program Publications at Cornell University* 09/05/2013 [print](#)

<sup>20</sup> Chris GoGwilt, Chris. “The Voice of Pramoedya Ananta Toer: Passages, Interviews, and Reflections from “The Mute’s Soliloquy” and Pramoedya’s North American Tour” *Cultural Critique*, No 55(2003) 217-246. 09/05/2013.[print](#)

Bahary does not employ postcolonial strategy; Bahary's study on the other hand counters the strategy. He employs no formalistic way or theoretical framework in his work on Pramoedya's Buru Quartet, but in the light of their own ideological projects and horizons. The objective of his study, however, is to show the relevance of contemporary postcolonial theories for reading Pramoedya and to demonstrate that Pramoedya also provides a major anticipatory 'reading' of those theories.

Bahary's *Pramoedya Postcolonially* comprises four chapters. The first chapter entitled "*A History Retold; Narrating the Past, Nation and Identity*" revealed that Pramoedya's novels brilliantly anticipate not only postcolonial concerns with the colonial subject's historical experience in colonial societies, but also conception of language and subjectivity, nationhood and identity more recently articulated by postcolonial theorist like Bhabha<sup>21</sup>.

The second chapter entitled *Piecing the Past: Remembering History, W/riting History* is aimed to disclose certain narrative strategies, as well as the conception of writing history; these strategies are conveyed, in order to reveal the imbrications of truth and meaning that lie at the heart of the Buru tetralogy. The finding of the chapter is that the texts that Pramoedya infiltrates in the Buru Tetralogy are both in history (existing in 'reality,' outside his novels) and about history (used by Dutch colonialism and –by implication–the *orde baru* to tell their versions of the "truth"). Buru Tetralogy thus speaks explicitly to the textual foundation of memory and narration and the contingencies of writing history. Its

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<sup>21</sup>Bahary. Razif, *Pramoedya Postcolonially*, ( Pustaka Larasan, Denpasar, 2007), p. 48

historical referents are open both to the narration's changing paradigms and to the reader's creative interpretation.<sup>22</sup>

Chapter three of the novel with the title '*The Novelistic Genre, Language, and the Colonial Subject*' is designed to approach the postcolonial problematic from other perspective, considering the issue of language, its significance in the formation of Pramoedya's own story. The finding of this chapter is that Buru Tetralogy questions the dominative structure of linguistic imperialism and how it undergirds western conceptualisation, epistemology and representation.

Chapter four of this study, entitled '*Between a Rock and a Hard Place : Engendering Narrative in Between Colonialism and Patriarchy*' examines how the portrayal of female characters in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Buru Tetralogy reveal the ideologies of misogyny or patriarchy that operate in the hierarchical arrangement of both colonial and Javanese societies in the East Indies at the turn of the twentieth century. The finding of this chapter is that Pramoedya anticipates the critique of the universal female point of view that occurs through sympathy by representing and qualifying another kind of female identification. It reveals that while Pramoedya does not surrender hope in the power of sympathy, he does present this model of sympathetic identity as being potentially, but not axiomatically, liberational."

According to Bahary "tetralogy reads the real practice of sympathy more critically, questioning its efficacy, and suggesting it can be subtly co-opted by social models of domination. In fact tetralogy construct a critique of two models

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<sup>22</sup>Bahary, Razif, *Pramoedya Postcolonially*, ( Pustaka Larasan, Denpasar, 2007), p.84-85

of identification, dominative (colonizer/colonized; male/female) and sympathetic (woman/woman), underscoring how the quality of the later can subtly slip into the hierarchy of the former.

The four novels in short provide important critiques of patriarchy and its deployment of female subjectivity by factoring in gender and insisting on the social, political and economic axes along which power is distributed and identities are constructed. For this reasons, Pramoedya's Tetralogy is valuable to an understanding of the drives of power and authority in patriarchy and colonialism, and how they create falsely prejudiced social formations.<sup>23</sup>

It can be seen here that most of the previous studies presented do research on social issue and the history of Indonesia depicted in the novel since Pramoedya Ananta Toer is considered as social realist novelist, and many people also state that Pram is a historical novelist.

## **B. Review of Theoretical Concept**

Postcolonial theory is the main theoretical framework used to dig out the problems of the study. It is chosen, for Postcolonialism, like other theoretical frameworks helps to see connections among all the domains of human's experiences such as the psychological, ideological, social, political, intellectual, and aesthetic embedded in a literary work. Postcolonial theory, however, is a theoretical framework that deals with human oppression.

Postcolonial theory is formerly used to study the literary works of the colonized countries, the works that written even by the writers from the colonized

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<sup>23</sup>Bahary, Razif, *Pramoedya Postcolonially*, ( Pustaka Larasan, Denpasar, 2007), p.182-185

countries or the colonizers. Ashcroft states that ‘post-colonial theory is developed in response to the flourishing literatures written by Colonized peoples in colonial languages.’<sup>24</sup>

Because postcolonial criticism defines colonized people as any population that has been subjugated to the political domination of another population, postcolonial critic then can also be used to study the literary works of African American as well as the literature of aboriginal Australians or the formerly population of India. However, as a theoretical framework, postcolonial criticism seeks to understand the operation of colonialist and anti-colonialist ideologist. For example, a good deal of postcolonial criticism analyses the ideological forces that pressed the colonized to internalize the colonizers’ values and, on the other hand promoted the resistance of colonized people against their oppressors, a resistance that is as old as colonialism itself.

In the field of postcolonial theory, there are three major figures that widely known as the central figure of this study, they are Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi K Bhabha. Homi K Bhabha the leading voice of postcolonial studies is highly influenced by Western Poststructuralists such as Jacques Derrida, Jacques Lacan and Michael Foucault. He made a major contribution to postcolonial studies by pointing out how there is always ambivalence at the side of colonial dominance. This sub-chapter is aimed to elaborate the idea of Bhabha about Mimicry and Hybridity that are used to analyse the problem of identity in Pramoedya’s *Foots Steps*.

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<sup>24</sup> Ashcroft, Bill. *On Postcolonial Future*. (Continuum :London & New York; 2001), p. 7

## 1. Hybridity

Hybridity is commonly thought to be a cross between two different species (botanical or animal). However in the current literary and cultural text hybridity has been used to show resistance to the cultural fixity of colonial discourse. Kuortti & Nyman in their introduction to *Reconstructing Hybridity* reveals many discussions of the term relate to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin who defines that 'hybridity is a process involving both linguistic and cultural aspects, and it emerges when different linguistic codes meet with each other.'<sup>25</sup> For example, Sabines Mabardi who is quoted by Kuortti and Nyman, 'states that "Bakhtin's use of hybridity indicates a situation of double-voicedness, where there is a mixture of the authorial language with tracers, of influences, of the other language/voice with which it has dialogized.'<sup>26</sup>

In the field of Postcolonial Studies, there is Bhabha that gives the most attention to hybridity. In the hand of Bhabha, hybridity is employed to examine colonial history as well as contemporary cultures. For Bhabha 'contemporary cultures are hybrid. However this position does not imply that cultural difference simply blurs into indifference. Instead, culture should be seen as retrospective constructions, meaning that they are consequences of historical process.'<sup>27</sup> Bhabha himself argues that the terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative produced performatively.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Kuortti. Joel and Nyman. Yopi, *Reconstructing Hybridity*, (Editions Rodopi B.V. Amsterdam\_Ney York, NY; 2007), p. 6

<sup>26</sup> ibid

<sup>27</sup> David Huddart, Hybridity and Cultural Rights: Inventing Global Citizenship in *Reconstructing Hybridity*. Ed Joel. Kuortti & Nyman. Yopi, P. 21.

<sup>28</sup> Bhabha. Homi K, *The Location of Culture*, (Routledge; 1994), 23

Therefore he suggests that the representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of pre-given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition.<sup>29</sup> Since every culture is originally composed from two or more different cultures. It also implies that assimilation and adaptation of cultural practices can be seen as positive, enriching, and dynamic as well as oppressive. It can be seen here that the notion of Bhabha's hybridity refers to mixedness or impurity of cultures knowing that no culture is really pure.

Moreover, Bhabha suggests that 'different cultures should not be perceived as the source of conflict. Cultural segregation in colonial discourse is the impact of discriminatory practices which is done by colonizers to maintain their authority.<sup>30</sup> According to Bhabha, "hybridity is the re-evaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination."<sup>31</sup> Hybridity is a concept designed to break down the false sense of colonial discourse that depends too much on the belief of cultural fixity. The characteristics of hybridity that celebrate differences then can be considered as a bridge connecting the West and the East. It negotiates the gap embedded in colonial discourse and stereotypes as its discursive strategy that operate in-between the dichotomies of colonizer and colonized.

In hybridity, the colonizer's culture is open to transformation when it encounters the colonized people since there is a stairwell or a liminal space as a place of negotiation of cultural meaning when colonizer and colonized come

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<sup>29</sup> Bhabha, Homi, *Location of Culture*, (Routledge, 1994), 3

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 163

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 159



together. This interstitial space can accommodate both the colonizer and colonized and provides possibility for cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy.<sup>32</sup> In other words the identities of both can be structured when both of them interact.

Homi Bhabha also alludes to the production of a new element through the painful experience of racial intermixing, when he utters that “The process of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation”<sup>33</sup>.

In general, the notion Bhabha’s hybridity is reflected in the passage written by Renee Green cited by Bhabha as follows: “I want to make shapes or set up situations that are kind of open....My work has a lot to do with a kind of fluidity, a movement back and forth, not making a claim to any specific or essential way of being.”<sup>34</sup>

## 2. Mimicry

The aim of this sub title is to explore the meaning of mimicry with relation to the study of postcolonial criticism and theory in Homi K. Bhabha’s “*The Location of Culture*”. Similar to Edward Said in *Orientalism*, Bhabha also do a research on colonial discourse. He agrees with Said that colonial discourse has very significant power to alter human mind. But unlike Said, Bhabha focuses on the ambivalence of colonial discourse.

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<sup>32</sup>Bhabha, Homi, *Location of Culture*, (Routledge, 1994), p.5

<sup>33</sup>Rutheford, Jonathan. “The Third Space. Interview with Homi Bhabha.” *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*. Jonathan Rutheford. London lawrence and Wishart, 211

<sup>34</sup>Bhabha, Homi, *Location of Culture*, (Routledge, 1994), p. 4

Bhabha has a world view that colonial discourse is full of inconsistency due to its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness and stereotype as its major discursive strategy<sup>35</sup>. According to Bhabha Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxal mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition. It is similar with Stereotype which is perceived as a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated.<sup>36</sup>

A related idea is proposed by Hall who defines cultural Fixity as a shared culture, a sort of collective one true self, hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves' which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. In this sense cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continue frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history.<sup>37</sup> This understanding for short perceives identity as something fix and stable rather than something dynamic or in process.

Cultural fixity, a principle generates the idea of othering other or stereotyping other, has become the basic principles of colonialism where it is done

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<sup>35</sup>Bhabha, Homi, *Location of Culture*, (Routledge, 1994), p.94-95

<sup>36</sup>ibid

<sup>37</sup>Hall. Stuart, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora in Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial theory*, Ed. Williams Partrick & Chrisman, (Columbia University Press; 1994), p. 393

by the assumption of the Europe as the superior and the other as the lower races.

This belief is what Blaut (1993) has called 'Eurocentric diffusionism:

European are seen as the 'markers of history.' Europe eternally advances, progresses, modernizes. The rest of the world advances more sluggishly, or stagnates: it is traditional society. Therefore the world has a permanent geographical centre and permanent periphery: an inside and outside. Inside leads, outside lags. Inside innovates, outside imitates.'<sup>38</sup>

This Eurocentric diffusion is 'quite simply the colonizer's model of the world. Chakravarty uses "Raj Syndrome" in similar terms: 'European attitudes towards the non-European societies were largely conditioned by a significant Euro-centric consciousness. To all intents and purposes Europe was presented, in sharp contrast to the non-European world, as the centre of universe.'<sup>39</sup> It is simply seen here that Europe has constructed a view of itself as always superior to the rest of the world. Thus, colonialism is a result of European superiority.

Drawing on the concept of Foucault's discourse, Edward Said attempts to re-order the study of colonialism. "Rather than engaging with the ambivalent of condition of the colonial aftermath, it directs attention to the discursive and textual production of colonial meanings and, concomitantly, to the consolidation of colonial hegemony."<sup>40</sup>

In his *Orientalism* Said describes that the success of the West to represent or to occupy the East depends on the ability of the West to understand the East but it should be accompanied by power since understanding the East is not enough for East or Orient is not an inert fact of nature. Orient embeds in itself lives, history

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<sup>38</sup>Alastair Pennycook, *English and the discourses of Colonialism*, (Routledge, 1998), p.47-48

<sup>39</sup>ibid

<sup>40</sup>Gandhi, Leela, *Postcolonial Theory A Critical Introduction*, (Columbia University Press, New York, 1998), p. 64-65.

and culture as its belonging just like West that has its own lives, histories and customs as well. Knowledge about the Orient should be accompanied by power. Thus, as stated by Loomba 'knowledge about and power over the East are related enterprises'<sup>41</sup>.

Orientalism or the study of Orient, a political vision of reality whose structure promoted a binary opposition between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them") is crucial to European self-conception: if colonized people are irrational, Europeans are rational; if the former are barbaric, sensual, and lazy, Europe is civilization itself, with its sexual appetites under control and its dominant ethic that of hard work; if the Orient is static, Europe can be seen as developing and marching ahead; the Orient has to be feminine so that Europe can be masculine.<sup>42</sup>

Said's concept of Orientalism is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient"<sup>43</sup> or as stated by Bhabha the objective of stereotyping in colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.

Said concept of Orientalism, however is confronted by Bhabha. The reason proposed by Bhabha is that Foucault idea is productive in the refusal of polarisation essence/appearance, ideology/science. In this sense subjects should be defined in a relation between power and recognition not in the othering others.

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<sup>41</sup>Loomba, Ania, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, (Routledge, 2005), p. 43.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid*, 45

<sup>43</sup>Bahary, Razif *Pramoedya Postcolonialy*, ( Pustaka Larasan, 2007), p.19.

Subject is not a part of a symmetrical or dialectical relation, self/other, master/slave which can be disrupted by being inverted.<sup>44</sup>

Critique to Orientalism is raised also because Orientalism primarily concerns with how the Orient is constructed by Western literature, travel writing and systems of studying the East and not with how such a construction is received or dismantled by colonial subject. It is incomplete without some sense of specific peoples and cultures it re-wrote, and situations into which it intervened.<sup>45</sup> In relation to identity construction Bhabha states that Subjects must not be placed in opposition or domination through symbolic decentring of multiple power relations. Therefore identifying subject by using Said perspective is difficult since in Orientalism and colonial discourse the dominated subject is excluded in the process of subjectification. Said ignores the self-representations of the colonised and focuses on the imposition of colonial power rather than on the resistance to it. By doing so, he promotes a static model of colonial relations in which colonial power and discourse is possessed entirely by the coloniser and therefore there is no room for negotiation or change.<sup>46</sup>

Bhabha suggests that studying colonial discourse should shift from the ready recognition of images as positive or negative since it can dismiss the possibility of identity construction in colonialism.<sup>47</sup> Such idea is presented due to the consideration that identity is constructed from the contact with every form of identity.

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<sup>44</sup>Bhabha, Homi, *Location of Culture*, (Routledge, 1994), p. 103

<sup>45</sup>Loomba Ania, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, (Routledge, 2005), p. 48

<sup>46</sup>Loomba, Ania, 46

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid*, 95

Drawing on psychoanalysis Bhabha rereads stereotype in term of fetishism. In this sense the desire for cultural and racial purity in colonial discourse operated in dichotomizing West and East which is intended to normalise the multiple beliefs and split subject is the consequence of its process of disavowal<sup>48</sup> Stereotype is just a desire for an originality which is threatened by the differences of race, colour and culture.<sup>49</sup> Stereotype is not a simplification because it is a false representation of a given reality. It is a simplification because it is an arrested, fixated form of representation that, in denying the play of difference (which the negation through the Other permits), constitutes a problem for the representation of the subject in significations of psychic and social relations.<sup>50</sup>

For Bhabha the mission of the colonizer to civilize the colonised is disrupted by text they produced. The colonizer often produces text rich in the traditions of irony, mimicry and repetition. Among these traditions mimicry is the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge.<sup>51</sup> It means mimicry is central to colonial discourse. However mimicry itself is problematic. It represents ironic compromise.<sup>52</sup> He defines colonial mimicry in following words:

Colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order

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<sup>48</sup>Disavowal is one way of responding to the castration of the Other; whereas the neurotic represses the realisation of castration, the pervet disavows it. Lacan asserts that disavowal is always accompanied by a simultaneous acknowledgement of what is disavowed. Thus the pervet is not simply ignorant of castration; he simultaneously knows it and denies it. For Lacan the term comes to denote both sides, the simultaneous denial and recognition of castration. Lacan relates it to the realisation of the absence of the PHALLUS in the Other. The traumatic perception is the realisation that the cause of desire is always a lack. see *Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* (Routledge, 1996)

<sup>49</sup>Bhabha. Homi, *Location of Culture*, ( Routledge, 1994), 107

<sup>50</sup>ibid, 107

<sup>51</sup>ibid, 122

<sup>52</sup>ibid, 122

to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excesses, its difference.<sup>53</sup>

Colonizer discourse expects colonized to be like colonizer or identical. But the absolute equivalence between the two may fail to highlight the colonial rule and its ideologies for mimicry never quite accurate. Bhabha argues mimicry represents around ambivalence.<sup>54</sup> In this sense mimicry is not a complete beneficial for the colonizers and the colonized. The results of mimicry are spoiled image and caricature of the masters.

He argues further that mimicry does not merely rupture the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a partial presence. According to him, the play between equivalence and excess makes the colonized both reassuringly similar and also terrifying: so mimicry is at once resemblance and menace.<sup>55</sup>

Homi Bhabha also confronts the idea of authenticity in colonial discourse when he defines mimicry as a partial presence or partial representation. The idea of authenticity in mimicry leads to a kind of authentic: authentically Europe or almost like Europe. It can be seen as the final irony of partial representation<sup>56</sup>

The mimicry conceals no presence or identity behind its mask. In mimicry, identity is never identical with itself. So Bhabha points out that identity normally operates in terms of metaphor, but in mimicry it explicitly operates through metonymy,<sup>57</sup> a partial presence that is continually produced. The desire for

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<sup>53</sup>Bhabha. Homi, *Location of Culture*, 122

<sup>54</sup>Ibid, 122

<sup>55</sup>Ibid, 123

<sup>56</sup>Ibid, 125

<sup>57</sup>Ibid, 128



authentic identity in colonial discourse through mimicry then can be considered as a fail project for there is no fixed or final identity that can be mimicked and disrupted.

### C. Theoretical Framework

The Buru Quartet, like much of Pramoedya's literary works primarily revolves around the two issues central to this field of criticism: colonial-ism and nationalism. However, most of the previous studies tend to place the novels as historical novels rather than postcolonial novels, therefore their study more concern with the historical live of Indonesia represented in the Novels.

In this study postcolonial study is employed under the consideration that Pramoedya's *Footsteps* represents the degenerations in postcolonial society. Bhabha's concepts of mimicry and hybridity are helpful to examine the identity construction that lies in the novel since the theories refer to the integration (or, mingling) of cultural signs and practices from the colonizing and the colonized cultures.

In Bhabha's Hybridity, assimilation and adaptation of cultural practices, the cross-fertilization of cultures, can be seen as positive, enriching, and dynamic, as well as oppressive. It is also useful concept for helping to break down the false sense that colonized cultures- or colonizing cultures for that matter- are monolithic, or have essential, unchanging features.

### CHAPTER III

#### Reading Hybridity in Pramoedya's *Footsteps*

Bhabha's concepts of mimicry and hybridity perceive assimilation and adaptation in cultural practices as something positive, enriching, and dynamic. These two concepts break down the false sense of culture as something fix, monolithic and has unchanging features. Therefore, these two concepts are helpful to examine the process identity construction that lies in *Footsteps* that recounts the story of Minke who struggles define his identity within his Javanese and Western culture.

Hybridity and Mimicry in *Footsteps* will be scrutinized in the following sub-headings: (1) Place of Enunciation (2) Reaffirmation of Javanese Culture. Each section provides the analysis of *Footsteps*. This analysis is also accompanied by the first two volumes of Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* in order to get comprehensive discussion of the process on how Minke struggles to construct his identity.

##### A. Place of Enunciation

Pramoedya's *Footsteps* reveals that movement and relocation can alter identity. It is demonstrated by Pramoedya Ananta Toer through Minke, his protagonist character of the novel. As Pramoedya tells it, Minke is a son of *bupati* B who has access to Western education. Therefore, when he is seventeen, he is sent by his parents to Surabaya to study at HBS School. In the early of his educational career, Western tradition and custom become the primary tradition that he encounters. In HBS, he is taught by his teachers about science and

development or modernity in Europe such as “printing especially zincography, American skyscrapers, electricity etc.”

Minke also studies Western literature and art particularly that from Dutch. According to Magda Peters, his literary teacher, people around the world “even the people of the primitive society - in the heart of Africa for example- who have never sat in school, never seen a book in their life, who don’t know how to read, and write, are still able to love literature, even if only oral literature.”<sup>58</sup> ‘It is an outstanding achievement’ adds Magda Peters. But better still are those who study Western (Dutch) literature like Hollanders that love and read Dutch literature. “People love and honour the paintings of Van Gogh, Rembrandt-our own and the world’s great painters. They who do not love and honour them and who do not learn to love and honour them are considered to be uncivilised.”<sup>59</sup>

His European training soon compels him to put his trust on scientific understanding, in reason,’ rather than “the magical powers of the gods and knight in the *Wayang*.” Minke then realizes that science and learning which he learns at school and its manifestation in life have made him rather different from the other native people. However, he does not decide to stop studying Western knowledge, Minke, on the other hand improves his understanding on it. He then becomes a clever student particularly on literature. He can speak and even write in Dutch. He writes articles using a pen name ‘Max Tolenaar.’ His achievement in studying is appreciated by his teacher. “[...] but I’m not introducing the Minke whom everybody knows, but rather a Minke from a different quality, a Minke whose use

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<sup>58</sup>Ananta Toer, *Pramoedya, This Earth of Mankind*, 158

<sup>59</sup>Ibid 158

of Dutch to state his feelings, and thought is brilliant, a Minke who has written a literary work. He has proven that he is capable of writing perfectly, in the language that is not his mother tongue [...]"

Minke encounters Western culture not only in school but also in the society where he lives. In HBS, Minke has a Eurasian friend called Robert Suurhoof who brings him into the home of a woman known as Nyai Ontosoroh, a Javanese concubine of a Dutch businessman, Herman Mellema, and her two children, Robert and Annelies. His first meeting with the family threatens his Javanese culture especially his Javanese *Priyayi* background when he discovers Nyai Ontosoroh, a concubine of Herman Melema behaves like a European woman. It is a strange thing for him, therefore he hesitates to act. "Should I offer my hand as to a European woman, or should I treat her as a Native woman-and ignore her?" Nyai Ontosoroh then initiates to offer her hand first to greet him.

Minke believes that the way Nyai Ontosoroh behaves is not Native custom but European. If that is how they do things here, then I, of course, will offer mine first." <sup>60</sup> The behaviour of the family especially the attitude of Nyai Ontosoroh really fascinates him "[...] nyai ate calmly like a genuine European woman who had graduated from an English boarding school. [...]. He "earnestly examined the position of the spoon and forks, the use of the soup ladle and the knives, carving forks, and also the elaborate dinner service."<sup>61</sup> He responds approvingly to the details like Nyai's unaffected dress, and absence of feudal behaviour in her servant. "I was dumbfounded to see women leaving their kitchens in their homes,

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<sup>60</sup>Ananta Toer, *Pramoedya, This Earth of Mankind*, 12

<sup>61</sup>Ananta Toer, *Pramoedya*, 16

wearing work-clothes, seeking a living in someone else business, mixing with men! Was this also a sign of the modern era in the Indies?’<sup>62</sup>

Minke who is captivated by the wonders of Western science and learning as introduced by his teachers in HBS and of Nyai’s family life style consciously admits that he has become Western person. “I felt I was no longer the old Minke. My body was the same, but its contents and its perceptions were new.”<sup>63</sup> Therefore when he goes to his house in Blora to attend his father’s inauguration as a new *Bupati*, Minke is embarrassed by the fact that he must act according to his Javanese way. His Western background, for short, is threatened by the situation in his family’s house. It turns him into isolation. Minke again experiences displacement.

Minke who has shaped by western tradition then develops a world view that Javanese culture is a culture that humiliates human dignity ...’You, my ancestors, what is the reason you created customs that would so humiliate your own descendants? [...] Shallow misfortune! How could you bring yourself to leave such customs as an inheritance?’<sup>64</sup> He also rejects his status as a son of a *Bupati*, a man from high class society and refuses to proud of the old man’s position as a high-ranking Javanese official in the colonial bureaucracy. ‘The world of *priyayi* bureaucracy was not my world...My world was not rank and position, wages and embezzlement. My world was this earth of mankind and its problems.’<sup>65</sup> It seems

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<sup>62</sup>Ananta Toer, Pramoedya, *This Earth of Mankind*, 18

<sup>63</sup>Ananta Toer, Pramoedya, 161

<sup>64</sup>Ibid, 87

<sup>65</sup>Ibid, 90

Minke has been successfully seduced by modernity, the cornerstone of western culture.

The most apparent sign marking that Western tradition has been embraced by Minke is simply seen in the name he prefers to use, Minke, a derogatory name given him by his teacher in a Dutch school. According to Go-Gwilt by the name Minke constitutes as a self-evidently hybrid split literary consciousness. His very name marks this as an internalized estrangement of European consciousness<sup>66</sup> since 'Minke' is derived from the half-articulated Dutch pronunciation of the English word monkey.

However, at the end of the novel, Minke's innocent idea of developments in science and technology that modernity confers is interrupted by the intrigues of colonialism. It is described that just after graduation Minke marries Annelies but it is not legal under the Dutch law since Annelies is legally recognized as Herman Mellema's daughter and she is a Dutch therefore she is unable to marry Minke who is a Native. Annelies then is taken to Netherlands by Maurits Mellema, the son of Herman Mellema from his legitimate wife to complete her education and neither Minke nor Nyai Ontosoroh is allowed to follow. Responding to this fact Minke expresses his feeling as follows: "Is this how weak a Native is in the face of Europeans? Europe, you, my teacher, is the manner of your deeds?"<sup>67</sup>

The tone of the second volume changes significantly from the charming enthusiasm that Minke applies to his learning in *This Earth of Mankind*. It revolves around Minkes's personal misfortune and intensification of socio-

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<sup>66</sup>GoGwilt, Christopher, *The Passage of Literature, Genealogies of Modernism in Conrad, Rhys, & Pramoedya*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 53

<sup>67</sup>Ananta Toer, *Pramoedya, This Earth of Mankind*, 135

political crisis. It begins with story of Minke's separation from his wife, Annelies. Minke falls into great depression as he must be separated from his wife. As he recovers from depression, he begins a new life. Minke goes to Tulangan where he witnesses and gets caught up in the rebellion of peasants against the sugar planters and confronts the power of the planters and their control over the newspaper. He also faces once more the brutality of the colonizers; Surati, the daughter of nyai Ontosoroh's brother, is taken by the Dutch sugar factory manager, Frits Homerus Vlekkebaaij alias Plikemboh to be his concubine. It recalls the experience of Nyai Ontosoroh who is sold by his father to Herman Mellema and became Mellema's concubine.

In this novel, Minke learns for the first time the awakening in Asia's north-of the Philippines Republic and the activities of the Young Generation in Japan and China. He meets Chinese boy, a youth who has smuggled himself into the Indies to bring the message of the awakening of Asia to the Chinese community of the Indies. At the end of this novel it is described that Minke decides to move to Batavia to continue his study at STOVIA medical school.

*Footsteps*, the third volume of Buru quartet, the novel which is taken as the source of this study, begins with the story of Minke who just arrives in Batavia from Surabaya. In this new city and the new period of time Minke intends to constitutes a new self. Therefore, as he arrives in Batavia he states to forget everything that he has experienced in the past." Farewell to all that is past. And the dark times, neither are you exempt-farewell. Into the universe of Betawi I go-

into the universe of the twentieth century. And, yes, to you to nineteenth century-farewell” (1/FS). Minke comes to a new age which is different from the past.

It could be seen here that Pramoedya Ananta Toer locates the character of the novel in the place when the character encounters new situation, a situation that has a possibility for the presence of difference. The position of the character in the new place is also intended to interrogate dominant notion of belonging and at the same time imagine a new form of identity. This realities come close to Bhabha's idea of hybridization as a process taking place in the Third Space of enunciation, where identity is reconstituted in a process where fixed meanings are reconstructed, or translated into different one.<sup>68</sup> In the context of the novel *Batavia* is the place when Minke construct his identity which challenges the discourse of fixed identity, indeed Minke's resistance to the discourse of fixed identity has been performed since he was in Surabaya the place where he encounters Western tradition.

It has been described that Minke has considered himself as a modern man and it is enhanced when he declares himself as a modern person as he is in *Batavia*. But Minke's position is hard to capture as he is a rather ambivalent character. It is because as a modern person, according to Minke, he is a free person. He has freed himself (his body and thoughts) of all ornamentations. It indicates that he neither belongs to Western nor Javanese tradition.

Therefore, after proclaiming himself as a modern man, Minke subsequently interrogates himself as a modern man, a Native that prefers to think

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<sup>68</sup>Bhabha. Homi, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994). P.37



and behaves like European. The following passage reveals how Minke contradicts himself.

“ Monkeys hung from the vines and branches, untroubled by the clanging bell...one even pointed at us with a branch. They were, perhaps, all conspiring to me especially, and now in their own language, were crying out: that’s him Minke, the ‘modern man’! Yes, that’s him, sitting there in the corner by himself. That one, with the beginnings of a moustache, but his chin still bare. Yes, that’s him all right, the Native who prefers European clothes, who carries on like a *Sinyo*. He even travels in “white class-first class (2/FS).

The decision to constitute new form of identity indicates that the attempt to integrate and assimilate other culture sometimes prove to work out, complete access to Western culture remains impossible. The following sub-chapter discusses how Western culture frequently makes Minke feel limitation to integrate or assimilate Western culture.

#### **B. Reaffirmation of Javanese Tradition**

Minke, the character of Pramoedya’s *Foot Steps* appears as a hybrid product of Javanese and Western traditions. His decision to embrace these two cultures, however, has led him into a never ending journey to define his identity. It is because the efforts to assimilate to western culture are closely related to a process of cultural alienation. The more he intends to prove to embrace Western culture, the more he alienates from his Javanese roots. At the same time, whenever assimilation is being refused to him, he returns to Javanese tradition which once more increases his feeling of isolation.

In his behavior, Minke might appear as a model of a modern man but emotionally he has not recovered yet from personal experience of racial enmity. Minke’s social reality demonstrates that the control over his destiny is frequently

very limited. Although he has decided to be a modern man, refusing to be Javanese, his Javanese identity is often forced upon him by the Dutch people and the Natives who do not accept his new appearance. More precisely Minke is forced to feel Javanese because of being marginalized by Dutch although he, at first hand, had been refusing his Javanese roots.

It has been described previously that Minke tends to perceive himself as a modern man. He seems to rely most on science, technology and democracy. He is also seduced by the rhetoric of modernity particularly on prosperity and individualism and views himself as a unique and a fully autonomous person. More than once, Minke refers to his ideas of independence (individualism) as promised by modernism, exemplified by the following passages:

“I don’t need anyone to meet me. I need no help! Those who always need help are people who have allowed themselves to become dependent, almost like slaves. I am free! Totally free. From now on I will only be bound by those things in which I have a real stake.”(1/FS)

I continued that the key feature of modern life is the emergence of responsible individuals capable of making their own decisions and not simply acting all the time on the instructions of their superiors. Individuals now stand as autonomous persons in society. They are not just a component of society, as an arm or a foot is to a body, but a part of society that actually participates in deciding what will happen....” (281/FS)

In his first day in modern city Batavia Minke’s modernity, however, is contested. In STOVIA, Minke faces regulations that require all native students to wear traditional clothes. These regulation threatens him as a man who has become a European. For Minke it is an embarrassment. “Why are the ones here so offensive? As a Javanese, as a pupil, I must wear Javanese dress: a *destar*, a traditional buttoned-up top, a batik-sarong, and chicken-clawed feet! Shoes are banned! To me, this was all a form of oppression.” (7/FS) Minke is angry and offended facing

the regulation in the Dutch School. His positive imagination of Western culture is removed immediately from his head. It is replaced by the view that all regulations in STOVIA medical school are humiliating. All are degrading orders. Minke eventually put off his European clothes, his shoes, his trousers and his stockings. He then wears Javanese clothes. "In place of my felt hat was the *Destar*. I hadn't worn a *Destar* for years. My honoured feet, once clothed in shoes and stockings were chicken claws in their nakedness" (7/FS).

He also acknowledges that "The Netherlands Indies Government has an interest in limiting Native's people access to modern knowledge and science." (135 FS) The Native is also never allowed to be equal with the Dutch. "so what do you want the Natives to become, Meneer? You want them to become white people? "I want them to become equal with and under your people, 'I answered. "Here is not the place for this," he said. (135 FS)

Minke also experiences that the native especially the elite of the natives exemplified by the *Bupati* has been mummified by the spirit of essentialism that tends to treat other people as the others and choose to live in their caste. It is obviously seen in the way *Bupati* of Serong treats him. One day, after the death of his wife Minke has a hearing with *Bupati* Serong. Minke intends to have a discussion about organization that he wants to establish. He intentionally chooses the *Bupati* since he believes that as a person who has Western education, the *Bupati* must be enlightened and has spirit of equality.

Minke expects to have an open and frank discussion. Unfortunately, the person he comes to see is very patriarchal and also a feudal person. Therefore as

Minke arrives at his house he is forced to act in traditional way.”A messenger took me to a *pendopo*. And, ya Allah, I would have at once again crawled across the floor to seek audience with him. No doubt to be followed by innumerable genuflections of obeisance. How could it be like this between two modern people?” (137/FS) For Minke it is a ‘barbaric custom’ that ‘could not be accepted’.

Minke discovers that the *bupati* has been successfully shaped to serve the Dutch Government. He only thinks about his status and the interest of the colonial government. He has completely dismissed the idea of nationalism from his mind. He serves only the colonial government. “The *Bupati* of Serong attends such a meeting. Heh, Raden mas, who do you think the *Bupati* of Serong is? Your equal?...you forget that it is not whether people are educated or not, but rather what they do, what position it is that they hold. You forget that I am *Bupati*?” (138-139/FS)

Minke who firmly believes on the spirit of modernity is also confronted by his mother who relies most on Javanese tradition as the main cornerstone on man’s life. The image of his mother is described by Bahari as the quintessential aristocratic Javanese wife, as the ever faithful and hardworking wife and mother, conforms most closely to the traditional image of virtuous wife and good mother.<sup>69</sup> In this novel, she might appear as a loyal advocate of Javanese culture for she is a person that keeps firm a hold on her Javanese culture.

Minke’s mother has a worldview that what have been studied by Minke in his Western education has been taught by his ancestors in the bygone days. In her

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<sup>69</sup>Bahary. Razif, *Pramoedya Postcolonially*, 138,

eyes western tradition is a disease because according to her mother 'when they say, "thank you" it was just a pretence. They do not say it with their hearts.... No one has any gratitude in their hearts. Everyone is hurrying around trying to be better"(43/FS). She also queries the spirit of French revolution,' liberty, equality and fraternity that introduced by Minke to her, "You said it was to free men from the burdens made by other men. Wasn't that it?" She said that is not Javanese.

Therefore, according to her mother "they all suffer. Their desires and ideals become monsters that rule over them."(43/FS) She reminds her son that he has suffered too much because he has caught European disease. She deliberately hesitates the spirit of Western tradition embedded in Minke's life. She constantly urges him,"don't believe too much in this French Revolution. What did you say was its slogan: Equality, Fraternity, Liberty? If that were all true, Child, then what would be the position of the Dutch here in Java?" (44/FS) Minke's mother then says "a Javanese does something with no other motive than to do it. Order comes from Allah, from the gods, from the Raja."(43/FS)

The mother, a figure that puts strong belief on Javanese cultural is highly appreciated by Minke "I gave thanks that had a mother who was so strong and firm in her beliefs and her thoughts. She was a Javanese woman and she had her own wisdom."(44/FS) As an advocate of Javanese culture, she usually reminds Minke about his Javanese culture. Minke then attentively respects to his mother. He even concedes that "My respect to my mother grew even greater. I did not know whether had ever faced temptation and yet had still remained true to her words." (36/FS) Therefore, even though Minke has decided to look at himself as a

modern man that no longer bound by everything related to the tradition from his Javanese that he considers backward and unable to compete with other people in this modern era, he keeps memorizing everything his mother has talked to him.

“My thoughts wandered to my mother, to what she had talked me the first time I went to Surabaya. “you are going to a big city, where you mix with all races. You have your own people. Show that you are a good and well-behaved Javanese. Your ancestors were Islam, so too your mother and father. Never ever must you eat pork. It is one of the least burdensome prohibitions, Child. You must not break this rule. It’s not hard to do. And I have never gone against that prohibition.” (91/FS)

The developing relationship between Minke and his mother reflected in the novel has shaped Minke’s emotion and memory of his Javanese culture. It compels him to realize that the presence of his mother and “her deep love were threatening my European-ness. And I felt like an orphan of the modern age, without even traditional ties to kith and kin. I had left East Java to become a person. And now the love and compassion of my mother stood before me as a judge who would allow no appeal” (41/FS).

The presence of the mother that constantly reminds him about his Javanese tradition force him to admit for the first time since he encounters Western tradition that Javanese can also change people, “you sent me to school so that, as a Javanese, I would have the wisdom and knowledge of Europe. Both of those things change people, Mother.”(42/FS) In the first novel her mother also accuses him but he never admits his Javanese culture. He only knows that “Javanese are ignorant.”<sup>70</sup>

The role of Minke’s mother in the novel is unique. It has been described that she is a character that puts a strong belief on her Javanese tradition. It does

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<sup>70</sup> Ananta Toer, Pramoedya, *This Earth of Mankind*, 94

not mean, however, that she is not an egalitarian woman. The attitude of the mother proves that she is a woman who is open for differences. She for example lets his son to pursue his idea or to become whatever he wants although it is opposite to her belief. She supports Minke's decision to marry women which are typically different from Javanese women, archetype women she suggests to her son.

Drawing on Novita Dewi's *Women of Will for Nation Building* that Pramoedya frequently projects the qualities of his female characters based on the character of his mother and his grandmother who are described as wise and autonomous women.<sup>71</sup> In this novel the portrayal of his mother and his grandmother are again projected by Pramoedya. Those strong characteristics are embedded in Minke's mother who is described as a woman who is "able to think, feel and act in accordance to her own discernment. She is not easily influenced but persistently maintained such principles as independence, integrity, and justice."<sup>72</sup>

The presence of the mother who has strong character and other women characters such as Nyai Ontosoroh, Ang San Mei and Princes Kasiruta in the novels indicates that Pramoedya Ananta Toer anticipates feminist criticism that the woman undergoes double oppression for they are the victims of both ideology which devalues them because of their race and cultural ancestry, and patriarchal ideology which devalues them because of their sex.

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<sup>71</sup>Dewi, Novita. "Women of Will for Nation Building in Pramoedya's Three early Novels", Ateneo de Manila University:<<http://kritikakultura.ataneo.net>> 20(2013)-027. P.26

<sup>72</sup>ibid

Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* as stated by Bahary "can be considered a feminist discourse for its portrayal of female oppression within patriarchal colonial system."<sup>73</sup> In this novel, however the women characters are designed differently from the universal female point of view. Pramoedya represents the characters who occurs through sympathy but potentially liberational."<sup>74</sup>

Pramoedya Ananta Toer retells Indonesia through the women's character in his novel. In his *Buru Quartet* it is apparently displayed by Nyai Ontosoroh who is in every way an unusual person. She is not the kind of indigenous woman found in typical Javanese surroundings at the beginning of this century. Nevertheless, her story is the story of Indonesia, which is about the struggle to overcome various kinds of domination in a particular colonial space: the race hierarchy imposed by the whites, the ancient familial patriarchy of the Javanese and the ideology of submission of the lower orders.<sup>75</sup>

The intention of Pramoedya Ananta Toer to display strong characters in the novel can also be read as a critique to the adaptive principle which is stated as a weak philosophy. In this sense, adaptation is important in cultural interaction but it must not be done blindly. Meanings that people are indeed aware of what they are doing. People must deeply familiar with the ideas before they are adapted yet not bound by them and use the values without surrendering by them. It is particularly reflected by Minke's mother who always supports her son as far as he

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<sup>73</sup>Bahary, Razif, *Pramoedya Postcolonially*, (Pustaka Larasan, 2007), 126

<sup>74</sup>Bahary, Razif, 180

<sup>75</sup>Mohamad, Goenawan, *Forgetting Poetry and the Nation*, a motif in Indonesian literary modernism after 1945 in *Clearing a Space*, (KITLV Press; 2002),p. 184.



is not suffer of the new values he embraces, “It’s up to you as to what you want to do. But don’t suffer so much.”(43/FS)

To return to the novel discuss, the act of returning to the native tradition which is consciously and freely done by Minke is also reflected by other characters in the novel such as An Sang Mei and Princes Kasiruta. These two characters previously appear as well educated women the image of modern people. They are not the archetype of Javanese women as imagined by Minke’s mother. However, in the other part of the novel they reaffirm their traditional belief. Ang Sang Mei says “Since a child I have been told to be correctly....I’ve unfair to you these past months, not like a good Chinese should be to her husband.”(107/FS) It is similar to princess Kasiruta who says “Woman began their life with the wedding bed” I only have one husband she declares “my husband’s work involves taking care of many things. My work is to look after my husband.”(345/FS

The return to the Javanese does not mean that Minke limits himself on the Javanese culture but it is an affirmation done by Minke. Minke recognizes that Javanese can also change people. Therefore Minke embraces both Western and Javanese cultures. “European music stimulated in me many different thoughts. Gamelan music instead enveloped me in beauty, in a harmony of feeling that was without form, in an atmosphere that rocked my emotions to the eternal sleep.”(151/FS)

However, as he declares himself as a modern man who according to him a man which is free from all ornamentation, it enables him to interact with other

people from other cultural background. He is not limited himself to Javanese and Western culture only but also free to interact with other cultures. Therefore, it becomes clear that the intention to constitute new form of modernity, a form which is different from modernity which is introduced by the colonizer. He is aware that the concept of modern has been radically refracted as it is lived in the colony. In *Footsteps* Pramoedya describes that Minke is not only comes to the new age but he is out of the age. "It was as if the two of us had come out of the same factory, called the modern age." (51/FS)

In this new position, Minke is free to interact with other people without being interrupted by cultural matter. "I gazed into her eyes and for some reason they were shining brightly. I felt that the cultural and racial barriers between us, me as Javanese and she as a Chinese, for some reason that I didn't understand but could only sense, had been magically made to vanish." (51 FS)

Modern knowledge enables him to have a discussion with Van Kolllewijn and even builds relationship with Van Heutz. Other aspect in the novel that reveals the spirit of hybridity is love. Indeed the love scenes in the novels form a powerful affirmation of the possibilities of inter-ethnic harmony. Minke marries three times and none of his wife is from Java. His first wife is Annelies, the daughter of Nyai Ontosoroh and Herman Mellema. She is an Indo. His second wife is from China and his third wife is princess Kasiruta from Molusca.

The notion of Minke's modernity is undoubtedly reflects the idea of Bhabha on Hybridity that perceived culture as something derived from many different culture. It confronts the idea of colonial discourse that hinges on the

cultural fixity. In this novel, Minke's character undercuts the notion of fixity of every level or in every aspects of life. Bhabha's idea on mimicry is also reflected by Minke as he is unable to imitate or perfectly familiarize himself with western culture. "I didn't yet appreciate European music as fully as I did gamelan." (151/FS)

The notion of hybridity in the novel is also conveyed by other characters such as Tuan Mohamad Tabrie and Haji Moloek. Tuan mohamad Tabrie is an Eurasian who apparently emerges as a hybrid. Minke describes Mohamad Tabrie as a man who prefers to wear European clothes and some other cultural symbols of some ethnics in the Indies such as *pici*, or Kalimantan *sarong*. And he is open to receive different culture.

While Haji Moloek is an Indo who prefers to be called haji. In the novel he is described as a man who wishes to become member of Budi Utomo, an organization established by the students of STOVIA medical school. However he is unable to join the organization because he is an Indo not Javanese. Haji Moloek is a character who has a world view that mix culture is something natural in human's life. He states for example that the "Natives has enriched their vocabulary with words gained from mixing with Indos, and this includes the names of the different tools that are used today." (217/FS)

The fact that Haji Moloek is a hybrid character is marked by the way he perceives Malay language, " there is no language that I enjoy more, that gives me more pleasure, than Malay. It is such a beautifully free language, you can use it anywhere, under any circumstances, without any loss of dignity." (218/FS) He is

one of the Indos who has similar opinion with Minke about the Indies as a multi-racial and multi-national country.

In this novel Haji Moloek is designed by Pramoedya Ananta Toer to explore or to introduce the role of the Indos who are considered minority in Indonesia. It is because for many times Haji Moloek talks about the Indos' contribution for the development of Natives culture. He for instance states that "the Indos learnt to play European musical instruments, to play Indo songs. And the Natives learnt from the Indos and went to spread the skill among their people. Clothes, for example. Crafts. And indeed as far as clothes go-(...) All the terms that are used in tailoring, they all come from Dutch. And didn't the Native tailors learn them all from the Indo?." (216/FS) In short according to Haji Moloek, "the Indies natives take what they need from Europe via the Indos, who are quite a small group." (215/FS) Or it can be proved from the following passages:

"But it's also in relation to more important matters that the indos have acted as disinterested go-betweens between the Europeans and the Natives. perhaps one day, when the Indies catches up to Europe, people will erect a monument in memory of the Indos' role as unpaid passers-on of civilisation. Perhaps they may even be remembered as the civilisers of the Natives themselves." (216/FS)

Indeed haji Moloek is an alusion to Haji Mukti the author of *Hikayat Siti Maryam* or in *Footsteps* the tale is entitled *The Tale of Siti Aini*. As described by Pramoedya Ananta Toer in his introduction to *Hikayat Siti Maryam*, the author of the tale is an Indo. His father is a Dutch named Elout van Hogervelt and his mother is a Native. He has a sister named Soendari. Haji Mukti or Haji Moloek in the novel has a significant role for Pramoedya to design his characters. If Kartini inspires Pramoedya for modernism and Tirta Adi Suryo for national movement,

Pramoedya perhaps obtains the inspiration about hybridity from Haji Mukti. In his commentary on *Hikayat Siti Maryam* Pramoedya stated that even they are Indos but they are free to interact with the people in the society. They can interact with the Natives or the Dutch normally as if there is no racial defference. For Pramoedya, it is interesting and important.

In that introduction Pramoedya also states that “*Hikayat Siti Maryam*” is similar with Multatuli becuase this book reflects culture stelsel system but they are also different because even they deal with the same problem they perceive culture stelsel from different perspective. *Hikayat Siti Maryam* is about the resistance against Culture Stelsel while Max Havelar or Multatuli is about the contradiction of that system.<sup>76</sup> They are also written in different language, *Hikayat Siti Maryam* is in Melayu pasar while Multatuli is in Dutch. According to Pramoedya, Mukti’s *hikayat* is the only work of pre-Indonesian literature that reflects the culture stelsel system.<sup>77</sup> Pramoedya also states that *Hikayat Siti Maryam* is an Indonesian modern literature.<sup>78</sup> It then drives to state that the longing for modernity of the Natives has begun long before the end of nineteen and twentieth century as considered as the begining of Indonesian modernism. It is stated based on the assumption that literature is a reflection of the society when it is written.

Drawing from the above description, it can be stated that modernity is the ideal identity wished by Minke. It is a kind of open identity which enables him to

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<sup>76</sup>Ananta Toer. Pramoedya (ed.), *Hikayat Siti Mariah*, (penerbit Lentera Dipantar, Jakarta; 2003), p.31

<sup>77</sup>Ananta Toer. Pramoedya, 32

<sup>78</sup>Ibid, 26

interact with other cultures. Although it will leads him into a never ending process for such identity always change but modernity in the context of Minke is useful especially for self empowerment. It enables him to deconstruct every gap that might appear in his relation with others or it helps to achieve his idea to help his fellow Natives: to advance the Natives and to free them from colonial subjugation.

Pramoedya indeed intends to introduce that culture is dynamic and fluid. It is open and is able to interact with other different cultures. “Who is that is still so eager to judge relationship between people? That Mei met me, and met her, each from a country so distant and so alien from the other’s, was not something I’d wished for. Nor was it something Mei had wished for.” (113 FS) It recalls the statement of Bhabha as stated by Huddart that “For Bhabha as for Fanon, there is no fact of blackness, and there is no fact of ‘Whiteness’ not if those facts or identities are imagined as permanent. At the moment you hope to have fixed yourself, you find yourself slipping away yet again.” (Huddart 2006, 30)

Modernity, the sign of hybridity that has become Minke’s identity is intended to be injected to his nation identity. it is reflected in the tool he uses to construct his nation. The following chapter deals with the attempt of Minke to construct the identity of his nation.

## CHAPTER IV

### NEGOTIATING IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

The sense of modernity in *Footsteps* is hybrid. It is liberating. It releases people from cultural boundaries, advances human's life, enforces people to be independent. Affirmed by the spirit of modernity, Minke who has internalised the attempts to impose it to his national culture. he intends to help his fellow Natives from the cultural boundaries as well as to encounter Dutch determination. This chapter is to unearth how Minke imposes the spirit of modernity to Indonesian identity quest by Reevaluating and Reorienting Tradition and Western Culture and Decentering Modernism

#### A. Reevaluating and Reorienting Tradition

Reflecting the hybrid character, Minke is a person with a complex personality. His ideas and actions are clearly inspired by Javanese ideas and values and same ideas from other cultures and traditions. His ideas and actions are clearly inspired by Javanese ideas and it combines with several ideas such as western ideas, Chinese or other Asian values he learned from the people around him. It can be noticed from the way he behaves and also from how he implements the values in his attempts to liberate his fellow Natives from cultural detention and Dutch subjugation.

Minke often uses Javanese ideas but to them he adds ideas from different religious traditions, European philosophy and the modern concept of power. He also seeks to reconcile different revolutionary movements in other countries in

South Asia with the realities in East Indies. The result is typically Javanese or Western: the synthesis of different beliefs and thoughts.

Minke is a Native who prefers to wear European clothes or refuses to bow down or knelt before grown-up people. He is able to speak in several languages such as Dutch, Malay and English language. His ability in using Dutch is appreciated not only by his teachers but also by General van Heutz, the Governor General of East Indies. He is a Native who employs organization, the new way for political struggle in modern time.

However, like his mother, Minke has strong principles and discipline enough in using every idea he obtains from other people. Minke does not follow the ideas blindly. He is aware of what he is doing. He familiarizes himself with Javanese ideas or the ideas he borrowed from other cultures and traditions, but at the same time he utilizes them as long as they fit to his idea to help the Natives, to free them from their suffering and from Dutch subjugation. Thus, he is not succumbed by the principles he absorbs.

He is questioning all values he learns or taught to him even by his mother. He is confused witnessing the attitude of the students in STOVIA medical school. for their attitude is opposite to all moral values has taught to him. his mother warrants him not to trust every woman who is not his wife. But now most of his friends, people who are educated, they are free individual, but intends to prostitute themselves. Facing this situation Minke then questioning himself: do the men couldn't be trusted? Facing this problem Minke confuses how should he treats these people. his western knowledge suggests him to treat all people equally. And



he does so,. He never feels superior to them. however how about the people who have bad morality? Minke then decides to himself that “the real problem is how to lead and be led, how to carry yourself and be carried.” (36/FS)

The strong principle that embedds in Minke is reflected in the his attempt to help the people. *Footsteps* depicts that Minke arrives in Batavia with an awareness that his fellow Natives are in a hard condition. Commonly in a colonized country people assume that the difficulties experienced by the people in that country are caused by the determination of the colonizer. Minke himself has been threatened several times by the Dutch. He also has recognized that the land of the peasants in Tulangan is brutally grabbed or exploited by the sugar company. The peasants are unpaid for the use of their land. The mill owners also cut off water supplies for the paddy fields, which prepares them for sugar cane cultivation but they aslo ensure the peasants do not make extra money from sugar cane by digging up the roots once the contract for the land expires. However, he does not likely to claim the Dutch as the sole actor that causes the problem. Minke, on the other hand, carefully examines what exactly the matter that causes the suffering of the Natives and why the Dutch easily defeats the Natives and maintain their occupation in East Indies.

Minke eventually knows that the anguish of the people in the East Indies is resulted by several factors: the ignorance of the native themselves and the lack of knowledge, science, and excessive power which are used to maintain the suffering of the Natives. Such acknowledgment is acquired from the girl from Jepara when Minke and Ang San Mei visit the girl.

For Minke, the girl from Jepara (R .A Kartini) is considered as a person of modern age. She,as described by Minke, even only graduates from primary school but she is able to speak and write in Dutch. She also learns English language. She is a girl who loves to learn a lot of things especially modern education. She also spends her time to grasp Western culture and other cultural Values. Her modern education then drives her to an understanding that Natives custom is a custom that degrades human dignity. She then descides to dedicate her life to resist her custom particularly feodal tradition.

Minke informs that the girl also cares with the condition of his fellow Natives particularly the women. It can be conceived from the way she attempts to learn woman emancipation in China. She makes correspondence with the girl to learn and to share ideas about woman problems and learn woman emancipation in Europe. She is a girl who dedicates her life to think and struggle for the better of her fellow native women. She indeed intends to free the native women from all the old ways. She wishes to see every young girl in the Indies has the same happy childhood. She wants to teach them, to educate them and gives such girls a new foundation in life where they are taught that men must respect them, based on their real achievements and qualities (72/FS).

Minke is really impressed by the girl particularly when the girl has an audience with Engineer H. Van Kolllewijn. For Minke that is unusual in Java. For him that is a way used by the girl to resist the reality of her situation. She is also considered as a helpful woman.

“For the first time in history a Javanese woman has brought about a major public event. She is receiving an honoured and grand guest. The daughter

of the Regent, seated in rocking chair under the *pendopo*, awaited the arrival of Engineer H. Van Kolllewijn.....those who have studied Javanese custom and tradition will note this was a unique occurrence-Native woman welcoming a man, a foreigner to boot, whom they did not yet know! And for those who interest in politics, they will note that this was the first time a member of the Dutch parliament felt the necessity to call upon a Native girl, with whom he was not yet acquainted. He isn't there to propose, but to discuss....(45/FS)

“it was not long before orders came flowing into the Jepara maiden. And it wasn't long either before the craftsmen of Jepara went from being poverty-stricken, miserable and powerless to being honoured, respected, wealthy and sought after. The girl had brought energy and life where before there was dejection. She had brought change. She had wiped away a spot of poverty, of powerlessness.” (47/FS)

The girl from Jepara draws to him and Ang San Mei that “In Java suffering was endemic. It was part of the marrow of life. Many people did not feel the suffering because they were not aware of it. And so it was that Dutch often said: “Happy are the ignorant, because they do not suffer so much. And happy are the children who do not yet need the knowledge to be able to understand.”(74/FS)

As a modern woman, the girl has her own view about the characteristics of modern era and she explains it to Minke and Ang San Mei. Her explanation drives Minke to come to an understanding that modern age requires people to be responsible for themselves. It reminds him to an article he ever read which says that, “there was no longer *deus ex machina* as in the legends of earlier times. People today were under the whip of their own consciousness, and they could get away from this anymore, now that responsibility for themselves had been stolen from the hands of the gods.” (76/FS)

However the girl herself does not have the ability to free herself from feudal tradition due to her love for her father. She, as described by Minke, suffers no less than any women who lived under the yoke of a man's rule. this girl,

hemmed in by the Residency walls, imprisoned by the walls of custom, locked away in nubile seclusion, had given to the local Dutch Assistant Resident a wedding present for the Queen Wilhelmina.”(45/FS)

Minke assumes that “She was a person of modern age, someone who had studied in order to be able to understand, and who had come to understand and then to realise her own sufferings, and that of others like her and of her people. But she was still imprisoned by custom, by her parents’ love and by her situation as an unmarried elder daughter.” She had begun to prepare her plan. But nothing could be achieved without freedom (74/FS).

It could be seen here that Pramoedya reiterates his admiration of Raden Adjeng Kartini. Pramoedya respects to R.A Kartini because of her initiative to alter the tradition. According to Pramoedya, Kartini is the first person who initiates to examine feudal tradition in the society.<sup>79</sup> Kartini is inspirational for Pramoedya as Tirta. So much Pramoedya’s writing pivots on the plight of Javanese women because of his reading of Kartini and if she is not a central figure in the tetralogy, she remains a significant presence in the kind of consciousness conveyed by Nyai Ontosoroh. Indeed Pramoedya has published two volumes on the life of this Western-educated Javanese and feminist entitled *Panggil aku Kartini Saja* (Just Call me Kartini)

R.A Kartini according Pramoedya is a woman who understands Western values. She obtains Western when she studied in Dutch school. According to Pramoedya, Kartini also discerns Western by reading the history and literature of

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<sup>79</sup>Ananta Toer. Pramoedya, *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja*, (Lentera Dipantara, 2003), p.90

the West. She reads Dutch literature, France and English literature. Kartini appreciates Western democracy, Western science and knowledge. She likes those values. Her acquaintance with Western values then leads her to grasp the weakness of feudal tradition. However, Kartini also knows the weakness or dark side of Western values, therefore she divides western into two kinds: pure or formal Europe and split Europe.<sup>80</sup>

To return to Minke, the conversation with the girl from Jepara enlightens him that Javanese tradition has shaped the people to become pathetic. It is because Javanese people have weak principle that is adaptive principle. This philosophy shapes Javanese to become adaptive, always seeking similarities, sameness. According to Minke, adaptive principle that seeks to accommodate or adjust, without any criticism, is a weak philosophy that if it faces those who have strong principle, for example the West that has strong principle, Javanese will always become victim or defeated. “Therefore when the Europeans arrived, and Europe based itself on adherence to principles. The Europeans were much fewer in number but won because they held clear and firm principles.”(68/FS) “The Javanese have never gone on the offensive against the whites. All they have ever been able to do is put up a defence, to hold the fort. But they were always defeated, because they held to a defeated philosophy.”<sup>81</sup>

Adaptive principles and mysticism turn the people to passivity. “This people waiting for the Gong, the Messiah, the Mehdi, the just king. And whom they awaited never came. The power that could change everything and all the

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<sup>80</sup>Ananta Toer. Pramodya. *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja*, ( Jakarta Timur, Lentera Dipantara, 2003), p. 143-177

<sup>81</sup>Ananta Toer Pramodya, *House of Glass*, 76

prevalent thinking never arrived [...] though they never tired of waiting for the new Messiah.”(292/FS) Minke feels sorry about the condition of his fellow Natives who are imprisoned by their own culture. They are suffering. For him “it was pathetic.”

Javanese has profoundly influenced the people. “Words, for example, had been made into mantras. They were considered to have their origins with powers above humankind, and not with social and economic life. They were not seen to come from an agreement in society to make sacred some object or situation, a symbol or concept. These words were locked upon as some kind of supernatural acronyms, freed from semantics, cut off from their etymology, severed even from the word’s own meaning.”(294/FS)

It is sharpened by the fact that Javanese “had such strong roots in the literature of Java, such as the *Mahabrata* and *Baratayudha*. In Minke’s perspective these Javanese epics “provided nothing to grab hold of for those who wanted to enter the modern era’. According to him this great epics ‘has lost touch with real life. They did not teach how rice was planted, or house built, or how it was that people must sell what they produce. They only thought about fighting, and how good it was to become a lover of the gods, and thus further away from human being.”(292/FS) These principles (adaptation) have also been maintained in tradition until now through the teaching of *wayang*.

The suffering of the Natives as has been stated earlier is also resulted by the local leaders who are mummified by feudal tradition epitomized by the *priyayi* and local *raja*. The *priyayi* or the local *raja* had never cared the health and welfare

of their own people. Their subjects-only about how to rob them and use them for the royal pleasure. And they also use their power and capital to get money. They as stated by Minke 'prostitute themselves by using their money or capital and selling their authority to the Dutch. They get money without work.'(134/FS)

According to Clifford Geertz *Priyayi* is "originally indicated a man who could trace his ancestry back to the great semi-mythical kings of colonial Java, but, as the Dutch, rulers of Java for three hundred years, employed this group as the administrative instruments of their policy." They are people who do 'refined' (alus) work, those who work for the government." "Their inherited duty is soldiers and guarding the government."<sup>82</sup> *Priyayi* thus are the cultural leaders in the society. They are noble men in the Indies society.

Drawing on the spirit of modernity Minke states that "In the modern era those with invulnerability were no longer the objects of admiration. We were aiming for a democratic society where nobody stood above another. There were no special people, who stood closer or were the special beloved of the gods or of God" (293/FS). Therefore, the presence of the *priyayi* that inherits their occupation is improper in the society particularly in modern world since in the modern world [...] an honourable character is the result of a good basic education. It is such an education that gives rise to good deeds and actions. (95/FS) Success was not a gift from the gods, but a result of hard work and study. (292/FS)

It is clear here that Minke resists the presence of the *Priyayi*. Indeed, he has challenged *Priyayi* since he engages with Western culture in his early

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<sup>82</sup>Geertz, Clifford. *The Religion of Java*. (The University of Chicago press: Chicago & London, 1960)



educational career. As has been described previously that Minke who has infatuated with Western tradition refused to admit himself as a son of *Bupati*, refuse to use his Javanese name. The sense of challenging the *Priyayi* is explicitly seen in the following statement:

Indeed the civil service reports were something that never attracted my interest: appointments, dismissal, transfers, and pensions. Nothing to do with me! The world of *priyayi* bureaucracy was not my world. Who care if the devil was appointed smallpox official or was sacked dishonourably because of embezzlement? My world was not rank and position, wages and embezzlement. My world was this earth of mankind and its problems.”<sup>83</sup>

Minke’s resistance to the *priyayi* is enhanced in *Footsteps*. It is displayed in the following passage:

I was *Brahman* and *Sudra* at one and at the same time. In my imagination I had often worked out and mulled over all the things I would have to do, but it was turning out that there was no work more complex under the sun. My *wayang* characters were not made of dead leather that could be painted and decorated however I liked. They were a live, indeed a part of life, all reacting and responding to each other. I had merged the work of *Brahman* and *Sudra*, teacher and student, speaker and listener, messenger and propagandist. I was a peddler of dreams for the future, a psychologist and psychiatrist without a diploma, someone who tried to organise things while being out amongst those being organised.” (278/FS)

The above realities can be read as a criticism from Pramoedya Ananta Toer to feudal tradition which he considers as “*Kampung* civilization and culture.” GoGwilt in his study on Pramoedya’s works has found that Minke’s critics of Javanism in *Footsteps*, appears with just such an apology: “Excuse me for using the term Javanism. Perhaps it offends some people.” (374/ 181)

Lack of knowledge is considered as the other reason that causes the suffering of the Natives. This situation is sharpened by the Dutch that controls the

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<sup>83</sup>Ananta Toer, Pramoedya, *This Earth of Mankind*, 90



power and knowledge in the Indies. Minke has a consciousness that the ability of the Dutch to occupy East Indies is because of the development of their culture. East Indies tradition is underdeveloped while the West is developed. The disparities of culture between West and East Indies are describes by Bahary as follows:

Metaphors/concepts of	Colonial Dutch culture	Native culture
Power	Nuts, screws, and bolts; train	Elephants and rhinoceros, horses, cattle, buffalo
War	Bullets	Spears and arrow
Authority	White man's law; government law	Village law, Muslim Law
Language	Dutch	Malay; Javanese; Madurese, etc
Education	HBS; Dutch Java School	'university of life
Knowledge	European history; auction papers; court testimony	Babad Tanah Jawi; Wayang Stories; personal stories, e.g Nyai Ontosoroh's

Table: 1<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup>Razif Bahary, *Pramoedya Postcolonially*, 70-71

Razif Bahary states that the diacritica mapped out above, in the emergence of Minke's critical consciousness in the proceeding novels, the object of scrutiny in an analysis of the hierarchical relationship between native and Dutch cultural values and of the ways in which different cultural valorisations have an impact on the historical archive. The root motive of this archive is not curiosity, but domination. Through it, the colonialist is able to know the native, not for altruistic or humanistic purposes. But instead as a means to power."<sup>85</sup> It shows that by using this colonial archive, Europeans maintain their exploitation and oppression by containing the subjectivity of native peoples in the images, stereotypes, and representations deployed in colonial discourse.

The realities as depicted by Pramoedya in *Footsteps* reflect the realities of the Indies societies in the end nineteen and the early of twentieth century. It conforms the description given by J Spruyt and J.B. Robertson that, "The vast majority of the people were demoralized through lack of education, lack of opportunity and even lack of tradition-the great ceremonies and the customary law of the past had fallen into decay. [...] Whenever Western Ideas reached the people it was mainly through Dutch regulation. No western education was given, except enough reading and arithmetic to enable Indonesians to take the job of the minor overseer or clerk in the administration or with a private company. Education would bring all sorts of notions of equality-even in elementary text books. It was safer to keep most of the people ignorant, and try to keep them faithful to a

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<sup>85</sup>Bahary. Razif, *Pramoedya Postcolonially*, 71

tradition that had long since lost all meaning. That way, they would remain as feudal bondmen forever<sup>86</sup>,

Regarding the leaders Spruyt stated, “these leaders gained followers for a variety of reasons, but all reasons were associated either with the prestige of a ruling house or with religious fervour. These leaders represent feudalism who have two-sided attitude: on the one hand, they feared a strong popular movement because it could undermine their own traditional authority. On the other hand, they would join the nationalist movement mainly to consolidate their proper status in the society.

To return to the novel discuss, Minke indeed intends to develop his Native people, to release them from their cultural barriers and to release them from Dutch determination and to help the people to enter modern era. In so doing, as stated by Minke several changes should be made particularly the Natives’ tradition that has been considered as the main obstacle faced by the Natives. Going into modern era as stated by Minke “old values had to make way for the new. The old ways of honor will experience a change of form. And if the form changes, so too will the content.” (95/FS)

It could be seen here that Minke intends to change Javanese (particularly adaptive philosophy and feudal tradition) which he considers is potentially dangerous in democratic society since it is “isolated from the development of science and modern knowledge, deliberately isolated by their European

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<sup>86</sup>J. Spruyt B Econ. & J. B. Robertson B.A., Dip. Ed. *History of Indonesia*, (Macmillan Company of Australia, Pty Ltd Melbourne, Sydney: 1973),p.120-22

conquerors. They were the residents of colonialism's special nature reserve."(294/FS)

According to Minke modern life is the emergence of responsible individuals capable of making their own decisions and not simply acting all the time on the instructions of their superiors. Individuals now stand autonomous persons in society. They are not just a component of society, as an arm or a foot is to a body, but a part of society that actually participates in deciding what will happen, and this lecture, which, if the truth be known was meant as much for me as for her head, listening attentively, aware of her ignorance before her teacher who was no less attentive and no less ignorant (281/FS).

Therefore, in order to constitute modern condition, it demands to have modern science and knowledge, then modern organisation and modern technology or in other words modernity is the values that can be used to reinforce the Natives to enter or to survive in modern time. Minke is actually inspired by Khaw Ah Soe, a Chinese nationalist who wants to unseat the Ching Dynasty and make China a republic in which his desire is framed in terms of modernity pitched against aristocracy. Both of them have similar ideas on using western values because now it is the modern epoch. Any country and people that cannot absorb European strength and rise up by using it will be devoured by Europe.<sup>87</sup>Or as stated by Minke 'Those who reject modernity "will be the plaything of all those forces of the world operating outside and around you." (FS) Minke is also inspired by Nyai Ontosoroh who struggles to eliminate feudal tradition using the spirit of western.

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<sup>87</sup>Ananta Toer, *Pramoedya, Child of All Nation*, 340

Minke's idea to transform Javanese tradition similar to the idea as proposed by Ricoeur quoted by Brennan that: ...'in order to take part in modern civilization, it is necessary at the same time to take part in scientific, technical, political rationality, something which very often requires the pure and simple abandonment of a whole cultural past.'<sup>88</sup>

The decision to cultivate Western science, technology to Native people is taken due to the consideration that those elements have enforced Western people to be independent, they also drives the West to produce great things such as ship building, machine skyscraper. While the spirit of democracy which celebrates human dignity has saved them from feudal tradition. "I was left sitting in my chair reflecting on how harmonious and close were European husbands and wife, the man not making a slave of the woman, the woman not enslaving herself to the man, as was the case with my people. How beautiful would such a marriage be". (177/FS)

It doesn't mean, however, that Minke intends to neglect the natives' culture or "to pass over the honourable achievements of the people of the Indies". He applies Western modernity as far as it helps him to help the people. He is aware that not all values of modernity are applicable particularly western values introduced by the colonial Europe. He recognises that there are two kinds of Europe: Free Europe and colonial Europe. Colonial Europe is created by free Europe even while it retains its own stature. Colonial Europe or split Europe is the

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<sup>88</sup>Brennan, Timothy, "The national Longing for Form" in *Nation and Narration*, Ed. Homi K Bhabha,(Routledge:1990), 46

Europe that has invaded East Indies. “The colonial was condemned for all time to remain colonial”. (185/FS)

The passage above implies that Minke rejects colonialism. Therefore he is questioning all noble things offered by the Dutch, let alone rejects the help of the colonisers. It is described in the novel that as he arrives in Batavia Minke is invited by his Journalist friend, Ter Haar, to attend a meeting with Van Lokewijn a Dutch who concerns with the Natives problem. On the way to Harmony club the place where the meeting is held, Ter Haar explained to Minke about the programs constructed by the Dutch particularly the Liberal Party to resolve the problem of the Natives. Ter Haar describes about *Multatuli* and *Roorda van Eysinga* and then on the emergence of van Deventer.

Minke’s recognition of the intrigues of colonialism has made him to face all Dutch people with suspicion as reflected in the following quotation:

“He stood up and held out his hand. As a sign of friendships, I also stood and shook hands with him. What was the purpose of this ceremony anyway? A Governor-General wants to be the friend of a powerless Native? My mother’s words came back to warn me-watch out! And Ter Haar’s voice echoed within me too-you are now in wild beast’s lair. Be careful. You may unexpectedly meet death itself, gentle or brutal, perhaps in the form of the caresses of friendship, like now. It would mean the same thing-death. Killers only one thought-to kill those who did not support them.” (170/FS)

Minke interrogates all intensions of the Dutch to help the Native as the result of the Ethical policy, ‘a policy based on the Netherlands repaying its debt to the Indies.’ (169/FS) It is a policy used by the Dutch to show if they care with the Natives’ condition. Van Kollewijn explains that ‘the Dutch has a lot to do to help the native that had helped them in the past. The first decade of cultural system,

also called forced Cultivation, had saved Holland from the bankruptcy it face due to the huge debts that were incurred through the wars in Europe in which Holland too was involved. The profit from the Indies had also paid for Holland's own development and provided it with working capital. The Indies, he said, had not only paid in money but also in lives. Thousands of Natives died because the Forced Cultivation system. And without those sacrifices from the Indies, Holland may have been wiped off the face of the earth.' (20/FS)

Therefore as a Europeans, as Christians, we are obliged to repay. We must now do good for the Natives, in return for the good they have done us. And this should not just amount to view regulations in their favour. They must be helped to become occupied to deal with the new times. And the best bridges for across the Natives that they may be so helped are the educated Natives.' (20/FS)

Minke explicitly expresses his criticism to van Kolewijn when he is given a chance to express his own idea as a respond to the role of the Dutch liberal party by the following ironic question "Thank you, your Excellency. Concerning this question of free labour, your Excellency, does it include the freedom to evict farmers who do not wish to rent their land to the sugar mills?" (26/FS) Minke also resists the spirit of capitalism that seems to be the main cornerstone of the Liberal which is considered as the "chosen sons of our times, the best sons of the age of capital, an age when everything has and will be brought into being by capital, when anybody- not just the kings and sultans- will be able to get anything they like, as long as they have some capital. And there is only one condition that

you need fulfil to obtain capital, Mr Minke, and that is to work hard as a free worker.’ (17/FS)

Minke’s pessimism on Dutch intention to help the Natives is seen in the following passage “he brimmed over with enthusiasm as if the Liberals were the ones who were going to turn the Indies into a paradise overnight, in the way Bandung Bondowoso build Prambanan temple. The fight against state plantation! The abolition of the forced labour! The establishment of new private plantation! Free labour! Character building through free labour! Free competition! Repay the moral debt to the Natives through Emigration! Education! and Irrigation! (16/FS). For Minke “all the Europeans in the Indies are wolves.” Therefore he reminds himself “Be careful, Minke! Watch out for Van Heutsz too! And van Kolllewijn. And beware too of that sympathiser of the Native cause, Marie van Zeggelen.” (29/FS)

Pramoedya in fact draws the political situation that happen in the Indies during colonialism where the early of modern era is marked with the sift of the people to colonized the people. According to Djedamski, “the more capitalistic structures characterized the political and the economic situation, the more the interrelations between the various forces in society began to shift. The reaction of the colonized to the imposed fragmentary modernization ranged from active or passive acceptance and even cooperation to active and passive resistance. An indigenous public sphere developed and provoked counteraction from the colonizer.”<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Jedamski, Doris, Balai Pustaka – A colonial Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing in *Archipel* 44 (1992), p. 23



Therefore as stated by Djedamsk in order to maintain colonial power, the Dutch introduced a suitably adapted cultural and educational policy: the so called Ethical policy. The colonisers as “imperial subject had to acknowledge the specific quality of their object at least to a certain extent. So the colonizer had to allow a certain degree of freedom and self organization within the framework of the culture and societal structure they dominated. As the current political doctrine during the first decade of this century, the ethical policy was nonetheless a conglomerate of wide ranging political convictions. However, all these convictions were combined with the belief that the Western understanding of modernization, of progress, and civilization- regarded as universally valid should be cultivated. At the same time the colonizers reinforced the original cultural network insofar as it corresponded to colonial interest of power.”<sup>90</sup>

In short apart from military dominance, cultural dominance should be maintained. The intention of the Dutch to maintain their domination by transition from direct to indirect oppression is revealed in the statement delivered by Snouck Hurgronje: “Our inheritance (...) consists of the beautiful and rich tributary regions held by us by force. But now follow the material annexation by a spiritual one.” (Jedamski 1992: 24)

In the east Indies *Balai Pustaka* is another form of new strategies used by the Dutch to maintain their power in the Indies as result of Ethical Policy. According to Jedamski “*Balai Pustaka* has a multifunction agency of socialization..... It played an important role in conveying Western concepts of

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<sup>90</sup>Jedamski, Doris, *Balai Pustaka – A colonial Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing* in *Archipel* 44 (1992) 23-46

cognition.i.e. the designing and setting of values, models of behaviour, and new sets of social roles, all of which correspond to the decisive change in colonial society around the turn of the century.”<sup>91</sup>

Pramoedya notes in his novel that the pessimism to western intention to help the Native is also derived from other characters in the novel, most notably from Ang San Mei, Kow Ah sow and ter Haar. As discussed in the novel, Minke who has studied Western education is challenged by An Sang Mei to advance his fellow countrymen without too much hope for modernism promised by Western education. It seems to her that enlightenment as the slogan of modernity has been diffracted by the Dutch and even the French Revolution also has been misinterpreted. It means that they are free to steal and free from responsibilities towards anyone. Spirit of modernism is particularly aimed to serve the Western themselves. The slogan is constituted to legitimate their determination over other countries.

The Dutch farmers had gone to Africa to seek a better life. Then the English arrived. The Boers fled, crossing the river Vaal, and set up two new republics. Then gold was found in the Transvaal area. The English returned across the river and war could not be avoided. Gold! Hope for the future! Defeat for the small weak. Victory for the big and powerful. The English have brought so much trouble to the world,’ said Mei. ‘Empress Ye Si could not hold them back. In fact, she’s ended up working with them. But we can now count the days that Europe will reign over the coloured people..’‘there have been so many Europeans who have caused so much suffering in the world,’ she told me about Sir John Hawkins, the Englishman who pioneered the slave trade between Africa and America, so that million Africans ended up dead or condemned to a life of slavery. And i had never come across this story before. I have never heard it from anyone or read it anywhere, in school or outside.”(79/FS)

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid. 24

Khouw Ah Soe for example expresses his pessimism of enlightenment promised by the West "... don't hold out any hopes that a modern education will ever be given to the conquered countries, such as this country of yours. Only the conquered people themselves know what their country and people need. The colonizing nation will only suck up the honey of your land and the labour of your people. In the end it is the educated among the conquered people who need to recognize their responsibilities."<sup>92</sup> While Ter Haar says 'Mr Minke, mixing with the powerful is like going among wild animals. They fight each other; their hunger for victims is insatiable. Their hearts are like the Sahara desert dry and harsh. Even the ocean would disappear in that desert.'"(29/FS)

It also seems here that most of the people from whom he gets idea of using organization to build self-respects of nationalism express scepticism of the enlightenment promised by the Dutch. Minke himself from the beginning of the novel has such feeling. It is seen for example in his expression responding his Dutch Masters:

"The director of my school once told my class: your teachers have given you a very broad general knowledge, much broader than that received by students of the same level in many of European countries. Naturally I felt proud. I've never been to European. So I did not know if the director was telling the truth or not. But because it pleased me, I decided to believe him. Moreover, all my teachers had been born and educated in Europe. It didn't feel right that I should distrust my teachers. My parents had entrusted me to them. Among the educated European and Indo communities, they were considered to be the best teachers in all of the Netherlands Indies. So, I was obliged to trust them."<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Ananta Toer, Pramoedya, *Child of All Nation*, 341

<sup>93</sup>Ananta Toer, Pramoedya, *This Earth of Mankind*, 2

Pramoedya's *Footsteps* explains in detail the limitation of two dominant cultures in the East Indies; Javanese and Western culture. Javanese culture is a culture which has weak philosophy. this weak principles could be the obstacle for the Natives to survive in modern era. while Western cultures that rely on capitalism have driven the West to expand their domination over other countries. This complete information then can be considered as the way used by the author to prove that there is no perfect culture. therefore mix culture is inevitable in cultural construction.

In the context of the novel Minke reveals that his identity is shaped by Javanese and western culture. western culture stimulates him into different thought while javanese envelops him in beauty, in a harmony of feeling. Western has shaped him to be independent since its principle emphasises on autonomus while Javanese teaches him on social relationship.

### **B. Decentering Modernism**

*Footsteps* mainly revolves around the intimate involvement of Minke in national movement. Minke precisely a political activist who uses organization as means to counter Dutch determination. The novel reveals that organization is used because of the consideration that it is the most suitable way for polical strugle in modern age. The idea to use organization indeed not purely Minke's idea but that idea is suggested by other characters such as Ang San Mei, ter Haar and Nadjiman. Minke also inspired by an Old Java doctor and chinese organization that has been established in East Indies.

Minke, a Native who has Western education is suggested by An Sang Mei that all educated natives of Asia must have a responsibility to awaken the spirit of their people to encounter Western domination. It is important because if they don't have the spirit of nationalism then there will be no possibility to attack the colonizer. As a further consequence the Asian countries will always be subjugated by Western colonialism.

Ang San Mei suggests that organization is the most appropriate way used to advance the Natives' life as well as to release them from Dutch determination. The reason extended by Ang San Mei is that organization will involve a lot of people and "with many people, tens, hundreds, yes even tens of thousands, all becoming one powerful giant, with a strength greater than the sum of all the members put together..."(75/FS).

Khouw Ah Soe for example expresses his pessimism of enlightenment promised by the West "... don't hold out any hopes that a modern education will ever be given to the conquered countries, such as this country of yours. Only the conquered people themselves know what their country and people need. The colonizing nation will only suck up the honey of your land and the labour of your people. In the end it is the educated among the conquered people who need to recognize their responsibilities. (FS)

Ter Haar, a journalist of *Locomotive*, explains to him about the importance of organization. In his letter to Minke, he writes about an organization in Semarang named Soemirat Association, an organization founded by local Eurasians. It is the biggest and most successful social organization in the Indies.

He asks Minke to learn from that organization. According to Ter Haar the member of this organization is not depend on any government authority or any of the being companies. They are taught, and teach each other, how to stand on their feet [...] It runs a mechanical repair shop, a technical school, an orphanage, and a few small businesses. (123/FS)

The idea regarding organization is discussed, at length by an old Java doctor in his speech delivered in front of the students of STOVIA Medical School in Batavia. In that audience the old doctor invites all students to participate in developing the Natives. He argues that “to be a doctor, a public servant of human kind-this was not enough.” (93/FS) He urges the students to educate the children and prepare them to enter the modern era through organisation. In his long speech the old Java doctor pictures the situation of the Native. He describes that the Indies is being left behind comparing to other countries such as Japan China or other Asian countries. According to him they are more advance than the Indies because they use organisation.

“No, none of you understand. It is only the Eurasians and the Chinese Mixed-Bloods who understand what has to be done. Indeed, it was actually the Chinese who first showed that they understood the lessons of Japan. They responded to Japan’s awakening. They organised themselves. They organised themselves here in the Indies so that they could begin the process of awakening their own people-through education. Their first organisation was the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan”.

Minke then decides to employ organization as the form of his struggle to advance his fellow Natives’ life as well as to release them from the Dutch determination. He firmly believes that “political struggle today must use modern methods-organisation. It seems here that organization is intentionally chosen

because it reflects the spirit of democracy, it is legal in front of the Dutch and the most important one is that organisation is equal with Dutch in front of the law.

Minke then establishes an organisation named *Sarekat Priyayi* due to consideration that the *priyayi* is the most educated man in the East Indies. Minke is delighted by the emergence of the *Sarekat* since *Sarekat Priyayi* is the first modern organization handled by the native. Unfortunately this organisation is not lasted long. According to Minke as he admits to Meneer Tomo, the main problem is because of the members, they are the *priyayi* who are “static, no initiative, no live of them.” “If the organization became rigid and lifeless it was because that’s the kind of members it had. We should have sought out the young, idealistic people to recruit, definitely not the *priyayi* who have become mummified in government service” (179/FS).

As stated in *Foot Steps*, there is Budi Utomo (BO) an organisation pioneered by the students of STOVIA medical School. BO is criticized by Minke since it is exclusively provided for the Javanese. Haji Moeloek, for example, who prefers to be called haji, tries to join BO but he is unable to become a member of BO just because he is an Indo. In the novel it is described that Minke also supports the students to established BO, however he himself rejects to be the member of that organisation.

His main consideration is that “by separating itself off from other colonized people of the Indies BO had limited its possibilities’ to represent all Indies people. He argues that, ‘The Indies was not Java. The Indies comprised

many peoples. Therefore, the proper organization must have a place for them all. Even the island of Java was inhabited by different peoples.” (196/FS)

Minke opposes this kind of organizations because he anticipates cultural chauvinism. “It was easy to understand why the BO had rejected the idea of multi-people organization. Linguistic and cultural chauvinism had made them feel superior to the other peoples of the Indies. And the other colonized peoples also had their own chauvinism. Even the Betawi Malays, whose origin were very uncertain, considered themselves superior to the Javanese. So what would become everything in the future?”

Other aspects of BO that can be perceived as the reason for Minke to avoid the invitation of BO members to be a part of that organisation is Javanese language that is chosen to be the language used in that organisation. Javanese is rejected as this language embeds the spirit of feudal tradition. Javanese has several different stages that reveal the social status of the speakers and the receivers.

[...] It’s just that the organization of yours is a Javanese organization. And java is called java because of its culture, not just because of the island it’s found on. Tell me, I would be very interested to know, which has the higher status-the editor of the newspaper or a doctor or a candidate doctor? If my status is higher you must speak kromo to me. Isn’t that the rule in Javanese? I’m not looking for an argument with you. I’m just interesting in knowing, because the Javanese are so sensitive on matter of social caste.”(201/FS)

Minke then builds other organisation which he called Sarekat Dagang Islam. In this organisation Minke has made some changes. Having learnt from the first organisation that failed due to the *Priyayi* as the member of the Sarekat then in Sarekat Dagang Islam they are not involved as member in the new organization.



Minke also excludes the *Bupatis* or those who have affinity with Dutch Government “As far as the *Bupati* of Serong was concerned, I struck his name off the list. I cross off the other three *Bupatis* as well. All the *Bupatis* would behave the same way.”(141/FS)

Minke then recruits people from the lower level of social status in society. He for example extends his idea to the *patih* of the district, Meester Cornelis. Although Meester Cornelis only a *patih* which is lower than a *Bupati*, he is an egalitarian man. As Minke visits him, he treats Minke properly as a common people; there is no way of *prijaji* shown by him. He also has a frank discussion with Minke. He supports Minke’s intention to advance natives people, to improve their lives and their way of life.

Meester Cornelis also introduces him to a wealthy man called Thamrin Mohamad Tabrie of only lowly official position who has a dream to help the people but because of his low position, he had always held back from starting. He is a charitable man who was always ready to help a good cause. Thamrin Mohamad Tabrie agrees with the idea to establish an organization. “One that is multi-ethnic that has Malay as its official language, that is not based on the *Priyayi* but on the traders, on those who struggle for a livelihood independently-the free people.” Minke however intends to involve all Indies people except the *Priyayi*. Ah, trader, or not trader; I explained, “everyone who does not depend on the government for their livelihood, but upon their own efforts, they are all traders. Maybe they trade in services. They are civilians, independent people, free people.” (265/FS)

From the above statement it reflects the intention of Pramoedya to banish the feudal tradition since it is a form of imperialism. It is reflected in the exclusion of the *priyayis* from the organisation. Relating to the setting of novel, Pramoedya decides to include the middle class people since they are the people who have the interest to replace the Western leadership in the government, trade and industry by their own executives. They are appealed to the masses more for their own purposes than for the interest of the man in the street. The awakening of the proletariat and the peasants was organised by a group of intellectual extremist. Their principles were anti-capitalist and anti-imperialistic. Their aim was to work with the masses for the masses; the objective was firstly to depose the rolling (Western) powers and secondly to socialise the people.” (124/FS)

Pramoedya Anata Toer intends to give priority for the middle class people in national movement. They are dynamic and egalitarian people. Their spirit conform the spirit of new ideology-modernity. It, of course, confronts the characteristics of the *Priyayi* who are under the government interest and mummified by their inherited duty.

The traders are the most dynamic people among humanity. Tuan. They are the cleverest of all people. people also call them saudagar, people with a thousand schemes.[...] Traders understand the realities of life. In commerce people are not concerned with the people’s social status. They don’t care if someone is of high or low rank or even slave. Traders must think quickly. They bring to life that which has become frozen and bring into action that which has been paralysed.

The exclusion of the *priyayi* from the organization is a concrete form to break the vicious circle embedded in Javanese tradition. The exclusion of the

*Priyayi* shows that Pramoedya would like to free the nation from *priyayi*'s determination. For Pramoedya, feudal tradition equalises imperialism.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer intentionally deals with organization throughout the novel in order to show that organization has a significant role in the construction of Indonesian nation. Indeed, organisation is just an option, but the best option, related to the situation in the Indies Society. It is a concrete form to awaken the spirit of nationalism of the Indies people.

Historically, the idea to apply organisation to build Indonesian self-respect in the Natives is the impact of Western ideas on young Indonesian students. They learn the triumph of the United States, Italy, Greece and Holland, itself against foreign tyrants. They learn of the constitutional changes in France, and England and they read for the first time the essays of Voltaire and Rousseau and John Stuart Mill. They study the declaration of Independence and learn that Westerners believe that all men were created equal, and from the Declaration of the Rights of Man they found that others believed that man was born free. They study parliamentary democracy at work, and watch popular agitation for a vote for all men, for improving conditions, for education for all.

Modern without doubt is Western culture. In the currently dominant modernist interpretation of this age, nations and nationalism are seen exclusively modern phenomena. Erich Hosbawm as stated by Smith "sees the nation as a creation of the nineteenth century, following the wake of the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic war. At first, nationalism was an exclusive, mass-democratic and political movement; but after 1870, more divisive, small-scale, right-wing

nationalism appealed to language and ethnicity. This period saw a spate of “invented traditions” – national mythologies, symbols, rituals and histories- through which ruling elites aimed to control and channel the energies of recently enfranchised masses.”<sup>94</sup>

In 1899, the Japanese had demanded and received equality with Europeans in Indonesia-the first Asian nation to gain equal treatment. Students look at their country with opened eyes. They now saw the oppression, the lack of opportunity, the lack of government. Denied the right to use their talents for themselves –all really responsible employment was closed to them.-they turned their energies into rousing their lethargic people into action. A new feeling of awakening as well as an aspiration towards their own emancipation became apparent among Indonesians. Inspired by a vision of nationhood, many of them were incorruptible. Notwithstanding the immense problem of division, they pledged to work for the new Indonesia and they intended to use “Western” methods to achieve this.<sup>95</sup>

The novel, however, reveals that the idea of using organisation as the way to ascend the life of the Natives and to encounter Dutch determination is suggested by people who are not European but mostly they are Asian. Pangemanan, a dutch police officer who is the main character of *House of Glass*, the fourth volume of Buru Quartet explained that Minke “had established an organization using non-European methods and seemed to want to follow the example of the Nationalist Chinese. He was very much interested in using that

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<sup>94</sup>Smith. Anthony, *Images of The Nation in Cinema and Nation*, Ed. Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie. (Routledge: London New York, 2000), 46

<sup>95</sup>J. Spruyt B Econ. & J. B. Robertson B.A., Dip. Ed. *History of Indonesia*, (Macmillan Company of Australia, Pty Ltd Melbourne, Sydney: 1973), p.122-23

weapon of the weak against the strong-the boycott. He dreamed of uniting the Native peoples of the Indies, both in the Indies and overseas in other parts of Asia and in Africa, just as Sun Yat Sen had done for Chinese.”<sup>96</sup>

Pramoedya Ananta Toer provides a condition that conforms post-colonial discourse since he has used organisation which is considered as modern tool in political struggle to release the Native from Dutch determination. Ashcroft explains that “the key dynamic of Post-colonial discourse, one which affects the survival of local communities within global culture, is that transformation. In particular, the historical experience of colonization has resulted in the mechanics of a transformative appropriation of modernity by colonized societies. Such transformation is transcultural; that is, not only are local event affected by the operation of global factors, such as world money and commodity markets, but the global economy of representation is itself affected by the processes of local transformation. Furthermore, this dialectic does not generally occur at the level of the nation state, an entity which is itself firmly incorporated into global systems of power. He adds that Post-colonialism, while transforming colonial culture, reveals a powerful tendency to appropriate and transform various principles of modernity.”<sup>97</sup>

Pramoedya wants to say that the spirit of unification is an emergent process which just happens to come from everywhere. This is an important endorsement of the engagement of the local in globalization, but clearly there would be no global modernity without the history of European expansionism. It

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<sup>96</sup>Ananta Toer, *Pramoedya, House of Glass*, 3

<sup>97</sup>Ashcroft. Bill, *On Postcolonial Future*. 29

has been acknowledged by Pramoedya as he stated nationalism was but a natural product of the modern era itself'.<sup>98</sup>

In sum, Pramoedya is projecting a post-colonial situation where the emergence of Western culture in the Indies is not perceived as its cultural contestant in which these two cultures are unable to be interpolated. It is reflected in the way in which Minke appropriates Western culture for the empowerment of the Javanese culture. It of course dismantles the colonial discourse which depends on cultural fixity in the ideological of otherness that becomes their ideology in colonising other countries.

Pramoedya's *Footsteps* depicts a mutual relationship between Western culture and Javanese culture where Minke as a Native Java mingles Western culture such as science, technology and democracy with his Javanese culture. The amalgams of these two culture eventually produces new form of culture. A form which is typically Javanese or Western. In the context of the novel, the combinations of Javanese and Western culture are carried out by Minke for self empowerment. Minke wishes to strengthen his Javanese culture in order to advance his fellow Natives and to resist Dutch colonialism. This practice of course dismantles colonial discourse which depends on cultural fixity in the ideological of otherness that becomes their ideology in colonising other countries.

In this sense, besides hybridity and mimicry, *Footsteps* also reflects a process of subjectification or using Aschroft's perspective Pramoedya's *Footsteps* provides a situation that can be read as a poetics and politics of

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<sup>98</sup> Ananta Toer, Pramoedya. *House of Glass*, 3

*transformation*. Poetics of transformation is concerned with the ways in which writers and readers contribute constitutively to the meaning, the ways in which colonized societies appropriate imperial discourse, and how they interpolate their voices and concerns into dominant systems of textual production and distribution. Transformation recognizes that power is a critical part of our cultural life, and resist by adapting and redirecting discursive power, creating new form of cultural production; but above all, a poetics of transformation recognizes the transformative way in which post-colonial text operate, even those which pose as simply oppositional.

A politics of transformation works constantly within existing discursive and institutional formations to change them, rather than simply to attempt to end them. By taking hold of writing itself, whether as a novel, history, *testimonio*, political discourse or political structures, interpolating educational discourse and institutions, transforming conceptions of place, even economics, the post-colonial subjects unleashes a rapidly circulating transcultural energy. Ultimately, a poetics and politics of transformation effects a transformation of writers rather than the actions of academics, which are transforming cultural discourse; and the cultural location of this textuality is changing the disciplinary field of English.<sup>99</sup>

Regardless the local engagement to globalisation, the application of organization as modern form for political struggle, Pramoedya has decentred modernism. It has been appropriated to the local needs. Ashcroft describes that nineteenth and twentieth-century British imperialism demonstrates the centrifugal

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<sup>99</sup> Ashcroft, Bill, *On Postcolonial future*. (Continum: New York, 2001), 19

movement by which the precepts/principles of European modernity and the assumptions of the enlightenment have been distributed hegemonically throughout the world. However, including America as Hulmes advocates, we find that imperial expansion is more than the dispersal of European cultural values and assumptions into a Eurocentrically mapped world; it also reveals itself as the enabling condition of that very process by which a modern Europe is conceived. Europe's world empire is modernity. However, the process of European expansion, which begins in its modern form with the invention of America is an enabling condition of the 'worlding of Europe itself'.<sup>100</sup>

Other aspect of Indonesian modernism is reflected in Malay language, the language which is used by Minke as a main medium for communication in the organization. Just like the organization that is derived from many places. Malay is known as a language that has no root. It is the language that has been served as the medium of contact for the people in the archipelago and it is also served as a contact language for the Indonesians of various Natives tongues with foreign peoples.

Bahary in his *Pramoedya Postcolonially* describes that Malay is a language which is 'plebeian' and egalitarian in nature. It was instrumental in creating something of a discursive plurality or combinative identity that was translinguistic and transcultural which eventually served to unite the people of Malay Archipelago against Dutch colonialism. Moreover, he states that the characteristics of Malay language is fluid, accommodating and egalitarian, while

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<sup>100</sup> Aschroft, Bill, *On postcolonial Future*, 27



the language of the Javanese ‘had been subject to neglect, disdain and pedagogical impositions of an imperial power as well as the inertial linguistic indulgencies of ruling class that was bent on strengthening hierarchies of caste and distinction.’”<sup>101</sup>

Malay therefore is accommodative and vigorous because unlike Javanese, it has no pure form. And because of its flexibility in absorbing foreign words and syntax and the fact that it is understood by people of various ethnic backgrounds all over the archipelago it is intentionally chosen by for uniting the people in the Indies. It is intended to avoid the spirit of chauvinism among the Indonesian people who has many different culture and language. For Pramoedya as has been stated in the introduction of this thesis Malay language is perceived as the catalisator of Indonesian culture.

In *Footsteps*, the author depicts that besides organisation that is printing media a medium employed by Minke in his attempts to help the Natives. If the organisation applied in order to unify the natives and to get the legal status from the Government, printing media is a means to fuel the emergence of nationalist consciousness. Add to this is that printing media has become the native self-representation. It, in term of Minke, Medan became an angel and mercy for the Natives of the Indies (150/FS). Medan *priyayi* becomes the mouth piece of the natives. It is provided to report the natives’ cases. It publishes injustices, exploitation and oppression by either white or brown colonial authorities.

Besides that Medan *priyayi* has great contribution to awaken the awareness of Indonesian nationalism. Pramoedya states that “the new generations

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<sup>101</sup>Bahary Razif, *Pramoedya Postcolonially*, 103

of the natives did not just grumble to themselves like the generations before them. They announced their dissatisfactions in newspapers and magazines, in whatever languages they were capable of using. Their concerns become public, and become public knowledge too, and were no longer just their own private problems. The newspaper and magazines had given birth to a democratic spirit, in spite of Government wishes. The idea of Pramoedya as represented by Minke conforms the interpretation of Adam cited by Koh Yung Hun who says that:

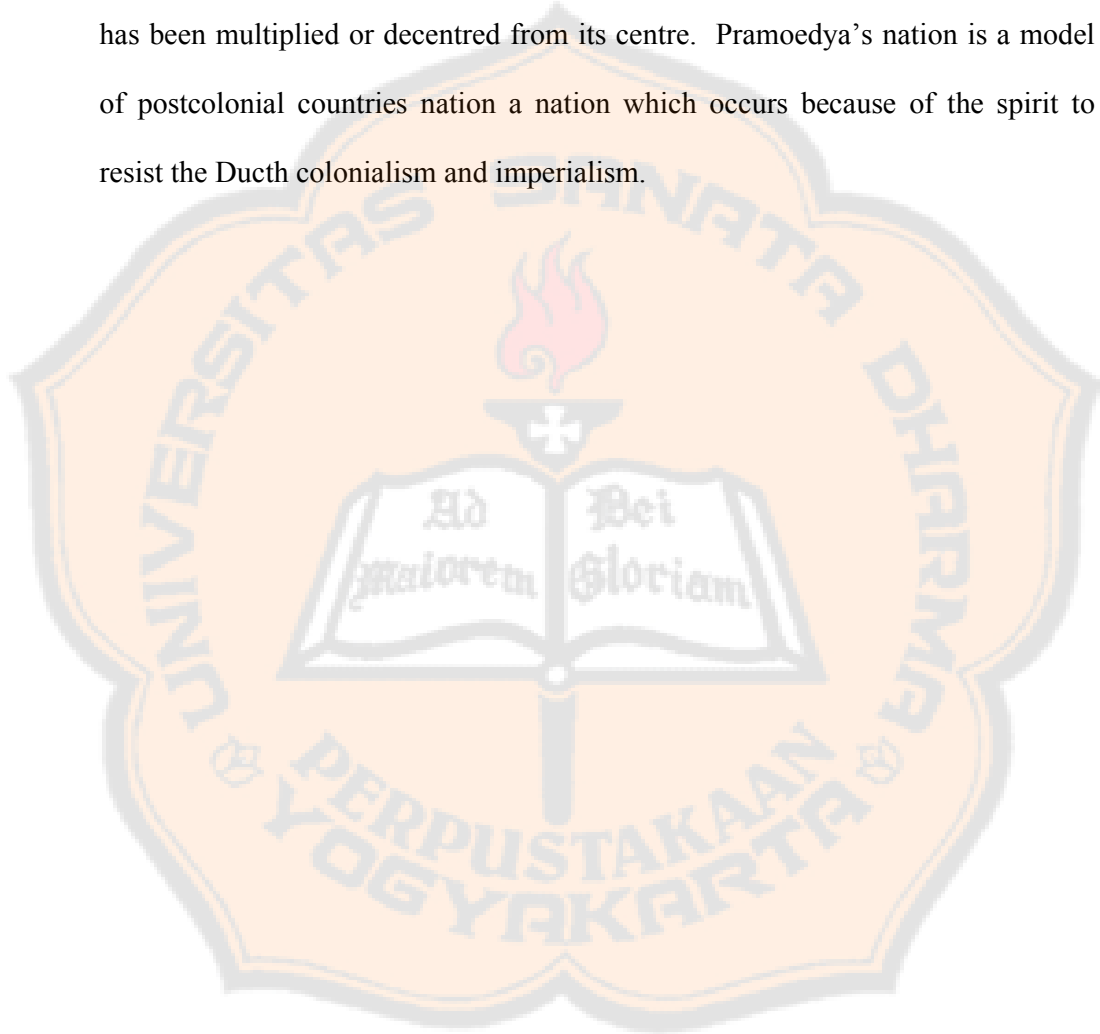
“The medan (*priyayi*), which was printed in the tabloid format, could be said to be the first full-fledge indigenous weekly newspaper in Java. It was to act as an organ for the educated native Indonesians and to serve as a forum for the native readers to express their views and to discuss issues relating to the native welfare, ranging from native education to socio-political questions such as criticism against corrupt *priyayi* and inefficient government officials who exploited the *orang kecil* (masses) through abuse of power....Tirto Adi Suryo unrestrained criticism of both Dutch and native officials and this very nationalistic sentiments demonstrated the political orientation of this weekly...thus the medan *priyayi* could be said to be the successor of the *Bintang Hindia* as a nationalist organ for the indigenous people.”<sup>102</sup>

In relation to Bhabha's hybridity and mimicry, Pramoedya's *Footsteps* reflects the terms in several aspects: firstly in organisation used as the main medium for his political struggle. In this novel the inspiration to use organization is obtained from other people who are not European and the spirit of this organization is the spirit of solidarity “*saudara*”, the spirit of Moslem that has important role to unify the people during colonialism. Secondly hybridity is manifested in Malay language. Malay also has been served as the main medium for communication in organization.

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<sup>102</sup>Koh Young Hun. *Pramoedya Menggugat, Melacak Jejak Indonesia*. (PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama: Jakarta, 2002), p. 219

Therefore, the sense of modernism or nation reflected in Pramoedya's *Footsteps* is the nation which is derived from many areas. It is not merely resulted from one idea. In this sense Pramoedya's nation is derived from the nation that has been multiplied or decentred from its centre. Pramoedya's nation is a model of postcolonial countries nation a nation which occurs because of the spirit to resist the Dutch colonialism and imperialism.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

#### A. Concluding Remarks

Identity is something dynamic. It changes overtime. The process of identity construction is determined by the place and its conditions. Constructing identity is not an easy task for every place is never neutral. It has its own history. Indonesia is the country that occupied many different ethnics which has different culture. On the other words it is the host for many cultures therefore the process of identity construction is not an easy task to be achieved. It becomes more difficult in colonial time for this difference is emphasized by the colonizers. The portrayal of identity construction is drawn by Pramoedya in his *Footsteeps*.

This study deals with the problem of Indonesian identity depicted in Pramoedya's *Footsteps*. It is intended to discover the process of identity construction using post-colonial framework of hybridity and mimicry where identity is perceived as the matter of becoming. It is not something already exists, transcending place, time, history, and culture. In this view culture is open to difference. In drawing his identity concept Pramoedya traces the history of the awakening of Indonesian nationalism happened around the end of nineteenth century and the early twentieth century when Indonesia is under the Dutch colonialism.

Based on the discussion, it may be concluded that Pramoedya's *Footsteps* bears hybridity. The discussion in Chapter 3 shows that the presence of colonialism marks the meeting of two different cultures Western culture (Dutch)

and Eastern culture (Javanese). Minke as the Native linked with these two cultures. He encounters western culture when his studies in HBS, the Dutch School in East Indies (now Indonesia) and in Nyai Ontosoroh's house, a concubine of Herman Melema. His contact with Western culture drives him to come to a world view that Western spirit of modernity is developed and liberating while his Javanese culture is underdeveloped and humiliate human dignity. Minke then ignores his Javanese culture. He, on the other hand improves his understanding on Western culture from other people in the society such as Magda Peters, Herbert de la Croix and his two daughters Sara and Miriam de la Croix, Komer, Ter Haar and Douwager.

However Minke's warm relationship with Western culture disappears as he acknowledges that modernity has been refracted by Dutch. Minke begins to resist Western when he witnesses the rebellion of peasants against the sugar planters in Tulangan. He promises to help the farmers to confront the power of the planters and their control over newspaper. His antipathy to the West increases as he notices that Surati, the daughter of nyai Ontosoroh's brother, is taken by the Dutch sugar factory manager, Frits Homerus Vlekkebaaij alias Plikemboh to be his concubine.

Minke eventually realizes that the suffering of his fellow native is caused by the native's tradition and their leaders and it is sharpened by Dutch. As an educated Native who understands Western tradition, Minke is called to liberate his fellow Native from cultural detention and Dutch determination. Prior to his attempt to liberate his people, Minke sets himself in a position when he is free

from cultural or even blood ties. He then proclaims himself as a modern man. Pramoedya examines the so called identity construction in the novel under study based on the experience of R.A Kartini, a modern woman who has dedicated her life to confront patriarchal domination and old values of Javanese but she herself unable to release herself from that culture just because of her love to her father.

Chapter four revolves around Minke's personal quest of finding his real selves intertwined with the national predicament in Indonesian identity construction. Identity construction in the novel reveals that Indonesian identity construction gets through several stages prior to their transformation of their contemporary identity. Firstly Minke deals with Javanese culture. He has a world view that Javanese culture has lost its principles. One of the reasons for the death of the Javanese nation is 'the official thinking of Majapahit at its Zenith, as espoused by Prapanca and Tantular. It shapes Javanese to become adaptive, always seeking similarities even sameness. This is a weak principle that if it faces the west that has strong principle will always become victim or defeated. It is dangerous in modern era where the ties between the West and the East are growing closer and closer.

Javanism, in fact, has profoundly influenced the people since every aspect of life has been shaped based on this principle. It is sharpened by the fact that Javanism has strong roots in the literature of Java, such as *Mahabrata* and *Baratayudha* and maintained in *wayang*. The condition of the people deteriorates by feudal tradition operated by the local leaders. Javanism thus is the biggest

obstacle to enter modern era. Therefore, in order to survive in modern era Javanese tradition needs to be transformed into modern culture.

Having learned from the loss of Javanese roots because of adjusting principle that seeking harmony and refusing disagree is re-evaluated in the novel. Instead of emphasizing on this weak philosophy allowing oneself to be overwhelmed and results in dislocation and stagnation, in term of Pramoedya 'lost and passivity' Pramoedya introduces strong principle and critical ability manifested in his characters. Such principle is exposed due to the world view that problems are solved through confronting circumstances. Development needs discussion and careful consideration of the advantage and disadvantage of things before they are adopted.

In the novel such characteristic is represented by Minke, Nyai Ontosoroh, and most notably conveyed by Minke's mother. She is pictured as an advocate of Javanese tradition. Minke's mother is a woman who hold a firm principle on her Javanese tradition and wisdom but let her son, Minke to choose his own way, to be a modern man as long as he is not succumbed by it. 'Become whatever you like. Become a Dutchman, I will not object.' (42/FS)

The novel reveals that Pramoedya eradicates feudal tradition by the exclusion of the *Priyayi* in the organisation established by Minke. It is performed based on the consideration that feudal tradition maintained by the *Priyayi* is a form of imperialism within the Natives. This tradition segregates the society into several groups or social strata that based their relationship on power relation. The *priyayis* who are the bureaucrats has also been co-opted by Dutch and the

tendency to consider themselves as noblemen in the society. This tradition then is unsuitable to the modern spirit where honourable character is the result of a good basic education and competence.

Secondly, Pramoedya criticizes modernity that has been refracted by the colonisers. He proposes that the West should respect the native people and their culture. However, it is impossible for the Dutch to give equal treatment to the Natives people. Therefore, in order to confront the Dutch, Minke uses modern strategy; organisation, besides that organization has legal status and a legal identity like that of European. In *Footsteps* organisation is aimed to unify all Natives people. Pramoedya Ananta Toer intentionally deals with organization throughout the novel in order to show that organization has a significant role in the construction of Indonesian nation. It is a concrete form to awaken the spirit of nationalism of the Indies people.

In *Footsteps*, the author depicts that besides organisation that is printing media a medium employed by Minke in his attempt to help the Natives. If the organisation is applied to unify the natives and to get the legal status from Dutch Government, then, printing media is a means to fuel the emergence of nationalist consciousness. Printing media has become the native self-representation. It, in term of Minke, 'became an angel and mercy for the Natives of the Indies (150/FS). Medan *priyayi* becomes the mouth piece of the natives. It is provided to report the natives' cases. It publishes injustices, exploitation and oppression by either white or brown colonial authorities.



Lastly, Pramoedya deals with fluid culture as the core of Indonesian identity. Spirit of fluidity is embodied by the organisation named *Sarekat Dagang Islam*. This is multi-ethnic organisation used Malay as its official language and the members are all Indies people except the *Priyayi*. Pramoedya rejects Javanese language since it symbolizes feudal tradition. Javanese has several different stages that reveal the social status of the speakers and the receivers while Malay is a language that has no roots. It has been used for years by all Indies people.

Pramoedya's *Footsteps*, thus depicts a complementary relationship between Western culture and Javanese culture where Minke as a Native Java mingles Western culture such as science, technology and democracy with his Javanese culture. The amalgams of these two culture eventually produces new form of culture. A form which is typically Javanese or Western. In the context of the novel, the combinations of Javanese and Western culture are carried out by Minke for self empowerment. Minke wishes to strengthen his Javanese culture in order to advance his fellow Natives and to resist Dutch colonialism. This practice of course dismantles colonial discourse which depends on cultural fixity in the ideological of otherness that becomes their ideology in colonising other countries. In this sense, besides hybridity and mimicry, *Footsteps* also reflects a process of *subjectification* or using Aschroft's perspective Pramoedya's *Foot Steps* provides a situation that can be read as a poetics and politics of *transformation*.

## **B. Ideas for Further Research**

This study is focused on identity construction in the novel in question. One of the many aspects which is not addressed in this study is the role education in

the novel. Pramoedya perceives that education is an important thing in developing human being. In this novel, Pramoedya depicts several aspects regarding education; there are two things highlighted by Pramoedya: the authorities who responsible to manage the regulation related to education, educational situation in colonial time. Education can be developed by other researchers.



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