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## Peripheral modernity and anti-colonial nationalism in Java: economies of race and gender in the constitution of the Indonesian national teleology

Alina Sajed

McMaster University, Ontario, Canada

### ABSTRACT

This analysis investigates the limits of colonial modernity in the 20th century Dutch East Indies at a time that coincided with the building of the Indonesian national project. I am interested in the constitution of the national teleology as an inexorable socio-political project, deploying specific racial and gendered economies. As a locus of investigation I choose the literary narratives of two celebrated Indonesian intellectuals (and participants in the anti-colonial struggle), Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* and Mangunwijaya's *Durga/Umayi*. Were the impulses of anti-colonial resistance intrinsically national in their orientation? Through what erasures and re-appropriations has the nationalism/modernity paradigm become the medium of decolonisation?

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This analysis examines the limits of colonial modernity in 20th century Dutch East Indies at a time that coincides with the building of the Indonesian national project. As a locus of investigation I choose the literary narratives of two celebrated Indonesian intellectuals (and participants in the anti-colonial struggle), Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Buru Quartet* and YB Mangunwijaya's *Durga/Umayi*. Both narratives investigate the formations of Indonesian anti-colonial nationalism: Ananta Toer constructs an epic story through which he unfolds the birth and momentum of the anti-colonial struggle, while Mangunwijaya provides a satirical reading of the postcolonial nation and its betrayed revolutionary idealism. Both, however, posit the national teleology as an inexorable socio-political project, seen as the only and the inevitable end result of anti-colonial mobilisation. I use these two narratives to explore the following questions: were the impulses of anti-colonial resistance intrinsically national in their orientation? Through what erasures and re-appropriations has the nationalism/modernity paradigm become *the* medium of decolonisation?<sup>1</sup>

More specifically I am interested in the types of racial and gendered economies deployed in these narratives that ensure a certain coherence and stability to the nationalist telos. In doing so, I want to signal a certain inherent feature of the modern nation-state, which is that of 'internal colonialism'. Walter Mignolo uses this term to characterise 'the reformulation

of the colonial difference within the formation of the modern nation-state after decolonization.<sup>2</sup> It is this internal colonialism that constructs the postcolonial nation as a deeply ambivalent project: on the one hand, there is the promise of emancipation from colonial rule and of restoring the dignity of the colonised through a reclaiming of political autonomy; on the other hand, there is the reality of the oppressive nature of the postcolonial state in its various instantiations. As Rahul Rao aptly suggests, 'even Nasser's most fervent opponents acknowledge the indispensability of post-colonial sovereignty towards the end of restoring their tattered dignity. The trouble is that the very institution that restored dignity and continues to be partly constitutive of it, now also tramples over it.'<sup>3</sup> While this is an incredibly pertinent formulation of the paradox of anti-colonial/postcolonial nationalism I want to capture here, it still assumes a story of heroic overcoming of colonial violence through anti-colonial nationalist mobilisation. Put differently, this formulation contains an inherent teleology because it obscures the ways in which anti-colonial nationalist mobilisation had to erase and even eliminate the plurality of anti-colonial discourses and agendas that emerged during colonialism.<sup>4</sup> My argument is thus that the postcolonial state, firmly anchored in a modernist grammar beholden to dualities of 'progress–underdevelopment', 'modernity–tradition', 'centre–periphery', has no space for a plurality of visions.

What might be the relevance of unfolding a plurality of visions obscured by the nationalist teleology? First, it allows us to understand the complexity of decolonisation 'beyond methodological nationalism'.<sup>5</sup> As Gary Wilder aptly remarks, methodological nationalism tends to reduce 'colonial emancipation to national liberation', and to treat as synonymous terms such as freedom, independence, state sovereignty, emancipation and autonomy.<sup>6</sup> Ultimately what is at stake is understanding how 'colonial actors confronted freedom as a problem with no intrinsic solution'.<sup>7</sup> Second, it allows for an examination of the racial and gendered underpinnings that are intrinsic to the national teleology, and thus of the endurance of coloniality within the postcolonial nation.

Both Ananta Toer and Mangunwijaya aim, in their narratives, to create spaces for subaltern voices within the national teleology (so they purportedly aim to 're-think' modernity). In so doing, they indicate the endurance of coloniality within contemporary social and political structures, despite historical processes of decolonisation. However, while they re-think modernity in creative ways, their reconstruction of the (ideal) Indonesian nation resists 'unthinking modernity' in fundamental ways. By juxtaposing 're-thinking' and 'un-thinking' modernity, I am of course inserting my analysis into the debates surrounding decolonial approaches, which take issue with the centrality of modernity in Southern epistemologies.<sup>8</sup> Here I also draw on Wallerstein's distinction between *re-thinking* and *un-thinking* social sciences, where the former implies reconsidering taken-for-granted categories and phenomena in light of new evidence.<sup>9</sup> The latter, however, entails exposing the embedded assumptions upon which these very categories, as a set of 'givens', rest.<sup>10</sup> The implications of this distinction for my analysis are the following: re-thinking modernity indicates a re-conceptualisation of nationalism by taking the colonial experience as foundational for the postcolonial nation and thus seeing anti-colonial/postcolonial nationalism as a derivative nationalism;<sup>11</sup> un-thinking modernity, on the other hand, means moving beyond nationalism as *the* telos of anti-colonial struggle and seeing decolonisation as an open-ended process where freedom, emancipation and liberation were imagined in multiple ways. Put differently, focusing on 'un-thinking' allows me to pursue the following questions: why should the nation-state form be the indispensable conduit for political and cultural autonomy? And were there no 'nonnational orientation[s]

to decolonization'?<sup>12</sup> What kinds of political and cultural horizons are we foreclosing when we set our (analytical) eyes firmly on the national teleology? Answering these questions implies making visible the limits of the anti-colonial nationalist vision and understanding that national independence is *not* synonymous with decolonisation. Rather I argue here that the act of decolonisation should also entail dismantling the racial and gendered hierarchies made possible and even exacerbated by colonial modernity. As discussed here, while the anti-colonial nationalist project removes from power the colonial administration and the colonial political rule, it fails to dislodge the colonial logic of modernity by leaving such hierarchies intact or even by instating new hierarchies. Moreover, taking the possibility of 'non-national orientations' seriously means thinking beyond the rigid spatiality of the nation-state and seeing various anti-colonial discourses as trans-local. Here trans-locality refers to a complex set of spatialities that were as much created by colonial modernity as by (socio-political) processes that preceded it. The advantages of thinking in terms of 'trans-locality' may be that it enables us to imagine spatialities (and thus identities and ways of life) that are far more complex and layered than those of the nation-state: trans-locality still pays homage to the specificity of a certain locale or region while seeing it enmeshed in larger and wider (regional/global) networks.

Building on this distinction (between re-thinking and un-thinking), I am writing against the notion that modernity in the colonies was a derivative modernity, and hence reduced to a mimetic modernity. However, neither do I want to suggest that these peripheral modernities somehow escape the constraints of 'modernity'.<sup>13</sup> I understand the latter as the paradigm instated by Eurocentric modernity around 'dualities of center–periphery, progress–underdevelopment, tradition–modernity, domination–liberation'.<sup>14</sup> I argue here that the paradox of anti-colonial nationalism is thus that, while it is against the instantiation of Western modernity, it is ultimately constrained and limited by its own modernist teleological imaginary and politics. In other words, this analysis does not merely intend to pluralise the story of the (Indonesian) nation, but rather to examine how postcolonial discourses around 'nation' (and its instantiation as nation-state) posit it as the only possible political horizon. I am thus interested in examining how the nation-state becomes the (unambiguous) telos of decolonisation. Going beyond Chatterjee's project of pluralising the history of the nation by bringing in the voices of the subalterns,<sup>15</sup> this discussion investigates the politics of the unexamined valorisation of the opposition between colonialism and nationalism.<sup>16</sup>

The discussion first engages the debates around modernity and anti-colonial nationalism, focusing on the various claims made by postcolonial and decolonial perspectives about the possibilities and limits offered by postcolonial nationalisms. It then moves to colonial Java in the Dutch East Indies and explores the ways in which the Indonesian national teleology is constructed as an inexorable process of coming to consciousness that effectively puts an end to Dutch colonial modernity. In this section I investigate the types of economies of gender and race that are deployed in the construction of the national teleology. More specifically I focus on the figure of the *nyai* (the Native concubine of Dutch men), as 'a problem of modernity', as 'an unresolved problem for the present, recalling both the utopian ideals of Indonesian [anti-colonial] nationalism and bearing witness to their loss' after independence.<sup>17</sup> It is more than instructive that both Pramoedya and Manguwiyaya deploy the 'woman as nation' trope to reflect on the potentialities of anti-colonial nationalism and of their betrayal in the postcolonial nation. The *nyai* becomes a transitional figure, embodying all the racial, class and gender ambiguities of colonial modernity in the Dutch Indies, but also instrumental

in the development of national, social (and literary) modernism.<sup>18</sup> The paper concludes with a discussion of the ways in which these two narratives (though emancipatory in their intent) ultimately resist un-thinking modernity, and of the implications of this resistance for our understanding of anti-colonial and postcolonial nationalisms.

### Peripheral modernity and anti-colonial nationalism

Partha Chatterjee identifies a central tension in the constitution of anti-colonial nationalisms: they draw on the grammar of 'post-Enlightenment rational thought', while also producing a *different* discourse.<sup>19</sup> A different discourse, he notes, that is paradoxically 'dominated by another' (that of 'colonialist knowledge').<sup>20</sup> I examine here precisely this paradox and the manner in which it unfolds and translates in the Dutch East Indies. However, I also want to interrogate the limits of this paradox. Put differently, I would like to move beyond it and look at the types of spaces and questions that an exclusive focus on this paradox forecloses. To borrow one of Chatterjee's driving questions for his study, 'what does [this paradox] reveal and what does it suppress?'<sup>21</sup>

I argue that this paradox is actually central to many postcolonial analyses, in that it attempts both to indicate the roots of certain political categories in colonial modernity (such as citizenship, development, national bureaucracy, electoral democracy, etc), and at the same time to point to a process of re-articulation of these categories within non-Western worlds in a manner that is non-derivative.<sup>22</sup> I signal here that this specific framing is firmly anchored in a modernist teleology, which presupposes modernity to be an inescapable goal (one where everyone must arrive).<sup>23</sup> The issue of the provenance of modernity is an incredibly complex discussion, and it becomes even more complex when contextualised in the colonial setting.<sup>24</sup> The debate seems to revolve around two overarching positions: whether it is a process that spread outwards from Europe to the colonies (which would make their form of modernity a derivative one – an argument prevalent in Euro-American social theory) or whether we can talk of 'alternative/multiple modernities', whereby certain features we subsume under the rubric of modernity were emerging independently of Europe in various societies.<sup>25</sup> The latter position attempts to de-link modernity from Westernisation and to inquire into the indigenous origins of various modernities. These two overarching positions do not, of course, exhaust the variety of analyses produced on the topic. Arif Dirlik's theorisation of 'global modernity' produces a powerful critique of the claims advanced by multiple modernities theories.<sup>26</sup> He offers the term 'global modernity' to highlight the violent provenance of modernity as a direct result of colonialism. Efforts to 'indigenize modernity', claims Dirlik, 'sweep under the rug' the issue of colonialism, of its violent instantiations in various societies, and of the predatory capitalist expansion that accompanied it.<sup>27</sup> Dirlik insists on modernity as a singular process, 'shaped globally by Europe and North America, perpetuating colonial relationships past formal decolonization.'<sup>28</sup> While I do not share the Marxist premises of Dirlik's critique, I do share his concern with the inherent problems of 'indigenizing modernity.'

Much of decolonial literature sees modernity as inseparable from colonialism, and instead posits modernity/coloniality as a conceptual framework.<sup>29</sup> Aníbal Quijano, for example, discusses how modernity/rationality as a 'cultural complex' is incomprehensible outside of a discussion of coloniality.<sup>30</sup> Mignolo discusses the necessity for a conscious and sustained effort at epistemic de-linking from the 'rhetoric of modernity' in a way that acknowledges

that 'the Western foundation of modernity and of knowledge is on the one hand unavoidable and on the other highly limited and dangerous'.<sup>31</sup> In adopting the decolonial perspective on modernity/coloniality I start here from two theoretical premises: (1) that, as Dussel put it, modernity is 'a European phenomenon but one constituted in a dialectical relation with a non-European alterity that is its ultimate content';<sup>32</sup> and (2) that, while what I call peripheral modernities are not derivative (meaning that I accept Chatterjee's premise that they do create a *different* discourse), they continue to be enmeshed both within the rhetoric of modernity and within the 'logic of coloniality'.<sup>33</sup> After all, as Mignolo remarks, 'delinking means to change the terms and not just the content of the conversation'.<sup>34</sup> So, while postcolonial approaches attempt to re-articulate dominant categories of modernity from within the colonial experience (ie to re-think modernity), decolonial perspectives argue for a re-thinking of the very categories we accept as overarching (un-thinking modernity). This means that postcolonial approaches accept both the content and the givenness of modernity, and they provide insightful articulations of the postcolonial nation-state by taking the colonial experience to be foundational in understanding the politics of post-independence societies. However, they rarely question the ways through which the anti-colonial nationalist project posits itself as the inexorable telos of decolonisation. Decolonial perspectives, on the other hand, by seeing both modernity and nationalism rooted in the logic of coloniality, open up avenues that allow us to make sense of the inherent violence of the statist project and thus of the failures of postcolonial states to decolonise the socio-political imaginary and to provide viable alternatives to the racialised and gendered logic of colonial modernity.

Here I would like to clarify the term 'peripheral modernity' attached to the discussion of colonial Java and the Dutch East Indies. I borrow this term from both Enrique Dussel and Mary Louise Pratt to signal the ambivalence of colonial modernity encapsulated by the two premises adopted here: the dissemination of Western modernity through colonial domination, and the creative re-articulation of this hegemonic modernity within 'peripheral' colonial spaces.<sup>35</sup> The term 'periphery' consciously signals the violent hierarchies of modernity and the insertion of the colonial space within these hierarchies. In this sense I perceive the discourse of anti-colonial nationalism to be both a creative re-articulation of modern nationhood *and* firmly anchored within a modernist teleology. As Chatterjee aptly notes, anti-colonial nationalism emerges as a paradox: as a form of insurrection against colonial domination but formulated in a language that draws on the 'framework of colonialist knowledge'.<sup>36</sup> While I accept Chatterjee's formulation of this paradox, and while I also accept that, to a certain degree, these nationalisms produce a *different* discourse, I am also struck by the various erasures that sustain our attention to this particular paradox. Such erasures matter because they prevent us from moving beyond a celebration of the postcolonial state into an interrogation of the colonial fundamentals that remain unchallenged within a state-centric framework. Here is my problem with the framing of this paradox, and I articulate it by referring to Ann Laura Stoler's research on memory-work in Java.<sup>37</sup>

Stoler points to how 'students of colonial history seem to want to have it both ways: a story of the hegemonic colonial state saturating both the cultural frame and the cracks in which the colonized live, *and* a story in which deft evasion leaves the memories of these same actors unscathed by state intrusions'.<sup>38</sup> This insightful formulation captures well the paradox of conceptualising anti-colonial nationalism: we, students of colonial history, would like to understand it both as an overcoming of colonial domination and a creative re-articulation of modern narratives, *and* as untainted by the violence attending its modernist imaginary.

Stoler's remarks thus speak to our desire to construct a neat narrative that encompasses both a colonial project, overwhelming in its power and in its reach, and a story of anti-colonial resistance and overcoming that uses those same tools of the colonial logic (albeit in a reverse manner) without problematising the inherent limits of these tools.

### Colonial Java and the constitution of the Indonesian national teleology

I chose to engage the narratives of Pramoedya and Mangungwijaya to explore the constitution of the Indonesian national teleology for a number of reasons. I read these narratives not as sources of colonial memory or as repositories of subaltern truths, but rather as self-conscious attempts to write a counter-history of the Indonesian nation. Stoler draws critical attention to the politics of positing colonial 'memory as a repository of alternative histories and subaltern truths'.<sup>39</sup> Postcolonial engagements with literary narratives tend to see such narratives in terms of their intrinsic value as alternative repositories of colonial memory. My reading asks questions about such an assumption and investigates the politics of writing 'counterhistories of the nation' (to use Stoler's expression). As Stoler remarks:

a commitment to writing counterhistories of the nation has privileged some memories over others. Because it is often restoration of the collective and archived memory of the making of the postcolonial nation that has been at stake, the critical historian's task has been to help remember what the colonial state – and often the nationalist bourgeoisie – once chose to forget. The assumption is that subaltern narratives contain trenchant political critiques of the colonial order and its postcolonial effects.<sup>40</sup>

Indeed, both Pramoedya and Mangungwijaya wrote their novels against the background of Suharto's *Orde Baru* (New Order) both as critiques of Suharto's perversion of the ideals of the anti-colonial nationalism that had founded the Indonesian nation, and as a reminder to contemporary readers of the striking similarities between Dutch colonial rule and Suharto's dictatorial rule.<sup>41</sup> By positing the 'Indonesian nation' as the inexorable end goal of anti-colonial struggle, however, both authors construct a conceptual straightjacket whereby the complexity of the anti-colonial mobilisation in the Dutch East Indies is reduced to (and, at times, awkwardly read exclusively into) its nationalist manifestation. Second, the independent 'Indonesia' seems to be an imagined (or actually existing) community whose political coherence stems from a narrow racial and gendered template.

Pramoedya's *Buru Quartet* is a novelistic tetralogy composed of *Bumi Manusia* (This Earth of Mankind, TEM),<sup>42</sup> *Anak Semua Bangsa* (Child of All Nations, CAN),<sup>43</sup> *Jejak Langkah* (Footsteps, F),<sup>44</sup> and *Rumah Kaca* (House of Glass, HG).<sup>45</sup> These four historical novels chronicle the birth of Indonesian nationalism and the rise of anti-colonial mobilisation in the Dutch East Indies. Pramoedya composed these novels orally while imprisoned on Buru Island by Suharto's regime in the aftermath of the Communist purge in 1965. The first volume of the quartet, TEM, follows the story of Minke, a young Javanese of aristocratic origin (*priyayi*). One of the central tensions that structure this first volume is Minke's struggle to situate himself within the Javanese colonial modernity. As he tries to reconcile his attraction to Western ideas with his position as a Native in the East Indies, Minke becomes increasingly aware of the gap between his naïve infatuation with the promise offered by Western knowledge, and the surrounding reality of colonial domination and dehumanisation. According to many commentators, the character of Minke is a composite of both Pramoedya's own autobiographical experience of struggle against the Dutch and of the historical figure of Tirta Adhi Suryo, one of Indonesia's first nationalists.<sup>46</sup>

The figure and struggle of Minke (indeed his coming to political consciousness) is incomprehensible without reference to the character of Nyai Ontosoroh (Sanikem is her pre-concubine name), the Native concubine of a rich Dutch man. The use of the term 'Native' is specific to the Dutch colonial context of the East Indies, where the population was roughly divided into three racial groupings: Native, Mixed-blood (or Indo), and Pure (a reference to European people). The quartet pays careful attention to these distinctions and always informs the reader of the specific racialisation of the character being introduced. As Max Lane notes, these 'terms...are capitalized [in the quartet] because they do not simply identify racial origins, but manifest how, even in everyday life, race and caste dominated all of Netherlands Indies society. These categories were eventually given legal status.'<sup>47</sup>

The figure of the *nyai* is indeed central to the quartet, acting as Minke's intellectual mentor and political guide (aside from also being a mother figure to him). Nyai Ontosoroh is portrayed as a formidable woman, not only fluent in various European languages and incredibly erudite, but possessing the kind of political maturity and social awareness that are formative of Minke's emerging anti-colonial consciousness. To be a *nyai* was to live simultaneously in the centre and on the fringes of colonial society. As concubines to European men, *nyais* were seen to enjoy certain privileges outside the reach of the rest of the colonised population. However, their status as Native concubines made their position extremely precarious, both within indigenous societies and within European colonial societies. They were seen as neither truly Native nor European – they had no inheritance rights and no rights to their children, which meant they were at the whim of their colonial masters. Given the status of the *nyai* in the colonial East Indies, it is all the more striking that Pramoedya chose to anchor his story of rising anti-colonial Indonesian nationalism around the figure of a *nyai*, whom Minke characterises as his 'unofficial teacher'<sup>48</sup> and his 'spiritual mother'.<sup>49</sup>

Chris GoGwilt, in a parallel reading of the *nyai* genre both in English and Indonesian modern literatures, notes that the figure of the *nyai* constitutes 'a problem of modernity':<sup>50</sup> 'Governed neither by the marriage system of European colonisers nor by the customs of the colonised, the status of the *nyai* constitutes a challenge to social and legal conceptions of domestic relations within an international perspective.'<sup>51</sup> The practice of concubinage between colonised women and European men was widely spread throughout the Dutch and French colonial empires: in the East Indies the women would be called *nyai*, in Indochina *congai*, and in the rest of the French colonies, *petite épouse*.<sup>52</sup> It may seem remarkable perhaps then that such a practice was captured in a specific literary genre, the *nyai* tale, which was very popular in the turn of the century Dutch East Indies. It is significant that the *nyai* narratives were written both in Dutch and in Malay, thus addressing both the colonised and the coloniser.<sup>53</sup> The Buru Quartet makes several references to the story of *Nyai Dasima*, written originally in Malay and apparently a very popular *nyai* story of the time, so famous that it was retold in several versions and languages, including Dutch and Sundanese, and even turned into a silent film in 1929.<sup>54</sup> In Pramoedya's TEM, Nyai Ontosoroh encourages Minke to read this story, as a 'truly European-style novel' written in Malay. Minke is befuddled by the recommendation, first because it was made by a *nyai* and, second, because it was a novel written in Malay, a language in which Minke did not write, although he spoke it. In fact, throughout the quartet, Nyai Ontosoroh repeatedly admonishes Minke for not reading, writing or publishing in Malay. The repeated reference to Malay throughout the quartet is extremely important. Language is a central component in the quartet's development of the story of emerging anti-colonial nationalism.



Nyai Ontosoroh's insistence on the use of Malay (*Melayu*) by Minke is important because it is Malay (which would later be called *Bahasa Indonesia*) that would become the language of the emergent Indonesia, and the symbol of the unity of the archipelago under the banner of one national language. In fact, as James Siegel indicates, Malay was 'the language of the plural society, used between "natives" speaking several local languages and between them and Indos [Eurasians] and Dutch. It was the tongue that connected most of the "native" world with the Europeans and European culture as well as the rest of the world outside of their local communities.'<sup>55</sup> So when Nyai Ontosoroh refers Minke to the story of *Nyai Dasima*, written in Malay, as a 'truly European-style novel', she points to the ability of the story to mediate between the 'native' world of the Dutch East Indies and the wider European world. Chris GoGwilt notes that 'the literary form of the *nyai* narrative is foundational for [Pramoedya's] reconstruction of early Indonesian anti-colonial nationalism.'<sup>56</sup> In a sense the quartet is an epic variation on the *nyai* genre, which pays homage to this genre as *the* genre of colonial modernity in the East Indies; at the same time it is also a retelling of the story of *Dasima* with a wholly reconfigured *nyai* character, emblematic in many ways of the rise of anti-colonial consciousness.

Pramoedya's quartet situates the *nyai* genre as the liminal space between colonial modernity and Indonesian nationalism. The first three volumes of the tetralogy are dominated by Minke's perspective, as the primary narrator and mediator of the birth of nationalism. However, the fourth and last volume undergoes a complete change of perspective and the narrator's role switches to Pangemanann, an Indo (and a Menadonese Catholic) former policeman, who effectively acts as a spy and informant for the Dutch authorities regarding any activity of anti-colonial/nationalist organisations. Minke, as the editor of *Medan* and a founding leader of *Sarekat Islam*, is one of his primary targets.<sup>57</sup> Pangemanann reads a manuscript he confiscated from Minke, entitled *Nyai Permana*, which is an account of Nyai Ontosoroh's life retold through Minke's perspective – a story that is seen as subversive precisely because the Nyai's story is so intimately woven with the emergence of anti-colonial consciousness among the Natives of the East Indies. Pangemanann interprets the story as being 'all about the change from the Native way of thinking to the European way of thinking. The different ways that the change made itself felt, the transformations of tastes and views. And it always came back to Sanikem [Nyai Ontosoroh]'.<sup>58</sup>

I am less interested here in the emergence of the *nyai* genre as a stage towards Indonesian literary modernism than I am in the emphasis placed by Pramoedya (and by a number of critics) on the *nyai* tale as transitional towards a fully-fledged Indonesian modern literature. As with other Third World literatures the emergence of a modern national literature is inseparable from the emergence of an anti-colonial nationalism. What captures my attention here, however, is the deployment of a certain economy of gender and of race towards the construction of the national teleology. After all, in Pramoedya's epic narrative, it is the gendered (highly sexualised and racialised) figure of the *nyai* that becomes the linchpin in the emergence of anti-colonial consciousness and the rise of a nationalist vision of a free and independent Indonesia. Minke's formative anti-colonial consciousness, his shift from an infatuation with Western knowledge and technology to disenchantment with it, his rediscovery and re-appreciation of local knowledges and views, and his very political engagement are incomprehensible without reference to the towering figure of Nyai Ontosoroh, his mentor and guide. In a political sense, the *nyai's* influence is foundational to Minke's becoming an anti-colonial nationalist hero. It is she who inspires him to write in Malay, the future national

language, and to pay close attention to the lived experience and the complex realities of the Natives. It is she as well who offers him insights into the gendered violence behind the experience of becoming and being a *nyai* in the Dutch East Indies, trapped between local and colonial patriarchies.

As noted in the previous paragraph, Pangemanann reads Nyai Ontosoroh as a figure that embodies the transition from the Native way of thinking to the European way of thinking; but both her European-ness (and modernity) and her Native status are deeply ambivalent. Nyai Ontosoroh is modern in a way other Native women are not (she is fluent in several European languages and highly erudite in European literature, history and philosophy; she runs a successful business; she is entrepreneurial, politically active and socially involved). However adept she is with European knowledge, she is also a fervent advocate of Native self-rule and a promoter of the Malay language. On several occasions she admonishes Minke for being too infatuated with European knowledge (and for unreflexively absorbing European ideas), and not paying enough attention to his own people and to their own cultural richness. Pramoedya's intention is, of course, to challenge both Suharto's nationalist historiography and its 'single-voice discourse of [nationalist] myth',<sup>59</sup> and the dominant gender ideology of Indonesian nationalism by inserting the figure and the voice of the *nyai* as central to the constitution of the postcolonial nation to come.<sup>60</sup> However, as argued here, both Pramoedya and Manguwijaya – insofar as they attempt to produce a counter-history of the Indonesian nation (which challenges the nation's rigid gender ideology) – also end up reconstructing this gender ideology, albeit in less rigid ways.<sup>61</sup> Nyai Ontosoroh functions just as much as a disruption of the all-male nationalist myth as she helps reconstitute this myth with her exceptionalism. And the nationalist teleology requires no less. As Razif Bahari notes, she is the 'matriarchic source that gives birth to Minke's story of nationalist awakening'.<sup>62</sup> As the quartet does indeed '[chronicle] the process of recovery and difficult articulation of previously silenced female voices', it is important to note that these female voices are always mediated by a man.<sup>63</sup>

Throughout the quartet Nyai Ontosoroh is presented as a 'sorceress', 'with the power to grip people's hearts',<sup>64</sup> 'a castle of puzzles',<sup>65</sup> as a 'giant' that dwarfs the men around her.<sup>66</sup> Bahari remarks how 'as a character, she [Nyai] resists being immured in the prisonhouse of subordination and subjugation that both a feudalistic Javanese society and a patriarchal colonial system would impose on her'.<sup>67</sup> As the discussion with Manguwijaya's main character, lin, will show, both figures are *made* to be symbolic and deeply emblematic of the fate of Indonesian nationalism, one prefiguring its rise during colonial modernity (Nyai Ontosoroh), the other (lin) picking up the narrative thread from the declaration of independence all the way to our contemporary era. However, the constitution of both figures, while challenging male-dominated nationalist discourse, re-establishes, as Michael Bodden has suggested, a 'subtly paternal order of its own'.<sup>68</sup> Like Manguwijaya's lin, Nyai Ontosoroh emerges from the narrative of the quartet as a Durga-like figure (the monstrous goddess of death and destruction), awe-inspiring, terrifying and overwhelming in her influence and power over others. She is exceptional precisely because she is *outside* the established normative framework of Javanese femininity (which is meant to be quiet, supine, angelic and soft), both as a woman and, especially, as a *nyai*: 'They [the *nyais*] are not included in the same class as the children they themselves have borne. They are not Pure, they are not Indo, and can even be said not to be Native. They are *secret mountains*'.<sup>69</sup>

The figure of the *nyai* is deeply ambiguous (almost uncategorisable), racially ambivalent (not Pure, not Indo, not even Native), straddles the various racial categories and unsettles dominant gender ideals. Her figure is so contradictory and baffling (precisely because she is outside the gendered/racial colonial framework) that she can only be situated within Javanese mythology, as the ubiquitous *gunungan*, the sacred mountain so central to Javanese rituals and ceremonies. There is an underlying anxiety present within the narrative that relates to the domestication and taming of this type of femininity, and ultimately subordinating her to the masculine (nationalist) order. By the end of the fourth volume, women as actors disappear altogether from the quartet, although 'they are *imaginatively present*'.<sup>70</sup> Nyai Ontosoroh leaves Java altogether (just as the anti-colonial movement is gaining full force) to follow her French husband back to France. She is no longer Nyai Ontosoroh – she becomes Madame Sanikem le Boucq. As Chris GoGwilt observes, Nyai's leaving is deeply symbolic of the disappearance of the *nyai* genre altogether with Indonesian independence.<sup>71</sup> The nationalist project cannot incorporate the kind of ambivalence that the *nyai* embodies.<sup>72</sup> Both Nyai Ontosoroh's and lin's complicated visions of decolonisation are made to speak back to the nationalist telos; the ambivalence of their critique of the colonial order and of patriarchy is either dissolved (Nyai becomes a respectable married woman) or simply deferred to a (brighter?) postcolonial future.

Postcolonial analyses have an ambivalent relationship with Third World nationalism and nationalist liberation movements. There is much more being written on the emancipatory potentialities of such movements than there is on the inherently oppressive nature of nationalism *tout court*. Étienne Balibar engages this conundrum when he states that 'we have no right whatsoever to equate the nationalism of the dominant with that of the dominated, the nationalism of liberation with the nationalism of conquest'.<sup>73</sup> And yet, he continues, one cannot overlook the fact that there is a common element that links together the nationalism of the Algerian FLN and that of the French colonial army.<sup>74</sup> That should prompt us to inquire into the 'oppressive potentialities contained within every nationalism'.<sup>75</sup> One of the slippery aspects of nationalism is its resistance to any clear definition precisely because it is 'always part of a chain', never functioning alone, a chain in which racism and sexism form crucial links.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, Balibar states elsewhere that nationalism 'has a secret affinity with sexism', as the latter 'constitutes the anchoring point for the juridical, economic, educational and medical mediation of the state'.<sup>77</sup> Pramoedy's inclusion of Kartini, the proto-feminist figure of colonial Java, in the quartet is illustrative precisely of the relationship between nationalism and gender hierarchy. Kartini challenged both the inherent patriarchy of the colonial rule and the indigenous oppression of women in Javanese society.<sup>78</sup> Joost Coté sees Kartini's feminism as a type of political nationalism, deeply critical of the Javanese feudal socio-economic structure and pushing for a type of nationalism or self-determination that is deeply steeped in the values of the Enlightenment (freedom, autonomy, equality).<sup>79</sup> Indonesian poet Mohammad Goenawan sees Kartini, on the other hand, as part of the ambivalent adherence to European modernity and to anti-colonial nationalism, since 'ambivalence was the beginning of Indonesian nationalism. "Nation" was constructed as part of the push for modernity...and was also a defensive stand. Nation was formed to extend beyond locality and the restrictions of [local] conservatism, and also to respond to the panoptic view of European colonialism, which dominates the discourse'.<sup>80</sup>

Goenawan points to how little effort has been made to engage Kartini not merely as an iconic figure, but as a thinker 'in terms of the larger questions with which the Indonesian

[nationalist] intellectuals of the early 20th century...were concerned: with questions of modernity and identity, of progress and tradition, of conditions for colonialism and the struggle for liberation, of religion and the *Aufklärung* [Enlightenment] spirit.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, the presence of Kartini in Pramoedya's quartet is quasi-phantasmagoric: she is never heard from directly; she is present only as a rumour, as someone talked about but not actually engaged (see both CAN and F). Ironically, it is a Dutch woman, Miriam de la Croix, who encourages Minke to correspond with Kartini, 'the girl from Jepara'.<sup>82</sup> Kartini's famed letters to her Dutch pen-pal are only hinted at in the quartet as discussing Javanese women's rights, and not the wider ranging political issues Kartini had engaged with.<sup>83</sup>

The absence of Kartini's voice in the quartet mirrors the re-appropriation of Kartini as a univocal figure by the Indonesian nationalist historiography. Put differently, Kartini's articulation of a vehement critique of the colonial order, in which she argues for *reform* not independence, is explained (even by Western commentators) as a precursor of nationalist aspiration, since she 'was not yet able to draw on a recognisable nationalist rhetoric'.<sup>84</sup> Côté states that her 'concerns [with the condition of Javanese women] were the prelude to a more political nationalist struggle'.<sup>85</sup> Note how her concern with women's condition is seen as both *outside* the programmatic political struggle of anti-colonial nationalism and as a *stage* towards the inexorable push for Indonesian nationalism. Her deep ambivalence both towards Europe (whose colonial domination she abhorred but whose Enlightenment values and whose modernity she embraced), and towards the Javanese culture in which was steeped are missing altogether from the quartet and from nationalist historiography.

### *Durga/Umayi*

Mangunwijaya's *Durga/Umayi* (D/U) is a parodic reflection on the marginalisation of women and their voices both during the anti-colonial struggle and by the new Indonesian nation. Mangunwijaya satirically sets the trajectory of his main character, Iin aka Sulinda Pertiwi Nussi Nusamusbida – from accidental witness to the birth of a new nation all the way to the corruption of the postcolonial state – against the background of the *wayang* (the ancient Javanese art of shadow theatre). The novel begins by introducing the reader to the brief period before independence, after the end of the Japanese occupation, just as Dutch colonial troops were fighting nationalist paramilitary units. Iin Linda is by chance employed as a cleaning lady in Sukarno's household, and thus manages to be a witness to Sukarno's Proclamation of Independence of Indonesia on 17 August 1945. She is involved in the Revolution and serves both as a cook and as a guerrilla fighter. In post-independence Indonesia she becomes a shrewd businesswoman, sexually promiscuous and morally corrupt. Ironically she also works for communist organisations such as Lekra and Gerwani during Sukarno's Guided Democracy era between 1959 and 1965.

D/U is both a biting critique of the idealism of what Fanon called 'combat literature', of which Pramoedya and the Lekra organisation were prime examples, and of the dismal trajectory of the new Indonesian nation into corruption, violence and base materialism.<sup>86</sup> Fanon saw 'combat literature' as a crucial stage of the development of national consciousness, when the colonised intellectual agonises over capturing 'the exact historical moment of the struggle'.<sup>87</sup> Combat literature's 'pedagogical value', according to Fanon, lies in helping the reader understand their role in the struggle, and thus constitutes an important 'political act'. Pramoedya, deeply influenced by communist ideals, consciously situates his epic narrative

within a combat genre. Mangunwijaya, on the other hand, consciously distances himself from it by mimicking parodically the self-important tone of nationalist (male) narratives. Mangunwijaya is quoted as saying that his book 'is epic in nature...but in its literary form it might be called an "anti-epic"'.<sup>88</sup> In casting a morally and physically protean woman as the main character of *D/U*, he attempts to mimic and thus de-legitimise 'traditional narratives which situate men, the elite, and the military as the significant actors in the revolution and nation', and to indicate 'the nation's historical trajectory and loss of ideals'.<sup>89</sup> In so doing, he also throws light on women's continued oppression both during anti-colonial struggles and in post-independence Indonesia. The narrative is interspersed with episodes that are particularly poignant in relation to the very precarious status women inhabit in anti-colonial struggles and in postcolonial nations. One such episode is when lin aka Tiwi, while working as a cook for paramilitary units, is forced to go out in the dead of night and look for more substantial food for discontented revolutionaries, and has to do so while trying 'not to get raped not even by a candidate [nationalist] hero'.<sup>90</sup> The association of 'nationalist heroes' with 'potential rapists' sheds light on the (gendered) limits of anti-colonial solidarity, but also on what Francis Gouda identified as the 'hyper-masculinity' of Indonesian nationalist struggle (the so-called *Pemuda* troops, meaning the youth).<sup>91</sup> Gouda makes the case that 'Indonesians embraced a model of modernity that emulated and perfected forms of aggression or military discipline they had previously acknowledged as the exclusive preserve of European men'.<sup>92</sup>

A central episode in the novel is lin's beheading of a wounded Gurkha mercenary, while fighting as a soldier for the Revolution, and her subsequent capture by Dutch forces.<sup>93</sup> She is gang-raped by the Dutch and imprisoned for the duration of the Revolution. This nodal moment captures lin's transformation from Lady Umayi (the life-giving goddess in the *wayang* mythology) to Durga, and thus from a time of innocence and moral propriety to one of decadence and sexual promiscuity. This episode is deeply significant because Mangunwijaya makes lin adopt a 'hyper-masculinity' (she is the perpetrator of gory violence) that can only be assumed by 'nationalist heroes'. His framing of this act as a transformation from Umayi to Durga illustrates that she can only undertake this kind of violence by going against her (feminine) nature. Mangunwijaya's deployment of the 'woman as nation' trope paradoxically highlights the marginalised status of women's voices in the nationalist historiography, while at the same time reimagining and reconstructing the alternative Indonesian nation within a rather conservative paradigm.

Mapping the trajectory of the new Indonesian nation onto woman-as-subaltern-subject poses both opportunities and traps. The assumption, present both in Pramoedya and in Mangunwijaya, is that challenging the marginalisation of women within the nationalist project can only take place by women going against their nature (and against the morally acceptable order of things). Michael Bodden argues that, in organising the novel around the metamorphosis from goddess to monster (to illustrate the nation's betrayal of her ideals), Mangunwijaya inadvertently sets up a 'good woman/bad woman opposition', which is used as a template to produce a counter-narrative of the nation around the idealised image of the 'good woman'.<sup>94</sup> After all, as Bodden rightfully indicates, 'for all her predatory cunning and business instincts, [lin] is depicted as morally and philosophically naïve in key passages'.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, throughout the novel lin is guided (politically, morally and aesthetically) by male figures, be it Sukarno (whom she reveres with an adolescent adulation), Mohammad Hatta (another famous nationalist figure), or her lover and artist, Rohadi.<sup>96</sup>

Various commentators have pointed to the link between Pramoedya's almost programmatic writing of the coming-to-consciousness of Indonesian nationalism and Manguwijaya's parodic mimicry of nationalist historiography.<sup>97</sup> While more subtle in its execution (precisely because the figure of Nyai Ontosoroh looms so large in the narrative), Pramoedya's national epic ultimately depends on subordinating women's voices and lifeworlds to leading male figures. It is highly instructive that Minke, the anti-colonial nationalist *par excellence* here, goes through three racially diverse marriages where the respective racialised wife dutifully places herself under the nationalist hero's authority. The first wife, the Eurasian Annelies (Nyai Ontosoroh's daughter with her Dutch *tuan*), is the absolute opposite of her formidable mother: she is pale and childish, angelic and submissive, with almost no willpower of her own, being entirely dependent on her mother and on her husband (whom she worships with a childlike innocence). The second wife, the Chinese Ang San Mei, is strongly committed to the Chinese nationalist cause for whom she is willing to sacrifice everything (including her already fragile health). However, even she needs to apologise to Minke and beg his forgiveness for overlooking her wifely duties for the sake of her political commitment.<sup>98</sup> The third wife, the 'native' Princess van Kasiruta, is well educated, strong-willed and wild, but her strength is committed solely to being a 'proper' wife to Minke and protecting him from his enemies (see F and HG). Balibar poignantly suggests that the discourse around family is 'ubiquitous in the discourse of race', whereby 'the racial community has a tendency to represent itself as one big family'.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, 'the idea of racial community makes its appearance when the frontiers of kinship...[are] imaginarily transferred to the level of nationality'.<sup>100</sup> In Balibar's conception the categories of 'nation', 'race' and 'gender' are linked together so intimately that it is impossible to isolate one element without rendering the link incomprehensible.<sup>101</sup> Minke's passage through a series of multi-racial marriages is made to symbolise, in no uncertain terms, both the subordination of racial ambiguity to a middle-class Javanese ideal of the Indonesian family/nation, and the relegation of women's perspectives and experiences to the margins of male nationalist historiography. So, while both Pramoedya and Manguwijaya provide critiques of the colonial order and of nationalist historiography, neither can imagine a political community beyond the nation-state. Neither can imagine a genuine dismantling of local racial and gender hierarchies without endangering the project of nation-building.

### The limits of counter-narratives of the nation: beyond 're-thinking' modernity

In the first section I discussed Chatterjee's proposition that anti-colonial nationalism is paradoxically both dominated by Western modernity and at the same time positing new political possibilities and creating a *different* discourse.<sup>102</sup> The above engagement with Pramoedya's national epic and with Manguwijaya's anti-epic illustrates that, while the initial impulse of anti-colonial struggle is an emancipatory one, it is also a discourse and a set of aspirations that is deeply enmeshed, as Mignolo aptly put it, within the rhetoric of modernity and within the logic of coloniality.<sup>103</sup> Insofar as these narratives bring forth the perspectives of marginalised groups (such as women, peasants and racialised communities) within the horizon of the nation, they certainly contribute to a 're-thinking' of Indonesian modernity as a *vernacular* modernity.<sup>104</sup> In other words, it is a type of modernity that has been produced by the intersection between colonial modernity and other trans-local colonial worlds (whether within the archipelago or beyond, such as Japan, India, the Philippines, the Middle East). However,

as argued earlier, the discourse of anti-colonial nationalism is both a creative re-articulation of modern nationhood *and* firmly anchored within a modernist teleology. As Adrian Vickers indicates about Balinese modernity, 'being modern is never questioned, only what form that modernity should take'.<sup>105</sup> Being *moderen* (the Bahasa term for 'modern') in Indonesia has been synonymous, as some scholars have suggested, with the nation-state project.<sup>106</sup> National identity and modernity are intertwined to the degree where to be Indonesian is to be modern.<sup>107</sup> In that sense the political horizon of the type of anti-colonial struggles highlighted both by Pramoedya and Mangunwijaya was firmly delineated by a statist imaginary, leaving little room to imagine figures such as Nyai, Kartini or Iin as 'non-national orientations to decolonization'. Imagining them as non-national orientations may allow us to see them as part of a trans-locality that was as much created by colonial modernity as by processes that preceded it. The advantages of thinking in terms of 'trans-locality' may be that it enables us to imagine spatialities (and thus identities and ways of life) that are far more complex and layered than those of the nation-state: trans-locality still pays homage to the specificity of a certain locale or region while seeing it as part of larger and wider (regional/global) networks.

As Ann Stoler has cautioned, 'a commitment to writing counterhistories of the nation' (in the hope that this might illuminate those dark recesses left out by nationalist historiography) may skew our analytical lenses and make us overlook those spaces, events or potentialities that are not 'nationally salient'.<sup>108</sup> In this sense Pramoedya's Nyai Ontosoroh is domesticated within the narrative not only because she is a woman, but also precisely because she stands outside the nationalist ideal with her racial ambiguity and a femininity that is decidedly non-Javanese but also only marginally Western. She is as deeply ambivalent about Western modernity as she is about her Javanese background. Similarly, Kartini's appropriation by nationalist mythology as a 'national heroine' overlooks the complex richness of her thought and perspectives, and her enmeshment within a Javanese peripheral modernity. Imagining decolonisation as an open-ended process would allow for a re-evaluation of the types of critiques of (both local and colonial) patriarchy provided by Nyai, Kartini and Iin. Instead of seeing them as precursors and/or promoters of a univocal vision of political community, this would then allow us to pay closer attention to the types of trans-local processes that intersect to make such critiques possible: local knowledges, Islamic precepts and perspectives, Hindu mythologies, Western modernity and trans-colonial connectivity.<sup>109</sup> These map out spatialities rooted in inter-connectivity and translation, without gesturing to an ideal of homogeneity (imagined by the nationalist myth).

The framework of modernity/nationalism functions in these two narratives (and in post-colonial analyses more broadly) as a form of 'meta-consensus'. Boaventura de Sousa Santos uses the term 'meta-consensus' to refer to the ideological hegemonic consensus that posits the idea of 'the end of history' as an overarching belief in the non-existence of alternatives to liberal democracy and capitalism.<sup>110</sup> We cannot fathom the existence of alternatives to these ideas because we have come to accept them as the natural (indeed the only) background against which we evaluate socio-political and economic endeavours. In that vein modernity/nationalism operates precisely as a meta-consensus that shapes our vision of Third World struggles for decolonisation. The *nyai* genre, indeed the very figure of the *nyai*, is then appropriated by this meta-consensus to function as a transitional stage towards the national teleology (after which it is suppressed). The modern nation-state, with its 'impulse to ethnicize forms of life',<sup>111</sup> has no conceptual ability to accommodate the type of racial ambiguity that both Nyai and Iin embody.

It is worth mentioning here that in D/U, lin's transformation of her appearance (after she undergoes plastic surgery) is described by Mangunwijaya as a transformation from a 'pure' Javanese beauty into a creole type of beauty (a racial *mélange* that in fact he identifies with the many racial and ethnic roots of the archipelago: Chinese, Malay, Eurasian, Macau-creole, Arabic, Japanese, etc). Not only does the narrator assume a certain *a priori* racial purity of the Indonesian nation ('Central Javanese Tidar, Progo-Elo valley beauty'), but he also suggests that the new creole appearance of lin is manufactured and (nationally) inauthentic. Mangunwijaya thus slides into a rather conservative (and, as some saw it, even xenophobic) rendition of the alternative nation as one that is free of political corruption but also one that is racially exclusive.<sup>112</sup> Within the modernity/nationalism framework, the *nyai* and Kartini (two feminine figures from opposite social settings) can only be rendered intelligible as transitional or precursors to the arrival of the nation. Outside this setting, as 'nonnational orientations to decolonization', they are incomprehensible. The 'woman as nation' trope works more as a straightjacket than as an opening.

### Notes on Contributor

**Alina Sajed** is Assistant Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science, McMaster University. Her research has been published in *Review of International Studies*, *Citizenship Studies*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* and *Globalizations*. She is the author of *Postcolonial Encounters in International Relations: The Politics of Transgression in the Maghreb* (2013). She also co-authored, with William D. Coleman, *Fifty Key Thinkers on Globalization* 2012.

### Notes

1. Amin, *Event, Metaphor, Memory*.
2. Mignolo, *Local Histories*, 197.
3. Rao, *Third World Protest*, 109.
4. Elsewhere I have examined the elimination of the plurality of anti-colonial discourses in the context of colonial Algeria. Sajed, *Postcolonial Encounters*.
5. Wilder, *Freedom Time*, 3.
6. Wilder, *Freedom Time*, 5.
7. Ibid.
8. de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*.
9. Wallerstein, *Unthinking Social Science*, 1.
10. Ibid., 1–4.
11. See Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought*.
12. Wilder, *Freedom Time*, xi.
13. Moraña et al., "Colonialism and its Replicants"; and Pratt, "In the Neocolony."
14. Dussel, "Philosophy of Liberation," 338. See also Dirlik, *Global Modernity*.
15. Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*.
16. Pandian, "One Step outside Modernity," 1736. See also Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation*.
17. GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre," 409–410.
18. GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre," 421.
19. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought*, 39, 41–42.
20. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought*, 42.
21. Ibid.
22. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.



23. For a similar critique of postcolonial theory's exclusive preoccupation with modernity, see Chekuri and Muppidi, "Diasporas."
24. Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*; Scott, "Colonial Governmentality"; and Escobar, *Encountering Development*.
25. Featherstone et al., *Global Modernities*; and Eisenstadt, *Multiple Modernities*.
26. Dirlik, *Global Modernity*.
27. *Ibid.*, 89, 124 n. 1.
28. Dirlik, *Global Modernity*, 89.
29. Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality"; Dussel, "Philosophy of Liberation"; Mignolo, "Delinking"; and Santos, *Epistemologies of the South*.
30. Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality," 172.
31. Mignolo, "Delinking," 453–455.
32. Dussel, "Eurocentrism and Modernity," 65.
33. Mignolo, "Delinking."
34. *Ibid.*, 259.
35. Dussel, "Philosophy of Liberation"; and Pratt, "In the Neocolony."
36. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought*, 42.
37. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, 169.
40. *Ibid.*, 169–170 (emphasis in the original).
41. Bodden, "Woman as Nation," 57; Bahari, "Remembering History"; Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 5–6; Vltchek and Indira, *Exile*; Bahari, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place?"; and GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre."
42. Pramoedy, *This Earth of Mankind*.
43. Pramoedy, *Child of All Nations*.
44. Pramoedy, *Footsteps*.
45. Pramoedy, *House of Glass*.
46. Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*, 3.
47. Lane, "Translator's Note," 9–12.
48. TEM, 111.
49. HG, 351–352.
50. GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre," 409.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 48.
53. GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre," 410.
54. Taylor, "Nyai Dasima."
55. Siegel, *Fetish, Recognition, Revolution*, 14.
56. GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre," 417.
57. For a discussion of *Sarekat Islam* in the context of colonial modernity, see Sajed, "Insurrectional Politics."
58. HG, 277 (emphasis added).
59. Bahari, "Remembering History," 78.
60. Bahari, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place?"; and GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre."
61. Bahari, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place?"; and Bodden, "Woman as Nation."
62. Bahari, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place?", 43.
63. Bahari, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place?", 42, 43.
64. TEM, 52.
65. TEM, 30.
66. CAN, 79.
67. Bahari, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place?," 51.
68. Bodden, "Woman as Nation," 64.
69. TEM, 291 (emphasis added.)
70. Bahari, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place?," 45 (emphasis in the original).

71. GoGwilt, "The Vanishing Genre."
72. Gouda, "Gender and 'Hyper-masculinity'."
73. Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," 45.
74. Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," 45–46.
75. Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," 46.
76. Ibid.
77. Balibar, "The Nation Form," 102.
78. Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State*, 36.
79. Coté, "Introduction," 13.
80. Goenawan, "Foreword," x.
81. Goenawan, "Foreword," v.
82. CAN, 102.
83. Goenawan, "Foreword," v.
84. Coté, "Introduction," 11.
85. Ibid.
86. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 159.
87. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 167.
88. Quoted in Keeler, "Afterword," (emphasis added).
89. Bodden, "Woman as Nation," 55.
90. Mangunwijaya, *Durga/Umayi*, 67–68.
91. Gouda, "Gender and 'Hyper-masculinity'."
92. Ibid., 165.
93. D/U, 72–77.
94. Bodden, "Woman as Nation," 77.
95. Bodden, "Woman as Nation," 79.
96. Ibid.
97. Bodden, "Woman as Nation"; Keeler, "Afterword"; and Vickers, *A History of Indonesia*.
98. F, 147.
99. Balibar, "The Nation Form," 100.
100. Ibid.
101. Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," 46.
102. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought*, 40–42.
103. Mignolo, "Delinking."
104. Comaroff and Comaroff, *Theory from the South*.
105. Vickers, "Modernity and being 'Moderen'."
106. Ibid; and Schulte Nordholt, "Indonesia in the 1950s," 388.
107. Jennifer Lindsay, quoted in Schulte Nordholt, "Indonesia in the 1950s," 388.
108. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 169–170.
109. For a discussion of transcolonial connectivity in the context of the Dutch East Indies, see Sajed, "Insurrectional Politics."
110. de Sousa Santos, "Globalizations," 394–395.
111. Wilder, *Freedom Time*, 10.
112. Bodden, "Woman as Nation," 78.

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