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Errata

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- p 5 para 4 line 10: "wild life" should be "wildlife"
- p 6 para 4 line 2: "noble man" should be "nobleman".
- p 23 line 1: "end of 1966" should be "in March 1966"
- p 23 para 2 line 2: delete "towards the end of the Old Order"
- p 23 para 3 line 2: Insert "As one example" before "an Indonesian prominent author".
- p 23 para 5 line 3: delete "one year alone (that of 1966)".
- P 24 para 4: "The emphasis on the nation's needs over those of individuals was nevertheless not intended to advantage the people of the nation but merely to benefit 'the needs of the government'" (Sears, 1996; 39) should read: "The emphasis of the nation's needs over those of individuals was intended to advantage not only the people but also the needs of the government" (Sears, 1996; 39).
- p 25 in translation of quotation, "not normal" should be "unfair".
- p 29 line 2 : "noble woman" should be "noblewoman"
- p 29 para 1 last line: "sacrificing" should be "self-sacrificing".
- p 29, fn. 5 : "real princess/woman" should be "a true princess/ a daughter of Indonesia".
- p 36 para 3 line 9: "cared" should be "care".
- p 38 para 2: "Han Sui Yin" should be "Han Suyin", except in the quotation.
- p 39 para 3 line 9: "In the text it was described how" should be "The text describes how".
- p 55 para 2: last line of poem translation: "knows" should be "know".
- p 61 para 2 line 13: "menat" should be "meant".
- p 62 para 2 line 4: "stil" should be "still"
- p.62 second to last line: "holly" should be "sacred"
- p 63 para 2 line 22: "publications" should be "publication".
- p 65 para 4 line 7: "I lost my own self-importance" should be "I suppressed my own individuality and wiped out my own concerns".
- p 66 para 3 line 4: "Vice Prime Minister" should be "Deputy Prime Minister".
- p 66 para 3 line 7 "which have a social nature" should be "of a social nature".
- p 67 para 3 line 1: "Tinneke" should be "Tineke".
- p 70 para 3 line 10 : "I was hesitant whether a wife is obliged to polish shoes. 'Isn't there Paijo who can polish them'." should read "I was reluctant, and felt shocked that a wife should have to polish [her husband's] shoes. 'Isn't it [the servant] Paijo's job to polish them?'."
- p 71 para 2 line 13: "to share Tom's attention" should be "to share taking care of Tom".
- p 90 line 1: "She was able to 'return' West Irian" should be "She was able to participate in the return of West Irian".
- p 99 para : "soul of modesty" should be "democratic spirit".
- p 113 para 2 line 2: "the Soekarno's period" should be "the Soekarno period".
- p 118 para 2: Last sentence of the translated quotation: "All plans and hopes are often far from the reality".
- p 151 lines 2-3 should read: "They should not be seen, but if they are seen, they should be condemned, redeemed and excused".
- p 162, fn. 4 : "artist" should be "actor".
- p 163 para 1 line 15: "which is unanswered until now." should be "which so far I haven't been able to answer".

- p 163 para 2 last line: "I'm really sick" should be "They really make me sick".
- p 164 para 2 line 7: "After having an adventure" should be "After having adventures".
- p 164 para 2 line 9: "luckily my heart is never hooked and enticed by men" should be "luckily I've never been taken in by a man".
- p 166 para 3 line 8: "And I like it" should be "And I enjoyed it".
- p 166 para 3 line 9: "One more" should be "something else".
- p 166 para 3 line 11: "Many reasons and I am too lazy . . ." should be "There are lots of reasons, and I don't feel like writing about them. Also because they are too difficult to write about. But it makes me sad as well".
- p 168 para 2 line 9: " . . . despite all of these . . ." should be " . . . despite all of this, I don't want to overstep the boundaries of Your divine guidance".
- p 174 para 4 line 3: "Mother's Day" should be "Mothers' Day".
- p 176 last line: "Mother would be very surprised if she finds present-day women . . ." should be "She would be very surprised to see women to today . . . only because they are afraid of divorce, of afraid they will lose their position as the wife . . .".
- p 179 para 2 line 8: "the affect" should be "the effect".
- P 180 para 2 line 6: "mengungkung" should be "mengungkung".
- p 180 para 2 line 10: "her next generation" should be "her successors".
- p 181 para 2 line 14: "The tendency of wrong interpretations" should be "The tendency towards misinterpretations".
- P 181 para 2 line 16: " . . . I think, that is a characteristic which shows no respect to God's gift and blessing" should be " . . . I think, is a characteristic which shows no respect for God's gift and blessing".
- p 183 last line: " . . . unite my words of conscience and my deeds" should be "bring my actions into line with my conscience".
- p 184 para 1 line 9: "because of prioritising" should be "because I gave priority to". "continuance" should be "continuation".
- p 185 para 4 line 5: omit "that".
- p 187 para 2 line 11: "have" should be "had".
- p 195 para 1 line 12: "kecatikan" should be "kecantikan".
- p.222 line 4: Insert:
- Sears, Laurie J. 1996. "Fragile Identities: Deconstructing Women and Indonesia" in L. Sears (ed.), *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*. Durham: Duke University Press.

**Negotiating Identity:
Indonesian Women's Published Autobiographies
and Unpublished Diaries
in the New Order**

**Submitted by
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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment
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of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

This thesis investigates Indonesian women's public and private representations of identity in the New Order period, in the form of published autobiographies and unpublished diaries collected during fieldwork. Expressing identity in the form of the first person "I" (*aku, saya*) is often considered to emphasise individuality and thus can be an emancipatory experience for women. However, this thesis shows that women's expression of identity is often subject to the control of powerful discourse: one's representation of identity has to be negotiated with these powerful forces which often try to define the "price" of individuals.

Although the ideas of patriarchy had existed in Indonesia long before the New Order started, at no time in Indonesian history has the government tried to indoctrinate the conservative ideas about gender using various channels as during the New Order era. Being published in New Order Indonesia, autobiographies do not have much space and freedom to challenge the authoritative eye. However, a careful consideration of the published texts discussed in this thesis shows that these women exert their individualistic nature through their ambition to be famous and recognised. Indirect criticism of social conditions surrounding the subject is consciously or unconsciously expressed in some of these published texts. Such transgressions against the ideology often becomes an art of "protesting yet not offending" the tyrannical power.

In the unpublished diaries, although these women are able to be more vocal in their transgression, the reflection of patriarchal values in Indonesia can still be discovered in the movement of their pens, even in their private rooms. While the diary writers show more individualism, the trace of being a sacrificing woman is implied. In addition, in spite of the expressions of sexual freedom in some of the diaries discussed in this thesis, these expressions are never free from contempt, guilt and repentance by the diary writers. Accordingly, while these diaries show the subjects' liberation from the surrounding ideology, they also demonstrate how the ideology can be deeply implanted in individuals.

Nonetheless, restraint often leads to the build up of opposition. Despite the long history of patriarchal dominance in Indonesia, and New Order's authority over, and its manipulation of, Indonesian women's expression of identity, the excessive exercise of power has also revived these women's protests and rebellions. The discussion of these Indonesian women's autobiographies and unpublished diaries shows that uttering an "I" can be seen as a negotiation between emancipatory and repressive experiences, even in the private sphere. At the same time, however, while the power of patriarchal ideology often functions to oppress women, this ideology can also backfire upon itself by unintentionally impelling women to strive for their emancipation.

Statement.

This thesis contains no material which had been accepted for the award of any other degree in any university, and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material which has been previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Melbourne, 7 March 2003.



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Soe Tjen Marching.

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Chapter 1.

Introduction.

Writing "I" has been an emancipatory project for women (Perrault; 1995; 2)

Jeanne Perrault

This thesis will investigate how Indonesian women express their identity in public and private spheres in the form of the first person "I". Some feminists believe that uttering "I" in a text is one of the means of confirming one's identity. As Perrault suggests, by being able to insist on her own identity, a woman may have the opportunity to subvert patriarchy and other forms of oppression. Feminism, according to Gayle Greene, "happened when women learned to say 'I'" (Greene, 1993; 11). From this point of view, in writing their stories in the first person, women are able to show more independence rather than being subordinate to male judgement. Talking about women's life stories, Judy Long suggests that the "female first person" is "a threat to control and order" (Long, 1999; 127).

However, despite some critics' confidence in the importance of autobiographical women's writings, uttering "I" is still quite problematical for some women. One of the reasons is that the ideal version of the self is traditionally considered to be masculine. Woman, Sidonie Smith argues, is said to harbour "no Adamic core to be discovered and represented . . . She cannot find herself as universal man does in his romantic journey inward to the core of his being" (Smith, 1993; 15). The masculine ideal of discourse, which Julia Kristeva calls "the law of the father", is believed to be an obstruction operating to manipulate the discourse of women. The "textual space" of the female "I", Smith states, is often silenced by dominant patriarchal discourse (Smith, 1993; 3-4). Similarly, Leigh Gilmore states that "the textual version of the political ideology of individualism" is still controlled by males (Gilmore, 1994; 1). In uttering "I", women do not only express their resistance to patriarchy but may also affirm the patriarchal discourse. Thus, while saying "I" gives

an opportunity to express one's individuality, this opportunity still needs to be negotiated with many other socio-political factors.

Because the exemplary subject of an autobiographical writing is traditionally considered to be a white male, it is even more problematical for women from a postcolonial country like Indonesia, to utter their identity. Trinh Minh-ha, for instance, explains:

S/he who writes, writes. In uncertainty, in necessity. And does not ask whether s/he is given the permission to do so or not. Yet, in the context of today's market-dependent societies, "to be a writer" can no longer mean purely to perform the act of writing . . . Every woman who writes and wishes to become established as a writer has known the taste of *rejection*. . . . If it is difficult for any woman to find acceptance for her writing, it is all the more so for those who do not match the stereotype of the "real woman" – the colored, the minority, the physically or mentally handicapped (Trinh 1989: 8-9).

For this reason, Indonesian women have to take into account many expectations and social assumptions before they write about themselves. Because these expectations can be quite complex, one's identity is often the result of negotiation and bargaining. Self-expression becomes an agreement or disagreement between several factors of what to perform. In this negotiation, certain ideologies often dominate.

In discussing Indonesian women's identity, I limit my research to the New Order period in Indonesia (1967-1998), a period which is seen to have been particularly oppressive not only for women but also for individuals in general, because they were to a large extent controlled by state ideology. I wish to examine how social expectations and assumptions are reflected in Indonesian women's representation of their identities in public (in the form of published autobiographies) and in private (in the form of unpublished diaries). I select published life stories which contain the "I" of Indonesian women, whether the texts are written by the subjects themselves or ghost-written by other writers.

Because of the social and political situation which prevailed in Indonesia during the New Order period, it was easy for the public representations of women to fall victim to many kinds of restrictions. In unpublished diaries, Indonesian women may have had more freedom to express themselves. As a form of writing which is considered private and personal, a diary can be a place for the subject to communicate his or her inner feelings. Yet, some factors which are considered as part of an external

world, such as social expectations and assumptions, may have been implanted in their private sphere. Consciously or unconsciously, an individual may have adopted the ideology surrounding her to such an extent that her private writing becomes a mirror of the surrounding ideology. In this thesis, I will discuss Indonesian women's representations of their individuality in published life writings and in the unpublished diaries that I have gathered during my fieldwork, in relation to their surrounding ideology.

The biographies and autobiographies that are most likely to be published in Indonesia will concern the lives of nationalists. Indeed, Rodgers states that "Indonesian autobiography" was "developed in the heady atmosphere of early nationalist thought" (Rodgers, 1995; 37). In New Order Indonesia, the domination of nationalists as subjects of biographies and autobiographies still flourished. As C.W. Watson states: "over the last twenty years innumerable volumes of memoirs and biographies of 'nationalist' figures have been published" (Watson, 2000; 39). For a country which has experienced a long period of colonialism, promoting the sense of nationalism is considered important. Nationalist figures have become the ideal subjects of Indonesian autobiographies. Watson elaborates upon this point:

the agenda of scholarship on twentieth-century Indonesian history still appears to be written in accordance with the demands of the paradigm of triumphant nationalism; and the significance of personal accounts, biographies, and autobiographies lies in their contribution to the accepted myth of the nation (Watson, 2000; 39).

To make a contrast between the "ideal" public image and the private representation of women in unpublished diaries, I will discuss some published texts by Javanese women who can be considered as typical subjects of Indonesian autobiographies: those of nationalists or relatives of nationalists. Because Indonesia is known to be Java-centric, and the culture of Indonesia is often considered to be predominantly Javanese, I have limited my research to Javanese women. The phrase "Javanese women" denotes Indonesian citizens who were born and grew up on the island of Java.

In this thesis, I will not include two well-known autobiographies, those of Partini and Nh. Dini. A traditional Javanese princess of Surakarta, Partini was hardly involved in nationalistic movements or political organisations in Indonesia. Although Watson argues that Nh. Dini relates her representation of identity to the state (Watson, 2000; 174-205), she cannot be considered a typical Indonesian autobiographical subject. Due to her special status as a creative writer, Nh. Dini's position can be

differentiated from most Indonesian autobiographical subjects. In addition, I will only discuss full-length life stories, not short autobiographical life-stories such as those included in the five volumes of *Sumbangsihku Bagi Pertiwi [My contribution to the Motherland]* (1981-85), edited by Lasmidjah Hardi.

I will investigate some autobiographies by Javanese women involved in the struggle for Indonesian independence such as Herlina, Sujatin Kartowijono, Lasmidjah Hardi and Inggit Soekarno. I will also analyse the autobiographies of some women closely related to freedom fighters and politicians such as the autobiographical texts of the former President Soekarno's daughters, Rachmawati Soekarno and Ratna Djuami Asmarahadi.

Thus, in this thesis, eight published autobiographies of Javanese women are investigated: Sujatin Kartowijono's *Mencari Makna Hidupku [Searching the Meaning of My Life]* (1983), Rachmawati Soekarno's *Bapakku Ibuku [My Father My Mother]* (1984), Herlina's *Pending Emas [The Golden Buckle]* (1985) and *Bangkit dari Dunia Sakit [Reviving from the Sick World]* (1986), Inggit Ganarsih's *Kuantar ke Gerbang [I Take You to the Gate]* (1988), Ratna Djuami Asmarahadi's *Kisah Cinta Inggit dan Bung Karno [The Love Story of Inggit and Karno]* (1992), Sulistina Soetomo's *Bung Tomo Suamiku [Tomo My Husband]* (1995) and Lasmidjah Hardi's *Lasmidjah Hardi: Perjalanan Tiga Zaman [Lasmidjah Hardi: The Journey of Three Eras]* (1997).

Sujatin Kartowijono, whose life is recorded in *Mencari Makna Hidupku Hidupku [Searching the Meaning of My Life]* (1983), was active in some political activities during the colonial period. Unlike other subjects, her struggle focused on women's equality. After Indonesian independence, Sujatin was still active in several women's organisations and in the general pursuit of women's rights.

In *Bapakku Ibuku [My Father My Mother]* (1984), Rachmawati Soekarno tells her story as one of the daughters of the first President Soekarno and his third wife, Fatmawati. Rachmawati divides the text into two sections, her story with her mother, entitled "Ibuku" [My Mother] and her story with her father, entitled "Bapakku" [My Father].

Herlina is the youngest among the eight autobiographical subjects that I will discuss. She was born on 24 February 1941 in Malang, East Java. After her first autobiography was published in 1965, Herlina rewrote it with the same title, *Pending Emas [The Golden Buckle]* and republished it in 1985. This text was then translated

into English in 1990. Herlina also wrote another autobiography, *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit [Reviving from the Sick World]* (1986).

Ghost written by Ramadhan KH., *Kuantar ke Gerbang [I Take You to the Gate]* (1988) describes Inggit's life with her husband, the first Indonesian President Soekarno. The text *Kisah Cinta [The Love Story]* (1992) is based on Ratna Djuami's experiences as the daughter of Soekarno and Inggit. Born in 1923, Djuami was adopted by Inggit. Soon after this adoption, Inggit married Soekarno, the first President of Indonesia. After both of her adopted parents passed away, Djuami narrated the story of her parents to Lily Martin.

Sulistina Soetomo was the wife of Soetomo (or Bung Tomo), a well-known patriot in the struggle for Indonesian independence. Sulistina wrote her memoir, *Bung Tomo Suamiku [Tomo My Husband]* (1995), after her husband passed away. Lasmidjah Hardi whose life is recorded in *Lasmidjah Hardi: Perjalanan Tiga Zaman [Lasmidjah Hardi: The Journey of Three Eras]* (1997), is another Indonesian patriot. She received several awards from the government for her dedication to the struggle for Indonesian independence. Her book was ghost-written by three people, Irna Hadi Soewito, Sri Riris Wahyu Widati and Julius Pour.

In comparison and contrast with these autobiographies, I will discuss nine unpublished diaries by non-public figures. These are the diaries of Fay, Lilies, Nani, Mar, Eli, Mina, Ema, Ida and Ani (all are pseudonyms). The nine diary writers were total strangers to me before my fieldwork started. Being born after 1964, all of these diary writers are younger than the subjects of published life writings. Fay, Lilies and Nani were born in the mid 1970s. Mar and Eli were born in the early 1970s. Mina and Ema were born in the late 1960s. Ida and Ani were born in the mid 1960s. The diaries given to me were written in the years ranging from 1988 until 1998. During their diary writing, Lilies, Eli, Nani, Mar and Ema were students. Fay was working in Kalimantan and had some experiences with the wild life in the jungle there. Mina worked in Jakarta to support the education of her siblings. Ani is from a village in Java and has a *warung* (small restaurant) in that area.

Although these eight autobiographies and nine diaries occupy different spheres and concern subjects from different backgrounds, they nevertheless indicate the integration of some patriarchal values that have long existed in Java and which were maintained by New Order Indonesia. This has led me to pose some questions: while the subjects of autobiographies have to be aware of the public eye and social prejudice,

are these women able to display rebellion against the dominant ideology and social prejudice in their autobiographies? On the other hand, although the diary writers have more freedom in expressing themselves in private, to what extent are external factors such as political and social stereotypes reflected in their diaries?

This thesis will examine the tension between self and ideology, between public and private spheres in the writings of some Indonesian women. While I will discuss my chosen texts in relation to Indonesian history and politics, I will also relate these texts to feminist and literary theory since I believe that the choice of words, the nuances of the sentences, the languages used by the subjects and the genre of the texts are important factors in analysing the expression of women's identity.

1.1. Previous Writings on Indonesian Autobiographies and Diaries.

Most discussions of Indonesian (auto)biographies and diaries have investigated the texts in relation to the politics or history of Indonesia. Ann Kumar has provided useful insights into some Indonesian diaries. In her articles on the diary of a Javanese woman (1980), Kumar discusses the importance of a diary written between 1781-91, particularly in terms of the political and economic situation in which it was written. Kumar argues that most writings about traditional Java have tended to make generalisations concerning the political conditions of the island. The Javanese diary Kumar discusses makes possible the detailed analysis of political and economic changes experienced in an eighteenth century Javanese Palace.

In her book *The Diary of a Javanese Muslim* (1985), Kumar discusses the historical importance of a diary by a Javanese noble man, Mas Rahmat, through an examination of its historical, religious and political perspectives. Through her reading of Rahmat's diary, Kumar shows that the reader can gain insights into both the political strategies of religious leaders in Rahmat's period, and into their use of religious authority in order to achieve social respect as well as power.

In "A Time of Darkness and a Time of Light" (1979), Benedict Anderson discusses Soetomo's autobiography in terms of Soetomo's sense of nationalism. Anderson argues that while Soetomo had a Western education and wrote in a genre considered to be Western (i.e. autobiography), his link with Javanese tradition is still very strong. In contrast to Anderson, who identifies Soetomo's autobiography with traditional Javanese texts and contexts, Watson relates Hamka's autobiography with

more general contexts in his article "Religion, Nationalism, and the Individual" (1991). Watson argues that Hamka's decision to write an autobiography, and the scarcity of religious references in his autobiography, can be explained within both Indonesian and trans-cultural contexts.

In the introduction to Tan Malaka's autobiography, *Dari Penjara ke Penjara [From Jail to Jail]*, Helen Jarvis discusses Tan Malaka's political views as well as the historical importance of his autobiography. According to Jarvis, although Tan Malaka is known as a "hero of national independence", he is officially acknowledged only with embarrassment" (Jarvis, 1991; ix) because of his controversial ideas and his Marxist views. However, Jarvis argues that Tan Malaka is actually a symbol of struggle because of his continuous challenges to those in power. Jarvis also demonstrates how Tan Malaka's Marxist views contribute to his struggle for Indonesian independence.

Angus McIntyre's *Indonesian Political Biography* (1993) contains several articles by writers who discuss Indonesian biographies. In the introduction to this volume, McIntyre critiques the tendency of many writers to examine Oriental subjects in terms of their social and cultural characteristics, rather than paying attention to their individuality. In analysing Indonesian biographical texts, McIntyre shows that discussions of individuals can be more illuminating than mere social generalisations. However, McIntyre also notices that Indonesian biography writing "occasionally aspires to a form of anonymity in which the subject is represented as the faceless bearer of this or that aspect of a local tradition" (McIntyre, 1993; ix). The articles in McIntyre's *Indonesian Political Biography* imply such a paradox: while the critics in McIntyre's volume try to emphasise the importance of the individuals who are represented in the biographical texts, these biographical subjects often see themselves almost exclusively in terms of their social, as opposed to their individual, characteristics.

Watson discusses the historical and political importance of the memoirs of a Javanese Prince in "The Metamorphosis of a Javanese Aristocrat: The Memoirs of Pangeran Achmad Djajadiningrat" (1993). Showing that most critics have paid attention only to the life stories of Indonesian nationalists, Watson argues that the memoirs of a non-nationalist such as Achmad Djajadiningrat is also historically and politically noteworthy. Despite the fact that Achmad writes in Dutch and is a strong supporter of Dutch-Indonesian cooperation, Watson illustrates how his autobiography

still acknowledges the problems experienced by a "native" in Achmad's relationship with the Dutch. In this discussion, Watson offers another perspective of the history of colonialism as well as of Indonesian nationalism.

Similarly, in *Telling Lives, Telling History*, Susan Rodgers discusses the political and historical importance of two autobiographies by non-public figures. "Telling a life", Rodgers states, "unavoidably also involves telling history in terms of passages through ages of time and transitions between levels of consciousness and social awareness" (Rodgers, 1995; 3). Rodgers shows that the autobiographies by Radjab and Pospos inevitably involve the story of the Indonesian journey from the era of colonialism until independence. The two autobiographies she discusses reveal that Indonesian nationalism does not involve only decolonisation but also modernisation for the two village men from Sumatra who migrate to the big cities in Java.

In his book *Of Self and Nation* (2000), Watson demonstrates how the Indonesian autobiographies he discusses relate both to the subject's perception of the nation, as well as to the nation's perception of itself. He begins his discussion with the published letters of R.A Kartini (1879-1904) and ends with *Mencari Islam* (a collection of intellectual autobiographies published in 1990, by ten Indonesian Moslems born in the 1960s). Using these texts, Watson shows that while these autobiographies project a dialogue between the subjects and the nation, they also have various styles of writing and different ways in which the narrators view the concept of a nation. The idea of "being an Indonesian", which was still non-existent during Kartini's period, has been founded, constructed and reconstructed by later autobiographical subjects. Watson shows that this constructed Indonesian identity is further modified, questioned and challenged by recent and contemporary Indonesian autobiographies.

Within this dissertation, I will discuss published autobiographies and unpublished diaries in relation to Indonesian history and politics. While the foregoing review of literature demonstrates that there exists a critical tradition of analysing Indonesian (auto)biographies and diaries in terms of their historical and political features, no previous study has focussed exclusively upon comparing the political and social implications of the public and private natures of both genres, autobiographies and diaries.

1.2. Methodology.

Because the task of finding Indonesian women's published autobiographies is quite straightforward, my purpose here is chiefly to give an account of the methodologies which I employed in order to procure the unpublished diaries used in this thesis. While autobiographies have started to gain Western critics' attention, diaries have not yet won much reputation. An earlier critic, Robert Fothergill notes: "The great mass of diary-writing is poor stuff" (Fothergill, 1974; 2). In more recent studies, assumptions like those made by Fothergill have been subjected to some critique. Geneva Cobb-Moore, for example, states that diary writing has been ignored "perhaps for sexist reasons, by some male critics because [diaries] follow 'nonmasculine' patterns of fragmentary and sporadic writing" (Cobb-Moore, 1996; 140). Talking about girls' diaries in France, Phillipe Lejeune states that some critics consider these diaries only as "recreational activity, like stitching or playing the piano, meek, sickly sentimental, and boring" (Lejeune, 1996; 112). To his surprise, these diaries are not paid attention even by some feminists: "I found it strange that the French feminist movement never became interested in these diaries" (Lejeune, 1996; 112).

Nevertheless, it is often in private writings that the reader will find ideas unable to be expressed in the public sphere. In discussing Kartini's aspirations, for instance, most critics refer to her private letters which were posthumously published. Personal records of an individual can often provide important historical information, which may not be found in writings prepared for publication. For this reason, I have chosen to investigate unpublished diaries in my thesis. The diaries I will discuss are all "genuine" diaries, meaning they had not been prepared especially for me or my research, but were written as personal and private diaries used for self-expression.

Because giving a personal diary to someone else is a brave thing to do, I assumed at first that only people who knew me well and trusted me would be willing to do so. For this reason, I started with my old friends in Indonesia. However, they all refused. Then, I went to Petra Christian University in Surabaya, where I used to teach. There I asked my former students whether they would be willing to help me with their diaries. Some of them agreed to do so. However, in the end, all of these people withdrew. I realised then that they agreed to help me initially only because I had been

their former lecturer, and to refuse me straight away would have made them feel uncomfortable.

Another lesson that I learned during the initial phases of my fieldwork is that asking for the diaries of people one knows may not be productive. The fact that I already knew them did not necessarily mean that I would be able to build up a sufficient degree of trust. It is possible one may want to hide most of one's life from someone close because one is afraid of the person's gaze and the person's involvement in your affairs. Often, one can be more open to a pen friend whom one has never met than to friends one is involved with and meets on a daily basis. So, in our feelings, there is a play of knowing and not knowing. Sometimes the one whom we do not know well or we do not know at all can be the best person to entrust with confidential information. In other words, acquaintance does not necessarily produce trust.

Because of my failure to obtain diaries from people I knew, I wrote to several newspapers and magazines in Indonesia, advertising my intention to obtain Indonesian women's unpublished diaries. I sent these letters at the end of September 1998. By then, the New Order period had come to an end. Two events that had happened only a few months before, the riots against Chinese and the mass-rape of many Chinese women, were still fresh in my mind. This made me worry about people's assumptions about a woman of Chinese origin like me. For this reason, in this letter, I intentionally hid part of my identity. My complete name, Soe Tjen Marching, sounds quite Chinese. Therefore, I wrote it as Soe T. Marching, hoping that writing my name in such a way would not only confuse the reader about my origin but also enable me to get a response from a wider range of readers.

The results were quite surprising. I received more than fifty letters from people stating their willingness to help me. Some of the senders were confused not only about my origin but also about my gender. Most of them assumed that I was a Westerner, as could be seen by their calling me "Sir" or "Miss" and asking whether I spoke Indonesian or not. One of these letters, addressing me as "Sir", was even quite romantic, stating her hope that I might be her future man.

However, many of these women withdrew after I asked them to copy their diary for my research. Some of them asked why I wanted a diary and I had to assure them that their diaries would be used for research and nothing else. By the time of my departure for fieldwork in Indonesia, only fourteen women were willing to show me their diary and let me borrow and copy it. After corresponding with these fourteen

women for about seven months, I went to Indonesia from the end of July 1999 until the end of November that year and visited these women. My ability to speak fluent Indonesian and some Javanese was a help in communicating with these diary writers, but being an Indonesian often did not work in favour of obtaining the diaries. Most of them had thought that I was a Westerner. On meeting them, some of them withdrew, most probably because I was not what they expected. Apparently, for some Indonesians, a local being a researcher does not seem to make sense. Or perhaps, as I have mentioned before, a complete stranger is more easily trusted than someone who they could meet in their day to day lives.

In conducting this research, I had an idea at some point that appearance played an important part. At the time I went to Indonesia for this fieldwork, I was 28 years old and I also looked younger than my age. When I met one of the diary writers who was in her sixties, she just said: "Oh, you're so young!". Later on, she decided not to give her diary to me. I realised that I failed because I was too young for her to trust me. Clearly, their acceptance of my presence was very important in conducting this fieldwork. This also explains why the nine women who lent me their diaries are about my age (the eldest was born in 1965, the youngest was born in 1976). Again, there is a play of knowing and not knowing here. My position as a researcher may have been a bit mysterious for them, but it also often aroused their curiosity and increased their trust in me.

Interviews took place after I copied their diaries. Since my research is mainly textual, the meetings and interviews I had with my respondents serve to clarify the texts in this thesis rather than becoming the focus of this thesis. Often, the meeting started not with myself interviewing them but their interviewing me. Telling about myself was a good way to make them open up, for this meeting was not only about my researching them but also about their researching me. Using a tape recorder, I asked them several questions such as:

1. Who influences you in writing the diary? A friend? One of the members of the family? Others?
2. Have you read other people's diaries?
3. When you write a diary, do you imagine that you talk to someone else?
4. What obstructs you in writing a diary? Time? No privacy?

5. Do you always write everything in your diary without any exception, for instance: do you write about a very bad experience or instead try to forget it by not writing it at all?
6. Have you shown your diary to someone else except for me? Why?
7. Do you want your diary to be published one day?
8. Have you ever destroyed your diary or part of your diary?
9. Do you think that diary-writing is the best and most honest way to give an account of your feelings?

Nonetheless, the answers I got were quite banal. Most of these women became monosyllabic in front of a tape recorder. The machine, I suspect, hindered their openness to me.

As a consequence, in subsequent meetings I did not use a tape-recorder. I just met and tried to be friends with them. I asked the questions more casually, believing that any uncertainty and any gesture in their response could be significant as well. Often, the question that had a "no" answer could imply a "yes". For example, when they said that there was no one else who influenced them in writing a diary, I asked them whether they had seen any programs on television or read any book which might have influenced them in writing about themselves in a text. Some of them answered "yes", they had read others' autobiographies or watched a film or life story on television which may have inspired them to start writing a diary. Hence, the answer as to whether anyone influenced them in writing their diaries turned out to be both yes and no. There may be no particular person who suggested to them how to write a diary. However, the media did often, albeit indirectly, inspire them to do so. This means that there are other external factors which influence their private writing.

When I had a chance, I tried to spend a few days with my respondents. For instance, I stayed with Ani, a woman from a small town who welcomed me warmly, for three days, and talked not only to her, but also to members of her family and the people in the surrounding area. Again, without a tape-recorder. Because I believe that any direct answer often implies many other indirect answers, using this methodology in my research can work better than formal questions or interviews with a tape recorder.

1.3. The Organisation of the Thesis.

This thesis is divided into ten chapters. In this first chapter, the introduction, I describe the aim of my thesis, the criteria on which I selected Indonesian autobiographies and diaries along with the methodology and the organisation of the thesis. Since my focus is on the literary characteristics of the texts, the second chapter describes the historical development of Indonesian individual expression in writing in relation to Western culture. Because of the interaction between Indonesia and the West, hybridity is unavoidable in Indonesian literature. I discuss the encounter and negotiation of one culture with another, of one's identity with others' and of one's identity with the surrounding culture from the pre-colonial period until the New Order period in relation to the history of Indonesian life writings.

In the third chapter I analyse the question of readership and explore literary arguments concerning these two genres, diaries and autobiographies. The differences and similarities of individual expression in these two genres will be investigated in this third chapter. Chapter Four takes the discussion of the problem of individuality in the texts further. Writing in two different genres, the expression of individuality may also be different. In published autobiographies, the subjects show humility rather than ambition or self-pride in their autobiographies. In diaries, on the other hand, the subjects have more freedom to reveal their ambitions. Nevertheless, there are hidden ambitions found in the autobiographies. Likewise, the nine diaries still reveal the trace of the subjects' hesitance in pursuing their ambitions and individuality. Hence, the ideal of non-egotistic women emphasised by the New Order government can still be traced in the diaries.

In the fifth and sixth chapters, I focus on the political power of the New Order government in these eight Indonesian women's published autobiographies and nine private writings. As some critics argue, loyalty to the nation in the New Order era meant obedience and respect to the despotic New Order government (Leigh, 1991; Sen and Hill, 2000). In Chapter Five, I discuss how such authority is portrayed in the eight autobiographies. In comparison and contrast to the fifth chapter, Chapter Six investigates the sense of nationalism in the nine diaries: this chapter demonstrates how ideology can take part in negotiating the self-representation of these women even in their private sphere.

In Chapters Seven and Eight, I explore the expression of romantic love and accounts of sexual relationships. In these two chapters, it is shown how some of these subjects transgress the idea of ideal women who are sexually pure and faithful to their men. Nevertheless, although the subjects in both genres reveal their sexual transgression, their transgression is either condemned, treated as a sin by the subjects, or redeemed through the repentance and the better behaviour of the subjects. Consequently, the preferred and ideal portrayal of a faithful and sexually pure woman is still implied in both forms of writing.

While the earlier chapters indicate how the long-established patriarchal values in Indonesia are reflected in most of the women's autobiographies I discuss, in the ninth chapter I show that the extreme and oppressive exercise of this ideology can build up some opposition. In Chapter Nine, I argue that although certain ideologies have become strong influences upon the determination of women's identity, these women also have the potential to negotiate with these discourses of power. My thesis is then summarised and concluded in the tenth chapter.

Chapter 2.
The Evolution of Identity and Cultural Origin in Indonesian Life
Writings.

Analysing Indonesian life stories can be very problematic. It involves the discussion of identity and individuality in Indonesia, which raises complex questions. Identity and individuality cannot be separated from the cultures surrounding the individual. Similarly, attempting to classify and categorise culture and cultural origin is never simple because there is no "fixed price" in the definition: it can always be negotiated or bargained for.

In addition, there have been many existing theories and approaches of identity as well as cultures and ideologies, which may contradict one another. In this chapter, I will discuss the theories I will use in discussing the texts in this thesis, explain the approaches I am using in analysing the texts, and explore the cultures surrounding the individual life writings in Indonesia.

2.1. The Word "I" and individuality in Indonesia.

Words construct our perception of inclusion and exclusion. The word "I", for instance, is assumed to describe one's self, and those not included in this picture become others. Consequently, the word "I" is considered as a sign of the consciousness of individuality: this word is what differentiates an individual from the others (from the you, he, she, it, etc). Because traditionally Indonesian people hardly use the word "I" (*Aku, saya* or *gua*), it is believed that they emphasise connection with others rather than their separation and difference. Indonesians often use some other terms to refer to themselves, such as: "the father of so and so", "the sister of so and so" or "the wife of so and so". Indeed, as Benedict Anderson explains, amongst traditional Indonesians the consciousness of a self is related to the cosmic view of the nature of life, a view which allows no significance to individual experience (Anderson, 1979; 223 - 45). One is part of a bigger community and one's value as a person is based on one's social relationship with his/her community. Instead of stressing the uniqueness of a person, s/he is related to his/her surroundings.

In the modern period, in some places in Indonesia where people know one another, many Indonesians still refer to themselves in relation to others rather than emphasising their separation and difference. In discussing Javanese identity, for instance, Ward Keeler states that "language, style and social status . . . are interwoven in Java in such a way as to make social interaction an ongoing definition of relationships rather than simply a set classification of individuals" (Keeler, 1987; 37). Indonesians' emphasis on the relation to others indicates that while an individual separates him/herself from others, this individual is unavoidably related to others as well.

2.2. Individual Life Writings in the Archipelago and in the Western World.

In Western literary history, individual life writing can be traced back over centuries. St. Augustine's *Confessions* (c. Ad 398 – 400) is considered to be the text which marks the rise in popularity of autobiographies in the Western world (Watson, 1991; Eakin, 1992; Anderson, 2001). Although diary writing is a comparatively new subject in Western literature (Cobb-Moore, 1996; 140), the record shows that the popularity of diary writing in Western culture began centuries ago. Arthur Ponsonby, for instance, is able to list more than 120 diary writers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century in England (Ponsonby, 1923; 45-54).

While Western civilisation has been long accustomed to individual life-stories, the genre has not been very common in the islands now known as Indonesia. In the archipelago's past, literary works were often characterised by the hesitancy of the author to insist on his/her individual existence. In Malay oral tradition, for instance, while the storyteller has to appear before the audience and is thus more apparent, individual proclamation is still unusual (Watson, 1994). The storyteller will usually refer to himself in the third person, such as "*hamba*, the servant" (Watson, 1991; 158). In addition, the narrator often describes himself in a self-effacing way: he will question his ability or enforce modesty (Sweeney, 1980b; Watson 1991). In Java, life stories of important people such as Kings can be found in *Babad*. *Babads* do not usually stress an individual king but rather the genealogy of the kingdom. The texts function as legends for the kingdom. Promoting the potency of the kings, *Babads* were written as models and examples for future generations (Kumar, 1979; Ras, 1986; Florida, 1995).

Although individual self-writing has traditionally been more popular in the Western world, some texts written in diary form can also be found in Indonesia's past. Buginese and Makassarese have kept some writings in a diary form from the seventeenth century (Ceperkovic, 1998). Yet while the tradition of diary writing is found in islands now called Indonesia, the form of traditional diaries has been different from most Western diaries written in the same period. In the Buginese and Makassarese diaries, the writing is like a report, rather than involving the author explicitly: the word "I" is missing in the text. Investigating some diary writings in Sulawesi, Helen Ceperkovic states that the diaries were meant for "some official purpose rather than for the pleasure of the writer" (Ceperkovic, 1998; 57).

Some diaries have also been found in Java. One is a diary of a Javanese woman warrior written in the eighteenth century. Like the diary writings in Bugis and Makassar, the diary of the Javanese woman warrior, written between 1781-91, is in the form of a report. Serving the Mangkunagaran court, her diary becomes a loyal record of the kingdom (Kumar, 1980). As in *Babad*, the existence of the kingdom becomes more important than the life of an individual.

Resemblance to Western autobiographical writings can be found in a much later Indonesian life story by Raden Soetomo, *Kenang-Kenangan [Memoirs]*. Published in 1934, the text is considered to be the first modern autobiography written by a prominent Indonesian (Anderson, 1979; 223) because of Soetomo's description of himself using the word "I". From a young age, R. Soetomo had a lot of contact with the European culture: he was educated in a Dutch school, had the chance to study in Holland, and even married a Dutch woman.

As is mentioned in his autobiography, Soetomo admired Douwes Dekker, also known as Multatuli, who wrote an autobiographical novel called *Max Havelaar*¹ in 1859. Soetomo states: "When I was adult, I had already been influenced by the writing of Multatuli" (Soetomo, 1934; 13). Considering Soetomo's background, his autobiography is unavoidably influenced by the Western perception of the self. However, this does not make Soetomo's text identical to a Western autobiography, because an adaptation of another culture cannot be seen merely as an imitation of the

¹ Although Douwes Dekker was Dutch, his novel *Max Havelaar* criticises the injustice of the Dutch government to Indonesian people.

original. This adaptation creates hybridity, a mixture of cultural characteristics and a reconstruction of the original.

Ben Anderson argues that despite Soetomo's Western education, his autobiography is still traditional in many ways, as is shown by his perception of time, and his adaptation of Javanese values (Anderson, 1979; 219-37). Indeed, while Soetomo's autobiography uses the first person, the hesitancy of writing an individual self is still apparent. As he writes: "the purpose of the writer in writing this book of memories is the desire to accede to the requests of various people" (Soetomo, 1934; 118-19). His intention in relating himself to his surroundings and his community is also illustrated through the narration of his life story through the stories of people around him such as his wife, his parents and forefathers.

Soetomo's autobiography implies that while the word "I" is believed to mark individuality and uniqueness of the self, the word "I" cannot be separated from the other: the figure of the other always exists in representing the "I". Constructing his identity in relation to his ancestors also shows Soetomo's adherence to some Javanese teachings. Soetomo quotes the Javanese saying "*kacang mangsa ninggal lanjaran*" (Soetomo, 1934; 4), which means that a man's descendants will always inherit his qualities. Soetomo's text produces the impression that the author believes himself to be writing an exemplary life story which will be inherited by the next generation, as is the intention in *Babad*. As Anderson states: "*a warisan* [an inheritance] is really what 'Memories' [*Kenang-Kenangan*] represents" (Anderson, 1979; 248).

Hesitance in emphasising individuality is also found in another well-known autobiography by the first Indonesian President, *Soekarno: An Autobiography* (1965). Known by some as an arrogant man who often stressed his extraordinariness and prominence, Soekarno still expressed uneasiness in writing his own autobiography. In the introduction of his autobiography, Soekarno reports to Cindy Adams: "I have an ego. I admit it" (Soekarno, 1965; 2). Despite his awareness that many people praised him as one of the greatest political orators of his time (Soekarno, 1965; 14), he always refused when people asked him to write his autobiography: "As usual, whenever anyone mentioned an autobiography, I answered, 'Absolutely not'" (Soekarno, 1965; 13). Accordingly, although Soekarno had written many books, he asked another person, Cindy Adams, to write his life story.

Like Soekarno's autobiography, some other Indonesian autobiographies indicate the subjects' hesitancy to write about themselves as they are also written by

ghost-writers. For instance, the autobiography of Ahmad Subardjo Djoyoadisuryo, *Kesadaran Nasional [National Awareness]* (1978) is written by A.A. Navis, and Motik's autobiography *Motik: Tokoh Perintis Ekonomi Nasional [Motik: The Pioneer of National Economics]* (1986) is written by Imam Halilintars. Rather than focusing on his own life, Harsono Tjokroaminoto writes about his father, H.O.S. Cokroaminoto, in *Menelusuri Jejak Ayahku [Following in my Father's Footsteps]* (1983). The autobiography of ex-President Soeharto, *Soeharto: Pikiran, Ucapan dan Tindakan Saya [Soeharto: My thoughts, My statements and My Actions]* (1981) is written by Ramadhan K.H., who is well known as a ghost-writer of some autobiographies.

In addition to the influence of Western individualism upon Indonesian autobiographies, the long period of colonialism led to a cultural situation in which the distinction between Western and Indonesian ideas about "reality" began to break down. During the beginning of Western colonialism, while the people in the archipelago saw history in the form of myth and legend, Western civilisation distinguished history from literature. Comparing traditional Javanese and Western literature, Nancy Florida states that the historical project is understood by the post-Enlightenment West as "the objective representation of past events". In this case, history is based on events which have "'really' occurred" (Florida, 1995; 52). On the other hand, the historical texts in Java were considered as "potential contexts" (Florida, 1995; 52) and thus the writers were capable of "rewriting the conditions" of the texts' production (Florida, 1995; 52). Such difference was interpreted by some Western critics as a mark of inferiority (Sweeney, 1980; 1). In the colonial period, more and more Dutch scholars who started to learn about the history of the Dutch East Indies islands through *Babad*, determined that there were some events in the text which corrupted the learning of history (Ricklefs, 1987; 199).

The debate as to whether *Babad* is fact or fiction has been going on for many years. Merle Ricklefs notes that since the early nineteenth century, critics have asked whether *Babad* can be put into "the box labelled History or that labelled Literature" (Ricklefs, 1987; 200). Indeed, before Western colonialism, life-story, history and literature were inseparable in these islands. In writings such as *Babad*, history and life-writing intermingled with the realm of fiction, literature as well as imagination. In the archipelago, history and life-story used to be seen in the context of myth and legend. The past may not have been "intrinsically interesting" for these people in

terms of its details, dates, and series of concrete events, but was significant "only as a source of wisdom and guidance for living in the present" (Rodgers, 1995; 28).

Finding that fiction interfered too much with the facts, some Western scholars tried to rationalise the history of the archipelago by separating myths and legends from the events which are considered to be real. The idea of writing an objective form of history in these islands is considered to come from the Western world, as Merle Ricklefs argues: "That history and literature are seen as two distinct kinds of intellectual activity is a product of concepts which arose in western civilization" (Ricklefs, 1987; 199).

Due to the impact which Western rationalism had upon Indonesian intellectual life, some Indonesian intellectuals themselves supported the project of distinguishing fact from fiction. Deliar Noer states: "It was Hamka who complained that their work was much mixed with legends, making it necessary to distinguish facts from fairy tales. . . Hamka frankly praised the work of Dutch writers and historians" (Noer, 1979; 259). In the modern period, Indonesians separate literature and history, fact and fiction. Modern Indonesian histories, which are expected to be objective, differ significantly from the historical form of writing in *Babads*.

Over time, the function of autobiographies has changed greatly in the Western world. The questioning of objective "facts" has caused perceptions about reality portrayed in life writings to undergo some changes. The coming of postmodernism at the end of the Twentieth Century is one of the factors instigating the questioning of the gap between fact and fiction. Some recent Western critics doubt whether life writings can portray the facts of someone's life or character. An autobiographical text, James Olney states, is "a fiction and so is the life" (Olney, 1980; 22). While in *Babad* the distinction between history and literature is blurred, most modern Indonesians separate history from fiction. Accordingly, they consider life writing as fact rather than fiction. Susan Rodgers explains that in Indonesian and Malay thought, "biography and history necessarily intersect" (Rodgers, 1995; 70). At the same time as some Indonesians started to consider the author as important in the text, some Western critics had begun to debate the existence of real identity. The "death of the author" affirmed the inability of a text to describe any legitimate identity: "Writing is that neutral, composite, oblique space where our subject slips away, the negative where all identity is lost, starting with the very identity of the body writing" (Barthes, 1977: 142). In other

words, the identity of an author cannot be inferred from the text s/he writes. Rather than portraying the author's identity, a text can manipulate it.

The evolution of ideas and the questioning of literary traditions both in the Western world and in Indonesia make the contrasts between these two cultures relative. To a certain extent, what used to exist in the archipelago can be found in recent times in the Western world. Some postmodernist ideas in Western literary discourse which are considered "recent" appear to reflect historical attitudes found in traditional writings such as *Babads*: namely, the belief that fact and fiction always intermingle. On the other hand, the notion of the subject as the central focus of a given narrative, an idea which was widely accepted in Western culture up until the mid to late Twentieth Century, has come to be adopted in contemporary Indonesian texts. Although the postmodern notion that fact can never be clearly distinguished from fiction cannot simply be equated with the interaction between history and myth found in *Babads*, the idea that an author is not an objective perceiver of the past is nevertheless reflected in both of these traditions.

The postmodernist argument which questions the unified identity of the subject, however, might not be beneficial for women, especially women from postcolonial countries: just as more and more women were starting to write, the author's importance is suddenly brought into question. As women from a postcolonial country, Indonesian women are still trying to "change social roles from objects to subjects" (Hellwig, 1994; 10). While some Western critics attempt to de-centre subjectivity and authority, Indonesian women are still engaged in a struggle to become subjects at all. Biographical writing in Indonesia is still dominated by men.

Many feminist critics have also challenged the idea of the "death of the author" and of distorted subjectivity in writing (Humm, 1994; 138). Maggie Humm observes that these critics assert that "the personal and historical experience of a writer would explain the 'truth' of her writing" (Humm, 1994; 138). However, it would be naïve to take for granted the notion that Indonesian women's writings portray their true experience and to disregard the possibility of manipulation occurring in a text.

Keeping in mind the strict political and social conditions of the New Order period, combined with the programme of censorship enforced by the Soeharto regime as well as traditions and social pressure, it seems impossible to ignore the role played by ideological, social as well as cultural masquerade in women's self-representations. Most Indonesians are aware that appearance takes a very important place in their

country. Because of social obstructions and even threats, one's representation of identity in public might be a product of careful consideration and even of manipulation, especially during the repressive New Order period.

Consequently, we cannot overlook the possibility that one's self-representation often consists of some layers of selves, instead of projecting a simple and unified experience. Indonesians' representation of identity, especially in public, is a result of careful constructions, re-constructions and negotiation. Attempting to analyse manipulation and masquerade in Indonesian women's self-writings during the New Order, the reader needs to learn about the context and the social and cultural location of the author. In other words, while some critics argue that we cannot see the core of one's self-identity because of manipulation and masquerade, we still have to learn about the *identity* created by the social, political, cultural as well as ideological contexts which may shape the author and his/her text².

2.3. The Identity of "the Masquerade of Identity" in Modern Indonesian Life Writings.

2.3.1. The New Order, political change, and publication.

The New Order began in 1966, when Soeharto replaced the first President Soekarno whose Guided Democracy had been criticised by many students and intellectuals. Riots and military coup in 1965-66 preceded the government transformation, during which millions of communists and left-wing supporters were murdered. The New Order asserted that the PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* or the Indonesian Communist Party), being given too much power, had been the cause of unstable political and social conditions in their attempt to take over the Indonesian government. The Indonesian Communist party was blamed by the New Order for the brutal murder of six Indonesian army generals on 30 September - 1 October 1965 (Tomquist, 1984). Having become one of the biggest and oldest Communist parties in

² Indeed, it still can be argued that the *identity* of "the masquerade of identity" will trap us in the unending problems of identity. However, I will not discuss this matter further here: perhaps, it can be a topic for another thesis.

the world, the PKI was abolished at the end of 1966, and its former members were spied upon during Soeharto's government (1967-1998).

The unstable and fluctuating politics in Indonesia permeated its literary world as well. Towards the end of the Old Order era, some left wing writers established Lekra (*Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat* or Institute of the People's Culture) on 17th August 1950 (Teeuw, 1967; 117). The domination of Lekra enabled them to direct literature towards the left wing radical nationalist and political ideology. Such control was challenged by anti-communist artists and writers who issued *Manikebu* (*Manifesto Kebudayaan* or Cultural Manifesto) in Jakarta on 17 August 1963. The artists of the Cultural Manifesto, in resistance of limitation of creativity, demanded that there should be no particular sector of culture which dominates other sectors of culture (Teeuw, 1967; 252 & Foulcher, 1987; 2). However, the movement was banned in mid-1964 by Soekarno.

The coming of the New Order and the extermination of the Communists in Indonesia brought a wind of change to Indonesian literature. An Indonesian prominent author who was a former Lekra member, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, was imprisoned and his books were banned. The writers who had supported Cultural Manifesto such as Taufiq Ismail and Rendra gained more popularity, and were able to publicly criticise Pramoedya Ananta Toer's writings as being of low quality (Foulcher, 1987).

Nevertheless, the New Order era brought some other limitations and restrictions to artists in Indonesia. For the name of stability, the New Order "effectively barred political activism and even political debate" (Sen & Hill, 2000; 3). The New Order extended its authoritative voice through a diverse range of media and publications. Sen and Hill have investigated how the media was used as a vehicle "for the creation of a 'national culture'" in New Order Indonesia (Sen & Hill, 2000; 11).

Accordingly, printed materials were the subject of strong censorship as well. Many magazines or newspapers were banned because they published some articles which offended the government. In one year alone (that of 1996), "it was estimated that two thousand books had been banned since 1965" (Sen and Hill, 2000; 37). During this era, anything which was considered "slightly divergent from the official New Order interpretation" was likely to be banned (Sen and Hill, 2000; 38).

In the 1980s, banning of published materials had subsided compared with the two previous decades (Sen and Hill, 2000; 53). The promotion of *keterbukaan* (openness) in the late 1980s also gave some optimism to the Indonesian media and

journalism. It is during this period that many women's autobiographies were published (after 1980). Nonetheless, such *keterbukaan* could be questioned with the banning of *Tempo*, *Detik* and *Editor* in 1994.

In comparison with the present era of reform where people are freer to express their opinions in public, the New Order period is considered to have been an era of severe repression. Promoting the existence of *identitas nasional* [national identity], the New Order tried to make a clear separation between Indonesian and foreign identities. One of the duties of Indonesians was to *menyaring budaya luar* [strain the foreign culture], to exclude what was not suitable for the country. The New Order promoted the Javanese tradition of representing a person as a member of a community rather than as an individual. One's existence as an individual, if necessary, should be suppressed.

Virginia Hooker states that the New Order stressed that "responsibility, self-control, restraint, and self-denial for the common good" were "called for in order to achieve the national goals" (Hooker, 1995; 3). While the influence of Western culture upon Indonesia has been unavoidable, the Indonesian values of being non-egotistic were put in opposition to Western values during the New Order. Nancy Florida argues that the New Order highlighted what it "imagined as the super-refined and spiritualized ways" of the traditional Javanese elite and then contrasted "them with those of the so-called coarse and material West" (Florida, 1995; 33). Similarly, Jun Honna observes that the New Order government considered Western democracy to be based upon a sense of individualism unsuitable for Indonesia since the importance of the nation transcended individual interests (Honna, 2001; 59).

The emphasis on the nation's needs over those of individuals was nevertheless not intended to advantage the people of the nation but merely to benefit "the needs of the government" (Sears, 1996; 39). Accordingly, it was necessary to promote the greatness of the government so that the individuals would stay loyal and devoted. The production of school texts, for instance, became a means of glorifying the New Order (Leigh, 1991).

Since autobiographical writings are to be read by the public, the individual described in the text became an easy target of social controls and judgements. While the growth of early Indonesian biographical writings was inspired by the desire to challenge the status quo of Dutch colonialism, in the New Order Indonesia the spirit of rebellion was tamed by government despotism. Although the New Order era saw a

rapid growth in the publication of Indonesian autobiographies, the sense of nationalism in these life writings had undergone some evolution. Most of the published autobiographies were of nationalists who demonstrated their loyalty to the New Order.

A similar case happens to diaries as well. Despite the fact that Indonesian published diaries are rare, Soe Hok Gie's diaries were published after his death. Entitled *Catatan seorang Demonstran [The Notes of a Demonstrator]*, the text was published in 1983. Soe Hok Gie was known as a person who often criticised the New Order government. Some suspect that his death was arranged by the regime³. Yet, it is necessary to stress that he was in fact a nationalist in New Order terms, as Harsja W. Bachtar states in the introduction to the text:

Peranan Soe Hok Gie dalam usaha menegakkan Orde Baru yang dipimpin Jenderal Suharto tidak kecil. Ia sangat mengharap agar pemerintah Orde Baru mengembangkan dan memperkuat keadilan sosial. Justeru untuk memperkuat Orde Baru ia tidak segan-segan melancarkan kritikan pedas terhadap segala sesuatu yang menurut anggapannya tidak dapat dibenarkan, tidak wajar. [Soe Hok Gie's part in establishing the New Order which is led by Soeharto was not small. He really hoped that the government of the New Order would develop and support social justice. Precisely in order to strengthen the New Order, he had to sharply criticise everything which he thought was not right, not normal] (cited in Soe, 1983; xii).

As is emphasised here, Soe Hok Gie's nationalistic trait is one of the main concerns of the text. In addition, Arief Budiman, who read Soe's original diary, states that some sections of the diary, in which Soe Hok Gie condemns Soeharto and his family (especially Tien Soeharto, the wife of the New Order President), were edited out of the published diary⁴. In the repressive atmosphere of the New Order, the editing of his diary and, as the above statement suggests, the reconstruction of the image of Soe Hok Gie, was necessary to enable his diary to be published.

In this thesis, I will discuss how the condition of publication during the New Order era is reflected in the Indonesian women's autobiographies and diaries. For this

³ Soe Hok Gie died in December 1969 when he went mountain climbing. The cause of his death is still unknown until now. Some people, including his own brother, Arief Budiman (now a Professor of Indonesian Studies at Melbourne University), believe that the New Order government murdered him for his acute criticism of the regime.

⁴ Personal correspondence from Arief Budiman, 3 July 2001.

reason, it is also necessary to discuss social expectations and assumptions of gender in Indonesia.

2.3.2. Social Expectations and Assumptions in Relation to Gender in Indonesia.

In the effort of creating political stability and order, at no time in Indonesian history has a government taken such pains to construct gender as during the New Order era. Although the economic growth at the beginning of the New Order era had enabled more girls to be educated and more women to find jobs, some patriarchal stereotypes from the previous periods were maintained and even emphasised. Supported by the strong military, the New Order government imposed a version Javanese gender traditions which support patriarchal dominance by asserting the superiority of males over females (Keeler, 1987; Brenner, 1998).

Some negative impressions of women in Javanese traditions are suggestive of women's inferiority. Ward Keeler states that Javanese women tend to be described as "emotional, crude, uncontrolled, uncontrollable, and likely to be somewhat ill-bred" (Keeler, 1990; 130). While men are perceived to be creatures of reason, women are perceived to be governed by emotion. These assumptions support the view that Indonesian women should follow, and be submissive to, their male superiors.

A different strain of argument considers that Indonesian men lack control over their lust, gambling and extravagant consumption. Boys are assumed to be naughtier than the girls, and as Brenner states, the "attainment of adult status does nothing to change this expectation" (Brenner, 1995; 35). Women, on the contrary, are seen as having more self-control: "Women's control over their own desires serves to compensate for men's lack of control" (Brenner, 1995; 35). For this reason, women usually have the financial power: they hold the family purse.

While there are paradoxical opinions about Indonesian women, what is constant is that good Indonesian women are expected to have more control over their passion, especially over their sexual passion. Women do not have as much sexual freedom as men. An Indonesian man's having an affair with other women is considered normal whereas an Indonesian woman doing the same will be condemned.

While during the Old Order period, various women's organisations with relatively different ideologies such as Perwari (liberal), Gerwani (left wing) and several religious women's organisations could exist, such diversities of women's

organisations were no longer to be found during the New Order era. Indeed, the idea of a good woman had shifted and become more conservative in the New Order period. Various women's struggles for their rights were silenced. As Saraswati Sunindyo states: "many women's issues raised by the 'old' order women's organisations and activists, such as child care and sexual harassment, were also seen as tainted and were dropped from all practical agendas" during the New Order (Sunindyo, 1996; 124).

The ideal of womanhood in New Order women's organisation had also changed from the previous period. During the Old Order the ideal figure of Srikandi, the warrior wife of Arjuna, flourished especially among Gerwani women and such an image gave women the opportunity to fuse their maternal function and political activism (Wieringa, 1998; 148). On the other hand, the ideal New Order women were the ones who were responsible for the care of their family as well as the obedience of the family to the New Order patriarchal and national ideology (Wieringa, 1998 & Wieringa, 1985), propagated by Dharma Wanita. The idea of militant women and mothers popular among the Gerwani women, was considered to be sexual disorder and a threat to womanhood propagated by the New Order government (Wieringa, 1998; 149-150).

In addition, the notion of *kodrat wanita* [women's destiny] was emphasised during Soeharto's New Order. *Kodrat Wanita*, which has existed in the Javanese traditions, promotes the view that women's nature and destiny are to become a good wife and mother. Soeharto outlawed the most radical women's organisation, Gerwani, and strengthened the wives' organisations, like *Dharma Wanita* (literally, Women's Duty). The government also created a new mass-based women's organisation PKK or *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Education) (Suryakusuma, 1996; Sunindyo, 1996). These New Order organisations promoted the roles of women as good mothers and wives, and enforced the importance of *kodrat wanita*. Compared with the previous periods, the New Order government intensified more traditional values in its construction of the feminine in Indonesia (Suryakusuma, 1996; Sunindyo, 1996).

Although the practice of polygamy was restricted during the New Order through the 1974 marriage law and by promulgating government rule PP 10/1983, other forms of gender oppression towards women were emphasised. Moreover, while government regulation of polygamy could be seen as progress in women's marriage

rights, it still tolerates certain forms of men's unfaithfulness to their wives (Suryakusuma, 1996; 92 - 115).

In promoting nationalism, the Indonesian government became an important apparatus for maintaining the patriarchal structure, thereby constituting another barrier for Indonesian women's expression of individuality. Soeharto promoted Panca Dharma Wanita or five "honourable" duties for Indonesian women: (1) loyal backstop and supporter of her husband, (2) caretaker of the household, (3) producer of the nation's future generations, (4) mother and educator of her children, (5) Indonesian citizen (Hatley, 1990; 183).

In order to establish the notion of New Order national identity, Soeharto emphasised in one of his speeches, that it was the duty of Indonesian women to filter out influences from other cultures which had penetrated Indonesia, to support positive Indonesian elements like self-discipline and industriousness, and to reject destructive Western elements like egotism and vanity (*The Jakarta Post*; 24 December 1984). Indonesian women were in this case more responsible than men not only for projecting the image of a good Indonesian but also for maintaining the New Order's values and educating the next generation to be good Indonesians. Susan Blackburn argues that Indonesian women have performed as "boundary markers" of Indonesian cultures (Blackburn, 1999; 190). In other words, women had to discipline not only themselves but also others in order to fulfil the expectations of New Order Indonesia. Julia Suryakusuma also stresses the importance of a woman as a mother in Indonesia by using the term "state ibu-ism" to describe the New Order ideology surrounding gender and women's sexuality (Suryakusuma, 1996; 101-02).

In spite of the constitutional recognition of equality for Indonesian citizens, Indonesian women were still considered to be second class in the New Order era. Addressing the subject of women and citizenship in Indonesia, Blackburn argues that Indonesian women "suffer subordination" (Blackburn, 1999; 191). She continues that in Indonesia: "rights are perceived as belonging to communities rather than to individuals, often to the disadvantage of women who are expected to fulfil numerous obligations but to have few rights" (Blackburn, 1999; 193).

As a result, others' expectations of how a woman can be an ideal female citizen often became, during the New Order period, more important than her own expressions of identity. The New Order government and its Panca Dharma Wanita simplified the complexity of women's identities by constructing women in the definition of a

stereotypically proper woman. The New Order government had also popularised the image of Kartini, a Javanese noble woman who is considered to be the first Indonesian feminist, in a way which suited the intentions of the patriarchal society and Dharma Wanita. This was shown in the first paragraph of the song "Ibu kita Kartini" [Our mother Kartini]⁵. This song was taught to school children and was always sung on Kartini's day to commemorate her merits. Kartini is merely seen as a *putri sejati* [real princess/woman] and an ideal woman who strives for girls' education and against *kawin paksa* [forced marriages] and as a noble Javanese princess who thinks of the needs of others. The picture conveyed is that of a gentle and sacrificing woman.

The identity of a girl who writes to her friend in order to keep her sanity, a girl who wants to be free from the stereotype of the proper female, and a girl who wishes to escape from marriage and from a hierarchical system in the *kraton* (Javanese palace) was not promoted by the New Order government. Kartini's complaint about not being able to laugh loudly and walk as quickly as she wants, for instance, was hardly mentioned to school children. Instead, school children were asked to celebrate Kartini's day by wearing *kebaya*, the long and narrow traditional Javanese gown which is usually tightly folded on ceremonial occasions, and makes girls walk very slowly. While her "private" letters had been made public, the best known image of Kartini was still that which had been made to fit the social and political purposes of the New Order regime, and which, as Sylvia Tiwon states, "created a new kind of prison for women" (Tiwon, 1996; 54).

The media during the New Order also helped to promote the New Order construction of women. Investigating the murder of some women in the 1980s, Sunindyo demonstrates how the media sexualised the female victims and desexualised the male aggressors by attributing their motives "to a desire to protect their families" (Sunindyo, 1996; 121). This created the impression that because of their sexual indecency, some women deserved "male violence" (Sunindyo, 1996; 138). Tineke Hellwig also states that most Indonesian popular novels before and during the New Order period, even those written by women, encouraged the importance of a woman being a wife and a mother: "marriage and children comprise the main goals for women

⁵ Ibu kita Kartini / Putri sejati / Putri Indonesia / Harum namanya
(Our mother Kartini / A real lady / An Indonesian lady / Fragrant is her name)

in novels" (Hellwig, 1994; 182). In most of the popular novels she discusses, being a wife as well as a mother makes Indonesian women more acceptable. Ideal wives and mothers are the ones who are loyal and if necessary, take full responsibility for their children (Hellwig, 1994).

In addition, most popular movies shown on television and in the cinema in the New Order period also reminded Indonesian women about *kodrat wanita* (women's destiny). That is, they promoted the view that women's nature and destiny are to become a good wife and mother. As Krishna Sen observes in relation to New Order cinema: "the attack on women working outside the home, appears to be peculiar to post-1965 cinema" (Sen, 1994; 147). In these movies, career women are often blamed for the failure of both their marriages and their children's education. The bad woman is usually described as a woman who is sexually experienced, ambitious, aggressive and assertive as opposed to a kind-hearted woman who is sexually inexperienced, caring and submissive. Assertive women are usually defeated by more traditional women who serve their husbands faithfully. The usefulness of Indonesian women is then judged by their function in their family.

The requirement to follow a religion in New Order Indonesia, the first principle of Pancasila, was another aspect which could repress women's expression of individuality. The major religion in Indonesia, Islam, has been used to emphasise male authority. Certain Islamic beliefs state that men are more capable than women in the eye of God, and this view has also been popular in Malay societies (Ong, 1987, 1990; Peletz 1995, 1996). The Javanese stereotypes of women as emotional, sexual and irrational are supported by such Islamic beliefs (Brenner, 1998; 272-73n). In addition, Tineke Hellwig demonstrates that besides the state, religion "can be mentioned as the most fundamental" apparatus which sustains patriarchy in Indonesia:

Hindu-Javanese values, as expressed in the wayang (shadow puppet theater), and Islam justify polygamy . . . while Christian creeds deny women full autonomy over their bodies (contraceptives, abortion) (Hellwig, 1994; 14).

The idea of sin (*dosa*) in religion has enabled the state to exercise control over individuals. As Brenner states: "An abstract God was, in a sense, the religious equivalent of the state: remote, demanding unequivocal deference, potentially benevolent, but also frightening" (Brenner, 1998; 233). Indonesian citizens have been required to follow one of the world religions (*agama*) which were legitimate during the

New Order⁶. If they did not, they could be suspected of being a communist, a charge which could endanger their life. As Rita Kipp and Susan Rodgers state about the New Order ideology:

Communism was seen as antithetical to *agama*, and, conversely, religious devotion was seen as incompatible with communism. Consequently, people sought to become identified as practising devotees of one of the *agama* (Kipp and Rodgers, 1987; 19).

A person with no religion can easily be related to other negative characteristics. For instance, the Indonesian women's communist organisation, GERWANI, is represented as having been a group of non-nationalistic, non-religious, hyper-sexed, aggressive and heartless women (Wieringa, 1999). Robert Cribb and Colin Brown describe that the New Order regime spread a rumour in which it describes the cruelty of communist women against some Indonesian generals: "the generals' eyes had been poked out and their genitals cut off by wild communist women who then danced naked by firelight" (Cribb and Brown, 1995; 103). Having religion has been related to being a good and loyal Indonesian citizen (Atkinson, 1987; Kipp and Rodgers, 1987). According to this point of view, to be an Indonesian woman who could represent the national identity was thus to be a loyal citizen who was non-egotistic, religious and pure (sexually unstained).

Robert Hefner describes the New Order government's emphasis of religion in education:

the educational expansion occurred after 1966, when national regulations stipulating that all students undergo religious education were revised and vigorously enforced . . . by the early 1970s, all elementary students were receiving the same mandatory religious instruction from state-certified teachers using state-published textbooks (Hefner, 1999; 42).

Partly because of the new system of education as well as the high promotion of going to hajj in Mecca, during the New Order, the dominance of the Muslim *abangan* (non-practicing Muslims, or Muslims who perform animistic practices) started disappearing. More and more Muslim *abangan* had been replaced by *santri* (practising Muslims or Muslims who are closer to their Middle Eastern counterpart).

⁶ Islam, Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism were the legitimate religions in New Order Indonesia.

The growth of Muslim *santri* during the New Order had put more pressure on women to follow a role of submissive and obedient ones. Ironically, however, the growth of Islam was also a matter of some concern for the government. In this case, the notion of submissive women also grew independently of the government during the New Order era.

In spite of this, some reaction against the gender constraints also developed. Philip Eldridge, for instance, records that in 1979 a group of Moslem women established LKBHWK (*Lembaga Konsultasi dan Bantuan Bukum untuk Wanita dan Keluarga* or The Institute for Consultation and Legal Aid for Women and Families). Nevertheless, this organisation still searched for protection from the New Order official, which made this organisation ambiguous in its ideal in challenging the New Order ideology (Eldridge, 1989).

Nevertheless, the great increase in girls' education and the growth of middle class in 1980s had caused the rising age of marriage for women and women's entry into work force. These educated, professional and working class women were able to offer alternative views of gender especially among the young women in late New Order. Organisations which actively defend and voice women's rights, for instance, were established. Yasanti (established in 1982 in Yogyakarta), Kalyanamitra (established in 1985 in Jakarta), and Tjoet Nyak Dien (established in the early 1990's). These organisations actively challenged the roles of women prescribed by the New Order regime.

2.4. Summary.

The historical evolution of the Indonesian expression of identity has taken a hybrid form in modern Indonesian life writings and expressions of identity. The above discussion shows how Western and Indonesian cultures have intermingled so that the boundaries between these two cultures are not always clear. However, the New Order regime tried to harden the boundaries between Indonesian culture and non-Indonesian identities by promoting *identitas nasional* (national identity). The government became a strong negotiator who tried to define the price of individuals.

In the New Order, the term national identity was used to emphasise values which could benefit the regime. Loyalty to the status quo and non-individualism were emphasised. The New Order requirements were more demanding of women, who

were supposed to be subordinate to, and loyal supporters of, men. The patriarchal dominance of the Javanese tradition was sustained by the New Order era. Although the New Order's relationship with religions (for instance, Islam) was never stable, some religious values which promoted sacrifice and sexual restriction were sustained. Despite such restrictions, alternative views on women were able to grow as well. In the next chapter, I will discuss how individuals negotiate their representation of identity in two forms of writings, diary and autobiography.

Chapter 3.
**The Reader of Indonesian Women's Autobiographies
and Diaries: Between the Public and Private Self.**

*One's outer life passes in a solitude haunted by the masks of others, one's inner life
passes in a solitude hounded by the masks of oneself (O'Neill, 1955: 126).*

Eugene O'Neill.

Like identity and culture, the differences between the genres of autobiographies and diaries can also be questioned. Both autobiographies and diaries tell about one's life story. Both try to conquer the past by recording it. Both can function as a remembrance of one's life so that the life does not disappear or be forgotten. Both can imply the narcissistic action of the subject: the subject wants to mirror him/herself in the text. Readership, however, can emphasise the boundaries between published autobiographies and unpublished diaries. Autobiographies are intended to be read by the public: they are published, sold and displayed in shops. Thus, the subject of an autobiography has to project him/herself in the world of rhetoric, to an audience. S/he cannot ignore the expectations and assumptions of the public reader. For this reason, the reader becomes an important factor in the process of negotiating self-representation in an autobiography. On the other hand, private diaries are usually written to be kept secret. The main reader of the diary is the writer him/herself. The writer writes about him/herself for him/herself when s/he is alone. The existence of another's gaze thus seems to be an external factor not usually found in private diaries. This distinguishes autobiographies from diaries, because these two genres tell about separate kinds of identity. One is the self ready for the public gaze, the other is the self hidden from the gaze of another.

Many acknowledge the differences between these two genres of writing. Yet, there is another strain of argument. Roland Barthes's *A Lover's Discourse* (1979) and Jacques Derrida's *The Post-Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond* (1987) have suggested the belief that there is no fixed identity but merely layers of persona, and that there is no fixed genre but merely transgressions and deconstruction of forms. In her books, *Discourses of Desire* (1986) and *Special Delivery* (1992), Linda S.

Kauffman emphasises the transgression of literary genre. Kauffman argues that the fine line between literary genres such as letter, autobiography or diary are often intermingled. The distinctions between diary and autobiography can thus be questioned. Nonetheless, to talk about the similarities of the genres, one has to be aware of the differences between them, and vice versa. This means that to talk about genres one has to separate them into categories without ignoring the similarities.

The differences between Indonesian autobiographies and diaries are emphasised by censorship in Indonesia. Nevertheless, the existence of social elements (such as another's gaze and an addressee) which are more obvious in the eight published autobiographies, can also be found in the nine unpublished diaries discussed in this thesis.

3.1. The Gaze of Another.

Because of the desire of the subject to be alone when s/he writes a diary, a diary gives the impression of secrecy. The "I" of the diary often conjures up an image of a person cloistered in a room, with no one around. For this reason, a diary is often assumed to be more sincere than an autobiography: a diary can portray a more real self. Porter Abbott notes that most studies of diaries endorse the view that a diary is "free of artifice" (Abbott, 1984; 47). Indeed, a diary is usually hidden from others. Diary books are sometimes sold with a lock to assure concealment and protection of the content from another's gaze.

However, Harriet Blodgett writes that there are many attempts to obscure the differences between autobiographies and diaries (Blodgett, 1996; 167). Judy Nolte Lensink argues that a diary constitutes a "cohesive" autobiography, complete with thematic purpose, person, and distinctive imagery (Lensink, 1987; 42, 44). Likewise, for Porter Abbot a diary only offers "an illusion of sincerity" (Abbott, 1984; 47). Some other critics also challenge the distinction between public and private texts, between published autobiographies and private diaries, as some diaries are intended for public readership (Bloom, 1996; 23-28). Phillipe Lejeune also states that some diaries of girls in nineteenth century France were written "in order to be read one day by the general public" (Lejeune, 1996; 118).

Because of the existence of a certain kind of audience in diaries, some critics state that diaries are no more sincere than published autobiographies, and thus they

refuse to stress the differences between these two genres of text. In the Western world, more and more individuals are aware of the possibility that their diaries may be published and even intend their diaries to be published. Nearly all of the diary writers I interviewed, however, told me that they do not have this kind of intention when they are writing their diaries¹. Most of them showed surprise when I mentioned my intention to use their diaries for my research. They did not think that their daily writings about ordinary life could be useful or important. Probably because of the strong sense of hierarchy in Javanese society, these "common" people thought that their lives contained nothing useful for the wider public.

After assuring them that their private writings were important, I asked these women again whether they would be happy if their diaries were published. Four of these diary writers expressed a desire to publish their diaries one day. In this case, while most of the diary writers had told me that they did not have any initial intention to have their diaries published, this statement may have been an expression not so much of an unwillingness on the part of the diary writers to publish their work, but rather of their presumption that such publication was either unlikely or impossible.

Nonetheless, the women who wanted their diaries to be published, specified that this could take place only after they died. Others wanted their diaries to be published when they were alive, but with the provision that any means of identification, such as proper names and places, remain hidden so that the public - especially people in their society - would not know who the real writer was. The diary writers I interviewed who desired their diaries to be published stated that they would be happier if their diaries could be published abroad. Hence, it would seem that it is not the revelation of the "I" that the diary writers are frightened of, but the opinion of people, especially those close to them, that they cared about. There is a certain image that they want to reveal to the people they know and another image that they want to keep for themselves.

Their confiding in me also came with some conditions. As I described in Chapter One, most of the women with whom I corresponded thought that I was a Westerner before meeting me, and they would have been much happier to talk with a Westerner. Some of these women were still willing to let me copy their diaries because I mentioned that I had been abroad for a long time and that I still lived

¹ There were 22 additional respondents who were willing to answer my questions about their diary writings without showing the actual diaries to me.

overseas. Most of these women assume that Indonesians gossip a lot and are full of prejudice. Therefore, they can trust a foreigner (especially a Westerner) more. Because many social restrictions exist, Indonesians have to be careful of judgement by their own society. This can lead them to suspect their own surroundings or one another. Instead, they can place more confidence and trust in me, an outsider, reading their diary. In this way they simultaneously reject and accept the gaze of another. They try to hide from the gaze of their society but they are prepared to include my gaze in their diary.

The use of language(s) in these nine diaries is another important consideration in comparing them with the published autobiographies. While Indonesian autobiographies use standard Indonesian, none of these diary writers does so. Fay writes her diaries in English². Being of Chinese origin, Ella writes in English with a mixture of a little Mandarin and Indonesian. Mar mixes English and Indonesian in her diary. Mina and Lilies mix Indonesian, English and Jakartan slang in their diaries. Ani and Nani mix Indonesian, Javanese and English. Eli mixes Indonesian and Javanese in her diary. When I asked why they mixed languages in their diaries, most of them had similar answers: because one language is more suitable for some kind of expression than another. For instance, Mar stated that talking about sex in Indonesian would sound taboo and embarrassing. It was better for her to write about it in English. Ani, Nani and Lilies answered that when they talked about love, they sometimes used English because it sounded more romantic. The use of Jakartan slang, according to Lilies, made her able to be more expressive and relaxed in writing. In their private sphere these women were able to experiment and have more space in their individual expression. Mar, Mina, Ela and Nani also stated that they used English because they wanted to improve their English. Some stated that they wrote in English so that the other members of the family would not be able to read it.

While they told me that the use of foreign languages functioned as a barrier to another eye, the desire that their diary might be published overseas one day may consciously or unconsciously have influenced them to write in English. Because most of them were more relaxed about revealing their diaries to the Western world, writing in what is considered the international language would open up the "romantic" opportunity that someone from abroad might find and read their diaries.

² There are many grammatical and spelling errors in these diaries but I will quote the diaries in the original version only, without correcting the grammar and spelling.

Although most of these diary writers told me that their diaries were private, two writers, Fay and Eli, stated that they had shown their diaries to a close friend. They did not, however, show the whole diary, but only part of it. On her birthday, for instance, Eli asked her best friend to write some comments in her diary, which means that this best friend had the opportunity to read it as well. Eli's friend wrote in the diary: "Saya salut dengan keterbukaan mbak dengan siapa saja. Terutama buat saya pribadi. Tapi mbak kadang-kadang terlalu terbuka, sih. . . jadi ati-ati aja, mbak" [I am impressed with your openness to any one. Especially with me personally. But you are too open sometimes . . . so be careful] (Eli, 12 September 1990). Eli's best friend thus expresses her surprise as well as admiration that Eli wants to show the diary to her, which implies that revealing one's diary to someone else is not impossible but it is not common either.

On the other hand, being written for public consumption, the autobiographies are in formal and standard Indonesian. Some of these autobiographies often borrow English phrases. Lasmidjah Hardi uses some English phrases such as "warm feeling", "somewhere", "sometime", "Post graduate" or "jealous". Her meeting with Han Sui Yin was also told in English without providing any translation:

"I'm Lasmidjah from Jakarta".

...

"I'm Han Sui Yin."

...

"I beg your pardon, Han Sui Yin, the writer of *Love is a Many Splendour Thing* and also *Destination Chung King*?"
(Hardi, 1997; 132-33).

Nonetheless, when she mentions a few Javanese phrases, she always provides it with translations: "*Sopo kuwi sing Jenenge Hardi?*" (Siapa itu yang bernama Hardi?) [Who is called Hardi?] (Hardi, 1997; 130).

Similarly, Sulistina Soetomo, Sujatin Kartowijono and Herlina also use a few English phrases in their autobiographies without providing any translation. This shows the expectation that the reader should be the one who is familiar with the English language. Since English language has become a subject for secondary school since the New Order era, the English phrases found in the autobiographies indicate that the reader of autobiographies is expected to be from the generation which has acquired such an education.

While there is usually a particular target audience for Indonesian autobiographies (such as Indonesian students or the younger generation), the subjects of published autobiographies have to be ready for the gaze of almost anyone. Indonesian women's autobiographies cannot avoid the eye of the society surrounding them. In addition, there may be another level of negotiation with the public reader by virtue of the fact that many Indonesian women's autobiographies are written by ghost-writers.

The use of a ghost-writer can be incited by the need of the subject to employ an experienced writer. Ratna Djuami Asmarahadi, for instance, employed Lily Martin, a professional journalist and writer, to compose her autobiography, *Kisah Cinta Inggit dan Bung Karno* [*The love story of Inggit and Bung Karno*].

Often, the subject of the autobiography shows more initiative and thus more voice in the texts. For instance, Sujatin Kartowijono in *Mencari Makna Hidupku* [*Searching the Meaning of My Life*] states that she had already taken notes about her life stories every night before contacting the ghost-writer, Hanna Rambe. Sujatin's decision to employ a ghost-writer was made for health reasons because when Sujatin decided to commence the composition of her autobiography in 1982, she was already 75 years old, and was often sick (Kartowijono, 1983; 8). She then wrote a letter to Hanna Rambe, asking whether Rambe would like to have a chat with her (Kartowijono, 1983; 9). In the text, it was described how Rambe took up the offer to write Sujatin's autobiography after the meeting (Kartowijono, 1983; 10). Unlike Sujatin, the process of producing Lasmidjah Hardi's autobiography started after one of the ghost-writers, Inna H.N. Hadi Soewito asked Lasmidjah to write her experiences (Hardi, 1997; xi). Helped by two other ghost-writers, Lasmidjah finally finished her autobiography, which as Lasmidjah states without the request of Inna H.N. Hadi Soewito, would never be started (Hardi, 1997; xiv).

The writing of Inggit Garnasih's *Kuantar ke Gerbang* was also initiated by the ghost-writer, Ramadhan K.H. However, Inggit Garnasih is not the only source of the story. Inggit Garnasih's adopted daughters, Ratna Djuami Asmara Hadi (Omi) and Poppy (Kartika/Uteh), also took a big part in the writing of the text. As Ramadhan K.H. states:

Ibu Asmara Hadi dan Ibu Uteh banyak membantu . . . Malah ibu Uteh (Ibu Kartika) menyumbang tulisan panjang mengenai (bab) perjalanan dari Bengkulu ke Sumatera Barat.

[Mrs. Asmara Hadi and Ms. Uteh gave so much help . . . Even Ms. Uteh (Ms. Kartika) gave a long writing about the story about the journey from Bengkulu (where Soekarno was exiled) to West Sumatra] (Interview, December 2002).

This shows that there are various expectations in the autobiographies as often they are produced by collaboration of several people. Another expectation which should be taken into account is that of the reader.

An autobiography can function to answer the public, to satisfy other people's curiosity, to serve the other. Most of the eight Indonesian women's autobiographies express their intention to answer the reader's expectations. But more than simply aiming to fulfil others' curiosity, these authors also hope that their writing will be beneficial to others in terms of providing them with information and even, with providing them with advice and guidance for the future. The quotations below show this kind of intention:

Bagi generasi muda yang pada waktunya kelak mewarisi tanggung jawab bangsa.

[For the young generation who will one day inherit the responsibility of the nation] (Soekarno, 1984; 12).

untuk memenuhi harapan dan himbauan banyak pihak.

[to fulfil the hope and request of many people] (Soekarno, 1984; 17).

Semoga pengalaman yang tertuang pada buku ini mempunyai nilai dan membawa hikmah bagi bangsaku Indonesia.

[Hopefully the experiences told in this book have some value and bring some lessons for my country Indonesia] (Soekarno, 1984; 12).

Inilah sebuah "warisan" kepada mereka, para tunas bangsa, yang tak mempunyai nilai materi. Hanya rohani. Ditulis dengan penuh cinta kasih dan doa, semoga kesukaran dan kebahagiaan yang saya lalui atau capai dapat menjadi sumber ilham untuk perbuatan atau bakti yang lebih baik.

[This is an "inheritance", for them, the seed of the country, which does not have any material value. Only spiritual. Written with sincere love and prayer, hopefully the difficulties and the happiness that I have experienced or I have reached can be the inspiration for better action or dedication] (Rambe, 1984; 8).

Sering aku mendapat pertanyaan dari berbagai kalangan, tentang kapan aku akan menulis otobiografi lengkap dari hidupku.

[I was often asked by many people, when I would write a complete autobiography of my life] (Herlina, 1986; 1).

[D]i dalam diriku sendiri ada semacam niat untuk menulis otobiografiku, sepanjang hal-hal itu punya manfaat dan patut diketahui oleh manusia-manusia lain - termasuk Anda, para pembaca!

[Inside myself, there is a desire to write my autobiography as long as it can be useful and deserves to be known by other people - including you, the reader!] (Herlina, 1986; 2).

Semoga, ada pelajaran yang dapat dipetik oleh generasi muda saat ini setelah usai membaca buku ini.

[Hopefully, there is a lesson which can be gained by the recent young generation after reading this book] (Soetomo, 1995; viii).

Penulisan buku ini terdorong oleh desakan junior-junior-ku serta handai taulanku. . . . Mereka - yang pernah mengikuti kegiatanku yang beraneka ragam selama beberapa tahun - mengimbau agar pengalaman-pengalamanku tersebut dibukukan.

[The writing of this book is instigated by the demand of those younger than me and my relatives . . . They - who have followed my various activities for years - suggest that my experiences be written in a book] (Hardi, 1997; xi).

[S]emoga sekelumit kisah yang akan aku ungkapkan dalam buku ini, membawa manfaat³.

[Hopefully the little story that I have revealed in this book can be useful] (Hardi, 1997; xiv).

The subjects of published autobiographies give the impression that they write because they want to share their "light" with the reader. The trace of traditional writings, *Babad* and *Hikayat*, can be found here as Indonesian women's autobiographies have a tendency to give advice to the reader, especially the younger generation.

Publishing their autobiographies during their senior years, these subjects address the public who need advice from older and more experienced people. The didactic voice is nevertheless not exclusive to elderly subjects. Herlina, who published her first autobiography, *Pending Emas* (1964) at the age of twenty-four, writes in a didactic voice as well. Her desire to make her book a lesson for the reader is emphasised as she

³ The italics are in the original.

states at the end of her text: "Mudah-mudahan apa jang pernah kualami, jang tergores dalam buku ini dapatlah menjadi bahan pemikiran bagi generasi jang ingin melandjutkan tjita-tjita Kartini" [Hopefully, what I have experienced, what has been written in this book can become food for thought for the generation who wants to continue Kartini's aspirations] (Herlina, 1965; 257). Here, Herlina places herself as a figure whose book can give some direction for the reader.

3.2. The Hidden Addressee in Indonesian Women's Unpublished Diaries.

Because autobiographies are published, the public reader becomes the addressee of the autobiographies. On the other hand, a diary is often considered as a monologue: the writer talks to him/herself. However, often the subjects of unpublished diaries imply their strong (conscious or unconscious) sense of talking to someone else. The diaries become their letters to an addressee who never answers them. That some Indonesian women were willing to show their diaries to me and ask for my comment implies their hope of a response from someone else.

One of my respondents, for instance, used to write un-posted letters to an imaginary person and throw those "letters" away after tearing them into pieces. Realising that she often wanted to read her "letters" again one day, she started writing a diary. She still imagines writing to an imaginary someone and thus her diary becomes a sort of collection of "letters". Not only are these collections of letters addressed to an imaginary person, but also to her future self. It is the desire to read her past and to memorialise what she has experienced which makes her record what has happened. Her diary can thus be considered as a long letter to her future self, to a self who desires some traces of the past. Consciously or unconsciously, the presence of a "reader" is integrated and takes part in the negotiation of identity in diaries.

Fay is one of the diary writers who creates a dialogue in her diary. She writes as if she answers someone else who is talking to her. For instance when she begins her diary in 1998:

Happy New Year
Thanks very much for the greetings . . . (Fay, January 1998).

Although she writes for herself, she replies to the New Year's greeting as if it were from someone else, so she needs to respond with "thanks".

Fay even addresses an imaginary person in her private writing: "I live in the company dorm (I thought I told *you* [my italics] that already)" (Fay, July 1997). The "you", Fay told me, is anyone who may read her diary in the future. Because the addressee is someone who may not know anything about herself, in some parts of her diary, she gives her complete name and explains its meaning (which I cannot quote here because of confidentiality). As a diarist writing to herself, she does not need to inform herself about such a thing. She already knows it.

She even continues with the description of her dormitory, as if giving information to other people who happen to read her writing:

The company provides many well-maintained dorms for the employees located in different areas. The dorms are grouped in four and ten rooms. Employees who take their family along with them can shift to the company-housing complex. I have my own furnished room. The dorm is provided with audio-visual entertainment, fridge, and a beautiful kitchen. I can still cook my Italian food whenever I want. Unfortunately, we don't have movie theatres here (Fay, 1997).

This information seems to be directed to a wider readership: to explain to the "you" about the circumstances of this "I".

She also explains about the geographical location of a place which she knows well: "Umar is now assigned in Pasuruan, a little town in East Java" (Fay, May 1998). As a person who was born and spent most of her life in Java, and has been in East Java before, Fay undoubtedly knows where Pasuruan is. However, she adds that information as if she were telling other people who do not know its location.

She also often writes as if someone is listening and responding on the other side:

I hope everything is well there. Well, I'm not (sigh)... I haven't been able to sleep well lately. No, it's not insomnia. It's just I've been thinking too much recently (Fay, November 1997).

Fay begins with a greeting, hoping that the other's condition is well before she tells about her own "I". After saying her condition is not very well, Fay continues as if answering a question: "No, it's not insomnia". She ends her writing in November with:

"Just to share you the sad news. Chat at ya cheerfully later" (Fay, November 1997). Maintaining the style of responding, answering and questioning this other self, Fay gives the impression that there is someone who keeps the conversation going in her diary.

While Fay creates an imaginative conversation in her diary, Mina and Lilies often treat their diary as if it is someone alive. In one of the pages of her diary, Mina writes: "Damn I'm right. You knew the story, diary" (Mina, 12 March 1994). Writing in such a way, Mina considers her diary as someone who has a memory so that it can recall what she has said before. Personifying the diary seems to be a common practice for some of these diary writers.

Lilies also writes at the beginning of her diary: "Gua nggak happy, elo gimana diary?" [I'm not happy, how about you diary?] (Lilies, 23 December 1995). After she tells the diary how she feels, she asks the condition of the diary as if it is someone who can listen and reply. Lilies usually writes twice or three times a week. When she has not written for a long time, she indicates how the diary may react to her ignorance: "Hai... Gimana rasanya elo gue umpetin, gak gue tengok-tengok selama 2 months. Mules?" [Hi . . . How does it feel being hidden and not seen for 2 months? Got stomach ache?] (Lilies, 30 October 1995). Greeting the diary in such a way, she treats this diary like a person who notices the frequency of their encounter and can even feel physical agony about being ignored.

That the diary acts as an addressee is implied as she often says goodbye before she stops writing, such as: "Udah dulu ya rie . . . chao" [Ok then rie⁴ . . . Bye] (24 March 1995) as if she needs the permission of the diary to leave it. She even has to explain her excuse to leave the diary, such as: "udah ya mo mandi, nih" [Got to go . . . I wanna have a shower] (Lilies, 17 April 1995) or "udah ya rie. . . gue mo bobo' capek sich" [Got to go . . . I want to sleep, very tired] (3 December 1995). Thus, she needs to show some sort of formality and politeness, greeting when she comes and saying farewell when she has to go, just like when she pays someone a visit.

The use of the word "I" in Indonesian (*saya*, *aku*, *gue*) can also show some degree of intimacy on the part of the user. The word *saya* is considered to be the most formal. In the hierarchical society of Indonesia, this word is used when one is talking

⁴ Short for diary.

to a person of different social position or different age. The word *aku* is more casual. It is used to people of around the same age or social position. The word *gue* is the most informal of all. It is used mostly by young people in Jakarta, and only by people who are already close to each other. In Indonesian published autobiographies I discuss and in other Indonesian autobiographies I have read, the word used to represent the "I" is either *saya* or *aku*. However, in the diaries I collected, especially in Lilies's, the word *gue* often comes up, which indicates that the "readership" in the diary is a closer person, whereas the relationship between the author and the reader in Indonesian published autobiographies is more formal than personal.

In addition, the word "I" is often replaced by one's name and the word "you" is often substituted by a person's name in Indonesia. In referring to their names, Lilies gives nicknames to both, herself and her diary. The diary is called "Rie" or "Dy" and she calls herself "Ly". She writes for instance: "Dy . . . Ly kan mo nyusun rencana" [Dy . . . Ly wants to make a plan] (25 June 1996). One often gives a nickname to another person so that s/he may feel more comfortable with his/her interaction with and relationship to the other. Often, a nickname is a symbol of closeness between individuals. By giving a nickname to her diary and allowing the diary to acknowledge her nickname, this diary writer shows that like her interaction with another person, she needs to build and modify her relationship with her diary. Indeed, in my interview with Lilies, she stated that she considers her diary as a woman who is much wiser than her. The word "diary" itself sounds feminine to her. For this reason, the personification of a wiser woman seems appropriate for her diary.

In this case, while the diary writers are talking to themselves, they also talk to the "other" self. When a person writes about him/herself, the self unconsciously splits into a self who writes, a self who is written about and often also a self who is written for. So, one's self often becomes multiple when one writes. In Mina's diary, for instance, she asks herself as if she is another person: "What happens, girl? Again: running away?" (Mina, 17 March 1994). Using the third person "girl" to refer to herself, she acts as if there were someone else who alerts her about her cowardice. Hence, she creates a conversation with herself.

This shows that in a monologue there is often an imaginary dialogue. This seems to be the inclination of the diary writers: they are having a conversation with their split self. The "I" serves both as the addresser and the addressee. Language as a

means of expressing one's self also functions to communicate one's thoughts to someone else. It is from listening to, and interacting with, others that one acquires the language s/he uses, as Mikhail Bakhtin has argued:

Language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own (Bakhtin, 1981; 293).

Consequently, while language cannot be entirely objective, it cannot be merely private and subjective either. Because language is intended for interacting with another, social construction has been integrated even in the private use of language. For this reason, while the nine diaries I collected are private, they are also communicative.

Besides the existence of an addressee in diaries, the communicative nature of diaries is also depicted in the implied dialogue between different parts of the self: for instance between the conscious and the unconscious self, the spiritual and the earthly self, or the past and the present self. This is emphasised in Mar's diary, as she engages in a conversation with her younger self:

- + Who are you? I know you . . .
- You should.
- + But who are you?
- I am "you"
- + What?
- I am "you" . . .
- + You are me just because I know you? That's funny
- You won't understand . . . but you will be me in the next twelve years.
- + This is not funny . . . I'll go . . .
- Go. . . to imagine that you'll become a doctor?
- + How do you know?
- I know cause I am you. . . To be a doctor. To check a patient and have much money. An easy job. Check the patient, write a prescription and then . . . money. That's what you think!
- + How do you know?

- And you want to make your father and mother live longer.
That's why you wanna be a doctor.
+ How do you know that?
- Cause I'm you.
+ Really?
- Yes, you will be me in the next twelve years.
+ You are a doctor then.
- No, I'm not.
+ A student of Medicine?
- No, I'm not.
+ But if you are not a doctor, you aren't me then.
- I am you.
+ But how? I will be a doctor. I will . . . or don't tell me that I fail.
- No, you don't fail to be a doctor.
+ Then . . . what are you?
- I am a student of English.
+ English? I will study English? To go to school only to study English??? Ridiculous!!!
- But you will.
+ I fail then. I fail to be a doctor.
- You can say that. You fail to be a doctor but you don't fail.
+ I know I'll fail. I fail to be a doctor because I am not accurate enough. Mum said that I have to be accurate if I wanna be a doctor. I try. . . I have tried hard. . . But I can't.
And my math is bad. That's the most terrible thing.
- Yes, I understand. We are the same. You are confused cause to be a doctor you have to be good at math. That's what you think. And you feel that you're really stupid. I know it.
+ How?
- Cause you are me. How long ago was it? Then I cried cause my math was so bad. I was afraid I would not be able to go to a good High School or a good University to be a doctor. How long ago it was . . . how I was worried . . . then it passed. Life is decided differently (Mar, 18 February 1993).

In the above passage taken from Mar's diary, the "I" serves as both the I and the you, the addresser and the addressee. The way Mar treats her "failure" to be a doctor is thus put into negotiation between these selves, whether she will or will not accept this. Here, her older self meets her younger self, who still knows nothing about what will happen to her. Making herself out as two persons who just happen to meet, Mar creates the dialogue as if the younger self does not recognise the older self at first. In this passage, her younger self desires to be a doctor. Instead, she becomes a student of English (language) later on. These different voices argue, bargain and compromise

with each other. Her younger self despises people who merely study English language. Her older and wiser self can see that the worries that the younger self experiences are not worth it. The older self suggests that the younger self accept whatever may come because life can take a direction that the younger self does not expect.

Like Mina and Lilies, Mar often creates an imaginary companion in her diary. In some parts of her diary, Mar addresses someone called "El". That "El" is just a person created by Mar's imagination can be inferred when she writes:

El yang kucintai, yang selalu diam. Kupilih kamu sebagai orang yang kupercaya untuk mengetahuinya. Walaupun kamu bisu, tuli dan buta. Bahkan, kadang-kadang aku tak tahu apakah kamu sungguh-sungguh ada
[El who I love, who is always quiet. I choose you to confide in. Although you are mute, deaf and blind. Even, sometimes, I don't know whether you really exist] (Mar, 25 June 1989).

In the interview, Mar told me that she imagines that El is a man. Calling El the person she loves, Mar's relationship with El resembles a relationship between lovers. In the above passage, Mar states how the man that she loves is mute, deaf and blind, which means that El may not be able to communicate properly with her. She even doubts whether El really exists. But then she would rather that the addressee in her diary not be alive, that this person never be "real", as she states: "Don't be alive! I'm afraid I will hate you and you'll hate me if you're alive" (Mar, 16 December 1990). By not being alive, El can provide Mar with unconditional love. Not only can Mar reveal her secrets to El, but she can also leave him whenever she feels like it. For this reason, throughout her diary, there are several addressees.

The addressees in Mar's diary have different genders as well. At first, the "El" she talks to is a man. Later, she writes to a female. The most probable reason for this is that during the period when Mar is talking to an imaginary man, El, Mar is in no relationship with a "real" man. After she is in a relationship with a "real" man, her addressee changes into a female. The change of addressee from a man to a woman may indicate Mar's desire to be faithful to one man only, the real man she is involved with. Personifying the picture of a girl reproduced in the diary, she writes as if she is interacting with this picture by beginning her writing with "dear girl in my diary" (Mar, 12 December 1992, 3 March 1993 & 6 April 1993).

The casual and intimate relationship of the subject of the diary with the addressee can also be found in Mar's diary, as Mar even asks what the girl in the diary thinks about the man she loves:

You've known all about me, haven't you?
Then what do you think about my man? (Mar, 20 March 1993).

This question is repeated several times in her diary: "Hi! I really want to talk to you suddenly . . . What do you think about him?" (Mar, 5 May 1993). Like Lilies, Mar treats her diary as someone wiser and as one who is supposed to give advice and guidance to the writer: "If only you could give me advice/ Maybe you're the only one I will follow" (Mar, 11 May 1993).

Writing in different books for some diarists is like talking to a different addressee. One of the diary writers I met told me how she names each successive notebook she uses with a different name. This happens to Mar when she writes in another book which has a picture of two girls on its cover. She can no longer address the girl in the previous book, which she has filled up. Writing in another book with a picture of two girls on its cover, she addresses the two "new" girls as if they are her perceivers and listeners: "Both of you. Looking at me. How long have you been here? And listen to my story?" (Mar, 21 June 1993).

The hidden addressee found in some of these Indonesian women's diaries indicates another paradoxical intention of the Indonesian women diary writers. These writers want an "eye" or another's gaze to look at them and to respond to what they write. However, this person often remains hidden. It remains a fantasy for most of them: a craving, which may never come true. So, although the privacy of Indonesian women's diaries can be questioned because of the existence of an addressee, this addressee can still be differentiated from the public reader of the published autobiography.

As with the other Indonesian women diary writers in this study, it is the strict society of Indonesia, which makes Mar wants to escape it. Her hope of going to another place where people do not talk so much about what she does is expressed as she states:

If only I can go somewhere else tonight

To a place where I can always see the moonlight
And the people who don't care about the matters in the
world

...
They don't ask me about what I've done or what the result
Or why I do this or that (Mar, 28 June 1993).

As described by Mar, the people around her become a threat to her peace of mind. The diary becomes a hidden place for her, a place where she can meet another imaginary person with whom she wants to converse.

Although Fay articulates her desire to have her diary published one day, her distrust of her surroundings is expressed in the diary. Fay constantly talks to a "you" in her diary because the people around her who she identifies as "the groupie" often bother her privacy (Fay, diary mid 1997-mid 1998). That talking to her diary is a way of separating herself from her surroundings is revealed when Fay writes:

I need some peace for myself, I reckon. I want to sort things out. I want to go back writing. I know I've got my life back. This time I want to achieve; I promised this before I departed. I reckon I will have to hurt a particular number of people when I decide this. I really don't want to see it happen, but I've got to go on. Please, help me help myself (Fay, November 1997).

It is when she feels that she is surrounded by too many people that she expresses her desire to be alone in order to write.

3.3. Censorship, Edition, Deletion and Re-interpretation.

Because an autobiography is to be sold, displayed and consumed by the public reader, the writer has to organise it so that the text is presentable for the public view. It has to be written in such a way that it can be read and understood by the public. It also has to go through a publisher and a printing process. Then, it has to be bound in a book form and published. This long process makes an autobiography subject to edition, omission, deletion and even censorship.

The editors often cut, add and modify the writings. Ramadhan K.H., who became the ghost-writer of *Kuantar ke Gerbang*, for instance, states that although his

editor did not cut any of his writing, the editor added a few things: "tidak ada yang dibuang dari tulisan saya; ditambah sana-sini malah, ya" [nothing was cut out of my writing, it was even added here and there (by the editor)] (Ramadhan, 3 December 2002). Being a professional writer, Ramadhan may have had integrated the social expectation as well as censorship when he was writing the text. For this reason, although the text was not cut by the editor, the ghost-writer had consciously or unconsciously self-censored what was supposed to be written.

The editing of the text, according to Ramadhan, makes the book more interesting to read⁵. The expectation of the reader is thus integrated to make the books more interesting and marketable. This also implies that the construction of the self in an autobiography can be modified in such a way that the self is well presented to the audience. As marketing is important, this also decides what books should be written. Soekarno and his family, for instance, have been marketable subjects, and their autobiographies have been written and published several times. The autobiography *Kuantar ke Gerbang*, for example, has been reprinted four times. The first three by Sinar Harapan - Jakarta: in May 1981, December 1981 and August 1988. Recently, it has been reprinted by Kiblat Buku Utama - Bandung in June 2002⁶.

Another consideration in the production of life story is the New Order's censorship. Although their censorship on books was often "erratic" (Sen and Hill, 2000; 37), books which are not considered politically correct and have left wing tendency would be likely to be banned (Sen and Hill, 2000; 38).

Writing an autobiography thus became a matter of selecting some events in one's life, of emphasising things that the subject deemed to be appropriate for public consumption. One has to edit, select and construct the self which is represented in the text. In *Pending Emas*, for instance, Herlina expresses her confusion in writing about her life:

Aku tidak tahu dari bagian mana aku harus mulai. Apakah harus kumulai dari catatan-catatan tentang keadaan masyarakat Indonesia waktu itu, pada waktu hangatnya masalah pengembalian Irian Barat ke dalam Republik Indonesia? Atau apakah harus kumulai dari catatan-catatan perjalananku berkeliling Indonesia sebagai benih dari tekadku untuk ambil bagian dalam perjuangan bangsa mengembalikan bumi Irian ke pangkuan Ibu Pertiwi? Ataupun harus kumulai saja dari kesibukanku mengurus

⁵ Interview with Ramadhan K.H, 3 December 2002.

⁶ Personal correspondence from Ramadhan K.H, January 2003.

penerbitan Surat Kabar *Karya*? Atau langsung kuceritakan kisah penerjunanku ke rimba belantara Irian?

[I do not know where I must start. Should I start with noting the situation of Indonesians during the struggle for returning West Irian to Indonesia? Or should I start with my journey around Indonesia, which became the seed of my determination to take part in the struggle to return Irian to the lap of the Motherland? Or should I begin with my activities in running the *Karya* newspaper? Or should I go right ahead with the story of my landing in the deep jungle of West Irian?] (Herlina, 1985; 4).

To write about her life, Herlina has to shape this life in a way that is presentable in a textual form.

The time frame in the autobiography is also another aspect which creates some deletion and re-interpretation, as Herlina describes:

Ada rentangan waktu antara masa kini dengan masa hampir seperempat abad yang lampau, saat peristiwa-peristiwa yang kutuliskan ini terjadi.

[There was a span of nearly a quarter of a century between now and the events I am writing] (Herlina, 1985; 4).

In an autobiography, the subject's perception is usually based on the more present time and the subject has to look back to a long past. For this reason, the autobiographer will often condense long real life experiences in order to assimilate them within the shorter narrative space of an autobiography. Consequently, there is a distance between the subject who is writing and the subject being written about.

Most Indonesian women's autobiographies were written when the subjects were over 40 years old. Indeed, at this age, they will usually be more aware that their life is getting shorter, and this awareness can stimulate the desire to immortalise their life. So, while they describe their experiences from their childhood, teenage, adult years, etc., these experiences are told from the point of view of a mature woman. Because of such a distance, some experiences must have been forgotten or distorted. Hence, the subject of published autobiographies acts as both the collector and the selector of the past.

The process of producing a published autobiography involves the subject in re-interpretation and re-construction. The process also results in the published autobiography being written more as a whole and as a result, it is more organised than a diary. The organisation of an Indonesian autobiography is usually supported by a

theme and a title chosen to interest the reader. All of these factors shape the representation of identity in such a text. On the other hand, compared with autobiographies, diaries are not usually interfered with by so many hands. A diary is written by a subject mainly for him/herself. Consequently, the form and the content of the diary are more fragmented. Usually diaries have no title either. Thus, the theme in a diary is more scattered than in the autobiography. The beginnings and the ends of diaries are not necessarily the Introduction and the Conclusion.

The terrible handwriting in some of the diaries I collected also shows that the diaries are intended to be kept private rather than to be presented for other people. In one case, when I could not read the handwriting and asked the diary writer what she had written there, she herself found it difficult to read and could not remember exactly what she had written.

Because most diaries are written on a day to day basis, what is written in diaries may have happened a few hours or even a few minutes before it is written. The time in a diary is more fragmented and more immediate than in an autobiography. In contradistinction to autobiographical subjects, the subject who writes a diary does so without any formal life-narrative around which to unify, organise and shape the text that she is writing. Unlike the published autobiography, the shape of which is planned beforehand, the relationship between the diary and the subject becomes closer since they undergo the process of writing together. It is this process of uncertainty which makes Mar ask her diary:

Dear girl in my diary,
Could you know what's gonna happen to me?
...
Let me just walk through it
And I will tell you later (Mar, 11 April 1993).

Instead of showing her authority over the shape of the text, she implies her lack of control over the diary by questioning the diary about her future. Differing from the Indonesian published autobiographies, where the books function mainly as the means of telling the subject's life, as the ventriloquist of the subject, most Indonesian women's diaries being examined here become more of a companion for the writer. So, Mar asks: "Do you know, diary, the end of my story?" (Mar, 14 June 1993). Having no control over and no knowledge of what her life may become, Mar questions her diary instead about the ending of her story in the text.

Differences between Indonesian published autobiographies and unpublished diaries are also emphasised by the censorship and social control in the country. In such a society, Indonesian women have to maintain a certain degree of pretence to be able to gain acceptance. When giving an account of their life in public, Indonesian women have to integrate several gazes into their subjectivity. The "I" of Indonesian women's autobiographies has to pay attention to an audience. This "I" has to be aware of how she looks in public: she has to anticipate the ideological, political and social expectations which will be placed upon her subjectivity.

In Sulistina's autobiography, for instance, this kind of play is implied as she describes a quite intimate scene with her husband, Soetomo. Showing romantic and physical intimacy in public is still considered taboo in Indonesia. Nonetheless, Sulistina describes the intimacy between herself and her famous husband, Soetomo. When Soetomo was just released from jail, he lifted Sulistina up in his arms in front of the journalists. Sulistina tells about this in her autobiography: "[A]ku digendong dimuka para wartawan, dan lampu blits berjepretan mengabadikan peristiwa itu. . . . Aku malu sekali digendong didepan para wartawan di Kejaksaan Agung" [I was carried (by my husband) in front of the journalists, and the cameras flashed to record the events I was very embarrassed to be carried in front of the journalists at the Court] (Soetomo, 1995: 145).

One may wonder whether Sulistina was indeed embarrassed rather than proud. While she states that she was embarrassed, she still recounts the event in the text and even includes a picture of it (page 144), implying that she wants this event to be known publicly instead of being hidden. Stating that: "Esoknya potret itu masuk di koran Kompas" [the next day, the picture was published in Kompas Newspaper] (Soetomo, 1995; 145), Sulistina wants to stress that this event was so important that one of the most popular Indonesian newspapers published the photograph.

Being embarrassed or being ashamed is considered a proper feeling for Javanese, and especially for Javanese women. Niels Mulder notes that for Javanese, being embarrassed or ashamed "should become a deeply internalised attitude fostering conformity at the same time that it should control behaviour, functioning as a kind of conscience" (Mulder, 1989; 26). He continues by arguing that what is meant by shame is "the feeling of anxiety about one's presentation, about being criticised or laughed at, for short, a feeling of embarrassment and fear for the eyes, ears, and opinion of others" (Mulder, 1989; 26).



Digendong di Kantor Kejaksaan Agung

Sulistina and Soetomo in
Sulistina Soetomo's *Bung Tomo Suamiku* (1995).

In this case, being embarrassed involves wanting to disappear, not to be known, seen or heard. However, Sulistina's sentence "aku malu" (I was embarrassed) implies "I was embarrassed. But please know that I was embarrassed". It is important for the reader to know and admire that the "I" feels embarrassed. In other words, I want you to look at me while considering that I don't want you to look at me. Sulistina's embarrassment is a kind of challenge for others to see. Being embarrassed is a virtuous quality for Indonesian women: stating that one is embarrassed can add more honour to the subject. Sulistina's description fluctuates between two conflicting desires: the desire to show, and not to show, her intimacy with Soetomo.

The diary writers, by contrast, can feel more relaxed in expressing themselves than does the subject of a published text. However, this does not mean that the "I" of a diary is free from the processes of re-interpretation and re-construction. This contention is borne out by the nine Indonesian women's diaries discussed in this study. Although most of these Indonesian women write their diaries with hardly any intention for publication, there is still a kind of performance in these diaries. In Mar's diary, for instance, she writes how she plays a role. She imagines that she is in a big drama, as is shown by the following passage taken from her diary:

Bila malam mulai tiba . . .
 dan sepi telah datang,
 Aku akan membuat sebuah opera
 Kau dan aku adalah pemain utamanya.
 . . .

Opera yang megah, agung , besar dan indah.
 Tapi hanya aku . . .
 Hanya aku yang dapat mengetahuinya

[When the night has begun
 and silence has come,
 I will make an opera,
 its main characters are you and I
 . . .

The big, luxurious, wonderful opera
 But only I

It is only I who knows about it]

(Mar, 12 August 1987).

The diarist colours the description with imagery, metaphor and hyperbole. Imagining herself and the man that she secretly loves as the hero and the heroine in a drama, Mar

moves herself to a stage (in an opera). She becomes the principal character in the opera of her own story.

That a diary is not free from editing, omission and re-construction by the subject is indicated by the fact that one usually writes a diary when one feels something special or unusual. One of my respondents, for instance, keeps two diaries at the same time. One of them she calls "sad box" for writing sad events, the other one is "happy box" for writing happy events. In such a case, a diary cannot be considered as portraying "real" life, but only part of it. It describes some aspects of self rather than the whole self. However, it does not mean that a diary cannot portray one's life at all or that it can be considered fictive either.

A diarist usually records things that s/he can remember and that s/he thinks are special and thus worth writing about. Hence, what is written in the diary are the events which are not habitual. Lilies's diary, for instance, expresses this kind of omission:

Aku berada di M udah agak lama. Ketrima di M University
Fak: N. Mulai tanggal 26-10 September Lilies mulai
mengikuti kegiatan kampus (Penat P 4 + Opspek). Sejauh
ini Lilies belum mengalami hal istimewa sih!! Mungkin
nanti. Pasti, deh Lilies cerita ke kamu diary.

[I have been in M rather a long time. I was accepted at M
University, department of N. Starting from 26 August – 10
September Lilies starts to do Campus activities (Pancasila
Seminar and Orientation). So far, Lilies has not experienced
something special. Maybe later. Surely, I will tell you
diary] (Lilies, 24 August 1994).

To be in a new university in another city is something out of the ordinary in a person's life. In the case of Lilies, when she goes to this University, there are many other changes that she has to experience: a change of school, a change of friends, a change of city and a change of place to stay. Doing Pancasila Seminar and Orientation can be other things which may be quite important for her emotions. However, she reports what happens in a perfunctory way. Her diary, consequently, does not provide clear explanations of what she thinks of the new place, events and University.

The burning or tearing up of diaries is another habit which distorts the wholeness of the self represented. One of the diaries by Eli, for instance, states: "Terus terang, hari ini beberapa lembar telah aku bakar. Aku tidak suka isinya"

[Honestly, I have just burnt a few pages today. I don't like the content] (Eli, May 5⁹¹)⁷. Eli also writes:

Sobekan ini aku lakukan di suatu hari, karena aku bingung, kusut sekali. Malu rasanya menuliskan hal-hal yang membuatku kacau.

[I tore a bit out one day, because I was confused, very perplexed. I was embarrassed writing things which make me bewildered] (Eli, 19 October 1989).

In another part of her diary, Eli implies how she cannot record everything because of the time lapse, as she writes:

Sebenarnya terlalu banyak yang ingin aku abadikan disini. Tapi semua telah meredam sudah. Mungkin lebih baik begitu. Agar aku cepat lupa.

[Actually there are too many things that I want to record here. But it has all cooled down already. Perhaps it is better that way. So that I can forget it easily] (Eli, 21 July 1990).

The distance between the self who is writing and the self who is written can create a gap and the loss of the events which are going to be recorded.

However, distance not only creates a loss of record but also produces a better image of what has happened. For the diary writers, when they are too upset or too happy, their feelings are so overwhelming that they are not able to express them. There needs to be a delay between the event and its representation, so that one can tell about it. Just as the eye cannot see something which is too close to the retina or even inside the retina, the self cannot explain some experiences when they are too near. Eli expresses how overwhelming emotions prevent her from writing: "Sebenarnya aku tidak mau . . . Sebenarnya aku ini mau menulis apa? Menggumpal sekali . . . " [Actually I do not want to What do I really want to write? It is very suffocating . . .] (Eli, 14 July 1990). Eli starts writing but then leaves the sentence unfinished: she is confused about her own feelings, because the feelings are too powerful to be translated into words.

This indicates how the gap between the event and its representation does not only distort the experience, it can also make the experience look clearer. In her autobiography, Herlina also implies that the distance between certain occurrences and the time in which she writes about them can make her look more clearly at her

⁷ Eli is not the only one who has torn up her diary. Mar and Nani also have torn up their diaries.

experience: "dalam rentangan waktu yang hampir seperempat abad itu, tentu juga tersedia bagiku kesempatan untuk merenungkan semuanya" (the interval of nearly a quarter of a century has provided me an opportunity to ponder every thing) (Herlina, 1985: 4). So, while distance can make one forget what really happened, it can also make one better analyse the experience.

While both autobiographies and diaries become a place to remember, they can also be a place to forget. In diaries, things that are too embarrassing or too painful to be remembered are sometimes not recorded by the author. So, these two kinds of texts do not only serve to reveal but also to conceal. Eli even states that she keeps secrets from her own diary:

Kunci keberhasilan semua langkahku sebenarnya harus aku tentukan sendiri. OK ! Aku harus rahasiakan langkahku. Termasuk (sorry) dgn.mu buku putihku⁸. Maaf aku harus berahasia.

[I have to decide myself the key of my success. OK! I have to keep secret all my steps. Including (sorry) from you my white book. I'm sorry I have to keep secrets] (Eli, 30 September 1990).

While human memory is limited, to write down everything in one's memory is still impossible. Eli expresses her difficulty in recording everything:

Kalau aku memegang pena ini, dan aku dihadapkan pada harusnya aku menulis isi hatiku, kegundahanku, aku selalu bingung. Apa yang bisa aku tuliskan? Dinamika kehidupan berjalan silih berganti dengan cepatnya .

[When I hold this pen, and I have to think how I must write my feelings, my worries, I'm always confused. What can I write? The dynamic of life passes and changes very quickly] (Eli, 6 June 1991).

What is written in a diary is not only what the subject remembers but what s/he wants, chooses and dares to remember. From this perspective, a diary is in a way like an autobiography: there is an act of adjusting the description of the self, there is some sort of censorship.

No matter how private a piece of written material is, re-reading, re-construction and re-interpretation of the material are often unavoidable. The writers have to transform their own self into a written self, and sometimes to a "proper" or "ideal"

⁸ What Eli means by "buku putih" here is her diary.

written-self. Like the subject of the autobiographies, a diary writer also edits, omits and re-constructs the self so that it can appear to be more appropriate.

3.4. Summary.

As has been discussed above, similarities and differences can be found in Indonesian women's published autobiographies and unpublished diaries. Some blurring appears in these two types of text so that the public and private characteristics of the texts can be questioned. Although Indonesian women's diary writers may not initially intend their diaries to be published in their lifetime, the sense of having a readership, and the desire for another's gaze still exist in some of the diaries. While the subjects of published autobiographies have a public reader as their addressee, the subject of the unpublished diary often creates a dialogue within the apparent monologue. Edition, omission and deletion can easily happen in published autobiographies because of the long intervening process in the production of the texts. Edition, omission and deletion also occur in the unpublished diaries because the subject often forgets, chooses and edits what s/he wants to write in the diary. The process of negotiating identity thus happens in both published autobiographies and unpublished diaries.

However, the above considerations do not mean that the differences between these two kinds of texts should be ignored. An Indonesian unpublished diary cannot be regarded, as Judy Nolte Lensink argues, as a "cohesive" autobiography (Lensink, 1987; 42). While the reader of published autobiographies affirms the subject's fame in the society, the reader in the unpublished diary manifests the subject's seclusion from the society. Indonesian women's unpublished diaries also have a reader and an editor, but here these roles are executed mainly by the subjects themselves. When the subjects of Indonesian women's diaries perform, it is a performance which often manifests more freedom from the public gaze. Furthermore, while the subject of the published Indonesian autobiographies becomes some kind of an authoritative subject who is superior to the reader, the subject of a diary is not. The addressee becomes a companion rather than a person who needs to be "morally instructed". The "I" of the unpublished diary has no obligation to dedicate the book to the benefit of others as do most of the subjects of Indonesian women's autobiographies.

Being exemplary, the subjects of published autobiographies have to be aware of the surrounding stereotypes. However, "more freedom" from external influences in the diary does not mean an absolute freedom. The influences which are considered to be external are often integrated in diary writing and affect how the diary writers edit, omit and re-construct events in writing about them. As writers of their life, the subjects of Indonesian women's autobiographies and diaries are also readers of their life, and they are also the readers of the ideology surrounding them. For this reason, they have to interpret this ideology, and to consciously or unconsciously decide where they place themselves in it before writing the text. The ideological circumstances in which the subject was born and grew up can be very influential. In Chapter Four, I will discuss how one of the New Order requirements of Indonesian women, to be non-egotistic and non-individualistic, is depicted in the eight published autobiographies and nine diaries that I have selected.

Chapter 4.

Indonesian Women's Individuality: Self-Importance and Ambition.

Because one is interrelated to others, the negotiation of one's identity will involve and affect others. In such a negotiation, there can be a dominant party who is capable of defining the values of some other parties. To have credibility during the New Order, for instance, Indonesian women's identities often had to gain the endorsement of the patriarchal world. In addition, by emphasising that women should not be self-centred, the New Order regime undermined women's confidence in articulating their importance and ambitions for their own sake.

Indonesian women's position remained subservient in the New Order period. Brenner states that in the family, Indonesian women were supposed to be under the supervision or control of fathers or husbands:

The state's messages of self-discipline and self-sacrifice are broadcast even more emphatically to women than to men, stressing the importance of motherly selflessness and the restraint of personal desire for the sake of family and nation (Brenner, 1998; 21).

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the need for women to have self-discipline and self-sacrifice had been inherited from the Javanese traditions and from the previous periods in Indonesian history. It is thus very difficult to distinguish the influence of the New Order ideology in the texts from previous periods in Indonesia but the New Order's strong gender ideology meant it was difficult to escape its influence. In this chapter, I will discuss how Indonesian women express their individuality in the published and unpublished writings at a time when the requirement to be subordinate to men was strongly emphasised by the government during the New Order era.

4.1. Published Autobiographies.

4.1.1. Herlina's Autobiography: Recognition of Women's Prominence?

In the mid-1960s, when even Indonesian men rarely wrote an autobiography, surprisingly, one Indonesian woman called Herlina did. Published during the Old

Order in 1965 and republished in the New Order in 1985, *Pending Emas* describes Herlina's experiences in West Papua. Herlina was the first Indonesian woman parachute jumper and took part in the war against the Dutch to win West Papua for Indonesia. Because of her achievement, Herlina was awarded the Golden Buckle by President Soekarno.

Although before the New Order, various women's organizations were growing and there was a considerable women's participation in social and political activities, but the position of many Indonesian women was confined to the family in comparison with the position of men. Leadership and authority were still the prerogative of men. While Soekarno did not oppose the idea of militant women (Wieringa, 1998), fighting and being in a war were still predominantly male activities. However, Herlina proved her competence in this area by her courage in the jungle surrounded by enemies. Her position as a woman, in some respects, gave her an advantage. The first Indonesian woman parachute jumper is not famous, nor is the first non-Irianese Indonesian man to arrive in the jungle of Irian to fight against the Dutch. From this point of view, Herlina has gained more acclamation because of her position as a woman. However, this benefit can also be seen as a disadvantage. Herlina's title of "the first woman" is gender oriented and affirms that most women cannot do as well as men and are thus in need of some concession. This implies that women are still inferior to men.

In addition, Herlina is recognised because she shows that she is successful in a male domain. While this success demonstrates women's ability, it can also indicate that a woman can be respected merely if she can fit the pattern available for male-predominant-acclamation. In this way of thinking, the standard of female identity is still that of males. To receive public acclamation, she has to pass through the "refining fire" of male values.

In the Old Order edition, the first President Soekarno wrote in the introduction:

Karya saudari Herlina ini adalah suatu karya yang berharga sekali, karena didalamnya tertjermin segala duka-derita dan segala suka-rianja sebagai seorang sukarelawati yang pertama mendarat di bumi-keramatnja Irian-Barat . . .

Semoga buku ini mendapat medan-pembatja yang luas; dan semoga buku ini ikut menjalankan terus Api dan Djiwa Revolusi kita !

[Herlina's work is a very precious work, because it mirrored all the pain-sorrow and all the happiness to be the first female volunteer who landed in the holly world of the West Irian . . .

Hopefully this book will reach wide audience; and hopefully this

book could continually light our fire and spirit of revolution]
(Herlina, 1965; vii).

Herlina's autobiography is thus seen as a record of her experience in defending the country and in its use for the spirit of revolution.

Similarly, in the introduction to Herlina's autobiography published in the New Order, Achmad Taher, a retired Lieutenant General of the Indonesian Army, states:

Sebagai seorang peserta kejadian sejarah perjuangan bangsa Indonesia yang dahsyat dalam membebaskan Irian Barat, Bagian yang tak terpisahkan dari Indonesia Raya, J Herlina mencoba menuturkan pengalaman dan renungannya. . . . Semua ini tentu dimaksud Herlina untuk menyampaikan pesan-pesan guna mempertebal kesadaran berbangsa dan cinta tanah air pembacanya. Sifat-sifat ini diperlukan sesuatu bangsa dalam usahanya berupaya mewujudkan jadi kenyataan cita-cita kemerdekaan.

[As a participant in the history of the formidable Indonesian struggle to liberate West Papua, an inseparable part of Greater Indonesia, J Herlina has endeavoured to recount her experiences and reflections. . . . Herlina no doubt hereby intended to appeal to the readers for a greater national awareness and patriotism. These qualities are needed by a nation endeavouring to realise its aspirations for independence] (Herlina, 1985; vii).

Hence, in both editions, Herlina's identity is measured by the greatness of the nation rather than by her achievement as an individual. The inclusion of the above statements by Soekarno and Achmad Taher imply that the support of Indonesian authority, which is predominantly male, is quite important in the publications of this book and in affirming Herlina's identity both in the Old Order and in the New Order era. Nonetheless, Soekarno's introduction still mentions Herlina's achievement as a woman, as he calls her "seorang sukarelawati yang pertama" (the first female volunteer). On the other hand, in the New Order edition of Herlina's autobiography, Achmad Taher merely represents Herlina as part of the national history. Indeed, as I mentioned in Chapter 2, the idea of militant women was not encouraged during the New Order period. The change of introductions in Herlina's autobiography published before and during the New Order period reflects the change of expectation of Indonesian women.

4.1.2. How These Autobiographies do not Signify Individuality.

While in *Pending Emas* which was first published in the Old Order, Herlina describes her adventure in the jungle of Irian, in her other autobiography published in the New Order, *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit [Arising from the sick world]* (1986), Herlina focuses on the story of her illnesses, her family. The sphere of these two autobiographies transfers from "outdoor" to "indoor". In *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit*, Herlina's individual story is interrupted by the story of her adopted children. Consisting of 220 pages, 71 pages or one third of the text narrate the stories of Herlina's adopted children. In this text, Herlina describes how she was very ill after being involved in many struggles and wars. She suffered from three diseases simultaneously: tuberculosis, liver problems and diabetes. Herlina had to live in the mountains to recuperate from her illness, where she decided to adopt some poor or abandoned children. While the text is categorised as an "autobiography" (back-cover), besides narrating about her own self, Herlina sees herself in relation to her adopted children and her motherly qualities. This implies a tendency to soften the subject's individualism by focusing upon other people.

Indeed, to some extent Indonesian women are still expected to show dedication to men and identify with the roles delineated by patriarchal values. Javanese traditions often emphasise self-effacement of women and such roles are emphasised by the New Order government in *Panca Dharma Wanita* through the female roles of motherhood and wife-hood. Similar expectations are reflected in Herlina's *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit*, in which Herlina's role as a mother becomes prominent.

Another autobiography which also blurs the individuality of the subject is that of Inggit Garnasih, *Kuantar ke Gerbang* (1988). Published in the New Order, Inggit's life story takes place in the colonialism and Old Order era, during which she met, married and supported Soekarno in his exile and struggle.

In *Kuantar ke Gerbang*, Inggit's individualistic perception is clouded by the point of view of another, Soekarno. Inggit's life-story begins with how Soekarno perceives her:

Perawakannya kecil. Sekuntum bunga merah yang elok melekat di sanggulnya. Senyum yang menyilaukan mata. Ia berdiri di pintu masuk. Sinar setengah gelap. Bentuk badannya nampak jelas dikelilingi cahaya lampu dari belakang.

Itulah rupanya gambaran yang terus hidup di ingatannya, di ingatan bekas suamiku.

[Her figure was small. A beautiful red rose was stuck in her chignon. A dazzling smile. She stood at the entrance. It was dusk. Her silhouette was clearly outlined by the light from the back.

That may be a picture which is still alive in his memory, in the memory of my ex-husband] (Garnasih, 1988; 1).

Here, Inggit is depicted through the lens of Soekarno's perception rather than through her own. In this case, the viewpoint in the text is that of the male observer. In this case, Inggit's self-effacement in her autobiography shows that this quality was expected from Indonesian women before the New Order period began. The strong implantation of such an expectation from the previous period had made it easy for the New Order regime to carry this on.

In *Ways of Seeing*, J. Berger states: "The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed female" (Berger, 1971: 21). In describing herself, Inggit lets herself be seen as a woman whose physical beauty is enjoyed by a male, by Soekarno. Indeed, the story begins with Inggit's meeting Soekarno and ends with their divorce. In a way, then, the story mostly concerns Inggit's being a wife of Soekarno rather than her own individual life independent from him. Furthermore, in being ghost-written by Ramadhan, Inggit is perceived through the writer's eye. In other words, Ramadhan perceives Inggit who then perceives herself in the eye of Soekarno. So, while Inggit becomes the subject of the text, she becomes the object of others' perception at the same time.

Furthermore, throughout the autobiography, there are numerous cases where Inggit demeans her own position in relation to Soekarno. Inggit's dedication to her husband in order to make him successful is clearly expressed in the text:

Aku tenggelamkan diriku pribadi, aku hilangkan kepentinganku sendiri. Aku mengabdinya. Benar, aku memberikan segala apa yang diperlukannya kepadanya.

[I sank my own personality, I lost my own self-importance. I dedicated myself to him. True, I gave him everything he needed] (Garnasih, 1988; 32).

In this above passage, Inggit states her willingness to submerge her own individuality to the needs and desires of her husband, Soekarno. Despite Soekarno's support of women's emancipation and participation in politics as portrayed in his book *Sarinah*, Inggit is never involved in the political discussions. She is merely present to

serve some drinks for Soekarno and his friends when they are debating. Women's self-sacrifice had indeed existed in Indonesia before the New Order period began. In addition, the fact that this quality was celebrated by the state ideology during the New Order made it understandable why Inggit emphasised it in her autobiography published under that regime.

Similarly, Lasmidjah Hardi also describes her dedication to her husband after she gets married, although she herself has been very successful in her own profession. The autobiography of Lasmidjah Hardi records her many activities in relation to the struggle for Indonesian independence: she was involved in Indonesian revolutionary activities during Dutch colonialism, and was an organiser of political conferences in support of Indonesian independence during the Japanese occupation. She also held important positions in a number of women's organisations: she became a teacher for *Istri Sedar* (a women's organisation founded in the 1920's), vice President of *Istri Indonesia* (a women's organisation during the Revolution), and also one of the founders of the Women's Co-operative Bank in Jakarta. Because of these activities, she often had to go abroad, a privilege which was very rare for Indonesian women at that time.

Lasmidjah married a civil servant in Indonesia's Department of Internal Affairs, Hardi, on 7 February 1954. After her marriage, Lasmidjah often presents the account of her identity as being dependent upon that of her husband. The sub-title in the text after her marriage is "Nyonya Waperdam" (Mrs. Vice Prime Minister). In this section, Lasmidjah explains that her husband has been promoted to the position of a Vice Prime Minister in 1957 and that her activities as his wife were: "acara resepsi dan kegiatan yang bersifat sosial" [receptions and activities which have a social nature] (Hardi, 1997; 136).

As is described in the text, only later on, after her marriage, did Lasmidjah have a position independent of her husband: she became an assistant Minister for a while in early 1960s and then a President of the Indonesian Consumers' Union in 1973. Nonetheless, her position as the President of this Union did not last long because she had to "mengikuti tugas suami yang menjadi Duta Besar RI untuk Vietnam" [follow the duty of her husband, who became the ambassador for Indonesia in Vietnam] (Hardi, 1997; 162). After quitting as the President of Consumers' Union, most of her activities involved accompanying her husband or helping some social organisations. This illustrates Lasmidjah's intention to describe herself in relation to the position of

her husband rather than asserting her own individuality. Although she has been successful in her own profession or career, she hardly ever mentions her own ambition. In most of these eight autobiographies, the ideal of a woman who serves the other and who sacrifices her self-importance for the sake of the other's prestige is portrayed several times.

The autobiography of Sujatin Kartowijono can be seen as different from the other seven autobiographies. Although Sujatin was involved in the struggle against Dutch authority to the extent that she was forced to leave Jogjakarta, in the text she mainly identifies herself with her struggle for women's rights. However, Sujatin still relates herself to her organisation, rather than emphasising her own individual identity. When she contacted Hanna Rambe, her ghost-writer, Sujatin did not mention her intention to write her autobiography. In her letter to Hanna, included in the text, Sujatin states that she only wants to "berbincang-bincang tentang cita-cita wanita" [discuss women's aspirations] and "membantu berbagai usaha kemajuan, baik bagi wanita maupun orang lanjut usia" [help various efforts dedicated to the progress of both women and elderly people] (Kartowijono, 1983; 9). This letter implies Sujatin's desire to maintain her existence in the service of others.

Tinneke Hellwig argues that in Indonesia, "women's caring for others is taken for granted" (Hellwig, 1994; 202). The "ethic of care" by women in Indonesia is emphasised by the demand for women's sacrifice for others. Nevertheless, compared to the other women's autobiographies, the people that Sujatin is striving for are not those found in most Indonesian autobiographies: she is striving for women, in support of the claim that women's rights are human rights.

At this point, it is interesting to compare Sujatin's autobiography with Lasmidjah's. Although Lasmidjah mentions that she is involved in some women's organisations (Istri Sedar and Istri Indonesia), she rarely discusses women's rights or women's emancipation in her autobiography. Apparently, the notion of feminism imbibed in her formative years had less influence in writing her autobiography than the gender ideology of the New Order period in which the book was published. Hence, although some traditional morality is reflected in Sujatin's autobiography, this text shows that her intention is to rebel against the patriarchal domination of women's identity.

The expectation that women should be humble, combined with the self-effacing qualities found in traditional Indonesian autobiographies, have gone hand in hand in

shaping Indonesian women's self-expression in published autobiographies. This trait implanted in the Javanese tradition was carried on during the New Order period. As in more traditional Javanese writings, lowering oneself can be found in some of these women's autobiographies. For instance in *Bung Tomo Suamiku*, Sulistina Soetomo states that her book is "tidak lengkap. Aku memang bukan seorang penulis" [not complete. I am really not a writer] (Soetomo, 1995; 177). Similarly, Herlina expresses a tone of modesty in her autobiography *Pending Emas*:

Walaupun buku revisi ini telah dipersiapkan sedemikian rupa, tentulah di sana-sini masih saja ada cacat-celanya, sebagaimana "tiada gading yang tak retak". Untuk itu, aku mohon maaf dan tegur sapa dari para pembaca.

[Although I have done my best to provide a good revised edition, there must still be some shortcomings in this text, nothing is perfect. For this reason, I owe the reader an apology for the remaining shortcomings, and welcome criticism from the reader] (Herlina, 1985; x).

Emphasising her humility, Herlina states in the introduction that she expects criticism from the public.

In addition, like some Indonesian men's autobiographies, some Indonesian women's autobiographies have ghost-writers, which can be interpreted in many ways. The subject may be too old to write her own autobiography so that she needs someone else to help her. Sujatin Kartowijono, for instance, decided to commence the composition of her autobiography in 1982, she was already 75 years old, and often got sick. So, she wrote a letter to Hanna Rambe and asked whether Hanna Rambe would be willing to be the ghost-writer of her autobiography (Kartowijono, 1983).

Another possibility is that the subject has little experience in writing so that asking a biographer to do it will be beneficial. This possibility, though, does not seem to apply in the case of Lasmidjah's autobiography. Lasmidjah Hardi has written some life-stories of other women in *Sumbangsihku Bagi Pertiwi*, which amount to five volumes (1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985) but she still uses some ghost-writers for her autobiography. This implies that like other subjects of Indonesian autobiographies, she still demonstrates a hesitance in uttering her own "I".

4.1.3. The Ambivalence, Contradiction and Resistance in Women's Roles.

While most of the subjects of these autobiographies seem to subordinate themselves, there are ambivalences and even contradictions which may arouse some questioning of these women's subjugation of their self-importance. The subjects' self-deprecation in their autobiographies does not mean that the reader is intended to degrade the text or the subject. In terms of Javanese social etiquette, directly disagreeing with someone, let alone criticising or degrading him or her, is regarded as offensive. To avoid criticism, the subject often takes pre-emptive action through self-effacement. Hence, if the subject of a published autobiography degrades herself, this may mean that it is better not to criticise her. On the other hand, what is expected from this self-effacement may be praise: the fact that this important figure is willing to degrade herself means that she is very humble.

Similarly, the self-effacement practised by Lasmidjah Hardi may also be questioned. In her autobiography, she states that she does not want to be regarded as a patriot: "Aku sama sekali tidak berpretensi untuk dianggap sebagai seorang pejuang" [I do not want to pretend to be considered as a patriot at all] (Hardi, 1997: xi). However, she lists all of the awards that she has received from the government for being a nationalist (page x and page 231 – 237) and recounts all of her activities in regard to her nationalism. Hence, in her refusal to accept praise, there is a desire to gain more praise. This implies that there is a contradictory intention in Hardi's statement: the more modest she is the more she actually glorifies her achievements.

Another paradox can also be found in the three autobiographical texts, Ratna Djuami Asmarahadi's *Kisah Cinta Inggit dan Bung Karno* [The love story of Inggit and Bung Karno], Rachmawati Soekarno's *Bapakku Ibuku* [My Father my Mother], and Sulistina Soetomo's *Bung Tomo Suamiku* [Tomo my Husband]. Rather than talking about themselves, some of these Indonesian women tell about their memories of their parents or husband. In Ratna Djuami Asmarahadi's *Kisah Cinta Inggit dan Bung Karno* [The love story of Inggit and Bung Karno], for instance, while the "I" of the text is Ratna Djuami, Djuami recounts the story of her adoptive parents, Inggit and Soekarno (Bung Karno). Similarly, in *Bapakku Ibuku* [My Father my Mother], Rachmawati narrates the story of her parents. As the title *Bung Tomo Suamiku* [Tomo

my Husband] indicates, the text focuses attention on Sulistina's husband, Soetomo¹, rather than on Sulistina herself.

While in R. Soetomo's autobiography *Kenang-kenangan [Memoirs]*, he writes about himself in relation to other people, in these three texts, other people (the father, the husband and the step-father) are narrated through the "I". Focusing upon the memories of others, these texts can be seen as the biographies of others rather than the autobiographies of the three women. However, as was discussed earlier, the identities of Indonesians depend upon their relationship to others. The status of a person can be influenced by his/her connection with someone else, especially with a member of the family. By positioning themselves as being closely related to famous figures, these women have an opportunity to become prominent. It is in these texts that the "I" can become more famous. The intention of the subjects' self-subjugation in narrating other people's story can thus be questioned. The three texts *Kisah Cinta, Bapakku Ibuku* and *Bung Tomo Suamiku*, which seem to be memories of others, can also function as affirmations of the individuality of these three women.

Another level of concealed self-affirmation can be inferred in *Bung Tomo Suamiku [Tomo My Husband]*. The text describes the way in which male supremacy is practised in the household of Sulistina and her husband. Soetomo demands that Sulistina serve him fully. Sulistina cannot complain or object, even when Soetomo demands that she polish his shoes:

Aku enggan masa isteri bertugas mengelap sepatu. 'Kan ada Paijo yang bisa mengelapnya sampai mengkilat'. Mas Tom marah . . . Terpaksa dengan berat hati aku melap sepatu larsnya sampai mengkilap.

[I was hesitant whether a wife is obliged to polish shoes. 'Isn't there Paijo who can polish them'. Tom got angry . . . Reluctantly I polished the shoes until they were shining] (Soetomo, 1995; 52).

Although Sulistina utters her objections to doing whatever her husband orders her to do, she still gives in. She even concludes that "menjadi isteri yang mutlak, harus melayani suaminya" [to become a complete wife, you have to serve your husband] (Soetomo, 1995; 52).

This shows that the ideal of a dutiful and submissive wife is implanted in Sulistina so that her protest against Soetomo's order is then transformed into

¹ Not to be confused with R. Soetomo, the writer of *Kenang-kenangan*.

obedience: she cannot negotiate his demands. In controlling negotiation, the power wielded by male supremacy often creates a situation in which oppression can be seen as care and domination can be seen as benevolence. In a similar way, Sulistina describes Soetomo's demand for her service with some kind of pride:

Sampai akhir hayatnya mas Tom tidak mau diladeni oleh siapapun, kecuali aku. Dan aku belajar untuk melakukan hal itu dengan senang. Kalau bukan aku, siapa lagi yang meladeninya dengan perasaan cinta? Aku enggan berbagi perhatian pada mas Tom dengan wanita lain.

[Until his death, Tom did not want to be served by anyone else, except by me. And I learned to do that gladly. If it was not me, who else would serve him with love? I was hesitant to share Tom's attention with other women]
(Soetomo, 1995; 52).

Tom's domination becomes a privilege that Sulistina should be happy to have. She even fears that this privilege may be taken (by other women) if she is not willing to accept it.

Nevertheless, her contradictory statement also implies that her expression of gratitude may be merely a means of reassuring herself about her obedience and loyalty. By describing both Soetomo's authority as well as her own loyalty, Sulistina herself may doubt her eagerness to sacrifice for Soetomo. Furthermore, sacrifice can be used as an enforced debt, as Sulistina states: "Tidak apalah, mengalah bukan berarti kalah. Akhirnya kitalah yang menang" [It is fine, to give in does not mean to lose. In the end, we will win] (Soetomo, 1995; 52). While Sulistina describes her husband's orders and the pleasure with which she fulfils them, this dedication is not without its own reward. Her sacrifice becomes a source of pressure on the other to repay this kindness. This is a way for her to score over her husband. Consequently, her sacrifice and dedication serve as some kind of investment for her to win admiration. As if it were a way for her to tell the public: "Look at me! I have suffered. I have sacrificed so much. And I do not complain". From this point of view, women's silence before male dominance cannot be seen merely as weakness and submissiveness.

Indeed, while the position of a devoted woman can be seen as disempowering, this position may also be a source of power: it is through this position that Indonesian women can find a space in the published texts. By showing their dedication to the other, these women can gain admiration from the public. Their statements about self-effacement become a method of bolstering their self-importance. Their personality

does not disappear into their dedication to other people. Instead, their personality emerges because of this. While some of the subjects of Indonesian women's autobiographies seem to follow the female stereotype of being non-individualistic, of being self-sacrificing and submissive, these traits can often be questioned.

Therefore, while most published autobiographies seem to reflect the construction of ideology, in some ways resistance and transgression can be found in these texts. Their descriptions of serving the other, which can on one level imply their traditional traits, can at the same time reveal their untraditional traits. While they portray their domestic roles as devoted women, they are nevertheless famous devoted women, and while the position of a devoted woman can be considered traditional, famous women are not traditional. This implies that the subjects of autobiographies still have individual ambitions and desires. However, they may have to hide these desires in the public realm.

4.2. Diaries:

4.2.1. Individualism in Modern Indonesian Women's Diaries.

Unlike the subjects of published autobiographies, who come from a select group of people and are expected to perform certain roles, the subjects of the diaries can come from a much wider range of backgrounds and are able to conduct themselves more freely. The subjects of autobiographies can be considered a minority, since they are public figures, the select few among many. Nevertheless, being read by the public, these few subjects of published autobiographies potentially provide an available pattern for many other Indonesian women.

Most of the diary writers I spoke to referred to Western texts when I asked what had influenced them in writing a diary. The diary of Anne Frank, which has been quite popular in Indonesia, has inspired some of these diary writers. In addition, a life story of an American girl, Laura Ingalls (1867-1957), has also won popularity in Indonesia. Laura Ingalls had written diaries since she was a little girl and later wrote autobiographies based on her diaries. A television series called *Little House on the Prairie* has been made based on her autobiographies. This has been broadcast three times on Indonesian Television, first in early 1980, then in early 1990, and then again in mid- 1990. Soon after her life story was broadcast in Indonesia for the first time,

her autobiographies were translated into Indonesian and became quite popular among Indonesian girls in the 1980s.

Of the eight subjects of the unpublished diaries (Fay, Mar, Ani, Lilies, Ella, Eli, Nani and Mina), all except Ani had seen the series *Little House on the Prairie* on TV. Coming from a rural area, Ani did not have a television. Having watched the series, the other diary writers stated that they have been very much influenced by the story of Laura Ingalls. One of the diary writers, Eli, told me that she was also influenced by an Indonesian autobiography, that of K.H. Agus Salim.

That the diary writers claimed to be mainly influenced by Western writers rather than Indonesian ones may be due to the fact that they find it difficult to identify with the subjects of Indonesian autobiographies, who are mostly well known rather than ordinary people. The life stories of Anne Frank and Laura Ingalls thus open up an opportunity for these diary writers to express their individuality, for although both girls lived outside Indonesia, they represent the importance of the daily and ordinary life of non-public figures.

Indeed, unlike the published autobiographies, the centre of these eight diaries revolves around the writers. Although they write about other people, these people occupy only a small space in their writing. Ani, for instance, shows how important her children are in her life, but still writes mostly about herself in her diary. In her diary, Ani shows her deep love for her children as she states: "akan kuabdikan seluruh hidup dan perhatianku untuk anak dan adikku. Karena merekalah hingga sekarang aku betah dan masih tabah hidup di dunia yang fana ini" [I will dedicate all my life and attention to my children and younger siblings. Because of them until now I can survive and am still strong enough to live in this mortal world] (Ani, March 1991).

In another part of her diary, Ani describes herself as being deeply involved with her children: "anak-anak, merekalah pendorong semangatku" [the children, they are the motivation of my spirit] (Ani, 7 September 1990). In these statements, she expresses her inability to separate her life from her family, from her children and her younger siblings. However, in most of her diary, Ani mainly writes about herself. The people surrounding her are described in relation to her rather than the other way around. She even talks much more about her love affairs with several men rather than her children in the diary. While published autobiographies merely provide a space for women with "proper" positions, the diary provides a place for this divorced woman

who is having affairs with several men, a woman who is considered improper according to the standards of society, to express her identity.

Some of these diaries open with self-introduction, such as a proper name, place and date of birth and descriptions of hobbies. Unlike the subjects of autobiographies, none of these eight diarists opens with the identity of the others such as parents or husbands or children. Lilies's diary, for instance, introduces herself on the front page, stating her name, address, date of birth and her own words of wisdom, without mentioning her parents. In her diary, she also mainly writes her feelings and experiences, rather than discussing her parents.

Similarly, other diary writers mention their families only in passing. Unlike published autobiographies, where the "I" is subordinate to the other, in these eight unpublished diaries, the writer herself is the centre of attention. The "I" has the space to utter her individualistic feelings and thoughts. Furthermore, while most of the subjects of autobiographies I discuss do not show ambition for their own sake, and even state that they have dedicated themselves to the ambition of the other (such as their husband), some of the diary writers are able to utter more ambitious desires. Although in her autobiography Herlina states her desire to travel around Indonesia, this desire is related to her dedication to the country. Hence, like the other subjects of the published autobiographies, Herlina expresses her ambition only in relation to her capacity to be useful to others. On the other hand, some of these diary writers express their desire to be famous in their own right.

The desire to be outstanding and prominent is often stated in the diaries I have been able to collect. Ida, for instance, writes in her diary: "Yang saya inginkan menjadi orang kaya. Terkenal." [What I want is to become a rich person. Famous] (Ida, 16 September 1997). Rather than wanting to devote herself to the prominence and success of the other, she herself wants to be prominent, rich and famous. Nani can provide another example as she utters in her diary: "Aku ngga munafik, aku slalu bangga dg punya teman, punya popularitas dan ternama" [I am not hypocritical, I am always proud of having many friends, having popularity and fame] (Nani, 27 January 1994). In another part of her diary, she states: "aku ingin jadi wanita sukses" [I want to be a successful woman] (Nani, 12 August 1994). She also wants to be a person who is "hebat" [outstanding] (Nani, 25 May 1995). She longs to be "diakui dan diperhitungkan" [recognised and counted] (Nani, 25 June 1996). She also expressed

her desire to be "Wanita Udara" [a female pilot]², which is not only very competitive but also very rare for Indonesian women.

4.2.2. The Intertwining of Rebellion and Conformity.

In their published autobiographies, the subjects often emphasise the value of the family as the source of learning and guidance. Similarly, the emphasis on women's dedication to the other is demonstrated when the subjects of published autobiographies portray the people surrounding them (such as the members of their families) rather than themselves. On the other hand, the subjects of the eight diaries I have collected represent themselves as separate from the members of their families. In some parts of their diaries, two of them even show their rejection of their families. Mar and Mina are two of the diary writers who reveal their refusal to be confined by and committed to the family bond. Nonetheless, compliance for the benefit of the family is still integrated in their rebellion.

Like other diary writers, Mar's position as a daughter, wife or mother cannot be inferred clearly at the beginning of her diary. It is only by reading the whole diary and from interviews with her that we know that she is a daughter and not a wife or a mother. She hardly ever mentions her parents in the diary, and when she does, it is with resentment rather than with respect. She gives the impression that her family is an authoritative power which bothers her:

It is a night. A usual night. And here I am. Busy thinking of my homework, my paper and all my work I have to do. And sometimes I feel vexed because of my mom who pushes me all the time to do what she wants or my father who could only command me. . . . let's forget about my mother, father or sister. All of them are bullshits tonight. (Mar, 27 May 1991).

When she writes about her parents, she expresses rebellion and her need for her own space. Not only does Mar wish for independence but she also expresses rejection of them. Thus, while some of the subjects of autobiographies seem to build their image on a description of their family, Mar insists on her individualism by reacting against subordination to her family.

² Nani was rejected when she applied for a position as a female pilot. During our meeting at the end of 1999, she told me that she had given up this idea. She has more interest in literature at the moment.

Being dependent on the social status of the male member of the family, Indonesian women are often required to guard the prestige of the family. Maintaining respect for the family in public can also involve maintaining the social status of these women. In this case, diaries enable Mar to reveal her rejection of her family without much consideration of social shame. Talking in private, she does not need to risk her own reputation in relation to that of her family. However, Mar continues to live with her family. Her diary does not indicate any desire to leave them, which may imply her dependence on her family.

Like Mar, Mina's diary also reflects her struggle for a space of her own in relation to her family. Her existence as a daughter and a sister becomes a burden for her. As a big sister, Mina has to look after her younger brother:

Tonight I made a big cleaning in our house, especially my room. And Adek [her brother]? Gee. I give him some money every month to live – I don't mind at all, he's my bro – he lives in a house that I pay the rent – again, isn't that what a big sister for? All I ask him is to take care his own things. Please, take care his own clothes and washing, if he doesn't want to iron them, fine, but please do something with them so it looks neat and hidden. If he buys/brings some food at home, please take care the plastic trash, take care the plate to the sink and wash it. He didn't. He just never do it (Mina, 11 October 1994).

Mina has become the breadwinner for her brother as well as his nurturer. However, it is not becoming a breadwinner for her brother that she complains about but doing too many chores. She even states that she does not mind paying for her brother's expenses. It is the domestic service for her brother, the service which is traditionally supposed to be done by women, which is rejected by Mina. She expresses her anger in the diary: "A young careless, lazy, selfish young man gets on my nerves. Guess who. My dear darling brother" (Mina, 3 November 1994). It is implied here that she expects an equal division of labour: since she has been the breadwinner, then the brother should clean up. Mina is aware that what she does is different from the role of the traditional breadwinner, who usually receives services from the person he finances (the wife's support, submission and household work). By contrast, she has to be the breadwinner without receiving anything back in return, as she even has to do the household duties.

As opposed to Sulistina and Inggit, who describe their willingness to serve their husbands, Mina expresses her refusal of, and even aversion to, having to privilege a male member of the family, her brother:

I started thinking that I can't live with anybody who has blood relationship with me. I'm sick and tired knowing that Ade, my dear brother, can be so careless about himself. I do almost all household things. I left in purpose his washing, ingin tahu dia nyuci apa nggak, dan . . . tidak [I had left on purpose his washing, wanting to know whether he was washing them or not, and . . . no] (Mina, 9 October 1994).

Mina's mother, however, does not criticise the brother. Her mother still performs the more conventional role of women, the ones who serve the other: "And mama saved him dengan mencuci begitu banyak cuciannya, termasuk kolor busuknya" [And mama saved him by washing so many loads, including his stinking underwear] (Mina, 9 October 1994). Despite Mina's insistence that her brother has to learn to do the chores, she depicts how her mother does not want to support her opinion and even spoils her brother: "Ya ampun, kalau di-cover terus, kapan sadarnya? All he has to do is only learning" [My God, if he is protected all the time, when is he going to realise? All he has to do is only learning] (Mina, 9 October 1994).

Not only does Mina's mother perform a traditional role in relation to the brother, but she also has a conventional expectation of Mina, as is portrayed by Mina's diary:

Just having an argument with mother. It started with a conversation about my high-school friends, who're married. Lenny, Lia. Then she asked: "Kok, kamu belum" [Why aren't you married yet?]. Somehow I found myself yelling: "Iya. Mereka kan tak perlu membiayai segalanya sendiri sejak usia 21" [Yes. They haven't had to pay for everything since they were 21] (Mina, 30 June 1994).

Her mother's conventional beliefs lead her to push Mina to adopt the traditional role of the female. Because Mina's mother conforms to the view that being a wife is an important position for most women, she prioritises marriage for Mina. The stereotypical and conventional views held in a patriarchal society can make women argue with each other. Mina shows her resistance to her mother when she writes that her mother often comes up "with the idea I really hate most. Push me to the corner. Getting married soon" (Mina, 30 June 1994). Mina not only resists but also rebels: "Gee, girl, this is 1990s – when it's likely a common reason to see a 26-30 year old

woman, being single. . . . marriage is the least thing I have in mind now" (Mina, 28 April 1995).

It is an irony that this patriarchal view about marriage is expressed by another woman, her mother. In her diary, Mina does not mention that she has any problem with her father at all. Being entrapped in the power system, Mina's mother's pressure may be a way of her asserting her dominance over someone else. Because she can do it more easily to a daughter, she tries to make Mina conform to the role she herself is accustomed to. Her power over Mina can justify her own existence.

Unlike most of the subjects of the published autobiographies, who describe their strong ties with the family, Mina stresses her need for separation from this bond: "I'm 26 now – young woman in the middle of anything. Cry on for individualism and self-freedom" (Mina, 26 September 1994). Complaining about her family, Mina reveals how desperate she is to get her sense of individualism and freedom. That being away from her family is one of the means of getting her individual freedom is implied when she states:

being alone at home is still a luxury for me. I think and feel a lot lately that I may be a little bit too much a solitary person. There is always moment that I really want to be alone, just by myself. Nobody around. Just myself. And it's hard to gain (Mina, 29 April 1994).

Rather than being confined in a domestic place, Mina has the idea of running away from it. Rather than being committed to her duty as a loyal member and supporter of the family, Mina wants to leave them to strive for her own individual freedom.

However, her resistance toward her family is not free from guilt, which is so strong that she feels her thought may be criminal: "I feel like committing a crime to keep such a thought" (Mina, 18 September 1994). Conventional notions of a woman's role create some sense of guilt in some women when they are not always ready to serve others. In addition, being a religious Christian is another factor which makes Mina feel guilty: "As a good Christian, I definitely know, it's so selfish. I should serve him. Be patient. Gentle" (Mina, 11 October 1994). Indeed, religions in Indonesia urge people to sacrifice without questioning. This kind of teaching pushes Mina to make a resolution to be "a good daughter" and "a good big sister" (Mina, 3 February 1994) despite all her wishes to have more individual freedom.

Despite her remorse, she nevertheless craves freedom from her family:

I can't give up the idea of having my own life in version of a

small house with my things in it. There will be only me – a place of my solitary and a place where I can invite my friends for lunch or dinner or couple days staying. No relative. (Mina, 2 July 1994).

I can't stop growing an idea to live by my own. Rent a place, just for my own (Mina, 18 September 1994).

I'm tired of living with my careless brother, let alone mother who always brings surprises (I hate her), but love her all the way long, I guess (Mina, 11 October 1994).

Unlike Mar who never expresses her idea of leaving her family, Mina states this desire several times in her diary. It is probably the idea that the Western world has a greater sense of individualism which makes Mina write: "It's kind of weird that all I wanna do now is leaving to live in the Western world" (Mina, 21 January 1995)³.

Compared to the subjects of autobiographies, some of the diary writers are more able to express their personal desires and ambitions. However, this rebellion is never easy. The entrenched role of caring for her family, for instance, makes Mina question her own rebellion several times in her diary. Similar patterns can be found in Fay's and Eli's diaries. Fay states: "My plan to pursue a Master's degree in the near future, for instance, has taken up most of my wondering mind" (Fay, March 1998)⁴. Rather than emphasising that she wants to serve others, as propagated by most published Indonesian autobiographies, Fay wants to achieve her own aspirations. The diary gives her some space to express her suppression of this desire as well, as she states: "I keep it quiet for myself all this time. Only several people know about my secret desire. To tell you the truth, I rank this at the top of my list of 'things to achieve'" (Fay, March 1998).

For Fay, getting married is not her main aim in the future:

It's funny when you realise the urgency, isn't it? The need to be together at a certain age. I reckon some people may survive when they place this particular issue on their secondary or even tertiary focus of their life. Let me tell you about my plan.

³ Mina was finally able to fulfil her desire to leave home and live in the Western World when she gained a scholarship at the end of 1999 to study overseas. We still keep in touch from time to time.

⁴ In mid-2000, Fay received a scholarship at one of the best Universities in USA to do a Master's degree. She has more interest in feminism and women's studies at the moment, and has published some of her poems too.

Winning a scholarship for a Masters degree is my primary target (Fay, March 1998).

Rather than seeing marriage as her first priority, she regards study as more important. However, marriage is still included in her future plan, as she continues:

After the study, I will work seriously on establishing a family, having kids, raising them, and living my own happy home. Then, I am going to explore my skills and learn more this time as a new person – not me at 25 anymore. Hopefully as a wiser person. I am going to create a safe, healthy, and self-efficient family where intelligence plays a significant role than insolent, materialistic prides (Fay, March 1998).

Stating how she will “work seriously on establishing a family”, indicates that having a family is a kind of career for her. In this case, although she puts her study as her primary ambition, marriage and building a family are still very important for her.

The desire to be prominent and successful is also expressed several times in Eli's diary. Eli wants to be a respected woman. For her to achieve this, she has to be intelligent: “Seseorang tak akan dihormati dan dihargai kalau ia tak punya kepandaian” [One will not be respected and highly valued if s/he has no intelligence] (Eli, 19 September 1989). While published autobiographies show women's dependency upon the fame of others for their identity, in her diary Eli describes how the identity of the family depends on her success. Rather than becoming a subordinate to other members of the family, Eli makes herself the centre: “Aku akan malu, keluargaku yang terkenal ‘gudang’-nya anak pandai, tak mampu menelorkan seorang sarjanapun. Bahkan anak tertua, maskot keluarga!” [I will be embarrassed, if my family which is well-known as a ‘warehouse’ of intelligent children, cannot produce any graduate at all. Not even the eldest, the pride of the family] (Eli, 19 September 1989). As the eldest child, Eli positions herself as the representative of the family.

Besides seeing herself as being different from the people around her, she is confident of her own worth:

Terus terang aku bangga dengan diriku sendiri. Di banyak segi aku punya nilai lebih dari orang-orang di sekitarku, adikku, saudara-saudaraku termasuk ibu dan bapak. Dan banyak pengalaman batin yang tak mereka alami. [To be honest, I am proud of myself. In many aspects, I have more abilities than people around me do, my younger siblings, my brother and sister including my mother and father. And having many inner experiences which they do not have] (Eli, 9 November 1989).

Rather than putting herself down, Eli sees herself as a prominent member of her family.

Her ambition to be well-known is similarly indicated when she expresses her desire to go to one of the best universities in Indonesia. Despite her awareness that she will face some opposition from other people, including her own parents, Eli insists on her determination to achieve her ambition:

untuk menjadi sarjana sepiawai produk Universitas N dibutuhkan semangat dan perjuangan yang betul-betul setinggi menara Eiffel. Ditambah suatu cita-cita yang dicanang tak tanggung-tanggung. Aku sadar akan banyak orang yang walau dalam nyatanya ia mendorong tentu dalam hati akan tertawa sekeras-kerasnya. Termasuk orang tuaku.

[To be a graduate as qualified as at N University, it needs a spirit and struggle as high as the Eiffel tower. Plus a desire which is planned without any hesitance. I realise that although many people appear to encourage me, in their hearts, they will laugh loudly. Including my parents] (Eli, 23 August 1990).

Like Fay, the desire to study is her main aim rather than marriage: "Aku ingin masuk S2 di Universitas N. Dan rasanya aku ingin kawin diatas 25 tahun" [I want to do a Master's degree at N University. And I think I will get married when I am over 25 years old] (Eli, 22 September 1990).

Furthermore, not only does she persist in stating her ambition to be a student at one of the best universities in Indonesia, she even expresses her confidence in becoming someone of prominence at that university:

Aku ingin jadi Dosenya Universitas N kalau aku tak boleh jadi mahasiswanya . . . Aku tak peduli orang katakan aku gila. Tak peduli!!!

[I want to be a lecturer at N University if I am not allowed to be a student there . . . I don't care if people call me crazy. I don't care!!!] (Eli, 12 August 1990).

Suatu saat nanti, aku begitu yakin, aku akan tampil di Universitas N sebagai orang yang berpengaruh dan membawa sejarah baru.

[One day, I am very sure, I will be known at N University as an influential person who will bring a new era] (Eli, 23 August 1990).

Rather than following the stereotype of the submissive and proper female, Eli is ready to challenge the common perception about her: she does not care if people think that her ambition is insane.

Similarly, her longing to be a researcher shows her desire to be respected and remarkable in her own right, rather than to dedicate her life to another's position and prominence: "Aku ingin menjadi seorang peneliti. . . . Aku tidak takut ditertawakan" [I want to be a researcher I am not afraid of being laughed at] (Eli, 29 January 1990). She is even ready to challenge the constraints by ignoring the possible ridicule of other people. Her desire to aim for the highest rather than to be passive and submissive is again described as she insists on being a winner: "Aku ingin menang. MENANG!!!" [I want to win. Win!!!] (Eli, 29 January 1990). Whatever it is that makes her want to win, Eli states her craving to be outstanding above others. In this case, she dares to challenge society's stereotype of being an ideal woman who is not ambitious and career oriented⁵.

Not only does Eli assert her ardour to achieve success, she even doubts God for the sake of her ambition:

Memang benar berdoa dan sholat sunat lainnya adalah membantu. Tapi kalau semua itu membuatku menjadi manusia yang tergantung menunggu nasib, aku takut menjadi seperti dulu lagi. Takut-takut sendiri sebelum sesuatu aku alami.

[It is true that praying and *sholat sunat*, etc., can help. But if all of those make me a human being who depends on faith, I am afraid I will be like before. Being afraid before I experience something]

(Eli, 20 September 1989).

While Eli is a devout Moslem, at some points in the diary she questions her own faith. Her religiosity is expressed in the diary as she states that she tries not to skip her prayers. Yet, she rebels against the implanted constraints which are supposed to be accepted by her without questioning.

Unlike Mina, whose rebellion is dampened by the religious demand for sacrifice, Eli refuses to prioritise her religion over her career and future:

Memperbaiki nasib, harga diri dan mengejar idealisme diri. . . . Aku tidak bisa mengharap rasa kasihan Allah-ku yang kemudian meluluskan keinginanku. Tidak bisa! Allahku begitu tegas memberi cobaan demi kebaikanku kelak. Tanpa tahu apa yang aku rasakan. Tidak peduli! Allah-ku hanya tahu, aku harus

⁵ When I met her in September 1999, Eli had given up her desire to enter this prominent University.

However, her craving for further study makes her keep on applying for some other smaller Universities as well as trying to read more books. Her financial problems make me more aware that there are many people who have abilities but no opportunities.

berusaha, aku tidak boleh menangis, dan yang lebih hebat aku harus tetap jalan atau aku akan sedih terus. Rasanya aku ingin menangis, ingin meratap, ingin merengek pada yang Maha Kuasa. Tapi percuma! Semuanya tak akan membantuku untuk tercapainya keinginanku.

[Improving destiny, self-esteem and pursuing my ideals. . . . I cannot hope that God will pity me and will fulfil my desires. I can't ! My God is so stern in placing temptation in my way for my future betterment. Without knowing what I am feeling. It⁶ is uncaring ! My God only knows, I have to make an effort, I am not allowed to cry, and what is more I have to keep on walking or I will be upset forever. I feel like crying, feel like moaning, feel like whining to the Mightiest. But useless! All that will not help me to achieve my desires] (Eli, 23 November 1989).

Eli's perseverance to attain her ambition is implied in her resolution of not depending on anything, including God the supreme authority.

Nevertheless, her choice is still regulated and controlled by her gender: "Andai boleh, aku ambil Sipil atau Arsitektur. Andai aku tak pernah merasa dibatasi kodrat, tentu aku pasti memilih sipil . . . Rasanya aku ingin memilih Sipil. Ingin sekali" [If it's allowed, I will do civil engineering or architecture. If I don't feel like being limited by destiny, I will surely choose civil engineering. . . . I think I want to choose civil engineering. I want it very much] (Eli, 5 December 1989). Although Eli wants to do civil engineering, according to her, civil engineering is more suitable to males. Stating that "If it's allowed", Eli implies that there is some kind of prohibition on her choice. It is not stated who prohibits her not to do civil engineering. In some ways, Eli disallows herself from doing a subject not considered suitable for women.

Eli herself functions as a social eye which represses her own desire for the sake of conforming to a gender stereotype. She is willing to study a subject which is not her favourite, merely because this subject is considered to be more suitable for women. She imposes gender discrimination upon herself. The importance of women's destiny or *kodrat* is repeated several times in her diary when she writes about her desire for further study: "Agaknya aku berani untuk mengambil komputer . . . rasanya tidak terbatas kodrat" [Probably I will dare to do computing . . . I think it is not restricted by women's destiny] (Eli, 10 December 1989). Rather than stating that she "wants" to study computing, Eli states that she dares do it, indicating that studying computing

⁶ I refer to God as "It". Eli may not have shared the same idea.

takes courage for her. Wanting to be successful, Eli still has to negotiate this desire with gender stereotypes.

4.3. Summary.

Coming from different backgrounds and generations, the subjects of the autobiographies and diaries I selected do not seem to convey similar representations of individuality. While in most of the published autobiographies the subjects do not express their ambition to be successful and prominent on their own, the eight subjects of unpublished diaries do express such a desire. Most of the subjects of published autobiographies emphasise their existence as supporters of other people's careers rather than their own. In other words, in their autobiographies, most of these women, except for Sujatin, identify themselves in relation to males or posit themselves in roles compatible with patriarchal values.

On the other hand, the "I" of the eight unpublished diaries revolves around the author rather than other people. The unpublished texts give them more opportunity to express their ambitions and hopes for having their own career and recognition. The assertion of one of the diarists even goes as far as questioning the authority surrounding her, including God.

However, there is a meeting point between these two genres. While the subjects of autobiographies do not insist on their individuality, they still want to be recognised for their dedication to others. The subjugation of their own ambitions is used as a kind of investment to get recognition. While this can be considered female deceit, this also indicates that females still have to subdue and lower themselves in order to get what they want: they cannot achieve their desire easily. Their reward has to be bought expensively. On the other hand, while the diarists show more insistence on individuality, they are still restricted either by religion or gender stereotypes. In negotiating their identity, women often have to take the role of a producer with demanding consumers, as Pierre Bordieu suggests: "Women are predisposed to accept, from school onwards, the new demands of the market in symbolic goods" (Bordieu, 1991; 50). Hence, women have to give more than take. In the next two chapters, by discussing nationalist propaganda during the New Order period, I will demonstrate further the ways in which the subjects of autobiographies and diaries have to negotiate with the demands of surrounding ideology.

Chapter 5.

The Government and Its Institutions as Readers.

I argued previously that being elderly, most of the subjects of the eight autobiographies I examined address their "juniors" (*generasi muda* [the young generation], *anak dan cucu* [children and grandchildren], *tunas bangsa* [the seed of the nation]). Nevertheless, these subjects also implicitly address their "superiors" (the government and its institutions) by showing their loyalty to and even admiration for them. Although none of these autobiographical subjects addresses these "superiors" directly, most of them imply that the position of these superiors as readers is important by the trace of these superiors' expectations in the texts.

In New Order Indonesia, the authoritative "eye" of the government on one's representation of identity could not be ignored. During this era, the inculcation of nationalism and national loyalty was emphasised. The propaganda of nationalism indeed predated the Soeharto regime. Kipp states: "Constructing nationalist ideals, a nationalist sense of history, and a transcendent loyalty to the nation have been goals of both Old Order and New Order governments" (Kipp, 1993; 105). Consequently, the domination of Indonesian autobiographies by nationalist ideology is not a mere coincidence. Rather, it indicates that there is some kind of pattern provided for what is supposed to be written in an autobiography.

However, the idea of nation is constantly redefined. In discussing Indonesian autobiographies from the early until the late twentieth century, for example, Watson notices that "a notion of Indonesia has constantly to be measured and adjusted" (Watson, 2000; 15). Moreover, an individual has diverse interests and opinions. As is shown in Watson's *Of Self and Nation*, although the autobiographies he discusses can be considered as dialogues between the subjects and the nation, there is a "variety of ways in which the narrators have inserted themselves into their narratives" (Watson, 2000; 3).

At the same time, nonetheless, New Order ideology denied the complexities of nation and nationalism. The New Order regime often equated loyalty to the "nation" with obedience to the government, and the government with the person of Soeharto. Barbara Leigh observes in this connection that for "over twenty years the New Order

government under President Soeharto has presented itself as synonymous with the Indonesian State" (Leigh, 1991; 17). What the government said was to be considered the voice of the whole nation and what was said must be for the good of all. In this controlled political environment, the voice of many millions of others could be replaced by one powerful force, the government.

While some individuals may comply with the ideology because they believe in it, or have been manipulated by certain discourses of power, others may be aware of ideological manipulation but choose to comply with it for their own safety or benefit. Negotiating with such an ideology often depends on how conveniently the subject can adjust to or resist such an authority, and this itself can create some complexities. In this chapter, I will investigate how the eight subjects of autobiographies negotiate their writings in relation to the authoritative political ideology in Indonesia.

5.1. Maintaining the Innocence of the New Order Regime in Autobiographies.

The political ideology of Indonesia has characterised by its appropriation of traditional Javanese concepts of power. Mulder explains that in traditional Javanese philosophy, honouring the ruler is "equivalent to honouring God" (Mulder, 1989; 16) because the ruler is considered to be "closer to the sources of life, moral wisdom and power" (Mulder, 1989; 16). In the Javanese philosophy of power, if the ruler's wisdom declines and the ruler becomes more worldly, he may resort to the use of violence to maintain his authority. This is the time when the ruler has to be replaced because as Anderson explains: "the ruler's resort to violence shows that he is dominated by personal passions" (Anderson, 1990; 63-64). No longer the embodiment of a dispassionate ideal his followers' loyalty can be withdrawn (Anderson, 1990; 63-65).

In practice, the Soeharto government never realised this political ideal. Instead, power was asserted and loyalty commanded through the exercise of state violence (Anderson, 2001), censorship (Sen, 2000), and constant surveillance (Southwood and Flanagan, 1983; Anderson, 2001). Compliance to the New Order was achieved through terror, as is noted by Joshua Barker when he states that the New Order era had created a "State of Fear" (Barker, 2001; 20-39).

Indeed, direct criticism of the New Order government cannot be found in published autobiographies. Rather, when New Order high officials are mentioned,

they are usually pictured with respect. In Lasmidjah Hardi's autobiography, for instance, the wife of Soeharto (Tien Soeharto) is depicted as being supportive of Lasmidjah's work to establish an organisation to protect Indonesian consumers (YLKI) (Hardi, 1997: 162). While attending an opening ceremony for a museum, Tien Soeharto is also pictured as friendly and not easily offended:

Pada saat pembukaan, ada peristiwa yang tak dapat kulupakan. Pada saat mengantarkan Bu Tien berkeliling melihat-lihat koleksi museum, tiba-tiba ada seorang undangan yang tidak sengaja menyenggol Bu Tien. . . . Bu Tien tampak kaget, karena senggolan itu cukup keras. Namun, si penyenggol lebih kaget lagi setelah mengetahui siapa yang telah di-senggol-nya. Si penyenggol itu lalu minta maaf. Bu Tien dengan manis berkata pada orang itu, "Ah, tidak apa-apa."

[During the opening Ceremony, there was an incident which I cannot forget. When I was taking Mrs. Tien to have a look around the collections in the museum, there was suddenly an invited guest who unintentionally brushed against Mrs. Tien. . . . Mrs. Tien seemed a bit startled, because the person did it quite hard. This guest was more startled after knowing who s/he touched. The guest then apologised. Mrs. Tien said sweetly to this person: "Oh, it's OK"] (Hardi, 1997: 165).

While Tien Soeharto is described by some critics and historians as a woman who became part of the New Order network of corrupt cronies (Aditjondro, 1998). The same woman is merely seen as a lady who is kind and forgiving in this text.

The oppression of women's organisations and women's rights by the New Order is similarly not revealed in any of the autobiographies. In establishing organisations like *Dharma Wanita*, which controlled and funnelled women's aspirations, the New Order suppressed and destroyed other women's organisations, such as *Gerwani*, which it saw as a threat by virtue of its giving more active voice to women (Wieringa, 1999). Nevertheless, although Lasmidjah and Sujatin were active in women's organisations during the Old Order period, they do not mention that the New Order government had been oppressive to women's organisations in their autobiographies.

Not only do the eight autobiographies maintain the innocence of the New Order, but some of them also consciously or unconsciously provide some justification for New Order treachery and manipulation. For instance, in *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit*, Herlina describes the New Order's massacre of Communists as an act of heroism. Depicting Communists as traitors who were "laknat" [cursed] and who had "mengkhianati negeri ini" [betrayed this country] (Herlina, 1986; 9), Herlina pictures Soeharto as the saviour of the nation: "peristiwa pemberontakan PKI . . . sangat mengguncangkan tanah air. Pak Harto di Jakarta memegang kendali, memimpin langsung bagi pihak Pemerintah RI" [the incident of the rebellion of the Indonesian Communist Party . . . was shaking the motherland. Mr. Harto in Jakarta took control, directly assuming leadership of the government of Indonesia] (Herlina, 1986; 11). Quite the opposite to Herlina's "heroic" illustration, many critics and historians such as Saskia Wieringa (1999), Krishna Sen (2000) and Benedict Anderson (2001) have described the killing of people considered to be Communists as a cruel massacre perpetrated by Soeharto. In addition, Robert Cribb calls the massacre one of the worst murders of the twentieth Century (2001).

To contrast the heroic nationalist credentials of the status quo as opposed to the bad Other, Herlina's text supports the accentuation of Communist crime and depravity. As Herlina writes: "ketika Gerakan 30 September/Partai Komunis Indonesia mengkhianati Republik tercinta ini, aku ikut terlibat menumpasnya" [when the 30th September Movement/Indonesian Communist Party betrayed this beloved Republic, I was involved in crushing them] (Herlina, 1986; 1). The danger of Communist ideology is emphasised several times in Herlina's text. Herlina compares the Communists with a "noda" [stain] (Herlina, 1986; 28) on the country and warns that this stain still needs to be cleaned up: "kehidupan tanah airku Indonesia terus pula berlanjut dalam proses penyembuhan dari sakit yang diderita akibat pemberontakan G-30-S/PKI" [the life of my country Indonesia continues in the process of revival from the illness which it suffered because of the rebellion of the Communist movement] (Herlina, 1986; 56). Pointing out the negative features of communism, Herlina thus promotes the ideology of the status quo.

Lasmidjah Hardi also writes of the 1965 coup in terms similar to that of Herlina: "Akhirnya, PKI benar-benar melakukan aksi untuk mencapai ambisi menguasai negeri ini" [Finally, the Indonesian Communist Party had really taken action to achieve its ambition in ruling this country] (Hardi, 1997; 159). Emphasising

the "other"-ness of the Communists, Lasmidjah mentions how she, her husband and her friends had been threatened by them (Hardi, 1997; 158). Showing her aloofness from people with Communist ideology, Lasmidjah implies that she and her group could not be classified as "politically incorrect" in New Order terms.

Whether their justification of the New Order is sincere (that is, they do believe that Communist people deserved to be pictured in such a negative way), or insincere (they merely do it to please the authority), in describing the events pertaining the 1965 coup, these two autobiographies do not reveal another story which may radically challenge the New Order political ideology.

5.2. Herlina's *Pending Emas*.

As explained in the previous chapter, in Javanese culture one has to be aware of whom one is addressing. Often, one has to change one's self-representation when talking to a different person. Similarly, in letter writing, one writes differently to different readers. The representation of the "I" of the letter writer cannot avoid the presence of the "you" to whom this "I" writes. From this perspective, an autobiography can be considered as a long letter to the public reader. Nonetheless, the public readership is often determined by a certain gaze. Looking at Herlina's two versions of her autobiography *Pending Emas* [*The Golden Buckle*], we can see how she changes her representation of identity in relation to different readers.

The production of Herlina's autobiography was motivated by the first President of Indonesia, Soekarno, and first published in 1964. The text was then re-published in 1985 in the New Order period with some revisions and additions. This revised version was then translated into English in 1990. That some of the changes in the text were induced by the political transition from the Old Order to the New Order government is indicated in the two versions of this autobiography.

Pending Emas describes Herlina's experience as the first Indonesian woman parachute jumper who landed in the jungle of West Irian (now Irian Jaya) during Soekarno's period. Her departure to West Irian begins with Soekarno's order, which is called "The People's Command", in which she was asked to "Membebaskan Irian Barat Tanah Air Indonesia dari belenggu kolonialisme Belanda" [liberate West Irian, part of the Indonesian Motherland, from the shackles of Dutch colonialism] (Herlina, 1985; viii). As Herlina describes in her autobiography, her struggle in Irian was

successful. She was able to "return" West Irian "ke pangkuan Republik Indonesia" [to the fold of the Indonesian Republic] (Herlina, 1985; ix). In recognition, Soekarno gave her an award called the Golden Buckle.

In the Old Order edition, the text has a foreword by Soekarno. That the later changes made in the autobiography were caused by the desire to show the subject's adherence to the New Order ideology is indicated by way of the omission of Soekarno's foreword in the revised edition. Instead, the New Order edition replaces it with a foreword by Lieutenant General (retired) Achmad Taher, known as one of Soeharto's allies.

While we can still find some photographs of Soekarno in the New Order edition, these photographs are printed in smaller sizes, compared to the larger photographs with Soekarno which easily catch the eye in the text of the earlier edition. Moreover, to this New Order edition is added a photograph of Herlina which shows her closeness with the New President Soeharto and Lieutenant General Achmad Taher (Herlina, 1985; 239). In this photograph, Herlina is holding Soeharto's arm. Another photograph of Herlina with Soeharto can also be found in this new edition (Herlina, 1985; 500). While the addition of photographs might just represent the passage of time (because the second edition of the text was published in the New Order), it also strongly conveys an image of the subject's loyalty to Soeharto's government.

In addition, her story of meeting with Soeharto has undergone some changes in the New Order edition. Herlina met Soeharto for the first time when she was about to leave for West Irian to struggle against the Dutch. This operation was called "Mandala", and Soeharto was its Commander. In the Old Order edition, Herlina writes about the process of departing to West Irian: "Untuk pertama kalinya aku bertemu dengan Panglima Mandala. Orangny tenang, dan ramah hampir tak berbeda dengan Kepala Stafnja, hanya lebih pendiam" [For the first time, I met the Mandala Commander. The person was calm, and friendly, not very different from his Chief, but quieter] (Herlina, 1965; 73). In this passage, a man who was to become the New Order President is nameless. Although he is described as calm and friendly, the Commander is not represented as an outstanding person. The name "Soeharto" is indeed not mentioned at all in the Old Order edition.

This is different to the description in the New Order edition, where the presence of the once-nameless Commander becomes appealing and important:



Herlina and Socharto
in Herlina's *Pending Emas* (1985).

"Reuni" : Aku, Pak Harto dan Pak Tahir.

Panglima Komando Mandala, Mayor Jenderal Soeharto, baru datang dari Jakarta. . . . Ah, betapa gagah ia berdiri di sana. Tubuhnya tinggi tegap, tampan pula. Aku sangat bangga bahwa Republik Indonesia memiliki tokoh segagah ini. Ketika itu aku tak mengira bahwa kelak Panglima Mandala ini menjadi Presiden Republik Indonesia.

[The Commander of the Komando Mandala, Major-General Soeharto, had just come from Jakarta. . . . Oh, how dashing he was standing there. His body was tall and sturdy, handsome as well. I was very proud that the Republic of Indonesia had such a powerful figure as he. I did not think that this Commander of the Theatre of War would later be the President of the Republic of Indonesia] (Herlina, 1985; 187-88).

It is only when preparing the second edition that Herlina could have been aware that the comparatively anonymous Soeharto of the first edition would later become President of Indonesia. This awareness changed her impression of him so that in the new edition, the name "Soeharto" is uttered many times in extensive and even flowery picture captions. He is also depicted not merely as "friendly and rather quiet" but as physically charismatic.

Her first conversation with this Commander about the war in Irian has also undergone some changes. In the first edition, she writes:

Setelah Konperensi Pers selesai diadakan ramah-tamah dengan beliau. Karena pengaruh pikiran masuk Irian Barat besar sekali padaku, tak tertahankan lagi emosiku, meluntjurlah pertanyaanku pada Panglima, apakah gerakan gerilja masih diteruskan?

[After the Press Conference was finished, there was an interview session with him. Because I was obsessed with the thought of getting into West Irian, I could not contain my emotion any longer and burst out with a question to the Commander, was the guerrilla movement still being continued?] (Herlina, 1965; 73).

In this edition, Herlina is preoccupied by her desire to go to West Irian. The Commander himself makes little impression on her, except as a person to whom she can ask a question about the war.

In the second edition, however, the story is different:

Rapat telah selesai. Para peserta berdiri, satu-satu pergi meninggalkan ruangan. Aku lihat Pak Harto telah pula berdiri. Tak lagi dapat kutahan keinginanku untuk segera

menjumpainya dan berdialog. Tetapi aku harus mengumpulkan keberanianku untuk menghampirinya. Maklumlah. Aku hanya seorang kecil. Ia seorang jenderal.

[The meeting was over. The participants stood up and left the room one by one. I saw that Mr. Harto had also stood up. I could not resist my desire to meet him and to speak with him. But I had to gather my courage to go up to him. It was understandable. I was just an ordinary person. He was a General] (Herlina, 1985; 188).

Here, it is the Commander rather than the desire to go to West Irian which fills Herlina's mind. Describing herself as just an ordinary person compared to the "greatness" of Soeharto, Herlina reconstructs the image of this "nameless" Commander.

While in the first edition, this commander is described in only a few sentences, in the second edition, her admiration of him continues in a lengthy description:

Tatkala aku telah sampai di dekatnya, berhadapan dengan Panglima perkasa ini, amat sulit buat memulai pembicaraan. Namun aku lihat ia tersenyum. Senyum inilah yang mengembalikan semangatku. Senyum yang mengundang keberanian untuk wawancara.

[When I was already close to him, in front of this mighty Commander, it was very difficult to start a conversation. But I saw him smile. This smile revived my spirit. The smile gave me the courage to talk with him] (Herlina, 1985; 188).

In the first edition, inspired by her passion to go to West Irian, Herlina asks the Commander a question without any hesitation. In this revised edition, she becomes a weaker and incapable person in front of a charismatic leader. So charismatic is he that she needs the encouragement of this Commander even to talk to him.

When Herlina is finally allowed to depart for West Irian, her reaction as portrayed in the Old Order edition is: "Begitulah gembira aku mendengar jawaban tersebut, sehingga sifat kekanak-kanakan muntjul" [I was so happy that I became childish] (Herlina, 1965; 73). In the New Order edition though, her reaction is depicted as:

Tak dapat kugambarkan dengan kata-kata betapa getaran sukma saat itu. Segala campur-baur, suka, bahagia, haru, menjadi satu. Bila aku tak dapat menahan diri, saat itu juga akan kupeluk Panglima yang bijaksana itu. Pak Harto telah memungkinkan aku menebus kegagalanku. Namun, tentu aku hanya dapat menahan gelora hati, sambil mataku berkaca-kaca.

[I could not say how my soul trembled. Everything got mixed up, gladness, happiness, commotion, became one. If I had not controlled myself, I would have embraced this wise Commander right away. Mr. Harto had helped me redeem my failure. I resisted my impulse while my eyes were glistening with tears] (Herlina, 1985; 191).

The description focuses mainly on her gratitude to Soeharto. Herlina stresses that her departure for West Irian is made possible by Soeharto's assistance. Calling this Commander "wise", Herlina shows her respect for him. Indeed, she appears to be at pains to emphasise just how impressed she was by the Commander whose name was not even mentioned in the Old Order edition. Herlina's representation of herself is thus shifted by the negotiation with the surrounding ideology.

The question arises: which description is more real? Is the change in the second edition merely Herlina's reconstruction of Soeharto's image after she realises how powerful he is? Moreover, the span of time between this new edition and the occurrence of the original event is longer. Yet, the description of this event in the new edition is written in more detail than in the first edition. Can Herlina really remember everything about this person called Soeharto in the new edition of her autobiography? Or do the details in this edition merely function as a kind of monumental praise for him?

In this context, it is also noteworthy that in the New Order edition, the heading of the chapter about the process of departure to West Irian has also changed. In the Old Order edition, this story is entitled: "Persiapan menudju Irian Barat" [The preparation to leave for West Irian]. In the New Order edition, the heading becomes "Surat Perintah Panglima Komando Mandala" [Written Order of the Mandala Commander]. The title in this New Order edition thus stresses the role of the Commander (Soeharto).

Hence, the different eras in which the autobiographies were published transforms the version of Herlina's autobiography. It shifts both the readership, as well as the writing, of her life story. In the New Order edition, Herlina not only shows greater respect and admiration for the New Order government, but also has to eliminate some of her references to the Old Order government. Her identity is re-negotiated to conform to the social and political situation. Herlina's identity does not belong merely to her, but also to era when the autobiography was published as well as the possible "powerful" reader who makes her reconstruct the autobiography.

A further question can thus be asked in relation to this reconstruction: is Herlina genuine in her admiration for Soeharto or is it merely based on necessity or even fear of this powerful person? Herlina's different versions of her autobiography may be caused by her admiration for New Order ideology as well as the different social circumstances in which she was republishing the autobiography. Nevertheless, this transformation may also serve Herlina's interest in getting the approval and patronage of the new group in power. An individual's support for mainstream ideology may be self-serving, as well as augmenting the credit of the mainstream ideology.

Showing her closeness to an illustrious person, for instance, will enhance her own prestige. She can mirror herself in the image of this "glorious" man. Consequently, the expression of an individual's admiration for the government can be questioned, because both can derive benefit from the roles of "the almighty and the disciple". The almighty becomes the reflection of the disciple. The greater the praise of the almighty, the greater the respect the disciple can gain through this praise as well. The promotion of the almighty is the promotion of the disciple. Hence, the authority of the government can work both ways: to repress an individual but at the same time to promote this individual.

5.3. To Be or Not to Be an Admirer of the New Order Regime?

While adherence to and praise of the government may have benefited some autobiographical subjects like Herlina, it might not advantage others. Showing adherence to authority may show the indecency, rather than superiority, of some individuals. In the case of Inggit Ganarsih, Ratna Djuami, Rachmawati and Sulistina Soetomo, for instance, praising the New Order regime might damage their reputation, for either they or the members of their family have been politically victimised by the New Order.

If Inggit, Rachmawati and Ratna Djuami express admiration for the New Order regime, they would seem to justify the exile and criticism of their husband/father/step-father, Soekarno, by the New Order authority. Similarly, Soetomo's imprisonment by the New Order authority prevented his wife, Sulistina, from expressing support for the government. To do so would imply that her husband deserved punishment. Accordingly, while some individuals might gain benefit from their praise of the

government, some others had to consider whether they would benefit themselves by praising the government.

However, to criticise authority explicitly is to risk being able to speak at all. For whatever reason, strong and obvious criticism of the New Order government in published autobiographies had to be avoided. Otherwise, they would not be published or would be banned as happened to the autobiographies of Hario Kecik and Siaw Giok Tjhan. Their autobiographies were banned during the New Order regime because both men had been involved in the Communist Party and their texts were considered offensive to the New Order government.

Mainly about the love story between Inggit and Soekarno, Inggit's autobiography does not have such dilemma because the story before the New Order starts. This means that Inggit does not have to express any opinion about that era. Ratna Djuami Asmarahadi's *Kisah Cinta Inggit dan Bung Karno* does not mention much about how the New Order took over the presidency of Soekarno, Djuami's stepfather. The 1965 event is mentioned very briefly in a reported speech: "Ributnya mahasiswa mengadakan demonstrasi yang memprotes kebijaksanaan Papi, terjadinya peristiwa Gerakan Tiga Puluh September, diam-diam membuat Ai gusar" [The noise of demonstrating students who were protesting against Father, the events of the 30 September movement had secretly made Ai (Inggit) anxious] (Asmarahadi, 1992; 137). Djuami does not picture the 1965 event in defence of the New Order, but she does not express any criticism of it either.

Her stepfather's imprisonment by the New Order government is also mentioned very briefly. Without stating who had put Soekarno in jail, Djuami writes that her father went to "penjara sebagai tawanan politik dari bangsa yang dicintainya" [jail as a political prisoner of the nation that he loved] (Asmarahadi, 1992; 137). It is hardly possible that Djuami is ignorant of who was behind her stepfather's imprisonment. Nevertheless, by not mentioning the New Order regime in her text, Djuami has avoided the dilemma of either praising or criticising the despotic regime.

5.4. The Inserted Criticism of the New Order Government in the Autobiographies of Rachmawati Soekarno and Sulistina Soetomo.

*Tell all the truth but tell it slant
Success in circuit lies
Emily Dickinson (1935, 1129).*

Despite the danger of New Order political reprisals, two Indonesian women, Rachmawati and Sulistina, found a way of inserting their criticisms of the New Order government in their published autobiographies. This criticism, nonetheless, involved not only a question of how open they could be in expressing their views but also how much support they could possibly gain from their criticism. They had to know how to protest while not offending the authority, because their rebellion was almost inescapable from this authoritative eye.

Accordingly, in criticising the government, the autobiographical subjects had to make a bargain with themselves. The subjects had to find the right balance between speaking and not speaking. In other words, in framing their actions, their questions were: how could this protest be seen as a critical thought rather than as an indecency, and how could they speak without sacrificing themselves? This kind of bargaining can be discovered in the autobiographies of Sulistina Soetomo and Rachmawati Soekarno. In Sulistina's autobiography, *Bung Tomo Suamiku [Tomo my husband]*, she writes about her experience as a wife of Soetomo, a well-known patriot who took part in the war against the Dutch and the Japanese. In the text, Soetomo is described as a hero, as Sulistina writes: "*You are a hero, a patriot . . . sampai hari akhirmu*" [until the last day of your life] (Soetomo, 1995: 5).

In addition, in the prologue by one of their daughters, Soetomo's nationalism is represented by his sentiment toward other people:

Walaupun sering kali keluarga kami dihadapi dengan pertanyaan: "besok makan apa". Bapak tidak pernah melepaskan idealismenya, kecintaannya kepada bangsa dan rakyat Indonesia.

[Although our family was often faced with the question, "What are we going to eat tomorrow", Father never forgot his idealism, his love for the Indonesian country and its people] (Soetomo, 1995: vii).

The above statement indicates how Soetomo is willing to suffer and make sacrifices for his love of the nation.

Describing Soetomo's love and care for the poor people, Sulistina mentions other traits which convey his thoughtfulness for his society and surroundings:

Mas Tom sering membawa adat Jawa Timurnya. Apa yang terasa itu yang dikatakan. Ceplos-ceplos, blak-blakan tanpa tedeng aling-aling, meskipun itu amat menyakitkan tetapi semuanya itu adalah untuk kebaikan.

[Tom (Soetomo or Tomo) often acted in accordance with his East Javanese beliefs. What he felt was what he uttered. Blunt, straightforward, without any camouflage. Even though it could hurt people, but he thought it was for the best] (Soetomo, 1995; 135).

While Sulistina describes Soetomo's actions, the object is missing: who does Soetomo talk frankly to? Who does Soetomo hurt when he talks in such a way? For the benefit of whom is his frankness? This is not mentioned by Sulistina.

Similarly, there is still a missing agent when Sulistina pictures the detention of Soetomo:

Memang pembicaraan dimana-mana waktu itu adalah penangkapan-penangkapan yang gencar. Yang berani mengeritik pasti "dipanggil". . . . Benar, esok paginya mas Tom di "panggil".

[Indeed, there had been a rumour that there were a series of arrests. Those who dared criticise would be "called" True, the next morning Tom was "called"] (Soetomo, 1995; 135).

In Sulistina's description, the instigator of these events is left unidentified. Who "calls" Soetomo and who Soetomo criticises are not mentioned.

Portraying how heroic and patriotic Soetomo is and how much he cares for his country, Sulistina offers another meaning of nationalism. While Herlina's sense of nationalism is expressed by her praising the President and by her loyalty to the New Order ideology, Sulistina implies that Soetomo's nationalism brings him into opposition with such an ideology. At one stage, Soetomo is even accused of being a Communist, which makes him appear an arch-enemy of the New Order era. As Sulistina writes: "Dunia memang sangat aneh. Mas Tom yang di zaman perjuangan dulu dibenci oleh PKI, kini ditahan bersama mereka" [The world was indeed very strange. Tom (Soetomo), who in the colonial era had been hated by the Indonesian Communist Party, was now arrested with them] (Soetomo, 1995: 135).

Instead of affording him respect, Soetomo's "perjuangan" [struggle] for Indonesian nationalism takes him into danger and punishment. Although Sulistina does not mention the mastermind of her husband's detention, it can be inferred from historical knowledge of the New Order regime's practices. In that era, it was quite common to be accused of being a Communist if one rebelled against or criticised the government. Because the idea of communism was reviled in New Order Indonesia, to accuse someone of communism was an effective form of constraint.

By comparing Soetomo's patriotism and honour with the opposing treatment and action of the missing agent, it is thus the nationalism of "this missing agent" that is questioned. When discussing Soetomo's imprisonment, Sulistina states:

Seorang yang ikut membebaskan negaranya, kini diambil kebebasannya. Aku mengerti apa yang dirasakan. Ia tetap seorang yang bersemangat tinggi dan tetap omong kalau dirasanya ada sesuatu yang menyalahi perjuangan. Ia tetap seorang pejuang walau di masa merdeka.

[The freedom of a person who had taken part in liberating the country was taken. I understood what he felt. He was still a person with great enthusiasm and still spoke up if there was anything that misled the revolution. He was still a patriot even in the era of independence] (Soetomo, 1995; 141).

Sulistina thus indicates that Soetomo's idealism is being threatened by some people who have misled the sense of nationalism that he believes in.

Soetomo's care for his society is portrayed when Sulistina mentions that one of his most important traits was: "cintanya pada rakyat kecil" [his love of the common people] (Soetomo, 1995; 134). However, the ultimate condition of these people did not match Soetomo's expectations. Sulistina quotes from a letter which Soetomo sent her when he was imprisoned with the Communists:

Keadilan yang kita dambakan, sehingga kita bersedia menyabung nyawa ditahun 1945 dulu itu, seolah-olah tidak ada lagi. Tiada lagi keadilan itu bagi kita, apalagi bagi rakyat jelata kita. Mengingat semua itu saya tidak jarang . . . mencururkan air mataku.

[The justice that we had been hoping for, for which we were willing to gamble our life back in 1945, seemed to have disappeared. There is no more of that justice for us, especially for our common folk. Remembering all that, often . . . my tears flow] (Soetomo, 1995; 137).

While Sulistina does not criticise any one directly, the bad conditions and social injustice that she and Soetomo experience during this period indicate that there is an authoritative power which has not been fair to the people for whom Soetomo had struggled. Soetomo's arrest also implies that this power cannot be questioned or disagreed with. Moreover, reference to this missing agent also insinuates another criticism. Because Sulistina does not want to mention the responsible authority, its tyrannical nature can also be inferred through her fear to speak frankly about it.

Another paradoxical statement about the New Order government is also implied in Rachmawati's autobiography, in which she describes her parents: Soekarno (the first President of Indonesia) and Fatmawati (one of Soekarno's wives). In this autobiography, Rachmawati writes about her childhood as a daughter of a President who had to step down. At the time of writing, Rachma must have been aware of Soeharto's strong opposition to her father. However, it was only after the fall of Soeharto that some of these children started speaking publicly about Soeharto's oppression of Soekarno and his family¹.

Writing in the New Order period, Rachma had to adjust to this ideology when describing the political conditions during her father's era, otherwise her book could not have been published. According to the New Order, Soekarno's governance belonged to a period which was in disrepute. Soekarno was criticised and humiliated by the New Order. To describe her parents' nationalism might then be problematical for Rachmawati in the era of another President who took her father's position by force. In the text, Rachmawati emphasises the genuineness of her parents by stating that Soekarno's and Fatmawati's nationalism was performed not only in public but also in daily life: "Bapak dan Ibu menanamkan jiwa kerakyatan kepada kami serta untuk menghayati apa sebenarnya makna Pancasila dalam kenyataan hidup sehari-hari" [Father and Mother planted the soul of modesty in us as well as the contemplation of the meaning of Pancasila in daily life] (Soekarno, 1984; 47).

Discussing the people's demonstrations against her father, Rachmawati also underscores his service to the country: "Mengapa bangsaku tiba-tiba membenci Bapakku yang sudah begitu berjasa dalam membela Republik ini? Mengapa manusia begitu cepat lupa akan pengabdian putra bangsa seperti Bapakku?" [Why did my

¹ In a recent article on the *Jawa Pos*, it is described how "Soeharto menekan Hartini dan anak-anak Karno dari ibu Fatmawati" [Soeharto oppressed Hartini and Karno's (Soekarno's) children by Fatmawati] (*Jawa Pos*, 26 June 2001).

country suddenly hate my father who had been meritorious in defending this Republic? Why were people so quick to forget the dedication of a nation's son like my father?] (Soekarno, 1984; 72). Her statement is thus a protest against what she perceives to be the people's unfair judgement of her father and also a reminder of his "real" nationalism, as she adds: "paham hidup Bapak benar-benar berjiwa Pancasila" [the philosophy of Father's life is really based on the spirit of Pancasila] (Soekarno, 1984; 72). Rachmawati states that her mother has "citra jiwa Pancasila yang sesungguhnya. Ibuku mencintai kemerdekaan, mencintai bangsa dan negaranya" [the real spirit of Pancasila. My mother loves liberty, loves her nation and country] (Soekarno, 1984; 133). Stating this, Rachmawati implies that people have misunderstood Soekarno and his family. She emphasises that her family has been loyal to the country as well as to the people.

While Rachmawati insists on her father's strong sense of nationalism, her father had to deal with rebellion, revolution and criticism. Several riots and some attempted coups d'état occurred during Soekarno's presidency. Writing the text during the time of the New Order under Soeharto, Rachmawati had to tell the story in the light of the prevailing political conditions. Because a good New Order citizen was supposed to be anti-Communist, Rachmawati writes that most of the riots against her father's regime were caused by the Communist Party, the PKI, which led a rebellion on 30 September 1965: "Dari siaran televisi kulihat rekaman pemakaman para Pahlawan Revolusi korban keganasan pengkhianatan G-30-S itu" [From the program on TV, I saw the recording of the burial of the heroes of the Revolution, the victims of the evil betrayal by the Communist movement] (Soekarno, 1984; 166).

Rachma describes how, after the PKI coup, conditions worsened: "Semenjak terjadinya peristiwa Gerakan Tiga Puluh September 1965, keadaan memang sudah berubah, makin hari suasana makin 'panas' saja" [Since the movement of 30th September 1965 occurred, the situation changed, day by day the atmosphere was getting "hotter"] (Soekarno, 1984; 189). In the text, Rachma accuses the Communist Party not only of damaging the country but also of ruining her father's reputation: "pengkhianatan PKI itu telah menodai citra dan perjuangan Bapak" [the treachery of the Indonesian Communist Party has stained Father's honour and work] (Soekarno, 1984; 204). By thus condemning the Communist Party, Rachmawati quite directly supports the New Order's persecution of the Communists. In some ways, the

masquerade of the New Order government in making the Communist Party a scapegoat is maintained by Rachmawati.

Soekarno's closeness to some Communist people is not stated in the text either. Furthermore, Soekarno's speech on 17 August 1966, popularly known as Nawaksara², is not mentioned, possibly because in this speech Soekarno defended the Communist Party from public accusations regarding the incidents of 30 September 1965. Soekarno claimed that merely a few Communist leaders should have been blamed for the incident but not all of the Communist people. Nonetheless, Rachmawati has stated recently that the incident by the Communists on 30 September 1965 was merely a scenario created by the New Order to "menjatuhkan Bung Karno dari jabatannya sebagai Presiden" [topple Soekarno from his position as a President] (*Bali Pos*, 7 June 2001). This statement thus questions her own description of the 1965 incident in her autobiography.

As was explained in the previous chapters, while a text can portray one's identity, it can also be a subject to addition, omission and construction to obtain public acceptance. In this case, Rachmawati's text had to fit the political situation at the time of writing. Rachmawati does not mention much about the coup d'état by Soeharto most probably because it could endanger her life. On the other hand, she talks about the day of *Supersemar* (the day when Soekarno had to transfer presidential power to Soeharto) as one of hope for a better future:

Pada hari itu, tanggal 11 Maret 1966 kudengar di Istana Bogor terjadi suatu peristiwa yang sangat penting maknanya bagi bangsa Indonesia. Bapak telah menandatangani Surat Perintah Sebelas Maret yang diberikan kepada May. Jen. Soeharto, ketika itu Panglima Kostrad. Hatiku merasa plong. Tentu saja dengan harapan bahwa dengan Super Semar itu keadaan akan pulih seperti semula dan kesulitan Bapakku yang selama ini besar pengaruhnya dalam keluarga juga akan berakhir.

[On that day, March 11th 1966, I heard an important event for the Indonesian people had happened at Bogor Palace. Father had signed the Commanding Letter of the eleventh of March, which was given to Major General Soeharto, who was the Commander of Navy Corps at that time. My heart was relieved. Of course I hoped that the situation would return to normal and that all of the difficulties that my father had thus far experienced and which had a big impact on my family would also be over with this Commanding Letter (*Supersemar*)] (Soekarno, 1984; 191).

² Soekarno's presidential speech in front of the People's Deliberative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*).

Rather than describing the event as Soeharto's rebellion against Rachmawati's father, Rachmawati writes her hope that *Supersemar* could improve the life of Soekarno and his family. Hence, her autobiography joins the discourse of the other autobiographical texts in making peace with New Order tyranny. However, Rachmawati has stated that her father was forced to step down (*Bali Pos*, 7 June 2001 and *Kompas*, 15 May 2001)³. In addition, the original document of *Supersemar* is lost. The existence of *Supersemar* has now been questioned by some Indonesian critics. Wimanjaya in his book *Prima Dusta: Dusta Terbesar Abad ini [The Main lie: The Biggest Lie of this Century]*, states that *Supersemar* was merely manufactured by Soeharto (Wimanjaya, 1997; 1-2). Similarly, in *Kelicikan dan kekejaman Soeharto Semasa Berkuasa [Soeharto's Deceit and Cruelty during His Reign]* (1998), Sam Warib mentions that Soeharto invented *Supersemar* in order to get rid of Soekarno. In *Tempo Newspaper*, it is stated that Megawati, the sister of Rachmawati, questions "keberadaan naskah asli Supersemar" [the existence of the original *Supersemar* document] (*Tempo*, 4 May 2001).

Nevertheless, in her autobiography, Rachmawati states that the new President Soeharto: "menjadi tumpuan harapan kami, keluarga Bapak" [became a source of hope for us, our father's family] (Soekarno, 1984; 191). Here there is some ambiguity as to whether this sentence expresses genuine hopes regarding the Soeharto regime, or whether it is merely a gratuitous statement of feigned support for Soeharto. The latter of these possibilities seems to be the case, as soon after the events which Rachmawati describes, the condition of her family deteriorated significantly as a result of Soeharto's intervention. Under the new President, Soekarno's children were not allowed to attend any universities in Indonesia for some time, and some of the children who were at University during the beginning of the New Order period were forced to drop out. They were also forced to leave the palace immediately. Rachmawati describes this in the following way: "Tak seorangpun dari kami yang dapat sekolah seperti anak-anak lain, karena keadaan" [None of us could go to school like other children, because of the situation] (Soekarno, 1984; 98). She does not clearly explain why they could not go to school like other children. Instead, she refers to it vaguely as a "situation".

³ In "100 Tahun Bung Karno" (*Jawa Pos*, 26 June 2001), some members of Soekarno's family also state that Soekarno has been forced to step down by the New Order government.

Rachmawati does not blame the New Order regime for the suffering of her family. Instead, she just reports that suddenly everything changed after her father was no longer President:

Dari Istana aku harus tertatih-tatih mencari rumah kontrakan. Aku dan saudara-saudaraku, yang beberapa waktu lalu masih disanjung dan dipuja, tak pernah memikirkan biaya hidup. Tiba-tiba kami kehilangan segala-galanya dengan cara yang sangat menyedihkan. Kadang-kadang aku berontak dalam hati. Mengapa kami semua tidak mati saja agar tidak lebih lama menyaksikan kepedihan.

[After the Palace I had to agonisingly look for a rented house. I and my siblings, who some time previously had still been adored and praised, had never bothered about living expenses. Suddenly we lost everything in a very distressing way. Sometimes I revolted in my heart. Why weren't all of us just dead so that we did not witness this pain any longer] (Soekarno, 1984; 72).

One can wonder why the ex-President's family did not even have a house to stay in. There is no clear explanation in Rachmawati's story, but this lack of clarity may incite some readers to keep on suspecting and remain curious about the cause of their suffering.

After stepping down from the presidency, Soekarno was exiled in Bogor, whereas Rachma was still going to school in Jakarta. Because of this, she had to make many trips from Jakarta to Bogor. The imprisonment of her father is portrayed bitterly, but still without blaming any one:

Siapa mengira Bapakku bisa berstatus tahanan seperti itu . . . Untuk ke rumah Bapak itu aku sering menahan rasa lapar, tak sempat minta uang dari Ibu, aku sering ngutang pada sopirku agar dapat membeli makanan di jalanan.

[Who would think that my father could have such a status as a prisoner . . . To go to Father's house I had to restrain my hunger, I did not have a chance to ask for some money from Mother, I often borrowed from my chauffeur so that I could buy some food on the way] (Soekarno, 1984; 222).

This situation is portrayed by Rachmawati as merely a change of condition, and not as the result of Indonesia's political transition and the severe treatment of her family which accompanied it.

In fact, constrictions imposed on the family involved quite severe intrusions into their personal lives. For instance, Fatmawati was prevented from being close to Soekarno during Rachmawati's wedding:

Pengawal yang disertai tugas menjaga "tahanan"nya kurang dapat bertimbang rasa. Dengan sikap kasar mengusir Ibuku dari sisi Bapak, supaya Ibu tak dekat dengan Bapak.

[The guards who were obliged to keep an eye on their "prisoner" did not have tolerance. Rudely, they chased away my Mother from Father's side, so that Mother would not be close to Father] (Soekarno, 1984; 81).

Calling her father "tahanan" [prisoner], while at the same time having described his virtuous record of service to Indonesia, Rachmawati indicates that her father has been wrongly defamed by an intolerant authority.

This authority also controls Rachmawati's visit to her own father: "ada satu masa aku tak diperbolehkan menengok Bapak oleh yang berwajib" [there was a time when I was not allowed to see Father by the authorities] (Soekarno, 1984; 222). Blaming "yang berwajib" [the authorities] for the maltreatment of her and her family, Rachmawati never specifies which authority she means. In many senses, her dissatisfaction is not directed to a specific subject in order to protect herself from political repercussions after the publication of her autobiography. At the same time, however, this has enabled her to express, at least to a limited extent, her discontent and anger in a safe way.

That her description is a product of careful consideration of the political and social situation at the time, is shown as well when Rachmawati talks about Soeharto. Although Rachmawati states how she suffered under the new authorities, she always pictures Soeharto positively. Rachmawati states that Soeharto is a person who is "penuh timbang rasa" [full of tolerance] (Soekarno, 1984; 205). When she met him in the palace, Rachmawati also gives the impression that Soeharto was a kind person. This meeting was initiated by her father's desire to be transferred to Jakarta. For this reason, Rachmawati had to ask permission from President Soeharto and give her father's letter to Soeharto. She describes her meeting with Soeharto as touching because of his gentleness:

Aku menyampaikan maaf dan menyerahkan surat Bapak serta sekaligus menceritakan bagaimana keadaan Bapak yang sebenarnya. Tanpa kusadari air mataku meleleh ketika Pak Harto dengan sangat penuh perhatian dan dengan sentuhan kebakapan bertanya kepadaku mengenai kesehatan

Bapakku . . . Pak Harto berjanji akan berusaha mengatur kepindahan Bapak.

[I expressed my apology and handed over Father's letter. I also told what the real condition of Father was. Without my awareness, my tears flowed when Pak Harto (Soeharto) with all of his attention and fatherly touch asked me about my Father's health . . . Pak Harto promised that he would try to arrange for Father's transfer] (Soekarno, 1984; 223).

It is not mentioned, nevertheless, whether Soeharto kept his promise to move Soekarno to Jakarta.

On the death of Soekarno, President Soeharto and his wife (Tien Soeharto) are represented as caring for Rachmawati's family: "Bapak Soeharto dan Ibu Tien Soeharto memberikan perhatian dan simpati yang sangat menghibur kami semua yang ditinggalkan" [Soeharto and Tien Soeharto gave attention and sympathy which consoled us all who were bereaved] (Soekarno, 1984; 255). The play of criticism and praise of the New Order may have been Rachmawati's strategy in her text. Unless she gave some praise to the new sovereign, her criticism would be entirely silenced. Accordingly, on the one hand, Soeharto is presented as an idol, as a person beyond reproach who should be respected. On the other hand, this idealisation of Soeharto is implicitly contradicted by Rachmawati's description of her and her family's suffering under the new rule.

Hence, although the political restrictions were quite severe in the New Order era, some Indonesian women were able to insert their criticism of the New Order government in their published autobiographies. They did not merely yield for the sake of loyalty to the government. They could insert their own view alongside their masquerade of loyalty to the nation. While not directly criticising the government, Sulistina describes the poor conditions of her family's surroundings. Likewise, Rachmawati portrays the unfair treatment of her family without openly criticising Soeharto. These descriptions make it hard for the reader to accept that the government had been just in its dealings with the people and the nation.

5.5. Summary.

Although writing under the shadow of the despotic New Order regime in Indonesia, some of the subjects of the autobiographies discussed in this thesis were still capable of manipulating their respective political destinies by estimating the potential harm and benefit which could flow from their writings. For this reason, the depictions of the New Order government in these published autobiographies differ from one another, depending upon the individuals' personal interests.

While some autobiographical subjects, like Herlina and Lasmidjah Hardi, show admiration for the New Order government, others cannot do so. Because Inggit's husband, Ratna Djuami's stepfather and Rachmawati's father, and Sulistina's husband had been politically victimised by the New Order regime, praising the regime would make them look weak. Finishing her autobiography before the New Order starts, Inggit does not have to face the dilemma of explaining the political situation of Soekarno in relation to the New Order regime. Ratna Djuami records the downfall of her father in reported speech, without mentioning anything about the New Order government.

Rachmawati and Sulistina, however, are able to convey criticism of the New Order era. Emphasising Soetomo's nationalism, Sulistina relates how he was jailed in the New Order period for his idealism in the independent Indonesia, implying that there exists an authority which disagreed with Soetomo's idea of nationalism. Rachmawati Soekarno's autobiography also indicates the severe treatment she and her family experienced during the political transition. Describing her father as a nationalist who loved his country, Rachmawati expresses her discontent about the maltreatment which her father had to endure.

Nevertheless, these women's criticisms are still limited by the existence of the dominant reader, whose superiority should be promoted, or if nothing else, whose apparent innocence should be sustained. Accordingly, while some subjects of autobiographies are able to indicate criticism of the New Order government, this criticism had to be contained within the scope of respect for the discourse of the powerful. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this authoritative eye can influence the self-representation of some Indonesian women in their unpublished diaries.

Chapter 6.

The State and Political Ideology as Readers in Diaries.

Writing in a much more private sphere, diary writers do not have to pay much attention to political constraints in expressing their identity. They do not have to consider the danger of censorship or governmental prohibition. The influence of New Order ideology in these diaries, nevertheless, cannot be overlooked. The New Order state tried to shape individuals in such a way that their existence would benefit the state discourse of power. For this reason, during this era, the inculcation of nationalism and national loyalty began as early as when children started school (Leigh, 1991). Such inculcation was made easy by the strong inheritance of nationalism which grew at the end of the colonialism era. As I mentioned previously, the published autobiographies since that of Soetomo (1920) had been used as a vehicle for advancing the sense of nationalism in the Archipelago. The first President Soekarno himself in his book *Sarinah* also saw women's emancipation in relation to their function to the nation. As the complete title of the book indicates: *Sarinah: Kewajiban Wanita Dalam Perjuangan Republik Indonesia [Sarinah: Women's Duties in the Struggle of the Republic of Indonesia]*.

The New Order regime thus continued and modified what had been implanted before. To administer loyalty to the government the New Order developed a school curriculum which emphasised the importance of individuals' dedication to the nation. In addition, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, the "nation" was effectively identified with Soeharto. Barbara Leigh describes the way in which this message was conveyed in some school texts during the New Order period:

national unity and the New Order government of President Soeharto are coextensive. The message of the texts is not just to portray the taken-for-granted unity of the Indonesian State, but also to show that the State is the New Order government of President Soeharto (Leigh, 1991; 31).

Moreover, in *Panca Dharma Wanita* and his several speeches, Soeharto emphasised the importance of women to be loyal citizens. To be loyal citizens, in this case, meant to be loyal to the New Order ideology.

Born after 1964, the nine diary writers experienced the educational system described by Leigh. From this point of view, the subjects of the diaries which I have collected were more immersed in the "manipulation" and "indoctrination" of the New Order regime than were the eight subjects of the published life writings, who were born long before the New Order period started. However, intended to be personal records, the nine diaries do not provide much in the way of direct discussions of the state. A close reading of these nine diaries, though, reveals that they nevertheless cannot be separated from the political discourse surrounding the government.

6.1. Nationalism in Diary Writings.

Unlike the subjects of autobiographies, these diary writers are neither public figures nor known as nationalists. Nonetheless, sentiments expressed in relation to the nation can still be found in some of these personal records. Nani, for instance, relates her success in life to her ability to be useful for the country. In one of the passages in her diary, she writes:

Cuma harapku dan khayalku ... aku ntar jadi orang yg sukses, hebat, berguna bagi masyarakat juga negaraku.
[My hope and my dreams are only . . . that I can be a successful and outstanding person who is useful to my society and my country] (Nani, 25 May 1995).

Thus, her dedication to the nation is related to her ambition to be successful and to be useful to society.

In another part of her diary, Nani writes about her disappointment with herself in terms of her function in society:

Aku ini,
belum ada apa-apanya
Tidak punya prestasi tinggi
Tidak pernah peduli dengan kenyataan
Ttg sekitarku yg memprihatinkan
Tiada yg bisa aku perbuat
Hanya memikirkannya saja
melihat dari mata jauhku saja
tanpa bertindak . . .
Aku hanya diam!
Oh. . . naifkah diriku?
Kehidupan manusia yg lebih tidak beruntung dari aku
Aku cuman bisa berdoa

Dan apa untuk negaraku?
 [I,
 have nothing
 have no high achievement
 do not care about the reality
 of my poor surroundings
 I am able to do nothing
 Only thinking about it
 seeing from afar
 doing nothing
 I only keep quiet!
 Oh . . . am I naïve?
 The life of human beings who are not as lucky as me
 I can only pray
 And do what for my country?] (Nani, 18 April 1996).

In the above passage, Nani says how she wants to be more caring towards her surroundings. For her, the failure to be successful also means a failure to be useful to others. Her patriotism is expressed in her last sentence, in which she asks what she can do for her country. This indicates that she harbours a strong desire to relate her identity to the fate of her nation, a sentiment which echoes the New Order policy of using individuals for the benefit of the nation.

Another diary writer who also relates herself to the nation in some part of her diary is Ida. She opens her 1995 diary by linking the date upon which she was born to a national event: "Saat itu 08 Oktober 1966, di mana untuk terakhir kalinya Presiden Soekarno berpidato" [That was the moment, 08 October 1966, when for the last time President Soekarno delivered a speech] (Ida, 1995; front-page). Consciously or unconsciously, Ida refers to herself in terms of national history by mentioning the first President of Indonesia. Writing about the speech of the first Indonesian President shows that she has a strong awareness of and attachment to her nation.

Both Nani's and Ida's diaries show some kind of connection to the nation. However, this link is expressed differently in each case. Nani thinks about her function in the nation in general. On the other hand, Ida refers to a certain event: the last speech of Soekarno. Soekarno was the first President of Indonesia, and mentioning his last speech may imply the importance of the speaker, who is a national hero. Being born on that date, however, Ida was not an eyewitness to this event. The importance of this event may have been told by some one else. In this case, it shows that adherence to the national hero may be a form of a myth. It is a story transferred from mouth to mouth and from one generation to another.

Nevertheless, positive images of Soekarno were not intended to survive during the New Order era. The New Order's effort in shaping a negative image of Soekarno went as far as rewriting history at schools. When Nugroho Notosusanto became Minister for Education in 1984, Soeharto instructed him to revise school history lessons "to emphasize instability in the rule of the country's founder, first President Soekarno" (Leigh, 1991; 29). The result was that in the text books for Secondary students *Tigapuluh Tahun Indonesia Merdeka [Thirty Years of Indonesian Independence]*, Soekarno was described as both a coward and a pro-Communist (Leigh, 1991).

Ida's reference to Soekarno may indicate that no matter how much the government tried to control the thinking of its people, some ideas could not be regulated. Thus, although Ida was born in the New Order period, her reference to Soekarno still implies her adherence to a positive image of the Old Order President. Ida's reference to Soekarno may also be attributed to the heightened criticism of the New Order and the growing sentimental nostalgia about Soekarno which began to occur in 1987. In that year, Nugroho Notosusanto died and was replaced by Fuad Hassan, who was "concerned about the way the late President Soekarno was being portrayed" (Leigh, 1991; 29). In the same year, Megawati Soekarnoputri, became one of the favourite campaigners of PDI or *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia* [Indonesian Democratic Party], a political party which was considered to convey Soekarno's ideology (*Tempo*, 2 May 1987). In addition, *Tempo* also records: "Mendadak tokoh Sukarno menjadi idola banyak anak muda" [Suddenly the figure of Soekarno becomes an idol for many young people] (*Tempo*, 2 May 1987). Having started her diary in 1995, Ida's identification with Soekarno may have been stimulated by the growing sympathy for Soekarno among the young people of her generation.

6.2. No Admiration for the New Order Regime.

Although these two diary writers express some sense of nationalism, they do not express admiration for the New Order government. Rather than praising the President and quoting some legislative rules as some subjects of autobiographies do, Nani's attention is to the people. For her, caring for the nation is caring for the lives of human beings who are in need. When Nani mentions the word "negara" (country), she refers to the people only. She says little about the New Order government and

ideology. Similarly, there is not much mention of the New Order government in Ida's diary. Rather, she mentions the first President, Soekarno.

While I have already questioned the sincerity of some subjects of the autobiographies in praising the New Order government in the previous chapter, comparing these autobiographies with the nine diaries extends the doubts about their sincerity further. As all of the subjects of the published autobiographies had reached maturity well before the New Order period started, this means that they have had a more sophisticated awareness of political change than did the subjects of the diaries. Being important figures or nationalists, some of them may have been closer to the people involved in politics and thus had more access to the news concerning the political conditions in Indonesia. Nevertheless, despite the generally high level of political awareness possessed by their authors, and notwithstanding the knowledge which these authors may have had regarding the darker side of the Soeharto regime, admiration for the New Order government can still be found in some autobiographies. This may raise the possibility that this admiration is instigated by the fear of reprisals rather than by genuine sentiments. On the other hand, although the diary writers were more immersed in New Order indoctrination, none of these nine diary writers displays admiration for the New Order government or ideology.

Even when one of the diary writers, Lilies, mentions the state ideology, she gives a sense of being scarcely involved with it. In this context, we can revisit a quotation in Chapter Two taken from Lilies's diary:

Mulai tanggal 26 (Agustus) – 10 September Lilies mulai mengikuti kegiatan kampus (Penat. P4 & opspek). Sejauh ini Lilies belum mengalami hal istimewa sih !! Mungkin nanti.

[Starting from 26 (August) – 10 September Lilies starts to follow the campus activities (Pancasila Seminar and Orientation). So far Lilies has not experienced something special !! Perhaps later] (Lilies, 24 August 1994).

"Penataran P4" is a Seminar to promote a sense of nationalism and adherence to Pancasila, the ideology of the country. As Niels Mulder describes:

Toward the end of 1978 the government launched its nationwide programme of mental education that is known as P4. . . . This programme combines the directive proper, which is basically a reasoned course in ethics, with a course in civics and should give life to the shaping of Pancasila thinking in the practise of everyday life, development and nation building (Mulder, 1989; 121).

This seminar, compulsory for students and civil servants, was part of Soeharto's program to make the people unquestionably loyal to him. It usually took about 5 hours a day for two weeks. Despite the fact that the seminar takes quite a long time, Lilies does not reveal much about her opinions of this seminar. Although she does not praise this New Order means of indoctrination, she does not take a clear stance on it either: whether she agrees or disagrees with this program is not expressed.

6.3. Another version of nationalism and New Order indoctrination.

Nationalism, according to Benedict Anderson, can be aroused by the threat of the other, by the existence of a danger that the other may bring to the unity of the "imagined society" (Anderson, 1991). Indonesian nationalism was in some cases incited by discrimination against Chinese Indonesians, who had often been treated as the other in the Indonesian society. Discrimination against Chinese had started in the colonial period. The Dutch "divide and rule" policy of giving more business opportunities to the Chinese rather than to the Archipelago's original inhabitants led to a sense of enmity among indigenous peoples toward Chinese mercantile culture (Coppel, 1983).

This sense of enmity was transformed into discrimination after independence, when Chinese people were ostracised in the name of nationalism. As Charles Coppel writes:

Most Indonesian nationalists thought of the Indonesian nation (*bangsa Indonesia*) as comprising the members of the various indigenous (*asli*) Indonesian ethnic groups . . . It was thus coextensive with that part of the Indies population which the Dutch administration classified as "native" (*Inlander*) (Coppel, 1983; 3).

Leo Suryadinata also records that after 1945 most people still considered Chinese descendants as foreigners, although they already had Indonesian citizenship (Suryadinata, 1997; 186 – 190). He also notes that in 1953, discrimination against Chinese made Siauw Giok Tjhan criticise the government policy which "favoured indigenous and Western elements excluding the Indonesians of Chinese descent from the national economy" (Suryadinata, 1997; 191).

Nonetheless, the term "Chinese Indonesians" itself is quite ambiguous. Charles Coppel notes that the Indonesian Chinese have been officially defined as:

Persons of Chinese ancestry who either function as members of, and identify with, Chinese society or are regarded as Chinese by indigenous Indonesians (at least in some circumstances) and given special treatment as a consequence. It should be stressed that such a definition includes a number of people who regard themselves as Indonesians and have refused to align themselves in any sense with Chinese society, but whose Chinese ancestry (or Chinese physical appearance) has been treated as socially and politically significant or relevant (Coppel, 1983; 5).

This definition has been sustained for the purposes of racial classification and discrimination in New Order Indonesia.

People of Chinese origin were discriminated against because they were considered to be unpatriotic. While during the Soekarno's period, Chinese descendants still had the right to be politically active, in the New Order, they were given hardly any opportunity to participate in politics. In this case, the aversion against Indonesian of Chinese descent was sustained from the previous period and modified in such a way that this sentiment could be beneficial for the New Order regime. Charles Coppel, for instance, argues: "In the New Order it was no longer regarded as legitimate for the Chinese to organize themselves politically as Chinese" (Coppel, 1983; 167). Instead, Chinese descendants' opportunity in business was sustained and they became more successful in this area. Because of their financial success, they caused some suspicion. Sindhunata records the stereotype of the people of Chinese descent:

Semboyan patriotik "Right or Wrong my country" tak dapat diharapkan dari orang-orang "non-pri". Padahal bagi orang-orang pri, terutama dari generasi angkatan '45, masalah patriotisme adalah no.1. Kita berhadapan dengan perbenturan suatu sistem nilai yang tercermin dalam semboyan "Right or Wrong my country" dengan sistem nilai yang tercermin "Right or Wrong my profit".

[The patriotic slogan "Right or Wrong my country" cannot be expected from the non-indigenous. However, for indigenous people, especially from the 1945 generation, patriotism is number one. We are faced with the conflict of the values mirrored in the slogan "Right or Wrong my Country" with those mirrored in the slogan "Right or Wrong my profit"] (Sindhunata, 1991; 1).

Aversion to Chinese is often related to a sense of nationalism and this is reflected in some of the diaries.

While Lilies never expresses national awareness or loyalty in other parts of her diary, it emerges when she meets a "Chinese" woman on the ship during her trip to Sumatra:

Temen sekamar Lilies nih tante-tante (orang Tionghoa) cerewet (tapi cerewet baik) ceplas-ceplos, endel, and so on. Trus maunya dipanggil tante or tacie. Kalo dipanggil ibu katanya kasar, uh dasar, pikirnya dia idup dimana nggak mau dipanggil ibu. Dasar Cina !

[Lilies's room-mate is a middle-age lady (a Chinese) who is talkative (but nicely talkative), outspoken, fancy and so on. Then she wants to be called "*tante*" (auntie) or "*tacie*" (sister). If she is called "*ibu*", it sounds rude she said. Well, where does she think she lives so that she does not want to be called "*ibu*" (mother). Bloody Chinese !] (Lilies, 25 March 1995).

Her sense of nationalism is incited by the presence of the "other". The Chinese lady does not want to be called "*ibu*", a term which is considered to be more common among indigenous Indonesians. Instead, she wants to be called "*tante*" (from the Dutch language) or "*tacie*" (from the Chinese language), which is more common for people of Chinese origin.

The incident with this lady arouses Lilies's sense of nationalism, a sentiment which is not expressed in any other part of her diary. The success of the New Order's strategy of continuing the Dutch policy of "divide and rule" is suggested by this incident recorded in Lilies's diary. When she criticises the Chinese lady for not wanting to conform to normal Indonesian customs, Lilies implies that the woman is unpatriotic. However, she herself introduces this lady as a Chinese by referring to her as "orang Tionghoa". This means that this "Chinese" lady does not really belong to Indonesia, according to Lilies's description. In addition, she introduces this "Chinese" lady to her diary as "*tante*", not as an "*ibu*". This suggests that she herself may not feel comfortable in calling this Chinese lady "*ibu*" because she has already stereotyped this lady as being non-indigenous.

Lilies never mentions any other ethnicity in relation to Indonesian patriotism, although there are a considerable number of Arab and Indian descendants in Indonesia as well. Indeed, in the New Order period, the term "*non-pri*" (non-indigenous) became

a popular term referring to people of Chinese origin. People of Arabic or Indian descent were rarely referred to with such a term.

In the above passage, Lilies presents the encounter between herself and the "Chinese" lady as one involving two people representing two different communities: the indigenous Indonesians and people of Chinese origin. Here, political and personal factors intermingle. One "Chinese" lady becomes the reflection of a whole community which Lilies wants to differentiate herself from (that of Chinese Indonesians).

Similarly, Ida also expresses her aversion toward people of Chinese origin when she hears about an anti-Chinese riot:

Berita di koran dan TV mengatakan bahwa di tengah kerusuhan ada penjarahan, toko dibakar, barangnya dibawa keluar dan dibawa pulang. Kalau berita ini memang benar, karena rakyat marah, terkena PHK nggak punya pekerjaan, sedangkan kaum Cina dan orang-orang kaya begitu pongah, mendapat fasilitas, cari kerja gampang.

[The news in the paper and TV said that in the riot, there was robbery; shops were burnt, merchandise was taken out and brought away. If this news is true, it's because the people were angry, because they were sacked and out of work, while the Chinese and the rich people were arrogant, had resources and found it easy to get a job] (Ida, 22 July 1998).

Justifying the robbery and looting against these people, Ida implies that Chinese Indonesians deserve to be treated in such a way. Unemployment and termination of working contracts are blamed mainly on the Chinese.

While being critical of the poor social conditions around her, Ida blames the Chinese, not the government. This indicates that not only the subjects of the published life writings but also the subjects of the private diaries echo some social prejudices. These diary writers may have integrated such stereotype without being aware of it.

Although not as strong as that found in the diaries of Lilies and Ida, the stereotyping of ethnic Chinese is also implied in Eli's diary, as she writes: "Besok Senin aku harus dites Lotus and WS. Juragannya orang Cina. Orangnya angkuh. Kelihatannya sih. Dukanya ya itu, sikapnya seenaknya" [Next Monday I will have Lotus and WS tests. The owner is Chinese. He is arrogant. Seems to be so. The sad part is, he behaves as he likes] (Eli, 27 October 1990). Like Lilies, Eli mentions the ethnicity of the person. Although Eli herself doubts her judgement of the man as being arrogant, noting that this only seems ("kelihatannya") to be the case, she nevertheless

reaffirms her negative judgement of this Chinese person by stating that his behaviour is unsympathetic.

Such sentiment towards Chinese descendants can be integrated and interpreted differently in different diaries. While the diaries of Ida, Lilies and Eli imply contempt for Chinese Indonesians, Fay's diary expresses the opposite. Instead, Fay criticises the bad treatment of Chinese descendants by some Indonesians. When there were some riots against people of Chinese origin in Jakarta, Fay writes:

Chinese people are threatened by any chance of social attack again. I reckon this is not fair. They are not guilty, and they have been the targets of people behaving out of control. Their houses were burned to ashes; their business places were razed. Definitely not fair (Fay, May 1998).

In this case, not all of these diary writers agree with discrimination against people of Chinese descent. In fact, Fay's diary portrays the strong discrimination experienced by Chinese Indonesians during that period.

Indeed, while discrimination against Chinese was an ingrained social prejudice which could be traced back to the colonial period in Indonesia, such a sentiment was sustained and at the same time concealed by the New Order regime. The wider business opportunity for Chinese descendants during the New Order period indicated the closeness of the government to Chinese descendants compared with the previous period. At the same time, the government insisted that racism was not desired and could not be accepted. Krishna Sen and David Hill describe how "there was a ban on any text that might inflame 'primordial' ethnic (*Suku*), religious (*Agama*), racial (*Ras*) or 'group' (*Antar-golongan*, a euphemism for class) tensions" known as *SARA* (Sen and Hill, 2000; 12). However, the attempts to promote racial tolerance based on *SARA* served only to cover up racism rather than to eliminate it. For instance, some restrictions based on *SARA* were used to "exclude" Chinese languages (Sen and Hill, 2000; 12). The restriction of Chinese language and culture was justified by the government as encouraging Chinese descendants to assimilate better with "indigenous" (*pribumi*) Indonesians.

Furthermore, Th. Sumartana states that the New Order government removed *SARA* from public scrutiny on the grounds of "preserving social harmony". However, this gave the government an opportunity to dominate "the perceptions of and discourse on *SARA*" (Sumartana, 1999; 254). As a consequence, the New Order authority could

disguise its own political manipulation of racial tensions by masking it with apparently worthy intentions.

The deceit and the manipulative play of the government are reflected in the differences between some published autobiographies and unpublished diaries. The published autobiographies contain none of the harsh and explicit descriptions or criticism of Chinese Indonesians to be found in some of these diaries. This may be because of the SARA restrictions on published works. The only text from the eight autobiographies I selected which refers negatively to a person of Chinese descent is that by Sulistina Soetomo. During the war against the Dutch, Sulistina describes how she suspects that her neighbour spies for the Dutch: "tetangga di depan rumah, kata orang adalah mata-mata Belanda. Dia seorang Cina yang notabene sebelumnya adalah kenalan mas Tom" [People said that the neighbour in front of our house was a Dutch spy. He was a Chinese who, it should be noted, had been Tom's acquaintance] (Soetomo, 1995; 60).

The pronouncement of discrimination against Chinese descendants in some diaries indicates that because a diary gives a person more freedom of expression, social and ideological effects can be voiced more explicitly as well. The diarists have internalised the racism that had existed long before the New Order and which had been simultaneously practised, modified and disguised by the New Order regime. The personal and private anti-Chinese sentiments expressed by these diary writers seem to be the consequence of actual beliefs, albeit beliefs stimulated in these individuals by history, society and/or unofficial New Order ideology.

6.4. Criticism of the New Order Regime.

In the previous chapter, I discussed how indirect criticism of the New Order regime could be found in the published life writings. The muteness of other diary writers about political and social conditions even during the time of political turbulence may have been caused by the apolitical thrust of the New Order regime on women. As explained in Chapter 2, the New Order promoted the roles of women as good mothers and wives rather than their participation in politics. Such functions may have participated in silencing some of these diary writers.

In some of these nine diaries, while there is more explicit criticism of the New Order government, such criticism could be found only around the end of the New Order era. Of the nine diaries I collected, three of them - those of Ida, Fay and Lilies - cover until the end of the New Order period. Only two of these diarists, Ida and Fay, reflect on the political situation.

Although Ida experiences and records the effects of social injustice during the New Order era, she does not relate these conditions to the corruption of the regime. Ida has to work while studying in a University. In doing this, she is forced to encounter many difficulties and problems. Nevertheless, after she gets her Bachelor degree in English, her diary describes how she still struggles to get a job:

Saya merasa bahwa saya akan segera berakhir di tempat ini, saya ingin menyiapkan segala sesuatunya agar saya tidak mengalami kesulitan, juga ketika saat-saat sulit itu datang maka saya masih akan punya penghasilan yang tetap sebagai guru B.Ingggris, atau penterjemah. Saya tidak ingin jaman jadi seperti di Era 1985 dulu - saya sampai nekad ingin jadi TKW. Saya tidak ingin punya pikiran konyol itu lagi, tapi jadi TKW juga bagus utk B. Inggris saya, cuma takut diperkosa atau mendapat perlakuan buruk. Setiap rencana, angan-angan tidaklah semudah kenyataan yg terjadi.

[I think that I will quit this place, I will prepare everything so that I will not have any difficulty, also when difficulties come I still want to have a permanent income as an English teacher, or an interpreter. I do not want to be like in the era of 1985 - I nearly took the risk of being a *TKW*¹. I don't want to have such a ridiculous idea again, becoming a *TKW* is good for my English, but I'm afraid of being raped or treated miserably] (Ida, 28 June 1996).

At some point, the difficulty of getting a job in Indonesia had led to Ida's desire to join the ranks of Indonesian migrant workers who usually have to do low status jobs in foreign countries such as cleaning. Most of these workers are able to make more money than in their own country, but the treatment of the Indonesian women sent abroad is very poor: some of them are beaten and even raped. In spite of that, they received no protection from their government at all. Kathryn Robinson shows that since 1990, the organisation *Solidaritas Perempuan* [Women's Solidarity] has made the rights of *TKW* a particular focus. Robinson continues that this women's organisation insisted that "the Indonesian government needs to take greater

¹ *TKW* or *Tenaga Kerja Wanita* (Indonesian female labours) are Indonesian women, usually uneducated and from the lower classes, who are sent abroad to work as maids.

responsibility in protecting the women as workers" (Robinson, 1999; 146). Relating TKW to the economic crisis in Indonesia, Julia Suryakusuma argues that while the New Order government "benefited from these migrant workers - migrants' remittances were used to shore up the rupiah -, the government did not make much effort to protect these women's rights" (Suryakusuma, 1999). Nevertheless, although Ida's diary acknowledges the poor social conditions surrounding these migrant workers, she does not mention her awareness of the government's ignorance in connection with the social conditions confronting them.

The above quotation from Ida's diary can be contrasted with the following one, which refers explicitly to the New Order government:

12 Mei 1998

Gelombang unjuk rasa untuk menggulingkan rezim Soeharto. Demonstrasi Mahasiswa seluruh negeri. Saya menyusuri jalan-jalan di Surabaya bersama-sama dg. Arak-arakan Mahasiswa yg berdemonstrasi. Mereka menyanyikan Salawat Badar tiada hentinya dg. Tiada putusnya. Membuat terharu, gemetar dan bangga pd. Semangat mereka. Angkatan '98 yg. bersenjatakan Salawat Badar, teriakan Reformasi dan Batu mampu menggulingkan Rezim yg begitu kuat. Empat Mahasiswa tertembak di Universitas Trisakti Jakarta. Membuat semua orang berduka, bendera setengah tiang dikibarkan selama seminggu lebih. Penembakan 4 mahasiswa Trisakti menyebabkan Suharto turun.

[A wave of protest to bring down the Soeharto regime. Demonstrations by students throughout the whole country. I stroll the streets in Surabaya with the student rally that is demonstrating. They sang *Salawat Badar*² without stopping, without a break. It touched me, making me tremble and proud of their spirit. The people of '98 who were armed with *Salawat Badar*, the shouting of reform and stones were able to destroy such a strong regime. Four students were shot at Trisakti University in Jakarta. It upset everyone, the flag was flown at half-mast for more than a week. The shooting of the four Trisakti students caused Soeharto to step down] (Ida, 12 May 1998).

This is the first time that Ida mentions the name Soeharto in her diary, and she does it in a demeaning way. As is shown by the previous quotation from Ida's diary on 28 June 1996, Ida is aware of the severe social conditions suffered by Indonesians, especially the TKW. However, her criticism of the government is expressed only

around May 1998, when the riots and student demonstrations against the Soeharto regime became so intense as to force his renunciation of the presidency.

Indeed, terror, manipulation and intimidation since the beginning of the New Order in 1965-66 had enforced people's fear of and loyalty to the regime (Lane, 1999; 239-40). However, this pressure had gradually incited people's rebellion against the powerful. Michael Vatikiotis writes that in 1989, student protests "were regularly reported in the press" (Vatikiotis, 1998; 5). Nevertheless, rather than criticising the government directly, these students "adopted land disputes and the welfare of the people as their cause" (Vatikiotis, 1998; 115). In 1995, there were several other riots, in which "local people directly confronted the state security forces" (Djadjiono, 1999; 131). Max Lane records that between May and December 1997, there were more riots arising from "the grassroots in many areas" (Lane, 1999; 241). During that period, people, organised and unorganised, started to distribute some leaflets about New Order corruption. Max Lane states: "PRD alone estimates that it distributed around 600,000 leaflets calling on Megawati and Muslim leaders to unite against the government" (Lane, 1999; 240). In May 1998, the riots reached a frenzied peak, forcing Soeharto to step down (Vatikiotis, 1998; Lane, 1999). It was, Vatikiotis records, "to be the only time [Soeharto] was directly confronted with the people's will" (Vatikiotis, 1998; 228).

Ida's diary gives the impression that there is a parallel between her private record and the mounting public criticisms of Soeharto during 1998. Ida does not acknowledge her awareness of New Order corruption earlier. When Ida describes the maltreatment of *TKW*, she does not relate these workers' social conditions to the policies of the New Order government either. This may be because she was not aware of the New Order's manipulation of the *TKW* issue. Another possibility could be that she was ignorant of New Order corruption until the riots of May 1998. However, her former silence regarding the New Order regime may also be attributed to her reluctance to discuss New Order corruption despite her awareness of it. Yet another possibility may be that Ida was aware of New Order corruption, but that this awareness did not become pressing until the student demonstrations reached their peak in 1998. Such a possibility would imply that Ida's reference to the government in her diary was

² A Moslem praise song.

directly or indirectly incited by these riots. Whatever the reason is, her diary reflects the social and political changes surrounding her.

Another diary which shows a correlation with the political changes experienced during the latter stages of the New Order period is Fay's. Like Ida's diary, Fay's diary also asserts her criticism of the New Order government only around the end of this era. The part of Fay's diary given to me expresses her involvement with saving the Orang-utans in the jungle. This makes her record the terrible misery happening to the human and non-human inhabitants of Kalimantan in mid 1997-98. One of them is a terrible drought, which lasted for months. Since October 1997, Fay's diary notes that the "dry land" and the deforestation make Orang-utans suffer (Fay, October - November 1997).

The government's ignorance of the environment was one of the main factors that caused the ecology of Indonesia suffer. Discussing ecology and environment in Indonesia, Joan Hardjono states:

Since 1968 Indonesia has made extensive use of its natural resources to finance development, yet relatively little consideration has been given to consequences that are environmental in their impact, that is the ecological sustainability of development (Hardjono, 1991; 2).

In addition, Michael Parnwell and Raymond Bryant argue that Soeharto had used ecology for his political benefit:

Key timber concessions have been given invariably to those closely linked to the President, including members of Suharto's immediate family . . . Control over resource use has thus been an important source of political patronage designed to award supporters and punish opponents in the broader struggle for political power. Widespread environmental degradation has been a central outcome of this process (Parnwell and Bryant, 1996; 9).

Similarly, George Aditjondro states that the palm oil industry which was controlled by "relatives and business associates of the former Indonesian president, Suharto [Soeharto]" had been "the main culprit" for widespread forest fires in Kalimantan (Aditjondro, 2001; 14). In such exploitations, the forests in Kalimantan had long functioned as "*dompot negara* - the nation's wallet" (Loveard, 1999; 227) without being cared for, so that many local people had to suffer (Loveard, 1999; 207-39).

However, Fay does not make any criticism of the government for the poor ecological situation. Her diary only records criticism toward the government when the demonstration against the New Order regime explodes. Fay wrote:

Most people in the cities are reactive to the impact of rupiah depreciation against US dollar 16 banks being liquidated was quite a shock to Indonesia's economic-political situation. . . . I wish the government paid more attention of being internally independent for its economic affairs so that bad impacts for the people can be reduced whenever it comes for financial disasters (Fay, November 1997).

This is the first time that Fay mentions the word "government". Fay writes that at the end of 1997, economic conditions deteriorated, and more and more people started to demonstrate against the government, thereby giving voice to their long repressed grievances. Apparently, social concerns regarding government corruption, combined with the public explosion of anger against Soeharto, influence Fay's diary entries.

Because of strict censorship, news of the riots was hardly broadcast in Indonesia. Some riots and demonstrations were even kept secret at that time, especially deaths at the hands of the Indonesian army. It was in private discourse that people often found out about public events which were unrecorded. Fay gives an account of how the riots happened, and how they affected her family. The fear of the riots even caused some students and lecturers to stay two nights at the University, while also prompting the dismissal of some workers from their offices earlier than normal (Fay, May 1998).

Fay also records how some people took their anger to the streets. In other parts of her diary, she does not mention anything about the government. However, the angry mob may have inspired her to write that unemployment and poor economic conditions are the responsibility of the government:

In general people of Indonesia were extremely disappointed with the fact that the government didn't tackle the economic crisis quickly enough. Millions of people lost their jobs and the prices went up like crazy. In addition, the accumulated hate and anger were too much to bear then. The students rose for their voices, and the armed force did their job. And the blood shed (Fay, May 1998).

It is after the riot, after the political situation changed, and after the regime nearly came to an end, that these two diarists, Fay and Ida, relate the social and

economic crisis in Indonesia to the government. Like Ida's diary, Fay's diary shows that there are some corresponding expressions between the public and private voices in relation to the political situation in Indonesia. The civic anger of the regime is reflected in Fay's diary, although she is not directly involved in the students' protest she describes. There is a muteness, which is uttered later on, which shows that the external cannot be separated from the personal. Public discourse can incite an individual to express a discourse in parallel.

6.5. The Diaries of Chinese Indonesian Women.

From the nine unpublished diaries I have obtained, two of them are written by Indonesians of Chinese origin, Ema and Mar. Both were born in Indonesia, and have been Indonesian citizens since birth. Both were *peranakan*, that is, their ancestors have settled down in Indonesia for some generations. Mar is of mixed descent, because one of her great grandmothers is an indigenous Javanese. However, they were still considered "Chinese" by the New Order government. For the ethnic Chinese, nationalism was more problematical than for indigenous Indonesians. Since the loyalty of the Chinese to the country was doubted, the Indonesian governments had long been suspicious of what was considered as Chinese culture. The New Order era extended the restriction on Chinese culture by banning Chinese schools. This was followed by the strong discouragement of the use of Chinese names and Chinese languages, and the celebration of Chinese New Year (Coppel, 1983).

Being made "the other" by the society and the government, most Chinese did not dare express their Chinese culture in public. However, in the unpublished diaries of two Chinese Indonesian women, the "other"-ness of the Chinese people is revealed. Ema even decorates her diary with some Chinese characters, characters which she would not use in public. For her, the diary becomes a means of expressing an identity which has been repressed by the authoritative eye. Although Ema is defiant of some governmental prohibitions of her Chinese-ness, her connection with Indonesia is still quite strong, which causes some complexity in her identifying between the two cultures, Indonesian and Chinese.

Coming from a wealthy family, Ema has had a chance to study abroad. When she comes back to Indonesia from overseas, she expresses her happiness many times in her diary:

My days in Jakarta have been pleasant (Ema, 15 June 1997).

Jakarta, lovely but hot. It's alive, it's dynamic, much-much better than N [a city in USA where Ema was studying] (Ema, 14 August 1997).

It is apparent that she has an attachment to and special bond with a certain Indonesian geographical place.

Nevertheless, she still identifies herself as Chinese when she meets another person of Chinese origin in America, Erin. Ema describes Erin as a Chinese who was born in America. Her father is from Shanghai and her mother is from Hong Kong. Writing about the Chinese origin of Erin implies that for Ema, this is important. Later, Ema tries to emphasise the bond between her and Erin by referring to their ethnicity:

So many times I slip my tongue saying that she's Chinese just like me, but she always corrects me that she's an American. Well, it doesn't matter what she says, but I always feel very close with Asian friends, no matter which countries they come from (Ema, 18 August 1996).

Erin and Ema's position are similar in some way: they are descendants of Chinese who became citizens in other countries. However, although her parents were from Hong Kong and Shanghai, Erin does not share Ema's attachment to her Chinese origin: she insists that she is an American. Being overseas, indeed, it is common for someone to search for people from the same homeland. Nevertheless, Ema never identifies with other Indonesians in her diary. Rather, she chooses Erin, who is formally an American. In spite of this, Ema identifies Erin as being "just like me". In this case, Ema creates a nationalistic bond between her and Erin, which Erin refuses: "she always corrects me that she's an American" (Ema, 18 August 1996).

Trying to maintain the bond between her and Erin, Ema continues looking for another excuse to maintain the bond between them: "Well, it doesn't matter what she says, but I always feel close with Asian friends, no matter which countries they come from" (Ema, 18 August 1996). Hence, while at first she mentions being Chinese as the bond between her and Erin, she expands this into "Asian", because Erin rejects the

Chinese identification. However, in her diary, it is not recorded that she feels a similar bond with other Asians except for Erin.

Ema's Chinese identification may justify the stereotype that Chinese descendants do not have an Indonesian sense of nationalism. However, Ema's attitude can also be an expression of the impact of discrimination in Indonesia. Because they are not allowed to express any aspect of their Chinese culture, Chinese descendants in Indonesia feel disoriented about their origin. This disorientation is implied in Ema's diary. Being of Chinese descent seems to make her like a missionary, persuading Erin to believe in her Chinese-ness. At the same time, Ema³ still relates herself to Indonesia when she describes going "home" from overseas, as is shown in the previous quotation. Her home is Jakarta despite writing in her diary that she is Chinese.

This kind of disorientation is also expressed by Mar's diary: "Negaraku . . . tapi bukan negaraku" [My country . . . but it's not my country] (Mar, 4 September 1992). Her statement that her country is not her country implies that she doubts her identity in terms of nationality. Although she is of mixed descent, Mar was still labelled "Chinese" by the Indonesian government. The awareness that she has a connection with Indonesia, while at the same time being singled out by the Indonesian government as "Chinese", may cause her some confusion in identifying her country.

This confusion is also expressed in a poem in Mar's diary:

Home

Not where I come from . . .
But wherever I will arrive . . .
and be welcome (Mar, 28 April 1998)⁴.

When writing this, Mar was overseas. Although this poem does not mention anything about her country, the rejection of her identity in Indonesia may influence her in writing such a poem. Relating this poem to her "Chinese-ness", the "home" in the poem may indicate a home country. Being treated unfairly in Indonesia, Mar may feel that her home country is wherever she will arrive in life. In a way, Mar is still looking for a home, a place where she can be accepted.

³ Ema now lives in USA. She and her family fled after the riots of May 1998, in which many houses belonging to Indonesian Chinese were ransacked and Chinese women were raped.

⁴ Like Ema, Mar also lives overseas, but her family is still in Indonesia.

6.6. Summary.

Negotiating the self with the surrounding ideology continues in these diaries. Although a diary can give more space to the subject, the self-representation in the diary cannot be separated from the political oppression surrounding the writer. This genre gives the writers more space not only to ignore, but also to conform with, the surrounding ideology. Indeed, the diary writers do not have to flatter the New Order government as the subjects of the published autobiographies do. At the same time, they do not criticise the regime in their diaries. Their criticisms merely emerged when the demonstrations against Soeharto reached their climax in public. In this case, the diaries correlate with public political discourse.

Furthermore, these diaries also reflect some embedded political and social prejudice which is rarely expressed in the published autobiographies, such as discrimination against Chinese descendants. While most of the published autobiographies discussed in this thesis do not express any discrimination against Chinese descendants, most of the published diaries record the existence of this form of discrimination. Such sentiment can also be traced in the diaries of the two Chinese descendants, Ema and Mar. In these considered private accounts, both have more space in expressing their "Chinese" culture, a culture which cannot be exposed in public. However, anti-Chinese racism, which was sustained and modified by the New Order government, has unavoidably influenced their representation of identity as well. Ema's identifying herself as Chinese rather than as Indonesian may be affected by anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia. Mar's disorientation about her country and home also refer to the repression of the Chinese in Indonesia. Thus, although the two Chinese descendants show more freedom in their diaries, ideology still manifests itself in their private self-representations.

Chapter 7.

Indonesian Women's Sexuality in Published Autobiographies.

As explained in Chapter II, the coming of Islam and Christianity in the archipelago emphasised sexual decency and purity, especially among women. The necessity of having religion was emphasised during the New Order (Hefner, 1999; 42) together with the promotion of women's sexual purity. In addition, drawing on the Javanese conceptions of self, power, and hierarchy which require people to control their desire and other strong emotions through self-discipline, sexual passion is one among many desires which became the focus of restriction in New Order Indonesia (Errington, 1984; Keeler, 1987; Brenner, 1998). Sexual passion was regarded as disorderly and obstructive of the regime's purpose of creating and fostering the order (*ketertiban*) of the nation. Accordingly, publicly revealing sexual desire or passion was considered taboo in Indonesia: strict censorship was applied. The message of self-discipline and self-sacrifice for the sake of order had never before been preached as strongly to Indonesian women by the government, as the New Order regime emphasised the restraint of personal desire for the sake of family and nation (Suryakusuma, 1996).

In discussing Indonesian ideals of womanhood, Sylvia Tiwon argues that the indoctrination of the New Order government to school children as well as the manipulation of Kartini's image as a gentle and sacrificing rather than rebellious woman, confirmed the distinction between two types of women: the model and the maniac. The model is the one who can control her desire and passion, who waits for her promised spouse, who can be a good wife and mother. The maniac, on the other hand, is the one who speaks out loud, who shows her sexual passion and who shows uncontrolled emotions (Tiwon, 1996; 64-65). This kind of ideology has placed Indonesian women in two extreme categories: either good or bad, and nothing in between.

Writing in published autobiographies, which are considered to represent fact and the portrayal of real people, the subjects need to consider the stereotypes or social restrictions which may stain their reputation. Indeed, most of the eight published

autobiographies discussed here represent their subjects as sexually pure by either not mentioning sexual desire at all, or by showing their dedication and loyalty to one man for the whole of their life. However, some sexual references can be found in some of the autobiographies of these Indonesian women who are considered as role models for the public. This throws into question the dichotomy posed by Tiwon, as it suggests that negotiation between compliance with and transgression of female sexual stereotypes can be detected in some of the autobiographies.

7.1. Published Autobiographies: Women's Decency.

All of the subjects of published autobiographies I have selected were or had been married by the time they wrote their autobiography. Sexual experience for Indonesian women outside marriage is considered immoral. This means that because most of the subjects of autobiographies are married, they should feel freer in talking about sexual matters than most of the subjects of the diaries who are still unmarried. Their status as married women entitles them to discuss sex because as married women, they have experienced it legitimately. Nonetheless, even though some of these autobiographical subjects discuss sexuality, women's purity is often underscored.

In *Pending Emas*, which describes Herlina's experience when she is still unmarried, Herlina makes a point of explaining how she keeps a distance in her interaction with men. Travelling on a ship to the jungle of West Papua, Herlina is the only woman among the passengers. With these men, she states how she tries to set up certain boundaries:

Hal-hal yang tidak diinginkan antara laki-laki dan perempuan harus dihindarkan, dengan menjaga jarak pergaulan sehari-hari. Aku tidak boleh membuat tontonan yang tidak lucu, menjadi pergunjangan maupun sasaran pembicaraan.
[Things considered improper between men and women have to be avoided, by maintaining a distance in social daily life. I could not do anything that might arouse rumours or become a subject of gossip] (Herlina, 1985; 322).

Herlina shows that she does not forget "morality" by carefully controlling her relationship with men. Writing the above passage in the autobiography, Herlina demonstrates the importance of her decency so that she will not be the subject of gossip. In this matter, Laine Berman argues: "When a woman's body becomes

sexualized, through whatever means, she is forced to accept the guilt that leads to the 'unforgivable stain'" (Berman, 1998; 46). Women therefore must be responsible for their sexual restraint.

Similarly, in describing how she educates her adopted children in *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit [Reviving from the Sick World]*, Herlina affirms that girls should be responsible for their own decency. While talking about sex is quite rare in Indonesia, in educating her adopted children, Herlina chooses to talk openly about everything (including sex) so that she can be an "up-to-date" mother (Herlina, 1986; 86). However, Herlina's discussions merely address this subject in terms of the rules and restrictions which society expects females to observe in relation to their sexuality. This means that while she claims that she is "up-to-date", she does not question conservative values in educating her adopted children. Although in her youth Herlina was the first woman who travelled around Indonesia and went to the jungle on her own, Herlina prohibits her adopted daughters from going camping because she is afraid that the girls may tend to be too free with boys in the camping situation. She states to her daughters that going camping creates "banyak peluang negatif" [many negative opportunities] for "para remaja putri seusia kalian" [female teenagers at your age] (Herlina, 1985; 91). Such perception may have been constructed by her position as a mother, as opposed to her daughters. Herlina may have felt that she was responsible for raising her daughters in such a way that they would conform to the norms of proper women during that period.

The campsites, Herlina continues, are "jauh dari keramaian" [far from the crowd] and make the atmosphere "aduhai" [enticing] (Herlina, 1986, 93-94). This can lead the girls into "pergaulan bebas" [being promiscuous] (Herlina, 1986; 93). Hence, Herlina insists that her adopted daughters realise "betapa mengerikan gambaran negatif dari arena berkemah" [how terrifying the negative picture of the camping ground is] (Herlina, 1986; 95). In restricting sex for the girls, Herlina claims that girls should be more cautious than boys, as she states:

kalian semua tahu, berapa banyak tamu-tamu Ibu yang terdiri dari remaja seusia kalian, minta perlindungan datang mengadukan perutnya sudah berisi janin. Akhirnya, sekolah yang dikorbankan, karena tidak ada baju seragam sekolah untuk perut buncit. Bagaimana dengan si prianya? Mereka tetap bisa bebas, karena perutnya tidak akan pernah buncit!

[All of you know, there are many of Mother's visitors who are teenagers like you, asking for protection, coming to complain about

having fallen pregnant. At the end, school has to be sacrificed, because there is no uniform for a bulging stomach. How about the men? They can still be free, because their stomach will never bulge!] (Herlina, 1986; 92).

Herlina thus stresses that sex before marriage is taboo, especially for women, because they are the ones who will bear the consequences. On the other hand, she points out how free men can be.

Herlina's advice may show awareness of the unfairness of relations between men and women, but at the same time, she affirms that women should be more blameworthy. In this autobiography, Herlina never mentions that she placed sexual restrictions on the boys. Although she does not describe any of the boys intending to go camping or other activities which may possibly bring them closer to sexual danger, it is hardly possible that these boys never did any outdoor activities which could be considered "threatening". The absence of this description may indicate that Herlina is not as concerned about the boys' activities, as she is about the girls', and thus affirms that boys can have more freedom.

Similarly, for Sulistina Soetomo in *Bung Tomo Suamiku*, her sexual decency is important. This can be inferred from how furious she is when there is a gossip that she was not a virgin before her marriage to Soetomo: "Dibilang tidak perawan! Ini penghinaan! Aku difitnah sebagai gadis murahan. Betul-betul keterlaluan!" [They said I was not a virgin! This is an insult! I was slandered as being a loose woman. Really this is too much!] (Soetomo, 1995; 35). Sulistina implies that not being a virgin is the same as being a loose woman. Women's virginity before marriage is an important issue to the extent that it becomes a topic for social discussion in the form of rumour. Sulistina's reaction to such gossip also indicates how significant her pre-marital virginity is as a sign of her maintenance of purity. Sulistina does not criticise the violation of her "privacy". She gets angry not because people make her virginity a social issue, but because this issue relates to her reputation, which means Sulistina herself supports the social idea of making her virginity important. Being a Moslem, Sulistina may have been influenced by Islamic rule which requires women to guard their purity. While this incident happened before the New Order started, Sulistina's perception of virginity conforms with the New Order image of proper women. Her choice of recording this event as well as her interpretation of her life story may have

been influenced by the importance of maintaining women's virginity during the New Order period.

The suppression of women's sexuality in Sulistina's autobiography is emphasised when after marrying Soetomo, Sulistina talks about their sexual relationship merely in relation to Soetomo's enjoyment. She states that she tried to be "a queen" in meetings and conferences, "a princess" in the kitchen, and "a prostitute" in bed (Soetomo, 1995; 51). As a woman, Sulistina implies that she accepted the duty of satisfying her husband. She notes how: "Seorang pelacur akan berusaha memuaskan lelaki, juga seorang isteri harus berusaha untuk membuat suaminya puas" [a prostitute will try to please men, so a wife has to try to please her husband] (Soetomo, 1995; 51).

While Sulistina is allowed to express her sexual passion by behaving like a prostitute in bed, this sexual expression serves to please her husband, not herself. A prostitute is paid to please a man, and the wife's duty is likewise to fulfil her husband's pleasure but without any clear reward. Sulistina recalls some advice about serving a man: "Capek sedikit tidak apa tuan, asalkan tuan. . . asalkan tuan senang di hati" [I'm a bit tired but it's OK, dear, as long as . . . as long as you are happy] (Soetomo, 1995; 51). Her own feelings are not important.

Because Soetomo's satisfaction is more important than hers, it is the right of Soetomo to complain and criticise when his wife does not please him. He demands that Sulistina serve him fully and that she cook for him. So, Soetomo states: "Kalau perempuan bisa masak, pasti suaminya tidak jajan di restoran. Perempuan yang bisa mengulek pasti pandai melayani suami di tempat tidur. Makanya kau harus pandai masak, supaya aku betah tinggal di rumah" [If a woman can cook, the husband will not eat snacks in a restaurant. A woman who can pound spice must be good at serving her husband in bed. That's why you must be able to cook, so that I like staying at home] (Soetomo, 1995; 51). It is Sulistina's responsibility to delight her husband with carnal pleasures: the sexual and the gastronomical. If she cannot satisfy him properly then it is not his fault if he looks for another source of carnal pleasure (either snacking in the restaurant or going to a prostitute). The indulgence of eating and cooking becomes a double entendre, referring also to sex.

Soetomo demands that Sulistina look after her body so that she stays slim: "Zus rawatlah badanmu baik-baik. Kalau sudah punya anak, jangan berhenti merawat badanmu, agar tetap singset. Kalau menjadi gombyor aku akan mencari yang lain

lho''' [Darling, please look after your body carefully. After having children, you should not stop caring for your body, so that you can stay slim. If you become fat, I will look for another woman, OK?] (Soetomo, 1995; 53). The loyalty of the husband is therefore the responsibility of the wife. If the wife is incapable of pleasing him sexually, he can make other choices. What Soetomo demands from Sulistina reflects how in Indonesia, men's unfaithfulness and sexual transgression is accepted.

Indeed, she describes her pain over her husband's remark:

Deg. Dadaku seperti dipukul. Sedih sekali. Begitukah sifat lelaki? Habis manis sepah dibuang? Dia akan mencari wanita muda yang sintal singset? Sebagai pengantin baru, ucapan mas Tom itu terasa tajam dan menusuk sekali. . . . Tanpa terasa airmataku mengalir. [Bang! I felt as if my chest had been struck. Tremendously sad. Is that a man's character? He will leave after having enough of a woman? He will look for another younger woman who is slim and sexy? As a newly wed, Tom's words really hurt. . . . Unconsciously my tears flowed] (Soetomo, 1995; 53).

Despite her pain, Sulistina keeps quiet. She does not complain and she follows what her husband wants: "perkataan yang tajam itu membuatku berhati-hati merawat tubuh" [Soetomo's sharp words made me careful about looking after my body] (Soetomo, 1995; 53). Thus, she herself accepts that Soetomo may be unfaithful to her if he is not well served.

However, on another page, Sulistina neutralises the description of her husband's rude comment with: "mas Tom bukan type pria yang habis manis sepah dibuang. Ancamannya dulu agar aku menjaga bentuk tubuh, waktu temanten baru hanyalah demi kebahagiaan kita berdua" [Tom is not the type of man who leaves a woman after taking his pleasure. His warning to me about taking care of my body, when we were newly wed, was just for the sake of our own happiness] (Soetomo, 1995; 92). Here, she accepts that Soetomo can decide and control, and that it is the responsibility of the wife to serve and fulfil his needs. She does not mention that she herself needs some kind of physical, gastronomical or sexual service from Soetomo. Although Sulistina lived through the periods before New Order, the ideal wife as promoted by the New Order regime in the Dharma Wanita ideology is reflected in Sulistina's autobiography. While Sulistina may have been influenced by such views before the New Order started, writing and publishing during the New Order period may also have influenced her reflection of the event in her autobiography.

The above discussion demonstrates how some of the subjects of published autobiographies endorse the belief that women should guard their purity and that sexual desire belongs to men. Some other autobiographies, Sujatin's *Mencari Makna Hidupku* and Lasmidjah Hardi's *Perjalanan Tiga Zaman* hardly touch on any sexual discussion. Indeed, Sujatin breaks up two of her romantic relationships (Kartowijono, 1983; 41-43). Yet, she does this not because of her desire for another man but for her struggle for women's organisations, for the sake of other people rather than her own romantic or sexual desire.

In Ratna Djuami's *Kisah Cinta*, Djuami describes that she only falls in love with and marries one man, Asmara Hadi. Although Rachmawati's autobiography depicts how she married twice, her first marriage failed not because of her infidelity but because of her husband's (Soekarno, 1984; 102-3). However, not all of the autobiographies I have selected provide a picture of stereotypical and conservative women. Although the subjects of these autobiographies can be considered as models for other Indonesians, they often show some transgression in their sexual behaviour.

7.2. Transgression in Autobiographies.

Previously, I discussed the necessity that Indonesian women guard their purity. Similarly, it is considered degrading for Indonesian women to have a relationship outside of the sphere of monogamy (Sen, 1994; Berman, 1998), which means that Indonesian women showing passion for more than one man at the same time will make people question their sexual decency and purity. While the other autobiographies portray the subject's loyalty to the husband, two of the autobiographies, *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit* and *Kuantar ke Gerbang*, describe how the subjects show their romantic passion to other men besides their own husbands.

Although Herlina's advice to her adopted daughters sounds quite conventional, her marriage may be considered unusual in comparison with the ideal image of Indonesian women. This is evidenced when Herlina writes, in *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit*, how she divorced her first husband, married a second one, but remained in love with her ex-husband. This autobiography describes how Herlina marries her long-time boyfriend, Harkomoyo, who is a sailor. After their marriage, Herlina suffers from many diseases including tuberculosis, which were the effects of her harsh life in the jungles of Irian. Because of these diseases, she has to move from Jakarta and stay in a

farmhouse, away from the city. Harkomoyo decides to accompany her and get adjusted with the new environment, as Herlina states: "dari pelaut ia terjun ke usaha pertanian" [from being a sailor, he had to take up farming] (Herlina, 1986; 75). Yet Herlina decides to divorce Harkomoyo despite his efforts.

While divorcing a man may be considered unconventional for Indonesian women during the New Order, Herlina's reason for the divorce sounds very conventional: she thinks of Harkomoyo's success and happiness. Looking at herself in the mirror, Herlina is concerned with women's traditional value: beauty. She sees herself from the male perspective. Her physical appearance becomes one of her main concerns, which makes her feel that there is no means through which she can please her husband any more. As she states: "Ah, apa yang akan kuperuntukkan bagi suamiku? Tubuhku, wajahku, semuanya tidak ada artinya, sebab semuanya sudah begitu buruk dilalap habis-habisan oleh penyakit yang keparat itu" [Oh, what should I give to my husband? My body, my face, everything is worthless, because everything has been so ugly, eaten by those awful diseases] (Herlina, 1986; 79).

In Herlina's opinion, their marriage is obstructing Harkomoyo's career because he has to spend more time with her rather than concentrating on his own future. She states:

aku tidak boleh egoistis, hanya memperhitungkan enaknya bagi diriku sendiri. Tidak! Aku tidak sanggup membiarkan terus-menerus pengorbanan suamiku. Sebab, ia pun berhak mempunyai masa depannya sendiri, membina kariernya.
[I shouldn't be selfish, only considering my own benefit. No! I can't let my husband sacrifice for me all the time. Because he deserves to have his own future, to advance his career] (Herlina, 1986; 77).

Hence, her unconventional deed is based on more conventional reasons: her consideration for Harkomoyo's happiness and career.

After getting divorced from Harkomoyo, Herlina feels quite lonely and decides to marry another man. The reason for her second marriage, she states, is not love but because of need: "Aku menyadari bahwa perkawinanku sekarang tidak lagi akan berpijak berdasarkan cinta, tetapi kehadiran sepasang manusia yang saling membutuhkan" [I realise that my present marriage is not based on love, but the need of a couple of human beings for company] (Herlina, 1986; 96). In this new marriage, Herlina never mentions her previous worry about her lack of physical beauty.

In her second marriage, Herlina also makes a deal with her new husband. She demands that he allow her to love her previous husband, Harkomoyo, as she tells her second husband: "aku memberi tahu bahwa aku tetap selalu ingat kepada Harkomoyo, dan harap tidak ada persoalan" [I told him that I would always remember Harkomoyo, and expected that this would not cause any problems] (Herlina, 1986; 97). Herlina also asks her husband to allow her to see Harkomoyo on her own every time he comes to visit in Jakarta.

During these meetings, Herlina writes how she still addresses Harkomoyo as "sayang" [darling] and how he calls her "manis" [sweet] or "manisku sayang" [my darling sweet] (Herlina, 1986; 103-4, 108-9). Some intimate scenes in their meetings like hugging or kissing are also described: "Ia langsung saja spontan menciumiku bertubi-tubi" [He straight away kissed me spontaneously several times] (Herlina, 1986; 109). While Indonesian women are expected to be faithful, Herlina practises a kind of triangular love. She loves two men and demands that her husband accept this situation.

This arrangement, nonetheless, does not last long. Herlina organises for Harkomoyo to remarry one of her adopted daughters, Ida, whom Herlina describes as young and amazingly beautiful: "Ida, anak angkatku, gadis cantik usia 22 tahun. . . cantik bin ayu!" [Ida, my adopted child, a beautiful girl aged 22 years old. . . astonishingly beautiful!] (Herlina, 1986; 110). At this point, Herlina's "polyandrous" love is redeemed in the matching of her ex-husband with Ida, so that Herlina can be more monogamous. Herlina's transgression is normalised in the end. She has given Harkomoyo a beautiful young girl as a replacement for her own fading physical beauty.

Her cessation of the triangular relationship between herself, her husband and Harkomoyo seems to be confirmed when she describes how she gives up Harkomoyo wholly and fully to her adopted daughter, Ida:

Hadiahku kepada Ida adalah semua pemberian Harkomoyo kepadaku, kuserahkan kepadanya, sehingga ia benar-benar yakin bahwa aku telah melepas Harkomoyo dengan sepenuh hati!
[My presents for Ida are all Harkomoyo's presents for me, I give all to her, so that she is really sure that I have wholeheartedly let Harkomoyo go!] (Herlina, 1986; 115).

Despite Herlina's normalisation of her transgression, she still produces the impression of being a powerful woman. She is the one who initiates most of the marital activities:

divorcing Harkomoyo, getting married to another man under certain conditions and finally "giving" Harkomoyo to her adopted daughter. She has become the organiser of these two men. Consequently, Herlina's marriages can produce different assumptions and interpretations. Her transgression is mixed with her conservatism. Similar paradoxes can be found in the next autobiography I discuss, *Kuantar ke Gerbang*.

7.3. Inggit Ganarsih's *Kuantar ke Gerbang*.

Most of the nine autobiographies I have selected do not mention sexual experiences outside of marriage, except for *Kuantar ke Gerbang*, in which Inggit makes reference to her extra-marital affair with Soekarno. Although Rachmawati and Herlina have double marriages, they never mention any sexual relationship outside their legal bonds. While Herlina has a triangular relationship at some stage in her marriage, she describes how she can still "control" herself in one of her meetings with Harkomoyo: "Rangkulannya melekat erat, hatinya berdebar memburu hangat, ia merasa aku masih istrinya! Oh, Tuhan, inilah umat-Mu, 'manusia'! Aku pun lega, tak sampai hanyut mereguk fatamorgana" [His embrace is very tight, his heart beats fast and warmly, he still feels that I am his wife! Oh, God, this is your disciple, a "human being"! I feel relieved, I don't get carried away by the enjoyment of worldly illusions] (Herlina, 1986; 109). Despite their strong affection for one another, Herlina affirms that she and Harkomoyo still keep certain boundaries between them. The absence of sexual affairs outside wedlock in most autobiographies may signify that these women really have never had any sexual affairs outside marriage. Another possibility is that they are too embarrassed to admit it, even if they have done it. All the possibilities imply that sex outside of marriage has to be avoided and is considered taboo in Indonesian society.

However, not all subjects of Indonesian autobiographies represent themselves as sexually pure or immune from sexual pleasure outside legal bonds. While the ideal Indonesian woman is portrayed as pure and faithful, in *Kuantar ke Gerbang*, Inggit is not always the stereotypical female who is submissive and loyal to her man. *Kuantar ke Gerbang* depicts Inggit's extra-marital relationship with not only one man but with two men. Although this autobiography focuses on her love story with Soekarno (Kusno), the text reveals that Inggit is first married to "Kang Nata" and then Sanusi (Uci). While married to her first husband Nata, Inggit is already in love with Sanusi.

She marries Nata because Sanusi is going to have an arranged marriage with another woman. As described in the text, the married Sanusi still indicates his infatuation with the married Inggit. In the end, both Sanusi and Inggit divorce their respective partners and marry each other.

After Inggit marries Sanusi, she meets Soekarno. When Inggit and Soekarno meet, Soekarno is married to Utari. Twelve years younger than Inggit, Soekarno comes to the house of Inggit and her husband as a student seeking board. In their first meeting, Inggit compares Soekarno (Kusno) with her husband straight away: Soekarno "benar-benar orang periang, jauh periang dibandingkan dengan suamiku" [is a cheerful person, much more cheerful than my husband] (Ganarsih, 1988; 5). After Soekarno comes to her house, Inggit tells how things change after his arrival:

Sejak kedatangan Kusno, begitulah aku sapa mahasiswa yang menumpang itu, rumah kami menjadi jauh lebih ramai dikunjungi orang, terutama kaum muda yang berdatangan. . . . Kejadian ini menyebabkan aku sibuk, lebih sibuk dari biasa. Aku pun senang melayani banyak orang. Hidup jadi bergairah.

[Since the arrival of Kusno, that's how I called the student who stayed with us, our house became more crowded, visited by many people, especially young men. . . . This event made me busy, busier than usual. I was glad serving many people. Life became exciting] (Ganarsih, 1988; 7).

Inggit implies that her relationship with her husband, Sanusi, has deteriorated:

Yang jadi soal bagiku adalah justru suamiku sendiri, Kang Uci. Ia masih juga tetap suka sering keluar rumah. . . . Dan aku sudah tidak bernafsu lagi untuk menegurnya. Biarlah ia mendapatkan kesenangannya sendiri, pikirku.

[The problem for me was my own husband, Kang Uci. He still liked going out often. . . . And I had no more desire to talk to him. Let him get his own pleasure, I thought] (Ganarsih, 1988; 7).

The word "masih juga" [still] stresses that his habit of leaving her at home had developed before Soekarno's arrival.

The story becomes a justification of Inggit's affair with Soekarno as she describes how Soekarno's relationship with his wife had also not been harmonious. Soekarno often consults Inggit about the problems he has with his wife: he tells her how he and Utari (his wife) are not like husband and wife: "Kami tidur berdampingan di satu tempat tidur," kata Kusno, 'tetapi secara jasmani dan rohani kami sebagai kakak beradik. Tidak lebih daripada sebagai kakak dan adik' ["We sleep together in the same

bed," said Kusno, "However, physically and spiritually, we are like brother and sister. No more than brother and sister"] (Ganarsih, 1988; 8). Soekarno and Utari later get a divorce.

After Soekarno is divorced, rumours about Inggit and Soekarno spread among "famili Kang Uci" [Uci's relatives]:

Aku dianggap mereka memeras Kang Uci. Aku diumpat seolah-olah apa-apa yang kupakai, gelang, kalung emas, cincin berlian adalah jerih payah suamiku yang aku peras . . . Ditambah lagi dengan bisik-bisik tentang hubunganku dengan pemuda yang menumpang di rumah kami.

[They thought that I exploited Uci. I was scolded as if everything I was wearing, bracelet, gold necklace, diamond ring, were my husband's effort which I had exploited . . . Plus the whispering about my relationship with the young man who stayed at our place] (Ganarsih, 1988; 21-22).

Rather than keeping quiet about these rumours, Inggit's rebellious nature is seen when she confronts Sanusi's parents. Inggit comes to her in-laws' place and explains what is happening. She not only talks to them but also threatens them:

Di depan mertuaku yang laki-laki aku berani berkata,"Bapak, kalau begini terus, saya serahkan Kang Uci kembali kepada Bapak. Inilah maksud kami datang menghadap kepada Bapak". [In front of my father in law, I dared to say: "Father, if this keeps on going, I will give Uci back to you. This is our intention in coming to see you"] (Ganarsih, 1988; 22).

Mentioning that she will divorce her husband, Inggit defends her rights in a way that is unusually bold for Indonesian women at that time. Her threat to give back her husband to his parents also implies her power of ownership over her husband. Instead of him possessing her, her statement suggests that she possesses him.

Nevertheless, her affair with Soekarno continues:

Malam hari sering kali kami berdua.

Dengan tidak terasa saat-saat sepi telah direnggut oleh lautan asmara yang menjalar dan naik jadi pasang serta kami dengan tiada sadar telah tenggelam karenanya. Sampai pada satu saat Kusno merayu aku dan aku pun peka. Aku pun terdiri dari darah dan daging, manusia biasa yang luluh oleh kesepian dan musnah oleh pijar sinar cinta yang meluap.

[At night we are often alone together.

Without sensing it, the moment of silence had been grasped by the ocean of love, which gradually rose. Unconsciously, we had been sunk in it. Until one time, Kusno approached me and I was responsive. I also consisted of flesh and blood, a common person

who could be melted by loneliness and beaten by the overwhelming beaming ray of love] (Ganarsih, 1988; 16).

Narrating Inggit's and Soekarno's bad relationships with their respective partners, the lonely nights, the times they spend together in the house, Inggit makes herself the passive agent in the relationship with Soekarno.

Having two extra-marital relationships, Inggit also does another very scandalous thing by Indonesian standards: she has sexual intercourse with her much younger boarder while still being the wife of another man. Inggit becomes the social transgressor in this case, as she describes:

Dia menggeser tangannya, merayap perlahan-lahan dan menyentuh tanganku. Kurasakan tenaganya. Dadanya mendekat. Bibirnya mendekat. Aku ditarik dan kami berpindah tempat. Hendaknya semua maklum apa yang terjadi sebagai kelanjutannya. [He moved his hand, edging closer and closer, and touched mine. I felt his energy. His chest got closer. His lips were closer. I was drawn to him and we changed positions. I suppose everyone understands what happened then] (Ganarsih, 1988; 24).

While she violates the stereotype of a good and pure Indonesian woman, at the same time Inggit gives the impression that she is still part of her society. She is unwilling to tell explicitly what happens between her and Soekarno. Rather, she states that everyone should "understand what happened then".

That an individual is also a reflection of society is indicated as Inggit tells how they finally get further involved:

Aku malu menceritakannya. Aku adalah seorang perempuan Timur. Aku tidak mampu berterus terang di depanmu . . . Ia merayu aku lagi dan aku pun peka. Setan apa yang telah menyeret kami, sehingga kami lupa diri dan menikmati kehidupan ini, dihanyut ke dunia asmara tanpa akal sedikit jua pun? [I am embarrassed about telling this. I am an Eastern woman. I cannot be frank in front of you . . . He seduced me again and I was sensitive. What kind of a devil tempted us, so that we forgot ourselves and took pleasure from this life, carried to a world of love without any sense at all?] (Ganarsih, 1988; 24).

While breaking the boundaries of social norms, Inggit still places herself within them. She expresses her awareness of being an Indonesian by stating that as an Eastern woman, she finds that this experience is embarrassing and wicked. She seeks to defend herself by reference to outside forces, such as loneliness and the devil. The

sinfulness of her act is nevertheless connoted by Inggit herself as she describes that what she does with Soekarno may be influenced by a devil ("setan"). In some ways, her act of transgression is converted to compliance by her condemnation of this act.

Nevertheless, while implying that what she has done is debased, Inggit contradicts this again by defending herself:

Ah, untuk apa pula mengutik-utik masa lampau. Malu! Cerita kita waktu muda sudah sama-sama kita maklum. Sudahlah, bukan sesuatu yang pantas untuk ditiru. Lagi pula keadaanku waktu itu, keadaan rumah tangga kami maksudku, bisa kalian maklumi. Suamiku sudah lama bukan lagi seorang laki-laki yang bisa memuaskan diriku.

[Ah, why should I talk about the past. Embarrassing! The story of our youth, every one should have understood it. Well, it is not something which is supposed to be emulated. Moreover you can understand my condition at that time, our marriage I mean. For a long time, my husband had not been a man who could please me] (Ganarsih, 1988; 24).

On the one hand, Inggit reproaches her self by declaring that she may have been influenced by Satan in her actions. On the other hand, Inggit implies that this kind of behaviour can be excused, justifying what she has done with Soekarno. She even urges that her "indiscretion" with Soekarno should be understood because it was caused by her marital situation. Mentioning that her husband was not able to please her for a long time, Inggit conveys to the reader that she also has sexual desires which need to be acknowledged. As a woman, she also wants to be pleased by a man. If this demand cannot be fulfilled, then it can cause her to seek pleasure with another man. Thus, while she expects the reader to condemn what she does with Soekarno, she also wants the reader to accept it.

Sanusi, in this case, takes a submissive and sacrificial role, a role which is supposed to be played by stereotypical women. Tiwon's model of an ideal Indonesian woman who waits and is a good wife and mother is contradicted by Inggit's actions. Sanusi is in a way feminised, just as Barthes states in *A Lover's Discourse*:

Historically, the discourse of absence is carried on by the Woman: Woman is sedentary. Man hunts, journeys; Woman is faithful (she waits), man is fickle (he sails away, he cruises). . . . It follows that in any man who utters the other's absence something feminine is declared: this man who waits and who suffers from his waiting is miraculously feminized (Barthes, 1978; 13-14).

In Indonesia, most women are still expected to play the role of waiting, of being faithful to the man who has more opportunity to have adventures and even to be unfaithful. However, Inggit reverses the traditional roles. Rather than being a loyal and submissive wife, Inggit has two extra-marital relationships, first with Sanusi and then with Soekarno.

Leaving her husband for a much younger man, Inggit has taken a quite unconventional decision in relation to the standard of Tiwon's model of Indonesian women. Inggit leaves Sanusi and he accepts her decision. Without anger, Sanusi reveals his sacrifice to Inggit. He tells Inggit to accept Soekarno's proposal first before divorcing him for her own benefit:

"Begini," katanya dengan sungguh-sungguh. "Terimalah dulu lamaran Kusno itu. Sesudah jelas begitu, baik Akang jatuhkan talak. Tetapi jangan kemudian pakai berdiri sendiri segala. Jadikanlah nikah dengan Kusno. . . . Kalau tidak begitu, bakal banyak saudagar yang mendekat Eulis¹, melamar Eulis, dan Akang tidak sudi".

["Well," he said seriously. "Accept Kusno's proposal first. After that, I will divorce you. But later don't stand on your own feet. Do get married with Kusno. . . . If not, there will be many rich men who will approach you, propose to you, and I will not be willing"] (Ganarsih, 1988; 27).

Hinting at his unlimited love, Sanusi lets Inggit go with the man she loves and he even wishes her happiness:

"Akang telah katakan kepada Kusno, cintailah Enggit [Inggit] dengan sungguh-sungguh dan jangan terlantarkan dia. Saya tidak senang, tidak rela kalau mesti melihat Enggit hidup sengsara, baik lahir, maupun batin".

["I have told Kusno, love Enggit (Inggit) sincerely and don't neglect her. I will not be happy nor consent if I have to witness Enggit living miserably, materially as well as spiritually"] (Ganarsih, 1988; 27).

This wish is fulfilled in a legal letter: "sehelai surat perjanjian Kusno yang terpisah amatlah penting bagiku. Ia berjanji seperti apa yang diminta oleh Kang Sanusi: ia tidak akan menyakiti aku" [a separate piece of Kusno's agreement letter was very important for me. He promised what Sanusi asked: he would not hurt me] (Ganarsih, 1988; 28). Despite Inggit's infidelity, Sanusi gives her some money for the future: "Maka tidak lama setelah itu jatuhlah talak dari tangan Kang Sanusi. Aku pun pergi ke

¹ Eulis is a term used to refer to a young woman in the Sundanese language.

rumah orang tua dengan diberi bekal hidup oleh Kang Uci" [Not long after that Sanusi gave me a divorce. I left for my parents' house with some financial provision given by Uci (Sanusi)] (Ganarsih, 1988; 27).

Nevertheless, behind Sanusi's benevolent treatment of Inggit is Soekarno's charismatic image. While Sanusi is feminised, he is in some ways feminised by another man, Soekarno. It is for the sake of Soekarno's future that he lets Inggit go:

"Akang ridoi," kata [Sanusi] lagi. "Kalau Eulis menerima lamaran Kusno itu dan kalian berdua nikah. Mari kita jagokan dia, sehingga benar-benar menjadi pemimpin rakyat. Dampingi dia, bantulah dia, sampai ia benar-benar mencapai cita-citanya".
["I wish you luck," said Sanusi again. "If you accept Kusno's proposal and you two get married. Let's support him, so that he can be the real leader of the people. Stand by his side, help him, so that he can achieve his ideals"] (Ganarsih, 1988; 27).

As is described in the above passage, it is not merely for the sake of Inggit that Sanusi lets her get married to Soekarno, but also for the sake of Soekarno's future and career.

Nonetheless, one's identity is often formed "vis-à-vis" the other. One can change his/her identity depending on his/her interaction with the other. Inggit's "outrageous" love life is in some ways redeemed in her marriage with Soekarno. While with Sanusi, she expresses her demand to be pleased, with Soekarno she merely wants to fulfil his demands. With Soekarno, Inggit plays a role similar to that of Sulistina: in her references to her sexual relationship with Soekarno, she merely mentions her capacity to give him pleasure. Inggit states: "Aku perempuan yang sangat diharapkannya dengan perasaan birahinya" [I am the woman whom he hoped for with all his desire] (Ganarsih, 1988; 32). However, it is the "birahi" (desire) of the man which is mentioned. It is Soekarno who feels and perceives Inggit's physical attraction, whereas Inggit's sexual desire in relation to Soekarno is scarcely mentioned in the text.

In *Kuantar ke Gerbang*, Inggit's sexual relationship with Soekarno during his exile is also described. Again, Inggit's desire is only in relation to pleasing a man, Soekarno. Mentioning Soekarno's loneliness in exile, Inggit narrates how she has to console him with her sexual charm: "Aku pun lalu mengajaknya keluar dari kesepian. Aku harus pandai mencumbunya supaya ia pun bebas dari tekanan-tekanan yang meninpa batinnya" [I asked him to escape from his loneliness. I had to know how to woo him so that he could be free from the pressures which burdened his mind] (Ganarsih, 1988; 221).

For Inggit, Soekarno's love derives from her dedication, sacrifice, loyalty and admiration:

Camkanlah, suamiku menghargai aku, karena aku mencintainya, karena aku tidak memberikan pendapat-pendapat yang berbelit-belit, karena aku menunggunya, mendorongnya dan memujanya. Semua itu adalah benar. Aku memberikan segala sesuatu kepadanya.

[Please note, my husband respected me because I loved him, because I never gave complicated opinions, because I waited for him, supported him and adored him. All of this was right. I gave everything to him] (Ganarsih, 1988; 32).

Soekarno's respect for Inggit is, however, questioned when Soekarno starts ignoring her. While Inggit still loves, supports and admires him, he becomes somewhat disrespectful to her after a new woman, Fatmah², arrives on the scene.

As is described in the text, prior to Soekarno's romantic involvement with Fatmah, Inggit and Soekarno's adopted daughter, Djuami, convinces Inggit to allow Fatmah to stay at their place. Eventually, Inggit comes to regard Fatmah as one of her children. However, her husband treats Fatmah differently. Inggit begins to notice how her husband pays extra attention to their newly adopted daughter especially whenever there is any disagreement among the three women, Fatmah, Djuami and Inggit:

Tetapi mengapa Kusno seperti selalu berada di pihak Fatmah? Apakah justru karena anak perempuan itu belum lama berada ditengah-tengah kami, maka Kusno merasa sepatutnya memanjakan anak Hassan Din itu dan memihak kepadanya?

Aku tidak mempunyai pikiran yang bukan-bukan. Fatmah lebih muda daripada Djuami.

[But why was Kusno always on Fatmah's side? Was that because that girl had not been long among us, so that Kusno felt that he should have spoilt Hassan Din's daughter and taken sides with her?

I was not suspicious. Fatmah was younger than Djuami] (Ganarsih, 1988; 24¹).

Fatmah's position as Inggit and Soekarno's adopted daughter makes Soekarno's relationship with Fatmah a kind of incest, and this may make it harder for Inggit to admit or even to accept that she should have been suspicious.

² Fatmah (also Fatimah or Fatmawati) was a daughter of Soekarno's friends. Fatmah's parents asked Soekarno to help their daughter with her education. Fatmawati finally stayed with Inggit and Soekarno for some time. Fatmah was often known by some people as another adopted daughter of Inggit and Soekarno besides Ratna Djuami and Poppy. In this text, it is also mentioned that Inggit considers

Soekarno even sends Inggit to Yogja to accompany Djuami so that he can have more free time with Fatmah. Coming from Yogja, Inggit sees the difference in her house: "[A]ku menemukan seperti segala telah berubah. Kursi-kursi telah berpindah. Pot-pot telah berubah. Perabot di dapur sudah bertukar tempat. Ya, di atas semua itu suasananya telah berubah sama sekali" [I found everything had changed. The chairs had moved. The vases had changed. The furniture in the kitchen had changed places. Yes, on top of that the atmosphere had utterly changed] (Ganarsih, 1988; 242-43). Inggit's reaction is to be "diam" (quiet), to accept what Soekarno does to her.

The rebellious Inggit, who bravely faces Sanusi's parents and leaves her husband for a much younger and more attractive man, has disappeared into a submissive Inggit who tries to accept what happens patiently. The roles are reversed this time. With Sanusi, Inggit is more decisive, but in her relationship with Soekarno, she is no longer a woman who takes action. At this point, Soekarno is fickle and Inggit is submissive. She waits: "Jangan ribut. Tahan! Sabarlah! Bersopanlah! Sopan! . . . Aku sabar. Menyabar-nyabarkan diri" [Don't be agitated. Wait! Be patient! Be polite! Polite! . . . I am patient. Making an effort to be patient] (Ganarsih, 1988; 248).

The necessity to maintain her silence is shown when some women visit Inggit, soon after their marital problem is known in public:

Serombongan wanita sudah berkumpul di ruangan depan. Memang kesibukanku selama ini terus berjalan, dalam keadaan suasana demikian pun.

Kupersilakan mereka duduk. Kemudian kami ngobrol barang sejam. Tetapi sedikit pun aku tidak menyinggung soal perceraian kami. Mengapa pula mesti kuceritakan? Pikirku.

[A group of women had gathered in the front room. Indeed my activities continued, even in that kind of atmosphere.

I invited them to sit. We then had a chat for about an hour. But I didn't touch on anything to do with our divorce. Why should I tell them anything? I thought to myself] (Ganarsih, 1988; 292).

Previously, Inggit is a woman who speaks up and expresses what she thinks about the rumour surrounding her marriage with Sanusi. Yet with Soekarno she becomes a more reserved woman who maintains silence to gain respect. It is in this published text, however, that Inggit speaks up about her silence. Her silence is thus uttered. It becomes a speaking silence.

Fatmah her own daughter. Please note here that in Indonesia, the notion of adoption is usually

Some other paradoxes can be inferred from the text, as Inggit still tries to show her devotion to Soekarno in the face of his betrayal. Referring to sex as woman's "pelayanan" [service] to her man, at one stage Inggit even blames herself when her husband, Soekarno, falls in love with another much younger woman:

Apakah sekarang aku kurang melayaninya? Apakah setelah kami bersama-sama dua puluh tahun lamanya ia mengharapkan pelayananku yang sama seperti pada waktu malam-malam pertama di Bandung? Apakah pada waktu aku berusia seperti sekarang harus seempuk seperti waktu mudaku?

[Did I serve him less now? Did he hope that, after our being together for twenty years, he could still expect the same services from me as during the first nights in Bandung? Did I have to be as elastic as I was when I was young, at my present age?] (Ganarsih, 1988; 286).

While before, Inggit is able to leave her husband for another source of pleasure, with Soekarno she becomes a woman who questions her ability to provide pleasure for her husband.

In her relationship with Soekarno, Inggit has to accept what he does for the sake of his ego. Although Inggit refuses to stay with Soekarno and his Fatmah, Inggit has to leave without creating any conflict, as is required by their son-in-law:

Ini jalan satu-satunya, Bu. Negeri kita memerlukan Bapak. Dia kepunyaan kita semua. Rakyat memerlukan Bapak sebagai pemimpinnya, tidak yang lain. Dan apa yang akan terjadi dengan Indonesia, kalau Bapak hancur?

[This is the only way, Mother. Our country needs Father. He belongs to all of us. The people need Father as their leader, not anyone else. And what will happen to Indonesia, if Father is destroyed?] (Ganarsih, 1988; 291).

For the sake of the people, a man's ego must be supported with a woman's sacrifice. It is Soekarno who can do something for the nation. Inggit cannot. It is Soekarno who is important for the nation, not Inggit.

Inggit's loyalty to her man is apparent when, after being betrayed by Soekarno, she still prays for his well-being: "semoga ia selamat mencapai cita-citanya" [Hopefully he can fulfil his ideals safely] (Ganarsih, 1988; 293). While this sacrifice may imply Inggit's submissiveness to Soekarno, her sacrifice may make her greater than Soekarno. If it were not for Inggit, the nation would crumble. In this case, Inggit's sacrifice is not only for one man, but for the entire nation.

Indeed, Poeradisastra describes in the introduction to the text:

Inggit lebih tua ketimbang Soekarno dan juga lebih dewasa menghadapi saat-saat gawat. Ia merupakan induk ayam yang sayapnya terbentang memberikan perlindungan kepada anaknya yang hanya satu. Di dalam kedakarannya ia berani menantang elang yang manapun.

[Inggit is older than Soekarno and also more mature in facing critical moments. She is like a hen whose wings are wide open, protecting her only chicken. In her strength, she dares to challenge any eagle] (Ganarsih, 1988; ix).

Describing Inggit as a mother who protects her child (Soekarno), Poeradisastra belittles Soekarno in comparison with Inggit. It is Inggit who can solve the problems, not Soekarno. It is Inggit who can face critical moments, not Soekarno. From this point of view, it is Inggit who sacrifices more for the country than Soekarno.

Despite Inggit's unconventional sexual and romantic experiences with some men, she is thus transformed into a sacrificing and loyal wife. Her complicated and diverse character is made into a decent unified whole: the devoted wife of an Indonesian patriot. For her sacrifice, Inggit is elevated more than the other wives of Soekarno, as Poeradisastra states in the introduction:

Inilah bedanya Inggit dari yang lain-lain: *naraka katut, surga ora nunut*. . . . Dengan kebesaran jiwa Inggit memaafkan "Fatimah" [Fatmah], bekas anak angkatnya, yang menjalin kasih sayang dengan ayah angkatnya.

[This is the difference between Inggit and the other (wives): *carried to hell, but not following to heaven*³. . . . With her big heart, Inggit forgives "Fatimah" (Fatmah), her ex-adopted daughter, who had had a love affair with her adopted father] (Ganarsih, 1988; ix).

Inggit is judged by her sacrifice and forgiveness in relation to Soekarno's infidelity. She is considered more prominent than other women (in this case, the other wives of Soekarno) because of these characteristics. In this "competition", a woman's merit is thus based upon her service to her husband. The woman who shows the most devotion will be appreciated, not the one who rebels and transgresses. It is Inggit who "wins" the "competition" because she has proved her dedication in relation to Soekarno.

Hence, the picture of Inggit that the text produces is still mainly that of a faithful woman who is devoted and caring to her only lover, Soekarno. Poeradisastra writes on the back cover:

Inggit bagi Soekarno adalah alter ego yang paling ideal-kewanitaan yang abadi (*das ewig weibliche*), kata pujangga Goethe. Tapi apakah yang abadi di dunia ini? Di muka gerbang kemerdekaan Inggit berpisah dengan Soekarno-hatinya penuh kasih, maaf dan doa.

[Inggit for Soekarno is the most ideal alter ego – the eternal feminine (*das ewig weibliche*), said Goethe the writer. But what is eternal in this world? At the gate of liberation, Inggit was separated from Soekarno - her heart was full of love, forgiveness and prayer] (Ganarsih, 1988, back-cover).

Inggit's past is in some ways redeemed by her repentance for her misdeeds and her sacrifice for Soekarno. The image of a faithful woman who sacrifices herself for her lover is still what the text produces, despite Inggit's transgression of the stereotype of the faithful and sexless Indonesian woman. Her fickleness is at the end converted into a controlled self which is full of restraint and endurance so that she can be a more ideal heroine for Indonesia.

Accordingly, while Inggit's heroism can be considered conventional because it is portrayed through her dedication to and sacrifice for a man, it can also be seen as unconventional. Portraying Inggit as an admirable subject, while including the story of her sexual affair with Soekarno before marriage, implies that somehow Indonesians can accept the possibility that an "indecent" woman can be a heroine. Another possibility is that Inggit's transgression has been transformed by her dedication and heroism at the end so that her previous "stain" can be forgiven.

Moreover, Inggit's heroism and admirable nature are reconfirmed in the publication of a story *Kisah Cinta Inggit dan Bung Karno* by Djuami (one of the adopted daughters of Inggit and Soekarno) in 1992, which describes Inggit as an admirable lady. As the cover of the text states:

Inggit Ganarsih adalah monumen perjuangan yang tak mungkin dilupakan. Di saat bangsa Indonesia terperangkap dalam kegelapan yang masif, Inggit Ganarsih menjadi suluh penerang dalam kehidupan Bung Karno.

[Inggit Ganarsih is a monument of struggle, which is impossible to be forgotten. During the time when Indonesia was trapped in fearful darkness, Inggit Ganarsih became a torch in Bung Karno's (Soekarno's) life] (Asmarahadi, 1992; backcover).

³ This is a traditional Javanese saying about loyal wives, which was retained by the New Order.

Despite having been published four years after *Kuantar ke Gerbang*, *Kisah Cinta* does not mention anything about Inggit's affair with her boarder and does not describe much about her previous marriages. By tactfully passing over Inggit's history of sexual indiscretions, *Kisah Cinta* helps to enshrine Inggit as the dutiful second wife of Bung Karno.

7.4. Inggit's Affair with Soekarno.

Inggit's revelation of her affair with Soekarno may sound quite surprising. In relation to the dominant religions and New Order insistence on the purity of women, Inggit's description of her multiple marriages and her extra-marital affair sounds debased. Inggit did have a choice not to narrate this event at all. However, from another point of view, her decision is not surprising. For one thing, Inggit is the wife of Soekarno, who had liberal views on sex. While the New Order regime as well as the religion of the majority in Java, Islam, emphasised restrictions on sexuality especially for women, Soekarno explicitly condemned such restrictions in his book, *Sarinah*, which was first published in 1947. Without sex, both men and women, according to him, will have abnormal lives (Soekarno, 2001; 9-10). Soekarno further criticizes how some religions (such as Islam and Buddhism) often restrict women's sexuality and justifies men's lust (Soekarno, 2001; 88-89).

Born in West Java, Inggit is a Sundanese. Like commoner (*non-priyayi*) Javanese women, commoner Sundanese women have more freedom than noble ones. Most of them have more control over financial matters and more freedom in sexual behaviour. Compared with the moral codes of the New Order and the dominant religions (*agama*) in Indonesia, the sexual habits of the Sundanese women can be seen as loose. Like other *non-priyayi* women in the Archipelago, divorce used to be high among *non-priyayi* Sundanese women. This was attributed to the autonomous standing of women in the economic system as well as to the relative productivity of the economy (Hull, 1999). Inggit's financial independence is demonstrated, as she is able to buy jewellery and saves some money from her own pocket. With Sanusi, Inggit cannot be seen as a submissive and dependent wife. Her desire for independence is shown as she states:

Sejak aku kawin dengan Kang Uci aku sudah punya pegangan, bahwa kalau kita ingin merasa bebas dan leluasa bergerak serta tidak tertekan oleh laki-laki kita, kita mesti bisa berdiri sendiri, pandai kerja dan mendapatkan uang sendiri.

[Since I got married with Kang Uci (Sanusi) I already had a principle that if we wanted to feel free and move unrestrictedly as well as not be oppressed by our men, we had to stand on our own feet, able to work and earn our own money] (Ganarsih, 1988; 21).

Inggit's strong character is implied by her perseverance in resisting oppression and man's control: she strives to have more freedom in her life by being financially independent. Her description of several marriages (first with Nata, then with Sanusi, and at the end with Soekarno) also implies that she is not ashamed of her multiple marriages. This may explain why Inggit describes her affair with Soekarno in the text.

Born at the end of the nineteenth century as a commoner, being a Moslem and narrating her autobiography in the New Order period, Inggit may have had to identify herself with different ideologies at different periods of time. The society of the old Sunda may have been more accepting of Inggit's multiple marriages and her affair, as opposed to the society dominated by the more puritanical doctrines of the New Order. Inggit may take the Sundanese tradition of sexual tolerance into account when she dares to reveal her affair in the published text. Accordingly, although Inggit is the oldest subject of the published autobiographies which I have selected, it does not make her the most sexually conservative.

If her autobiography had been published before the New Order, Inggit might have had more difficulties relating her history with Soekarno because other people mentioned in the text (such as Soekarno and Fatmawati) might have still been alive. However, the condemnation of her own sexual affair would not have been so much emphasised if the text was published before Soeharto's era, for Soekarno himself openly declared his comparatively liberal views on sex. Inggit's disclosure of her sexual history in a text published during the New Order era has not been easy for her. Inggit still uses some ambiguous and paradoxical statements in writing about her affair with Soekarno, which implies that she has to consider and reconsider what judgement may be suitable for recounting her sexual affair. From this point of view, her self-representation in the text amounts to a negotiation with several conflicting factors in relation to the time she experienced the events and the time she wrote such events.

7.5. Summary.

The ideology of the New Order, along with that of dominant religions in Indonesia, emphasised the importance of women's purity. Indeed, some autobiographies imply that their subjects can only be considered as proper women when they guard their purity and have monogamous marriages. However, two of these autobiographies suggest otherwise. Herlina describes how she is still in love with her ex-husband while married to another man. While the seven other autobiographical subjects do not mention any extra-marital affairs, Inggit relates how she had a sexual relationship with her boarder while still married. In this case, Inggit challenges Tiwon's models of Indonesian women. In Inggit, the model and the maniac are intertwined: she can be both a woman who shows her sexual passion as well as a woman who is submissive.

Nonetheless, the power of sexual restrictions and traditions is still strong in relation to these women's transgressions. For this reason, other pretexts or deeds usually compensate for the actions which are considered to be improper. Herlina claims her divorce of her first husband is based on her concern for his future and career. Both Rachmawati and Herlina never mention any sexual affairs outside of the marriage bond. While Inggit has an extra-marital relationship, she expresses her regret about it and condemns her own and Soekarno's inability to control themselves. After leaving two of her husbands, Inggit becomes a faithful and dedicated wife to Soekarno. Inggit's "misconduct" becomes a kind of debt, paid by the picture of a sacrificing woman, which is closer to the ideal of womanhood propagated during the New Order period. In the next chapter, I will discuss the ways in which Javanese women express their sexuality in a more private sphere: their diaries.

Chapter 8.

The Expression of Sexual and Romantic Passion in Unpublished Diaries.

The history of sexuality . . . must first be written from the viewpoint of a history of discourses (Foucault, 1976; 69).

Michel Foucault.

In most of the published autobiographies, women's sexual transgressions are made to seem acceptable. It should not be seen, but if it is seen, it should be redeemed, condemned and excused. Although women's transgressions are compensated for in the published texts by acts of self-sacrifice or repentance, some of these published autobiographies demonstrate that the existence of women's desire cannot be denied. In this chapter, I will discuss the interrelation between the sexual desires of the nine diary writers and the social discourse which surrounds them.

As was mentioned earlier, all of the nine subjects of the diary are much younger than the subjects of the autobiographies. Nonetheless, these people from the younger generation are not necessarily less sexually restricted than women of the older generation. In the New Order era, women's sexuality became subject to appropriation and restrictions through various means. The media, education and various women's organisations during that period were used to construct the ideal image of an Indonesian woman. As Julia Suryakusuma states the New Order government tried to shape the idea of proper women by its Dharma Wanita (Suryakusuma, 1996). Similarly, Wieringa argues that to maintain political stability, the New Order promoted women's submission to men. Such submission was emphasised by promoting women's sexual purity (Wieringa, 1995).

Talking about social change in the lives of "elite Javanese women from three generations", Dharmayati Utoyo notes that while different generations have different views of traditional female roles (with the older generation opting for more traditional roles as a wife and mother, and the younger generation demanding more equality with men in career opportunities), they have similar views about sexual behaviour. Doing her fieldwork in mid-1990, Utoyo perceives that all of her respondents from three generations agreed that "virginity is a girl's most valuable possession", that "it is better

not to have sex or to experiment with sex before marriage", and that "sexual permissiveness threatens to undermine the entire foundation of civilized society" (Utoyo, 1998; 142-43). The younger generation in Indonesia, in this case, have not shown much evolution in sexual perception.

In diaries, away from the public eye, Indonesian women have a chance to be more outspoken about their lust for several men, about their sexual passion and erotic desire. Nevertheless, while most of the diaries demonstrate greater freedom in expressing their lust for men and their sexual desire, some forms of restriction can still be found in the diary writings which I have gathered. Although written in private, these writings still have to pass through the writers' internalised manifestations of societal censorship.

8.1. Sexual Expressions of Religious Women.

8.1.1. Mina: The Guilty Feelings of a Christian Woman.

All of these diary writers, except for Ani, are single women. Because the issue of female purity is important, Indonesian women who have never married are expected to have had no sexual experience (Berman, 1998 and Brenner, 1998). In addition, most of these diary writers are devout Moslems or Christians. The doctrines of these religions in Indonesia helped the New Order regime to regulate women's sexuality, as they emphasised restrictions on sexuality, especially that of women.

Mina is a devout and practising Christian. In her diary, Mina records one of her sexual experiences with a man who is not her formal boy friend¹. For a Christian like Mina, her sexual experience is frightening as well as sinful. Although she is around 30 years old when she is experiencing an intimate relationship with a man, her diary entries concerning sexual matters still portray a subject who is struggling to engage in sexual discourse with herself let alone with others. As she writes:

11/2/95

I hate myself when I came to such self- destruction like tonight. I should have said NO to him, but I don't know why I can't simply spell that word. I didn't even enjoy it! He went a bit far tonight. But I still knew my limit. How can I face God tomorrow? What should I tell him? Should I pray? I'm afraid of the future. I still

¹ This man is merely her friend and casual date, with whom Mina goes out every now and then.

feel the sore on several parts – my lips and . . . I hate to feel like tonight (Mina, 11 February 1995).

Mina feels powerless to refuse the man even though she writes that she does not actually want to do it. While she has to guard her sexual behaviour, it is the man who has more control over her own body, as she is unable to refuse him. Indeed, Tineke Hellwig argues: "Male control over the female body and mind is internalized by both sexes" (Hellwig, 1994; 207). Since submissiveness is more socially acceptable for Indonesian women, disagreeing with or confronting a man can be difficult for women. Accordingly, Mina not only has to guard her body, but also she has to face her own hesitation in refusing a man's sexual demand. Her discomfort with her sexuality and her body are indicated, as she cannot describe about some parts of her body in a complete sentence. She merely writes how she feels sore on her lips.

Although her statement implies that she has not had sexual intercourse with this man ("I still knew my limit") and that it is he who provoked such intimacy, Mina still feels guilty. The idea of the existence of an authority which keeps an eye on her, in this case God, is what makes her embarrassed. However, Mina tries to comfort herself that she can "have one, at least, with Herman sometime next week . . . Friendly date . . . A safe one" (28 April 95). Mina still hopes that she can go out with the same man but without any sexual connection. Like Inggit who redeems herself, Mina tries to redeem herself from her previous sexual transgression by having a date which is considered to be more appropriate in terms of her religious doctrine. Other parts of her diary given to me do not record any sexual experience other than this. It is not certain whether she does not have any other sexual experience or whether she simply does not record it.

8.1.2. Ida and Lilies: The Sexual Fantasies of Moslem Women.

Both Ida and Lilies are very devout Moslems. When I met Ida, she insisted to me that she was not going to have sex before marriage and that she tried to follow Islamic rules as a Moslem woman. Nonetheless, she is still able to write about her erotic daydreams in her diary:

Prince of charming . . . where do you stay? Don't be far away from me, stay close to me, don't make me wait too long, stay close

to me, hold me tight, kiss me and we make love in a whole nights,
whatever you want, five or six times . . . I'm ready (Ida, 15
November 1995).

Although the above passage merely constitutes a sexual fantasy, and while Ida insisted that she would not do such a thing in real life, she still describes this vivid sexual scene in her diary. She mentions not only that she wanted to experience sexual pleasure but also that she desires to do it over and over again so as to show that she wants to celebrate her sexual impulses with a man.

Furthermore, the complexity and plurality of a female self can be implied in Lilies's descriptions of her romantic attraction to males. Being a devout Muslim and going to an Islamic University, Lilies shows her piety by wearing a *jilbab* (female Moslem dress which covers the whole body except for the face). She mentioned to me that she tried to follow the rules of Islam and be a good Moslem woman. She stated that whenever she goes out, she will wear the Moslem dress because she does not want any man to see her body, and this dress reminds her to exercise more discipline over her desire.

However, she records her infatuation with several men in her diary, including her own uncle:

Lilies nih gimana ya?!! Kalo nggak ketemu om Nano kangen, kalo ketemu yaa. . . gimana gitu! Rasa ini gak tau kok bisa gini. 'N aku gak pengen dy. Semoga rasa ini cuman sebatas ponakan ama om-nya dan kalo memang bukan semoga gak berlanjut.
[How is this Lilies?!! If I do not meet uncle Nano, I miss him, if I meet him well, . . . how is that ! I don't know why the feeling can be like this. And I don't want it dy [diary]. Hopefully this feeling is only within the boundaries of the relationship between a niece and an uncle and if it is indeed not, hopefully it won't continue] (Lilies; 12 September 1994).

Lilies dares to admit and record her romantic feelings for her own relative, feelings which can be considered as an offence in Indonesian society and as a sin in Islamic belief.

While Lilies tries to deny her passion toward her own uncle, she also continues to express this romantic sentiment:

Eh . . . kok pas ngeliat om Nano ati Lilies kayaknya gimana gitu . . . seeeer . . . lh benci deh, Lilies ama keadaan ini. Masa kayak gini ama paman sendiri. Tapi Lilies yakin keadaan ini cuma karena Lilies belum aktif kuliah.

[Well, . . . when I see uncle Nano, my heart becomes like . . . I don't know . . . sssrrrrr . . . Ugh, I hate this condition. Is it like this with my own uncle. But Lilies is sure that this condition is only because Lilies hasn't been following her studies] (Lilies, 18 September 1994).

Writing in private, protected from the public eye, Lilies has more chance to admit her passion for her own uncle as well as her feelings of guilt.

Besides her uncle, Lilies's passion for several men is also expressed in her diary writing:

Sekarang mulai perburuan lagi, cari yang sreg lagi masih banyak cowok lain he . . . he . . . walo Lilies tergolong cewek yang sulit jatuh cinta tapi gak frigid lho . . . Lirik-lirik juga sich.
[Now the hunting starts again, looking for a suitable one and there are still other men anyway ha . . . ha . . . although Lilies is classified as a woman who find it difficult to fall in love, she is not frigid . . . Glancing to left and right too] (Lilies, 28 May 1995).

The wording she uses for describing her passion towards some men shows that Lilies considers her romantic interests as an adventure. Using the word "perburuan" (hunting), she transgresses the conventional view of a woman who waits, and who is passive and submissive. Rather, she is the active one in searching for her mate. At the same time, she still categorises herself as a woman who finds it difficult to fall in love, which shows that she considers her passion for several men as normal and undisturbing. She even acknowledges her sensuality by stating that she is not frigid.

Her passion is again illustrated as she notes how she is in love with several other men besides her own uncle, Om Nano: "Lilies lagi seneng nih sama cowok Namanya Umar" [Lilies is interested in a man His name is Umar] (Lilies, 19 November, 1994). The diary allows her to express her hidden passion for Umar, as she writes:

My love: Umar.

Sebenarnya Lilies malu lho ama diri Lilies sendiri ngeliat tulisan di depan nama dia tuh. Tapi biarin deh udah terlanjur dan juga emang kenyataannya pada saat itu Lilies lagi seneng ama dia, banget pokoke.

[My love: Umar.

Actually, Lilies is embarrassed with herself, looking at these words before his name. But it's OK it's too late and also the fact at that time is that Lilies really likes him, a lot basically]

(Lilies, 7 January 1995).

Writing about her love for Umar, Lilies mentions that she is embarrassed with herself. Embarrassment is usually a feeling which arises from a hidden deed which is caught by another eye. Accordingly, embarrassment is caused by an unwanted observer. Because a diary is not to be read by the public, Lilies becomes her own audience. It is in front of her own gaze that she feels embarrassed. While she wants to express her affection for Umar, there is an unwanted observer integrated within her subjectivity which discourages the revelation of her feelings. However, she manages to ignore this "other self" which makes her embarrassed, and insists on her desire for Umar as she continues writing: "Pokoknya dia harus Lilies dapatkan" [Basically, Lilies has to get him] (Lilies, 20 March 1995).

Lilies's frankness and assertiveness in her romantic passion is also hinted at when she tells how she is also interested in another man, Toni:

Sekarang Lilies mo cari korban lagi sasarannya mas Toni . . . kalo dapet ya kudu diterusin. Kasian kalo diputus . . . Lilies ya mesti milih-milih korban karena menyangkut Lilies juga.
[Now Lilies wants to look for another victim, the target is Toni . . . if I get him, I should continue this relationship. I will feel sorry for him if we break up . . . Lilies also has to be selective to pick a victim because it concerns Lilies as well] (Lilies, 10 June 1995).

Calling a man she is interested in a "korban" (victim), Lilies objectifies her passion. Rather than perceiving love as a devotion to something absolute, Lilies sees it as an aim or object of her passion and need. Despite her desire not to leave Toni if he becomes her boyfriend, love is not described as ideal or sacred, as is often stressed in Islamic religion in Indonesia. Instead, Lilies materialises love by acknowledging that it is a matter of opportunity. A man becomes a kind of prey for her.

Her passion does not stop with her uncle, Umar and Toni. She even records how she is attracted to her own lecturer:

Kenapa ya, akhir-akhir ini gue kok tiba-tiba sering inget ama dosen J . . . seandainya tuh, pak dosen muda ngelirik gue juga, wah perlu dipertimbangkan, nih! Asik khan kalo punya pacar yang future-nya udah mapan.
[Why do I lately often remember the lecturer J . . . just in case, the young lecturer glances at me too, well, I need to consider it! It would be fantastic to have a boyfriend whose future is established] (Lilies, 23 November 1995).

Her shifting passion from one man to another indicates that Lilies is able to be fickle. Her love becomes a kind of speculation or gamble rather than devotion and dedication.

In addition, mentioning the possibility that her lecturer can be beneficial for her future, Lilies shows that within her passion for him, there is a kind of materialistic calculation.

Despite expressing her passion for several men, Lilies nevertheless quotes the advice of her *kiai* [Moslem religious leader] about the restriction of passion in her diary:

Kata kai [kiai, sic]: "sekolah aja dulu baru ntar kalo udah mo lulus baru cari pacar ato kandidat of husband" ih kayaknya jadi tambah tua. Kai juga bilang ntar gue ketemu ama cowok yang bener-bener cuocok ama gue, pas umur gue 22 tahun di tahun' 98 wie. . . lama buanget rek.

[Kiai said: "You should study first and when you are about to finish then you can look for a boy friend or a candidate of husband". Well, I am getting older. Kai also said that I will meet a very suitable man when I am 22 years old in 1998 wow . . . it's too long] (Lilies: November 25' 95)².

Ideological repression often involves making individuals the messenger and enforcer of group values, making control self-enforcing. For this reason, in Indonesia, people often police each other: the teachers police the students, the parents police the children, and the religious leaders police the disciples in terms of their sexual behaviour. Lilies's sexual habits, for instance, are here being policed by the *kiai*.

While citing the "wisdom" of the *kiai*, Lilies replaces the *kiai*'s style with her casual style, such as using the words "ntar", "kalo", "mo" or "ato". Thus, although she puts what the *kiai* states in quotation marks, she dares to express his ideas in her own words, converting the *kiai*'s advice into her jocular style of writing. After citing the *kiai*'s warnings about relationships with men, Lilies questions whether that advice is reasonable. When the *kiai* asks her not to get a boyfriend too early, she undercuts this advice by stating that if she follows it, she will have to wait for a long time. She also presents the *kiai*'s premonition about her meeting a man in three years at the age of 22 as a burden because she cannot stand waiting for that long.

Nevertheless, Lilies tries to justify the *kiai*'s restrictions on her love life in relation to her gender:

Mungkin logikanya gini: Oleh agama khan dilarang tuh, punya hubungan khusus ama orang yang bukan muhrim kita ntar kalo nggak kuat iman bisa bobol pertahanan kita, apalagi cewek yang kalo udah ancur sekali selamanya gak akan bisa ngebaikinnya. Karena mo gak mau kalo lagi dua-duaan godaan yang datang berat

² At the end of 1999 when I visited her, Lilies had a boyfriend. I had a chance to meet him too, a dark, tall and rather shy man.

banget butuh double dosis semangat bertahan yang kuat. Misalnya kalo pas pacaran, kita nggak perlu pegang tangan, wuih kecil kemungkinan rek!!

Trus tangan gak boleh ngelaba, gak boleh cium (dimanapun) . . . nah susah khan.

[Perhaps the logic is: religion prohibits us to have an intimate relationship with someone who is not our relative, because if we are not strong in our faith we can be destroyed, especially a woman, once she is ruined she can never reform herself. Indeed, if a couple is left alone, the temptation is really strong, it needs a double dose of strong restraint. For instance, if I am going steady with a man and we are not allowed to hold hands, it is nearly impossible !!

Then our hands are not allowed to go anywhere, we are not allowed to kiss anywhere . . . well, it is difficult] (Lilies: November 25' 95).

Although Lilies is religious and seems to conform strictly to the Moslem teaching by quoting the *kiai*'s advice, she often questions such teachings as well. After writing that Islam forbids her to touch or to be touched by a man who is not one of her siblings, she states that the likelihood of her fulfilling this command is very small if she has a boyfriend. Repeatedly indicating the difficulty of following the Moslem restrictions, Lilies reveals the multiplicity and ambiguity of her character: while she concedes to the *kiai*'s advice, she is reluctant to obey all of his rules and expresses her zeal for sexual passion. Indirectly, Lilies keeps on bargaining with the sexual restrictions imposed upon her by her religion.

In this bargaining, Lilies' rebellious side is "tamed" by another statement:

Makanya mendingan cari calon suami aja saat umur kita udah matang dan masing-masing bisa menghormati dan saling menghargai. Kita sebagai cewek juga jangan kasih kesempatan buat cowok untuk ngelaba yang ngumbar nafsu. Jadi kesimpulannya yang *kiai* bilang tuh emang benar.

[Therefore, it is better to look for a prospective husband when we are mature and when we can respect and appreciate one another. As women, we cannot let men give their passion free rein. So, the conclusion is that what the *kiai* said is really right] (Lilies, 25 November 1995).

Despite expressing her difficulty in following the Moslem rules, Lilies justifies the *kiai*'s guidance.

Nevertheless, in her justification of these restrictions, she is able to make concessions to herself. Only about a week after stating that what the *kiai* suggested is right, she writes an erotic description of a man: "Gue seneng banget ngeliat kalo pas

mas Adhie gigit bibir bawahnya. Ih . . . gemesin deh!" [I really like looking at Adhie when he bites his lower lip. Ah . . . enticing] (Lilies, 3 December 1996). In writing thus Lilies is disobeying the *kiai*'s restrictions on her developing passion towards men, especially while she is still studying.

Moreover, while she agrees that a woman should not be touched by a man who is not her relative or her husband, she writes about her pleasure in dreaming of being kissed by a man: "Gue mimpi kiss loh . . . Ealah . . . ya kok siang-siang, sama orang yang gue nggak kenal, tapi wajahnya mirip Adjie Massaid. Kerasa juga loh waktu gigit gue di bibirnya" [I dreamt of kissing . . . Hmm. . . why is it in the afternoon, with a person that I don't know, but the face looks like Adjie Massaid³. I did feel him biting me with his lips] (Lilies, 27 June 1998). Dreams often manifest the unconscious desires of the dreamer. In her dream, Lilies is kissed not only by a man, but by a man she does not know, which can show her desire to transgress the strict Moslem rule against an intimate relationship with a man who is not her relative. In her diary, Lilies is able to expand, bend and manipulate these sexual restrictions so that she allows herself to celebrate her passion for several men. While dreaming of being kissed by a stranger can be considered shameful for a Moslem woman, Lilies emphasises her sensual amusement at being kissed, by writing how she relishes his lips.

Despite being devout Moslems, Ida and Lilies express their fantasies about men. Nonetheless, while on the one hand their descriptions of lust and desire toward men can be seen as outlets for their sexual impulses, they can also be interpreted as a form of oppression. Their desires are forced to stay within the realm of the imagination: such fantasies may never be acted out in the real world. Despite their sexual imaginations and dreams, they are still required and require themselves not to show their passion and to behave like good Moslem women. However, the descriptions of lust in the unpublished diaries by religious women can go beyond dreams and imagination. The diary written by another Moslem woman, Ani, is full of her extra-marital sexual experiences.

³ A famous Indonesian model and actor.

8.1.3. Ani: Sexual Transgression and the Adventures of a Moslem Woman.

Ani is a divorcee with two children. Like Ida and Lilies, Ani is a devout Moslem. She prays almost every day. When I visited her house, I found many religious quotations and stickers, such as: "I would die in Islam", "Islam is my religion", "Allah protects this house", etc. In our conversation, she often mentioned the name of Allah as well. Despite her apparent religiousness, Ani writes in her diary that she has sexual affairs with many men:

Mas yadi numpang tidur yah dasar aku, ya bercumbu.
Hingga bosan.
[Yadi stayed overnight well damn me, yeah we flirted. Until I was bored] (Ani, 3 October 1990).

Dirumah ternyata ada Totok aku lakukan dosa lagi.
[At home there was Totok. I committed a sin again] (Ani, 12 October 1990).

[S]ore jam 14. Mas giri datang. Kuulangi dosa itu lagi.
[Afternoon at 2 o'clock. Giri came. I repeated that sin again] (Ani, 17 October 1990).

Bangun jam 4.20. Bukannya sholat subuh tapi justru berbuat dosa. Dibyo. Tak kusangka engkau datang. Yah lantas semua terjadi tanpa aku mampu mengelak.
[Got up at 4.20. Not doing the morning prayer but doing a sin. Dibyo. I didn't expect you to come. Well, then everything happened without my being able to avoid it] (Ani, 19 October 1990).

Ya' Man. Lagi-lagi laki-laki itu tak mampu aku menolaknya. Sebab akupun butuh. Siang itu jadi juga aku lakukan dosa.
[Man. Again that man. I didn't have the power to refuse him. Because I also needed it. That afternoon I did a sin again] (Ani, 22 December 1990).

Recording such sexual experiences with several men in her diary indicates that Ani is able to express her sexuality. As I argued in Chapter III, a subject often uses the diary as a means of imagination. This may be the case for Ani. However, whether her diary is fact or fiction, what is written implies that the subject dares express her sexual drive. Not only does the diary describe her sexual experiences but it also expresses how Ani "needs it" (in the last quotation). Furthermore, the act of giving me her diary, which is full of description of her affairs whether they are real or not, also implies that she is

willing to impart her sexual experiences to another person. However, in our conversation, we seemed to agree to avoid any discussion of sex. I am not really sure whether it is she or I who avoided this topic more.

In the diary, nevertheless, her seeming readiness to be expressive of her sexual experiences is accompanied by the expression of guilt. Several times, she mentions the name of God and calls what she does a "sin". So, while she transgresses against what her religion requires her to do as a devout Moslem woman, she still integrates this belief into what she does. Ani also wants to end her habit of having sex with several men, as she repetitively writes:

Ya Allah . . . sampai kapan semua ini berachir? [Oh God . . . when is this going to end?] (12 October 1990).

Ya Allah ya Tuhanku hanya Engkau yang maha tahu. Apa yang ada dihatiku.

[O Allah O my God only You know the most. What is in my heart] (Ani, 17 October 1990).

Allah kapankah semua ini akan berachir. Sebetulnya ingin kumenjerit menangis. Menyesali semua yang telah aku lakukan. [God when is all this going to end. Actually I want to scream and cry. Regretting everything I have done] (Ani, 19 October 1990).

Kalau hidupku terus begini bagaimana aku dapat beribadah dengan kesungguhan?

[If my life is like this all the time how can I pray sincerely?] (Ani, 6 November 1990).

Aku bosan bertualang. Aku ingin tenteram lahir bathin agar sempurna aku beribadah.

[I am bored with having adventures. I want to be peaceful physically and spiritually so that I can be perfectly devout] (Ani, 6 November 1990).

In her diary, Ani keeps on regretting and condemning what she does with several men. The above quotations show how she longs to put aside her sexual adventures and be a devout Moslem. Here, she distinguishes between sexual pleasure and religion, believing that she cannot be a good Moslem if she continues with her sexual adventures.

However, while writing that she wants to stop having affairs with several men and adhere to Islam instead, Ani still has adventures. This time, she tells how she has an affair with a married man:

Tak kusangka tak kuduga, mimpipun tidak. Sore itu aku diajak mas warno, nginap di K. Mas Warno yang aku kenal. Kuanggap acuh, maklum istrinya khan cantik mirip meriam bellina dan mas warno sendiri cakep, kaya lagi. Namun tak kusangka ia mengajakku, yah terus terang saja aku mau. Semalam kunikmati kebahagiaan semu. Namun tak apalah. Sampai dirumah mak cemberut. No problem. Yang penting Happy dan tidak melalaikan tanggung jawab dirumah.

[I didn't expect nor guess it, neither dream of it. That evening I was asked by Warno to stay overnight in K. Warno who I know. I reckoned that he was indifferent, of course, his wife is beautiful like Meriam Bellina⁴ and Warno himself is good looking, well off also. But I didn't expect that he would ask me, well to be frank I was willing. Last night, I enjoyed superficial happiness. But it's OK. At home, mother was sullen. No problem. As long as I am happy and don't ignore my responsibility at home] (Ani, 19 November 1990).

Although her mother gets annoyed with her, she assumes her right to ignore it. Insisting that as long as she can be happy, she implies that her sexual adventure is a right. That she deserves to gain this "right" is affirmed as she states that she has fulfilled her responsibility at home so that her sexual pleasure becomes a kind of reward for her work. While previously Ani repents for her sexual adventures, here she insists on justifying one of her sexual experiences.

Furthermore, while she signifies her penitence, she still describes her "wild adventure" with several men:

Hari istimewa sekaligus gila. Malamnya aku bercumbu habis-habisan dengan Hardjana. Sore pulang dari R dengan Endoh. eh agak malam dengan mas Min.

[A special day as well as mad. Last night, I had sex like anything with Hardjana. In the evening after coming back from R with Endoh. Eh, a bit late, with Min] (Ani, 17 January 1991).

So, in less than two days and two nights, Ani has sexual affairs with three men.

Her frankness about sexual pleasure in the diary is manifested as well, when she talks about orgasm. While the New Order media promoted the ideal of a pure and non-sexual women. Ani's expectation of enjoying sex and having an orgasm are

⁴ A popular Indonesian artist.

described in her diary as she gets very annoyed when her orgasm is disturbed by her partner:

aku mangkelnya sama mas Suka masa waktu aku akan orgasme eh dia malah ngomong mau pinjam uang Rp 10.000. Nggak lucu khan. Kini aku jadi benci sangat benci malah. Tak pernah aku membenci orang seberat ini.

[I got annoyed with Suka, because when I was about to reach orgasm, he even talked about borrowing Rp 10,000. Not funny, is it? Now I really hate him. I have never hated anyone as much as this] (Ani, 17 January 1991).

While she is from a lower class of society, Ani is considered more well off than most people in her area. Lending money to other people in her area is not an uncommon thing for her to do. So, it is not the act of borrowing money which annoys her most but disturbing her enjoyment of orgasm. In the above passage, rather than considering sexual pleasure as embarrassing or malicious, Ani sees it as a privilege. Because the man disturbs this "privilege", Ani expresses how she hates him for upsetting her.

The integration of religious doctrine as well as her insistence on fulfilling her lust and sexual desire generates her paradoxical attitude towards sex. She repeatedly condemns but also cherishes her sexual adventures with men. In one part of her diary, she expresses the possibility of leaving her several men in order to have one man by her side:

Benarkah aku mendambakan seorang lelaki disisiku? Itulah pertanyaan yang hingga kini tak terjawab. Sisi lain hatiku mengatakan ya. Sisi lagi tidak. Untuk ya, memang kupikir jika aku terus-menerus begini akan bertambah dosa yang kusandang. Jika kupikir dan berguru pada pengalamanku dengan begitu banyak laki-laki kalau masih kurang disanjungnya wanita tapi kalau sudah bosan dibuangnya, dianggapnya wanita itu hanya seonggok sampah. Persetan dengan cinta persetan dengan laki-laki. Aku betul-betul muak.

[Is it true that I need a man beside me? That is a question which is unanswered until now. One side of my heart says yes. The other one no. For yes, indeed I think if I am like this all the time, I will carry more sin. If I think and learn from my experience with so many men, if they want more they will flatter the woman but if they get bored they will throw the woman away, they will consider her rubbish. Damn love damn men. I'm really sick] (Ani, 11 February 1991)⁵.

⁵ Ani is now married. She told me that she does not really love him, but his patience and kindness moved her. His kindness is shown, Ani states, as her new husband is willing to support her children financially.

Thinking about the possibility of having a single partner to stop her sexual adventures with multiple partners, Ani implies that the presence of a man by her side can prevent her from committing more sin. However, at the same time, Ani questions her need for a man by stating that her experience with many men teaches her that all of them are selfish.

Ani's mixed intentions and beliefs remain undecided. Considering having a man by her side on the one hand, she decides against it on the other hand:

Setelah sekian lama aku bertualang dengan berbagai tipe lelaki telah aku rasakan ternyata semua sama. Egoistis dan terlalu memandang rendah wanita tapi untunglah hatiku tak pernah terpaut dan terpikat dengan lelaki.

[After having an adventure for such a long time with many kinds of men, I feel that actually they are all the same. Selfish and looking down so much on women but luckily my heart is never hooked and enticed by men] (Ani, March 1991).

By stating that no men are worth her commitment because of their inferior characters, Ani again transgresses the stereotype of gender. While women's sexuality is usually seen in relation to men's, so that men can have pleasure from women, Ani uses men to seek pleasure while also keeping herself at an emotional distance from them. One may wonder whether her conclusion from her past experiences, that all men are selfish and look down on women, is actually an excuse she uses to justify her affairs without taking them seriously. Considering her sexual experiences as a lesson, Ani implies another paradoxical attitude toward sex. On the one hand, she sees the benefit of it: she learns more about men's characters. Her sexual adventures make her more sophisticated in this matter. On the other hand, she sees the disgrace in this: she repeatedly describes her sexual experiences as sins and wishes to reform her habits.

Nevertheless, the above descriptions of men may also imply how badly these men have treated her so that she does not want to commit herself to any of them. Indeed, while Ani's sexual activities can be seen to challenge the stereotype of the pure Indonesian woman, at the same time she fits the stereotype of the Indonesian divorcee, described in the following passage by Brenner:

a woman who is not subject to any man's control is potentially threatening to the male-dominated social order. Widows and divorcees, for example, are frequently the objects of gossip and suspicion regarding their sexual activities (Brenner, 1998; 163).

In Ani's descriptions of sexual affairs with many men, there is also an implication that she is being treated by these men as an easy woman, used merely as their sexual object due to her position as a divorcee. From this perspective, her desire to get remarried is an expression of her wish to become a more proper Indonesian woman, that is, a woman whose position is legitimised by a man's control. Hence, Ani's sexual adventures and transgressions as recorded in her diary can still be explained within the realm of prejudice against women's sexual freedom.

8.2. The Sexual Experiences of a Non-Religious Woman: Mar.

Unlike Mina, Ida, Lilies and Ani who are religious, Mar is not. She is a non-practising Christian, who only goes to church at Christmas and Easter. Like Ani's, the diary Mar gave me is full of her sexual experiences. Mar was about twenty years old when she wrote about this sexual experience. In the diary given to me, she describes her first sexual experience with a man before marriage:

He kissed me. All over my face. Then his hand touched my body. He licked my ear, my nose, my lips, my eyes and my neck. It was so wonderful. So wonderful and pleasant. But I prevented myself from having sex. . . And I had no chance to think about love. There was no such a thing at that time. The only things were beauty and pleasure. Even I didn't know why he did such a thing. It seems that after this, we could not be just friends. . . And if I could prevent myself, that was because of norms. The boundaries of the society still strongly tie me. Really, I don't know what is the continuation of that (Mar, July 29, 1990).

This passage indicates that Mar has an idea that sex is often not related to love. Sex is seen merely as beauty and pleasure.

Mar does not mention moral apprehension in relation to her sexual experience. She even writes about the enjoyment of it. When she prevents herself from engaging in sex, she realises that she does so merely because of the social norms that still influence her. Hence, she seems to prevent herself in this sexual scene not because she believes sex to be wrong but because of the "boundaries of the society". The eye of the public is still integrated in her. Thus, while a diary enables her to express what is not allowed by society, she also acknowledges that she is still bound by its norms.

However, while at first she merely talks about the beauty of her sexual experience, later on she writes how pernicious this experience can be. Although Mar

does not call her sexual experience before marriage a sin, guilt is often pronounced in her description of sexual affairs. The feeling of loss, fear and not knowing what is happening can be found in Mar when she writes about her first sexual experience in the diary: "To be honest, I am afraid of our love, something like stealing or robbery for me" (Mar, September 18, 1990). Here, sex is something strange that she should be ashamed of and fear rather than enjoy. Although Mar is not religious, her experience of sex before marriage can be portrayed as something socially offensive. She even thinks that she commits some kind of crime by doing it ("like stealing or robbery").

The sexual restrictions prescribed by major religions, Islam and Christianity, were supported by the New Order system. Writing about her sexuality in private, Mar has an opportunity to escape from this sexual repression. Nevertheless, she describes how she feels guilty about it. Attitudes which portray sexual experiences before marriage as base are still integrated within Mar's subjectivity, as is evidenced when she describes her feeling that her sexual experiences are similar to robbery. Fear and confusion are always involved in her sexual experiences. While she is able to write that she enjoys sex, in another part of the diary she denies this pleasure.

Consequently, when she is having these sexual affairs, she feels that she does not deserve to enjoy them:

Kemarin aku bercumbu dengan Toni. Dan aku menyukainya. Kita berdua di mobil. . . . Satu lagi: pelajaran tentang laki-laki. Dia mengajariku untuk lebih mengenal sex. . . . Lalu, sekarang, aku ingin putus dengan dia. Banyak alasan dan aku malas menulis. Juga karena terlalu sulit untuk ditulis. Tapi aku juga sedih. [Yesterday, I was being intimate with Toni. And I like it. We were both in the car. . . . One more: a lesson about men. He taught me to know more about sex. . . . Then, now, I want to break up with him. Many reasons and I am too lazy to write. Also because it is difficult to write. But I am also upset] (Mar, January 1, 1991).

After admitting that she enjoys making love with Toni, Mar wants to break up with him instead. Her hesitance in explaining her feelings is hinted as she expresses the difficulties in writing about the reasons that she wants to leave him.

Being afraid of her own pleasure, Mar comes to question this fear:

Yesterday . . . I learnt so much about sex but I am afraid . . . really afraid . . . and I didn't know why I am afraid and what I am afraid of . . . Maybe I am stupid. Very-very stupid (Mar, 31 January 1991).

Inquiring about the reasons behind her fear, she doubts whether this feeling is reasonable. The integration of certain belief and ideology can indeed induce someone to exercise self-discipline. Accordingly, in describing her sexual pleasure, Mar requires herself to feel guilty and afraid. Although she acknowledges her fondness for this experience, she will feel more guilty if she does not feel guilty about her sexual pleasure. While she keeps on having sex with Toni, the confusion of her feelings continues and makes her question the idea of love:

Now I ask: is there really love between lovers? He kissed me yesterday . . . He touched my body, my hand, my arm, my breasts, my stomach, my hips, my . . . and my . . . (Mar, 31 January 1991).

The fear and confusion as well as the discontinued sentences reflect her inability to describe her sexual experiences. Like Mina, she is still hesitant in picturing her physical pleasure in detail, so instead she uses the suggestive absence signified by ellipsis dots in order to express the most taboo elements of her sexual activities. Conflicting statements can also be found in Mar's diary. At one stage, she describes how she enjoys her sexual experiences. At another stage, she debases this pleasure. Denial after denial of her own feelings implies that Mar is confused in responding to these experiences.

Although Mar's sexual experiences outside marriage may be considered a transgression, her intercourse with her boyfriend indicates her submission to him. It is he who initiates the action. Mar receives it passively. It is the boyfriend who "teaches" her about sex. It is her boyfriend who touches her. In her description, she merely becomes the passive recipient, in confusion and fear. So, she writes about him:

He can make me ask many questions. He can make me know something new. He can make me learn about the other side of life that I've never known before. He can make me confused about life (Mar; 19 May 1991).

The idea of a man as guide is implied. He becomes the one who is more experienced than her. Mar still posits a man in the superior position in her sexual relationship outside marriage, which shows that in this seemingly non-conservative behaviour, there is still a preservation of gender stereotypes.

8.3. Silence and Repression.

As is discussed above, four of the diary writers, Ida, Lilies, Ani and Mar express ambivalent attitudes towards sex: while in some ways they are able to express and enjoy their sexual desire, at the same time they condemn this desire. Silence and repression are some other forms of sexual restriction and taboo that can be found in the other four diaries I have collected. Fay, for instance, who told me that she is only a Moslem on her identity card (she is not a practising Moslem), does not mention any sexual desire or experience at all in her diary. She transfers it to muteness, to silence. So, in some ways, like most of the subjects of published autobiographies, her sexual experiences are censored.

Another diary writer, Nani, never describes her sexual desires or experiences either. When she expresses her desire to have a lover, she relates this to her religious belief:

aku ingin juga seperti laennya, berkasih-kasih dengan kekasihku yang sangat aku cintai dan lain-lain. Oh Tuhan, tapi semuanya itu aku tidak ingin juga jauh dari batas titik ilham-MU, Allah, aku punya asa . . . kontrol.

[I also want to be like others, being affectionate with my sweetheart whom I really love etc. Oh God, despite all of these, I don't want to be away from the limit of Your divine wisdom, God, I have conscience . . . control] (Nani, 18 April 1996).

Soon after she imagines being in love with someone, she reminds herself of religious control. Fearing her own imagination, she represses her affection for a man. Social restriction on sexual desire is thus echoed in most of these diaries, to the extent that the discourse of love becomes the discourse of control, and the discourse of sex becomes the discourse of debasement.

Similarly, when Ema writes about her first kiss, her description focuses upon the way in which she restrains her passionate emotions. Rather than elaborating upon her desire, Ema states:

He asked for a kiss. I was very shy at that moment, I couldn't say anything, even though my heartbeat was fast and my heart sincerely welcomes him. All I could do was looking at the floor/carpet, but of course I didn't reject him when he kissed me . . . I enjoyed his kisses in silence (Ema, 12 February 1987).

She does admit in her diary that she feels excited about him giving her a kiss. She also implies how she feels an outburst of emotion as she feels her heart beating rapidly. However, rather than freely expressing this passion, Ema shows emotional reserve: she merely looks down and keeps quiet.

The restriction of desire is indicated again as Ema writes in her diary: "I also thanked God because we didn't pass the 'moral fence'" (Ema, 12 February 1987)⁶. Just like other diary writers I have discussed, talking about her passion, Ema implies that there is something unruly and sinful in it. The fence, the jail, always exists in her passion. So, even while she only enjoys some kissing (and not other sexual experiences) with a man she loves, she needs to mention the name of God and to relate this enjoyment to religious morality.

As with Nani and Ema, Eli's sexual desire is repressed through her guilt and piety. Eli's diary is almost entirely free of descriptions of sexuality. However, one passage in her diary acknowledges sex:

Maaf kalau ini keterusteranganku yang tabu. Kemaluanku gatal sekali, seperti ini jadinya kalau mau mens. Dan cara menghilangkan dengan menggosok. Bisa dikatakan masturbasi. Tapi ada pertentangan batin. Rasanya aku kotor sekali. Aku seperti telah melakukan dosa walaupun aku lakukan karena menghilangkan rasa gatal. Tapi ada yang memberati hati.
[I am sorry if my frankness is taboo. My vagina is very itchy, it is like this if I am going to menstruate. And the way to relieve it, is by scrubbing. Can be called masturbation. But there is a conflict of conscience. I feel very dirty. It is like committing a sin although I do it because of relieving the itch. But there is something burdening my heart] (Eli; 10 May 1991).

Like the other eight diary writers, in acknowledging her sexual pleasure, Eli never separates this pleasure from shame. Eli even needs to apologise to herself about revealing something with a sexual connotation, which implies that she is not very comfortable in writing about it. Although she apparently only scratches the itchy part of her body, which is her vagina, she already feels dirty. It is the strong restriction of any sexual pleasure that makes her feel burdened and abject about her sexual organ. However, there is still some ambiguity as to whether she is actually masturbating. She writes: "Menurut hatiku dan semoga ini benar, ini salah! Salah!" [According to my heart and hopefully this is true, this is wrong! Wrong!] (Eli, 10 May 1991). She is not

⁶ This man finally left Ema because his family disagreed with their relationship. Ema is now married to an Indonesian Chinese man.

actually sure whether what she does is wrong, but there is tendency to believe that it is a sin. This creates a conflict in her. Her repression of any sexual desire incites her to consider her guilt to be "semoga benar" (hopefully true). So, she doubts not only her sexual desire but also her guilt, which shows that she is not actually sure whether she has to repent or not for touching her own body. There is a complicated combination between right and wrong in her statement. She feels that what she does is wrong, but she is also not very sure whether her guilt is right. She writes that what she does is only to get rid of the itch, which means that part of herself still feels that what she does may not be blameworthy. Like the other diary writers, Eli expresses discomfort about her sexuality. The feelings of unease expressed by the diary writers often create a dilemma for them in facing their sexual instinct.

The insistence that scratching is a sin is apparently caused by the positive value of guilty feeling. Thus, for Eli, feeling guilty is part of her courage. Using the word "berani" (dare), Eli confronts her own sexuality through the mode of religious discourse by "daring" to utter a "sholat Taubat" (repenting prayer) in atonement for her actions. In this way, Eli implies that when she feels guilty, she is at the same time being brave and strong:

Berani aku sholat Taubat? Berani aku menghilangkan kebiasaan ini? Demi Allah, Tuhanku, aku rasanya berani. . . Aku harus kuat menangkal ini. Harus!

[Dare I pray for repentance? Dare I get rid of this habit? For the sake of Allah, my God, I think I dare. . . I have to be strong in fighting this. I have to !] (Eli, 10 May 1991).

Although, as described in Chapter Four, Eli chooses to ignore the will of God in her pursuit of a successful career (Chapter Four, page 87-89), she still subdues herself in relation to God in terms of her sexual behaviour. This also indicates that one can be rebellious in relation to one thing but not another. She imposes upon herself the necessity to repent over what she considers to be a sexual transgression. Eli imposes an act of punishment upon herself in order to adapt her self-representation to the ideal of her religion. Eli tries to fit herself into the requirements of the ideal of proper women promoted during the New Order era which is also supported by her religion, Islam.

Her religion as well as the stereotype of a pure and faithful woman maintained by the New Order regime may also drive Eli to remain faithful to one man, even in her own imagination:

aku tak pernah tahu kenapa aku senang dengan mas Sapto. Aku tak pernah jemu herkhayal dan berangan-angan hingga telah mencapai tahun ke 2. Dua tahun sudah aku pendam, tanpa aku sudi melepaskannya. Padahal di satu pihak aku banyak sekali mendengar kejelekannya, bahkan melihatnya. . . Sekarang sulit untuk menyukai orang lain. Rasanya ada kesan bersalah bila aku senang dengan orang lain.

[I never know why I am fond of Sapto. I have never got bored with imagining and thinking about him for about two years. For two years I have been burying this feeling, unwilling to let it go. Although on the one hand, I have heard a lot about his bad qualities, and have even witnessed them . . . Now it is hard to be fond of someone else. I feel kind of guilty if I am attracted to another man] (Eli, 19 October 1989).

Eli tries to control not only her sexual desire but also her romantic interest in a man. Even though the man, Sapto, does not respond, Eli makes an effort to be psychologically faithful to him for two years. The idea of a dedicated woman with unlimited love is implied when she states how she witnesses Sapto's weaknesses but nevertheless remains in love with him. Constructing herself in the discourse of restraint and guilt, Eli refers to her romantic desire in terms of control and limitation. For this reason, becoming infatuated with another man can, in Eli's mind, be equated to betrayal, even when the first man is unresponsive to her interest.

8.4. Summary.

These eight diaries show that the sexuality of the subjects can be quite complex. The devout appearance of some of these women can be deceptive. Mina nearly transgresses religious restrictions on sex. Ida and Lilies, who are devout Moslems, express their sexual imagination and lust for the opposite sex in their diary. Lilies who wears a *jilbab*, which shows her piety, often tries to bargain with strict religious doctrines by expressing her desire for several men in her diary. Some other diaries, for example those written by Mar and Ani, record the subjects' sexual experiences as well. Ani writes about her sexual experiences with many men in her private text, whereas Mar describes her sexual experiences before marriage. Their sexual imaginations and habits show that these women are either able to make concessions to themselves, or to reconstruct the surrounding ideology which demands

that women should be sexually pure in such a way that it will be more suitable for them.

Nonetheless, Mina condemns herself for her experience. Ida's sexual desire and Lilies's lust for several men are merely manifested in their imaginations or dreams. Their diaries given to me do not record that they ever have real sexual experiences. Although Ani and Mar are able to be more "courageous" about their passion and sexuality, the echo of restrictions and shame can still be found in these diaries. The more these two diary writers describe their sexual experiences, the more they condemn themselves. Their conflicts and struggles imply that their discourse of transgression cannot be separated from the demand that women have to guard their sexuality as promoted by the New Order regime.

The constraint of women's sexuality in four other diaries by Fay, Nani, Ema and Eli can also be found. These four diary writers transform their sexual desire into silence and repression. Either their sexual desire is omitted from their diary or they reduce any connotation of sexual desire or passion to restriction and control, even in their imaginations. These two genres, Indonesian women's autobiographies and diaries, provide a paradoxical picture of feminine sexuality in New Order Indonesia. On the one hand, they reveal that there is often a transgression of what is considered to be the model of Indonesian women. On the other hand, they demonstrate that an internal trace of sexual repression can still manifest itself within female subjectivity.

Consequently, while women's sexual desire cannot be denied even in the public representation of the self, as was explained in the previous chapter, the repression of this desire is still very strong and influential in the private discourse of the diary. As a result, the diaries function as expressions not only of transgression but also of its appropriation. They become the subjects' medium for confession. In negotiating their own identity, individuals seem to be overcome or at the very least influenced by social restrictions, controls and rules. However, in the next chapter, I will discuss how the discourse of power can also instigate both individuals and groups to rebel.

Chapter 9.

Women's Power in Negotiating Social Constructions.

If women have for so long been misrepresented by male-defined theory then isn't it rather rash to assume that women themselves have not internalised these same definitions? Is it enough to take for granted that we know what 'woman' is? Can women safely presume that their own experience is sufficient validation for a feminist knowledge? (Gunew, 1990; 13).

Sneja Gunew

It is impossible to maintain or develop a theoretical 'purity' untainted by patriarchy for our ideas, values, terminology, repertoire of concepts are all products of patriarchy (Grosz, 1990; 60).

Elizabeth Grosz

The question of what 'white ghosts' do – as editors, readers, critics, teachers – with black women's autobiographies is an important one (Whitlock, 2000; 166).

Gillian Whitlock

How can a woman speak? How can the subaltern speak? Since a powerful public discourse can dictate and dominate the subaltern, the construction of the subaltern's identity is liable to be subject to the manipulation of this powerful ideology. The hegemony of patriarchal values, which have had a long history in the world, can also be discovered in Indonesia. As shown in the previous chapters, Javanese tradition and New Order ideology, both of which emphasise control and hierarchy, often exercised unfair negotiations for women: women have not been paid a fair price for their service. Maintaining the long Javanese tradition of *kodrat*, the New Order regime continued the idealism of women's submissiveness and sacrifice.

Similar questions in terms of gender can thus be raised in relation to Indonesian women's representation of themselves in their autobiographies and diaries. How can these Indonesian women, these Indonesian subalterns, express their identity in relation to patriarchal values? How can their awareness of the unfair negotiation be awakened? How do they relate their individual resistance to women's social conditions in general? I have

argued previously that there is potential rebellion against some social stereotypes in these Indonesian women's writings, yet their rebellion is usually tamed or appropriated in accordance with the surrounding ideology. In addition, although I have talked about these women's transgression against surrounding stereotypes, I have not yet discussed their awareness of recognising their rebellion as a form of resistance against patriarchal values. Recognising patriarchal oppression, in this case, is to be aware of the existence of a general symptom rather than treating their problem as separate, isolated cases.

One of the efforts of feminism in challenging the patriarchal system is to get a better deal for women. While the term feminism is not very familiar in Indonesia, women's emancipation is not a new topic for Indonesians, having been raised around a century ago by Kartini. However, while Soekarno declared Kartini an Indonesian heroine and promoted women's emancipation, the notion of *kodrat* was still emphasised by him. Moreover, Soekarno got his "patriarchal" way by being polygamous and being able to quieten some women's organisations in their protests against polygamy (Vreede-de Stuers, 1966).

In addition, despite the efforts of historical figures like Kartini, the New Order managed to appropriate women's agenda in Indonesia. For instance, it reconstructed the symbol of Kartini in the schools, so that Kartini was portrayed as striving for nothing more than the rights of girls to be educated and the abolition of forced marriages. The authoritative control over some women's organisations also showed the desire of the New Order ideology to restrain the assertion of women's power.

In public discourse of women's emancipation, the importance of *kodrat wanita* [women's destiny] was regularly mentioned during the New Order, contradicting the idea of emancipation. For example, in his speech on Mother's Day in 1984, Soeharto emphasised the duties of women. According to him, Indonesian women are the keepers of national and moral values, which must be passed down through the generations (*The Jakarta Post*; 24 December 1984). Rather than urging women to talk about their rights, Soeharto discouraged them by implying that women should not be demanding.

Indeed, the counter-ideology of feminism or women's emancipation is usually assumed to resist male dominance. However, a powerful ideology often gives birth to its own opposition: the questioning of the powerful is often incited by its own dominance, its

own potentiality to be disputed: The New Order's heavy-handed emphasis on *kodrat wanita* could create its own resistance. In this chapter, in relation to both the published autobiographies and the unpublished diaries which I have discussed in this study, I will address the following paradox in relation to women's emancipation in Indonesia. On the one hand, the issue of women's emancipation may still be influenced by patriarchal ideas, while on the other hand, patriarchal power may produce its own destruction.

9.1. Indonesian Women's Autobiographies.

9.1.1. How the View of Women's Emancipation has been Manipulated by Patriarchal Values.

In some of the eight autobiographies I have selected, the issue of gender and women's emancipation is scarcely discussed. Although Inggit Garnasih's experience with Soekarno can easily be raised as a gender issue, in her autobiography Inggit herself does not discuss her case as part of women's social circumstances. Instead, she keeps it quiet. We can refer again to a quotation used in the previous chapter:

Serombongan wanita sudah berkumpul di ruangan depan. . . .
Kupersilakan mereka duduk. Kemudian kami ngobrol barang
sejam. Tetapi sedikit pun aku tidak menyinggung soal perceraian
kami. Mengapa pula mesti kuceritakan?

[A group of women had gathered in the front room. . . . I let them
sit. We then had a chat for about an hour. But I didn't mention
anything to do with our divorce. Why should I tell them anything?]
(Garnasih, 1988; 292).

Here, despite the fact that some women have come to have a chat with her, Inggit refuses to share her problem with the other women. Rather, she chooses to keep this as her own personal problem. Inggit's silence can be interpreted as submission, but it may also be a strategy to guard her own decency and honour, prescribed by the patriarchal society: to keep quiet rather than to speak up against the unfairness. Nevertheless, her effort to get "a better deal" does not challenge patriarchy. Inggit's text demonstrates the event which happened before the New Order. Writing the life story during the New Order period, the

description of her silence does not challenge patriarchal standard which existed before and during the New Order. Inggit seems to go with the flow of the expectation of not speaking up.

Likewise, while Djuami describes the unfairness of her adopted father's (Soekarno's) treatment of Inggit, she does not situate this socially. Similarly, the autobiography of Lasmidjah Hardi records that she performed many activities in some women's organisations: she has been active in *Istri Sedar* (a women's organisation founded in 1930's), a vice President for *Istri Indonesia* (a women's organisation in 1932), and also one of the founders of *Bank Koperasi Wanita* (Women's Co-operative Bank) in Jakarta. However, writing about this during the New Order, Lasmidjah Hardi does not discuss gender issues at all in her autobiography. If her autobiography had been written before the New Order started and when various women's organisations were actively growing, the text might have discussed more gender issues and the women's organisations. In addition, although the beginning of the New Order regime was marked by the destruction as well as the reconstruction of many women's organisations, Lasmidjah Hardi does not mention these incidents at all.

In fact, among the eight autobiographies I discuss, only four of them address gender issues. Herlina's *Pending Emas* and *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit*, Rachmawati's *Bapakku Ibuku* and Sujatin's *Mencari Makna Hidupku* are the four texts which contain some mention of women's issues. Rachmawati discusses women's issues through the description of her mother, Fatmawati. Fatmawati married Soekarno and had five children by him. Soon after Fatmawati bore the youngest child, Soekarno decided to marry another woman, Hartini. Fatmawati left the President rather than accept polygamy. Noting her mother's views of women's emancipation, Rachmawati writes:

Mengenai wanita, Ibu mempunyai pikiran emansipasi yang sangat maju. Ibu akan menjadi sangat heran jika melihat wanita zaman sekarang, lebih-lebih yang berpendidikan, membiarkan suaminya bermain serong dengan wanita lain, tak berani menegurnya atau berlagak tak tahu, semata-mata karena wanita itu takut bercerai lantaran takut kehilangan kedudukannya sebagai istri pejabat atau hartawan.

[About women, Mother has a very progressive idea of emancipation. Mother would be very surprised if she finds present-day women,

especially the educated ones, allowing their husbands to have affairs with other women, not daring to speak out or pretending not to know, only because they are afraid of getting a divorce because of fear of losing their position as the wife of a high official or millionaire] (Soekarno, 1984; 114).

Through Fatmawati, Rachmawati refers to women's issues. However, unlike Inggit who demanded a divorce from Soekarno when he decided to marry Fatmawati, Fatmawati herself did not divorce Soekarno. She merely left the palace but remained his wife.

Rachmawati also describes how her own marriage failed because of another woman: "Perkawinanku dilanda badai karena adanya . . . orang ketiga. Sejarah sedih Ibu menimpa diriku" [My marriage was stormy because of . . . a third person. My mother's sad history was repeated with me] (Soekarno, 1984; 93). Being left by her husband, Rachmawati seems to agree with her mother who concludes that the failure of a marriage can be caused by women: she describes her mother's argument about women's emancipation:

Ibu menganalisis, banyak keributan rumah tangga yang disebabkan oleh perilaku wanita sendiri. Wanita yang sengaja mengganggu rumah tangga wanita lainnya, jelas bersalah. Wanita yang menjadi sebab suami melakukan korupsi, jelas bersalah. Wanita yang karena kedudukan suami lalu bersikap seolah-olah dirinya yang berkuasa, jelas keliru. Kemerosotan moral wanita juga sering disebabkan oleh wanita itu sendiri. Demikianlah pendapat Ibuku . . . Walaupun demikian tidak berarti selamanya hanya wanita itu sendiri yang salah. Pria harus menyadari tanggung jawabnya terhadap istri, anak dan rumah tangga. Jika dua belah pihak tahu diri, maka keributan perkawinan pasti dapat dihindari.

[Mother considers, many disputes in marriage are caused by women themselves. Women who deliberately disturb another woman's household, are definitely in the wrong. Women who cause their husband to be corrupt, are definitely guilty. Women who act as if they are powerful because of their husband's position, are definitely guilty. The downfall of women's morality is often caused by women themselves. That's my mother's opinion . . . However, it does not mean that only women are guilty. Men have to be responsible for their wife, children and household. If the two of them behave agreeably, the dispute in the marriage could surely be avoided] (Soekarno, 1984; 114).

Rachmawati's account of her mother's opinion concerning these marital issues is full of criticism of women, implying that it is women's fault if they are disadvantaged. Men's responsibility is only added at the end. While talking about men, Fatmawati merely mentions that men should take responsibility for the family without explaining any further what she means by this. Unlike women's possible guilt, Fatmawati does not state how men can commit many errors as well. In this case, the faults of men are seen as being relatively inconsequential in comparison with those of women. Rachmawati's comment that her mother's perception of emancipation is "sangat maju" (very progressive) shows her support of her mother's opinion. In other words, her own opinion appears to be mirrored in her description of her mother's, who requires women themselves to take the majority of the blame for their circumstances. In her text, Rachmawati maintained the patriarchal value from the past and at the same time did not question the ideals of Indonesian women existing in the New Order.

Rachmawati's action can also function to guard the honour of her family. Referring the blame to another woman is referring the blame to someone else, someone outside of the family circle. Below a photograph of Soekarno and Fatmawati, Rachmawati writes: "Bapak dan Ibu bahagia sebelum datangnya godaan wanita lain" [Father and Mother were happy before the arrival of another woman's temptation] (Soekarno, 1984; 22). If Rachmawati directed her criticism toward her own father, it could be interpreted as a betrayal of her filial relationship with him. It is easier and perhaps more acceptable for her family to have some kind of a "scapegoat" for this situation. Attributing her father's unfaithfulness to another woman's temptation, Rachmawati can preclude her father from criticism.

Herlina is another Indonesian woman who discusses gender discrimination in her autobiography, *Pending Emas*. Wanting to get into the jungle of Irian, Herlina is aware of the challenges she is about to face as a woman. The process in achieving this desire is also a matter of social consideration and anticipation. For this reason, she keeps her plans secret: "kubayangkan, orang-orang akan menertawakan dan mengejek diriku seandainya kukatakan kepada mereka tentang rencana dan tekadku ini" [I imagined that people would

laugh at me and make fun of me if I told them about my plan and resolution] (Herlina, 1985: 7).

Her ambition to sail around Indonesia and to fight the Dutch in the jungles of West Irian makes her aware of discrimination against women, as she states that women "punya tantangan ganda, dibanding dengan kaum pria, menghadapi kekerdilan manusia" [have a double challenge, compared to men, in facing the narrow-mindedness of people] (Herlina, 1985: 96). Herlina relates this "double challenge" to the rumours surrounding her. Being the only woman among the soldiers, Herlina was often the subject of gossip about her relationship with these men:

Sekarang aku diguncang pergunjungan. Dari segala penjuru aku diserang. Hanya karena aku seorang wanita yang masih muda, berkecimpung aktif di tengah kaum pria. Rasanya keadaan seperti ini masih akan sangat lama berlangsung di negeriku. Wanita akan mempergunjingkan kaumnya, semata-mata karena wanita sasaran pergunjungan itu ternyata adalah wanita yang sangat aktif, pandai, penuh inisiatif yang kreatif, dan . . . masih muda serta menarik.

[Now I was the victim of some rumours. From every side I was attacked. Only because I was a young woman, actively involved among the men. It seems that this kind of condition will last for a very long time in my country. Women will gossip about other women, only because the woman victimised by the rumour is actually a woman who is active, intelligent, full of creative initiative, and . . . still young as well as attractive] (Herlina, 1985: 96).

As in Rachmawati's autobiography, the women's issue raised here tends to blame other women, accusing them of being the source of the gossip.

Neither Herlina nor Rachmawati take the issue further by questioning broader social conditions. That is, they do not entertain the possibility that these women may be victimised by the standards of patriarchal society. Rather than questioning women's stereotypical position, they affirm the stereotype by stating that women are the main cause of this trouble. The statements of these two subjects imply that the issue should be referred back to women themselves. Consequently, because it is women's fault, there is still a requirement that women should talk not about their rights but about their responsibility. From their perspective, what happens to women is seen as the affect of

their own actions, not the responsibility of any other factor or system. This makes women become the Other to women. They become estranged to themselves. The politics of divide and rule can be found in the issue of women here: women blame their own comrades without challenging the more powerful discourse. Despite Herlina's description of her success in the male domain, in her above statement she does not identify much with women, rather she separates herself from them. Accordingly, there is hardly any criticism against the patriarchal ideology maintained in both Rachmawati's and Herlina's discussion of women's issues. By criticising their own "sisters", they have no strength to challenge the more powerful negotiator.

Similarly, in *Bangkit Dari Dunia Sakit*, Herlina raises the issue of women's emancipation without challenging social and ideological stereotypes. She states:

Pada pendapatku, isi yang sesungguhnya dari perjuangan Kartini dan para pelanjutnya adalah berangkat dari kenyataan bahwa kaum wanita kita – hampir seluruhnya, pada masa itu – terbelakang akibat tidak mendapat kesempatan bersekolah, karena adat yang mengungkung sangat jauh tertinggal dari kaum lelaki: dan pada akhirnya wanita tidak dapat menjadi pasangan yang setaraf dengan pria untuk sama-sama memajukan kehidupan keluarga, masyarakat, dan bangsa.

[In my opinion, the real content of the struggle of Kartini and her next generation is based on the fact that our women – nearly all, at that time – were backward because they had little chance to go to school, because of the restricting traditions, they were left behind by the men: and at the end women could not be an equal partner with men in improving the progress of the household, people and nation] (Herlina, 1986; 51-52).

Herlina's depiction of Kartini does not depart from the depiction of Kartini by the New Order ideology. Kartini is merely portrayed as a woman who struggled for women's rights to go to school. While in her autobiography first published in 1965, Herlina still describes how she has performed many non-conservative actions such as being the first woman touring around Indonesia and going to the jungle of Irian, her autobiography published in the New Order focuses on her motherhood and discusses women's liberation merely in relation to men: women's emancipation and education are only to serve men and the country, not for women's own sake.

Moreover, in talking about this issue, Herlina relates it to *kodrat* [destiny]: "Biar bagaimanapun, kita harus sadar bahwa karunia Allah yang berupa kodrat kepada kedua jenis makhluk manusia ini adalah suatu keadilan dan hak Allah untuk menentukannya" [No matter what, we have to realise that the destinies of the two different sexes of human beings is God's gift and it is justice and God's right to decide] (Herlina, 1986; 52). In this case, her representation of women's emancipation illustrates allegiance to men rather than to women.

Herlina's next statement about women's emancipation also emphasises limitation on women:

"Emansipasi wanita" jangan sampai kepada tuntutan yang "absurd", ataupun mustahil bagai "meminta tanduk kuda", misalnya menuntut agar pria yang mengandung dan melahirkan anak, serta wanita yang jadi pencari nafkah serta pemimpin rumah tangga. Kecenderungan-kecenderungan salah tafsir maupun sikap ekstrem wanita menuntut apa yang mereka sebut "emansipasi", aku pikir, itulah salah satu bentuk dari sikap tidak mensyukuri rahmat dan nikmat Allah.

["Women's emancipation" does not mean an absurd or impossible demand, like "asking a tusk of a horse", for instance, demanding a man to get pregnant and bear a baby, and the woman to become the breadwinner and the head of the family. The tendency of wrong interpretations or extreme behaviour of women demanding what they want in the name of "emancipation", I think, that is a characteristic which shows no respect to God's gift and blessing] (Herlina, 1986; 51-52).

Rather than destroying the barriers that prevent women from thinking about their rights, Herlina warns them of the condition of their emancipation. Sympathy is implied for men, for being the potential victim of women's emancipation. Reminding the reader of the risk of disrespecting God in women's demands for equality with men, Herlina posits women's emancipation in terms of its potentiality to be "an extravagantly high" rather than "a fair" demand.

Similar to Inggit and Rachmawati, Herlina's advice may also reflect her intention in guarding her decency as an Indonesian woman. Expressing her awareness of the negative qualities of women's emancipation, Herlina prevents people from accusing her of being demanding and ungrateful for her own *kodrat*, the term which derived from

Javanese tradition and was emphasised by the New Order. This can lead to the danger that Julia Kristeva describes: "we will identify with the power principle that we think we are fighting" (cited in Marks and de Courtivron, 1980; 141). At this point, Herlina's definition of women's emancipation is in support of the power principle rather than against it. The repetitive reminder of *kodrat* in Indonesian women's emancipation can thus function to trap women in the status quo rather than getting them out of it. From this limited point of view, the term "women's emancipation" becomes a means of identifying with the patriarchal power.

9.1.2. Sujatin Kartowijono: Questioning Discrimination against Women.

One autobiography however stands out among other Indonesian women's autobiographies: that is *Mencari Makna Hidupku* by Sujatin Kartowijono. The text was published in 1983, at the height of the New Order period. While Rachmawati and Herlina do not raise the issue of women's emancipation as the main theme of their autobiographies, Sujatin's text makes it central in her life story. Unlike the other autobiographies, which hardly challenge the patriarchal discourse of discrimination against women, Sujatin relates the issue of women to male domination in general.

Sujatin was the leader of PERWARI, one of the biggest women's organisations in Indonesia. In the text, she describes how she wanted to continue Kartini's aspiration to struggle for women's rights and be consistent with this idea. Born in 1907 in Central Java, she was the youngest daughter of a train station chief and had one younger brother. Sujatin describes how she had been aware of the different treatment of girls since she was a child, as she states:

Semenjak kecil, dari sebelum masuk sekolah, aku merasa kebebasanku dibatasi. Tidak sama dengan adik dan kemenakanku, karena aku seorang perempuan.

[Since I was young, before I even went to school, I felt that my freedom was limited. Not the same as my younger brother or my cousin because I was a girl] (Kartowijono, 1983; 19).

Unlike Rachmawati and Herlina who place the blame on women, these discriminations cause Sujatin to defend women: "Aku ingin membela kaum wanita yang

tertindas, yang kelahirannya mengecewakan orang tua karena jenis kelaminnya" [I wanted to defend women who were oppressed, whose birth disappointed their parents because of their sex] (Kartowijono, 1983; 25). As a young child, Sujatin shows that she has critical opinions about women. In her autobiography, she writes: "Sehari-hari aku melihat wanita sangat direndahkan di Sumpiuh dan Kemrajen, tempatku dibesarkan" [In daily life, I saw that women were degraded in Sumpiuh and Kemrajen, the place where I was brought up] (Kartowijono, 1983; 21). It is thus her own personal experience of patriarchal discrimination which triggers her rebellion: a situation which also suggests that the exercise of power may produce its own opposition. It is also her personal experience of discrimination against women which makes Sujatin persist: "Aku ingin membuktikan, wanita mampu berbuat sesuatu, dapat berjasa atau menggegerkan dunia" [I wanted to prove that women could do something, be useful or shake the world] (Kartowijono, 1983; 25). Her ambition for women thus grows from the social oppression which they suffer.

In her struggle for women's rights, Kartini had been an important inspiration for Sujatin. She had admired Kartini as a teenager, noting in her autobiography: "Aku merasa sangat bersimpati kepada penderitaannya, dan perjuangannya. Di dalam surat-suratnya yang penuh rintihan jiwa, aneh, aku seolah melihat potret diri sendiri" [I felt very sympathetic towards her suffering and her struggle. In her letters, there was an agony of the soul, and strangely, I felt that I saw my own portrayal there] (Kartowijono, 1983; 25).

While admiring Kartini, Sujatin criticised her for acting inconsistently, since despite her conviction, Kartini married a man who had several other wives. Thus, although Sujatin states: "Cita-cita Kartini merasuk ke dalam sukma" [Kartini's ideals permeate my soul] (Kartowijono, 1983; 26), Sujatin reproaches Kartini for submitting to her father's wish for her to participate in a polygamous marriage. Sujatin states how Kartini contradicts her own aspirations in doing this: "Kartini yang berpikiran cemerlang akhirnya memang melakukan hal yang sangat bertentangan dengan buah pikirannya" [Kartini who had brilliant ideas, indeed finally did something opposing her own aspirations] (Kartowijono, 1983; 220).

The example of Kartini convinces Sujatin that she has to act according to her principles: "Untuk tidak mengikuti jejak Ibu Kartini, aku harus menyatukan kata hati dan perbuatanku" [In order not to follow Kartini's steps, I have to unite my words of

conscience and my deeds] (Kartowijono, 1983; 220). For this perseverance, Sujatin insists:

sebagai penerus cita-citanya, akan menanggung semua akibat perjuanganku. Terutama di bagian perjuangan beliau yang gagal. Dua kali aku pernah memutuskan pertunangan, karena mendahulukan perjuanganku.

[as the successor of [Kartini's] aspiration, I would carry the burden of my struggle. Especially in the part where she failed. Twice I ended my engagements, because of prioritising my struggle] (Kartowijono, 1983; 220).

Sujatin aspires to go beyond Kartini who, in Sujatin's view, gave up when she married. While Kartini's marriage is seen by Sujatin as an act of inconsistency, Sujatin proves her perseverance in uniting her words and her actions by breaking her engagements with young men by her own choice.

The first time this happens is because of a women's congress. Being very active in this congress, Sujatin could not spend much time with her fiancé which made him annoyed: "Dianggapnya aku tak mempedulikannya, calon suaminya. Waktu ia telah balik ke Jakarta, akulah yang menulis surat memutuskan pertunangan dengan kami. . . . Demikianlah, demi kelanjutan kongres, aku memutuskan pertunangan" [He considered that I did not care for him, my future husband. When he returned to Jakarta, I was the one who wrote a letter to break our engagement. . . . So, for the sake of the continuance of the congress, I broke the engagement] (Kartowijono, 1983; 41).

The other occasion also occurred because of Sujatin's activity in a women's organisation. Sujatin's second fiancé lived in another town. Wanting to give Sujatin a surprise, he came to visit Sujatin without notice. However, Sujatin was about to leave for another city, Surabaya, on organisational duties: "Aku tetap pergi ke Surabaya, demi tugas. Hubungan ini juga akhirnya kuputuskan, setelah berpikir masak-masak beberapa lama. Rupanya kami tidak seia sekata" ["I still went to Surabaya, on business (for the women's organisation). I broke this relationship finally, after I thought about it very carefully for some time. Apparently, we were not suitable for each other"] (Kartowijono, 1983; 43).

Describing how she leaves two men for the sake of her organisational activities, Sujatin does not fit into the stereotype of a woman as a stabiliser, as a person responsible for maintaining the harmony in the relationship. Rather, she is the one who decides, who takes action. She does not see herself merely as a woman in support of a man's career. Doing this, she shows that her career is also important. Rather than giving in to a man, Sujatin does not want to "mengabaikan saat penting dalam perjuangan kaum wanita pada umumnya, hanya demi menyenangkan hati seorang pria" [neglect the most important moments in women's struggle in general, just to please a man] (Kartowijono, 1983; 43).

Sujatin finally married an unemployed man without title and wealth. Although this enraged her family, Sujatin states that she liked this man because he held similar views to her: "Aku memerlukan pria yang mengerti perjuanganku, idealisme yang kuanut dan dapat menempatkan diri dalam kedudukan tepat di sisiku" [I needed a man who understood my struggle, the idealism I had, and who could position himself properly beside me] (Kartowijono, 1983; 44). Sujatin does not place herself as merely a backstop for a man. Instead, she expects the man to understand and support her activities. Showing her strong will, she demands that the man accept her ideas in marrying her.

Sujatin describes how she often left her family on business, sometimes for several weeks, thus demonstrating her refusal to be the only person responsible for the household duties. She insists that her family can remain in order without her continual presence at home: "sejak zaman gerilya mereka sudah biasa melihat saya bepergian. Semua bisa diatur rapi, terserah kita" [since the time of revolution they have been used to seeing me go away. Everything can be arranged properly, it is up to us] (Kartowijono, 1983; 70). Stating that it is up to her, Sujatin emphasises her right to choose her role.

Her actions do, however, have some consequences. Because of her activities, a woman criticises her: "'Tin, kau kerja melulu sih. Lihat, anak-anakmu tak terurus!'" [Tin, you keep on working like anything. Look at your children, they do not get enough attention]. Sujatin defends herself by stating that her children are "sehat dan bersih" [healthy and well] (Kartowijono, 1993; 49). Although as Wieringa states that the ideal of Srikandi during Soekarno's period, was popular among some women's organizations and supported by Soekarno, such a role could still incite criticism, as described by Sujatin's autobiography. Sujatin states how her persistency maintained: she does not show that the

criticism makes her discourage in continuing her activities regarding women's emancipation.

However, such defence can also create ambiguity. On the one hand, Sujatin's defence can be seen as her insistence in continuing her activities. On the other hand, by not arguing that the responsibility of child-care mainly belongs to women, Sujatin maintains some more conservative views which are also accepted during the New Order: women's success is acceptable so long as they still look after their family properly.

9.1.3. The Inconsistency of Sujatin's Struggle.

Although Sujatin promises to be consistent in her struggle, some inconsistency can still be found in her defence of women's rights. At the end of the autobiography, Sujatin writes: "jangan melupakan kenyataan, atau lebih tepat kalau kusebutkan, Tuhan telah menciptakan suami sebagai kepala keluarga" [don't forget the fact, or it's more suitable if I say that God has created a husband to be the head of the family] (Kartowijono, 1983: 234). While she insists on the equality between men and women, she still argues that after all a man is in a higher position than his wife, which indicates that although Sujatin's text has shown more resistance to patriarchal society than the other autobiographies, there is still expressed a trace of patriarchal ideology in Sujatin's life story.

Another paradoxical description in Sujatin's struggle is her relationship with her parents. It is an irony that Sujatin's efforts to break the patriarchal stereotype of a female are obstructed by another woman (her mother) and seem to be supported by a man (her father). Sujatin depicts how her mother hinders her in reaching her aspirations, as she does not agree with Sujatin's passion for reading:

Ibu sebagai orang yang tidak dapat membaca dan menulis, tak mengerti kesukaanku akan bacaan. Beliau sering marah bila aku tenggelam ke alam lain, bersama buku yang sedang kuhadapi. Beliau ingin aku seperti gadis-gadis lain, pandai memasak, rajin mengurus rumah, menaruh perhatian kepada seni rias, dan sebagainya.

[Mother as a person who could not read and write, did not understand my passion for reading. She often got angry if I was immersed in a different world with the book before me. She wanted

me to be like other girls, good at cooking, diligent in looking after the house, paying attention to the skills of cosmetics, etc.] (Kartowijono, 1983; 22).

The well-established patriarchal system in Javanese tradition often creates discrimination in educational opportunities for men and women. For this reason, Sujatin's mother and father have different educational backgrounds: while her father "sering menulis ke berbagai majalah" [often wrote to several magazines] and had "bergerobak" [piles] of books at home (Rambe, 1983; 22), her mother was illiterate. Being more educated, her father is portrayed as more sympathetic to her aspirations. He encourages Sujatin in her study: "Ayah memberikan banyak perhatian terhadap kemajuanku di sekolah" [father gave much attention to my progress at school] (Kartowijono, 1983; 21).

Sujatin's criticism of her mother is also shown when she defies her mother's words through recourse to her father's. This can be seen from her conversation with her mother about her appearance. Sujatin refuses her mother's attempt to raise her as a stereotypical female, through activities like decorating her hair:

"Lho, rambutnya kok begitu? Mana pitanya?" tanya Ibu memandang rambut yang sudah kusisir rapi.

"Ibu, Tin tak mau pakai pita. Seperti anak perempuan!"

"Habis kamu anak apa? Bukan anak perempuan, lalu ingin dianggap laki-laki?"

["Well, why is your hair like that? Where is the ribbon?" asked mother looking at the hair which I have combed well.

"Mother, I don't want to wear any ribbon. Like a girl!"

"So, what are you? Not a girl, then you want to be considered a boy?" (Kartowijono, 1983; 17).

She replies to her mother's question: "Tidak. Tapi kata Ayah, Tin anak perempuan yang cekatan dan pandai. Kelak akan pandai mencari uang sendiri" [No. But Father said, Tin (Sujatin) is a girl who is adroit and intelligent. She will be able to earn her own money in the future] (Kartowijono, 1983; 17).

Unable to find an appropriate female paradigm in her mother, Sujatin opposes her mother with ideas provided by her father. While Sujatin rebels against the social discrimination against women, she still needs some kind of recognition from a male authority, represented by her father. Sujatin hardly spells out that her mother's lack of knowledge and her non-independent traits are the consequences of patriarchal constraints, and that her mother is a victim of these constraints. In talking about women's education, Sujatin also refers to her father:

Aku ingin turut berbakti memberi pendidikan kepada wanita kita, membuka mata mereka agar sanggup berdiri sendiri. Seorang ibu yang cerdas akan menghasilkan anak yang terdidik baik, berbudi dan berilmu. Lihat saja Ayah. Beliau aktif dan punya pandangan jauh ke depan. Kami yang dididiknya dengan pengarahan khusus tidak mengecewakan beliau.

[I wanted to dedicate myself to educating our women, opening their eyes so that they could be independent. An intelligent mother can produce well-educated children, humanised and knowledgeable. Just consider my father. He was active and had very progressive views. Educated under his special direction, we did not disappoint him] (Rambe, 1983; 26).

Praising her father and criticising her mother, Sujatin refers to him as a model even for motherhood. After stating that an educated women can be a better mother, she gives an example by talking about her father. In some ways, this implies the scarcity of women to act as role-models in Sujatin's experience. Being a traditional woman, Sujatin's mother fails to impress her.

Sujatin still echoes the words of the father after he died: when she later does her duty in the jungle of Kalimantan, she describes herself as "Sujatin muda yang senang mengembara, yang ingin menjelajah dunia naik kapal, seperti dikisahkan oleh mendiang ayahku" [a young Sujatin, who loved adventure, who wanted to go around the world on a ship, like what my late father had told me] (Rambe, 1984; 73).

However, despite Sujatin's recourse to her father, some other descriptions of her father reflect a contrary view. For instance, when Sujatin was born, her father was very disappointed because Sujatin was a girl. One of Sujatin's sisters told Sujatin: "Pada waktu Ayah mendengar bayinya kali ini perempuan lagi, beliau sangat kecewa.

Kelahiranmu disambut dingin. Beliau hanya menengok tidak menggendongmu. Ia mengharapkan bayi laki-laki” [‘When Father heard that he had a baby girl again, he was very disappointed. Your birth was given a cool welcome. He only looked at you and did not take you in his arms. He wanted a boy’] (Kartowijono, 1983; 25). Although Sujatin often praises her father, she recognises that he is not free from believing in patriarchal stereotypes which discriminate against women. Including this memory of her father in her autobiography, Sujatin in some sense admits that her father was not always an agreeable character and that she is not at all blind to his flaws.

The son that her father longed for was born three years after the birth of Sujatin. However, his son was not as capable as he expected: “Adik laki-laki yang sangat diharapkan itu baru datang tiga tahun berikutnya. Setelah ia lepas dari buaian, ia tak sehebat yang diangankan Ayah. Sekali lagi Ayah kecewa” [The boy he expected came three years later. After he was able to walk, he was not as great as my father expected. Once more, my father was disappointed] (Kartowijono, 1983; 25).

Instead, Sujatin was more active and capable than her brother: “Sebagai anak perempuan, aku lebih lincah, lebih berani dan lebih nakal dibanding dengan adik bungsu. Aku sering mengalahkannya dalam pertengkaran, perkelahian dan juga angka di rapor” [As a girl, I was more active, braver and naughtier than my younger brother. I often beat him in quarrels, fights and also achieved better marks at school] (Kartowijono, 1983; 25). The disappointment of Sujatin’s father is in a way erased by the presence of Sujatin.

Sujatin also recounts how the other girls in the family are active and intelligent. Sujatin depicts her sisters as “Tegas, tangkas lagi cerdas. Mereka menyatakan pendirian tanpa ragu-ragu” [determined, adroit and intelligent. They expressed their opinion without hesitation] (Kartowijono, 1983; 17). Sujatin’s father trains all of his children to consider him as their model:

Sejak lepas dari buaian, Ayah mendidik semua putra-putrinya menggemari tamasya, bacaan serta olahraga. . . . Kami dilatih mengikuti jejaknya. . . . Beliau menjadi contoh kehidupan bagiku. Tidak mengherankan kalau dari sejak awal hidupku aku telah mengagumi orang yang paling dekat dengan diriku ini.

[After we had left the cradle, Father educated his children to enjoy excursions, read books and play sports. . . . He trained us to follow

in his steps. . . . He became a role model for me. It is unsurprising if since the beginning of my life I have admired the person who was the closest to me] (Kartowijono, 1983; 13).

It is thus an important point whether Sujatin's father wanted his daughters to be active and intelligent to compensate for his son's lack of capability. In other words, he gives his daughters many opportunities not because he intended to treat them equally: rather, his daughters merely become the replacement for his son. Without adhering to the idea of women's emancipation or gender equality, Sujatin's father, in being disappointed by his son, is eventually led to contradict his own initial rejection of his daughters.

Sujatin's father overthrows his own patriarchal idea without intending to attach himself to the idea of women's emancipation. Jean Paul Sartre notes that "the contradiction of racism, colonialism and all forms of tyranny" is that "in order to *treat a man like a dog*, one must first recognise him as a man" (Sartre, 1976; 111). In educating his daughters to be intelligent and active, Sujatin's father reveals that while he initially discriminated against his daughter, he still recognised her potential to be equal to, or even superior to, his son. He thus proves the invalidity of his own patriarchal reasoning.

Sujatin's father still implies his desire for authority in educating his children. In encouraging all of his children to follow his example, Sujatin's father establishes his own colony, where he can be the leader and the children his followers. The position of the mother is to be put aside and domesticated: she is merely maternally beneficial, while the father opens the public domain to the children's entry. The same pattern can be found in Kartini, the first Indonesian feminist, and her father. Kartini, whose mother was estranged from her since birth, considered her father to be her guide. Similarly, the children become the objects of the control of Sujatin's father, of his small "kingdom".

In this small "kingdom" (i.e. Patriarchy), Sujatin states how her sisters have become girls "seperti yang diinginkan Ayah" [like what my father wants them to be] (Kartowijono, 1983; 17). Sujatin also places herself as his follower: "Aku ingin seperti mereka. Cepat, jika mungkin." [I want to be like them. As quickly as possible] (Kartowijono, 1983; 17). Praising her father, it is the judgement of her father, not of her mother, which counts for Sujatin:

"Cara berpiknik Ayah sungguh hebat" [Father's way of organising a

picnic was great] (Kartowijono, 1983; 20).

"Ayah lebih mengasihi aku dari anak yang lain" [Father loved me more than the other children] (Kartowijono, 1983; 25)

"Ayah menyukai tulisan tanganku" [Father liked my handwriting] (Kartowijono, 1983; 22).

Besides his rejection of Sujatin when she was a baby, another characteristic of her father which contradicts Sujatin's struggle for women's rights is his having several wives: "Dulu beliau punya tiga orang istri. Dua orang di antaranya telah meninggal dunia. Tinggal ibuku sebagai istri satu-satunya, yang termuda, nomor tiga" [In the past he had three wives. Two of them had died. My mother remained as his only wife, the youngest, the third] (Kartowijono, 1983; 12). It is not stated when these two other wives died, which also raises the question as to whether Sujatin's mention of the death of the other wives is an attempt to soften her father's polygamy.

Despite the fact that she is much younger than her husband, her mother is still concerned about his interest in other attractive women. When they go to a party, for instance, Sujatin's mother wants her daughter to sit on the father's lap and refuse to be moved. The reason for this is that her mother is afraid that her father will dance with the "ledek" (a dancer with whom a man can dance and then have sexual intercourse). Sujatin states "perintah ibu kujalankan dengan baik" [I obeyed my mother's command very well] (Kartowijono, 1983; 15). Thus, Sujatin does not always side with her father: she can also sympathise with her mother.

Sujatin's decision not to omit this story from her autobiography, a text to be read by the public, may imply that she wishes to draw attention to her father's patriarchal values. At the same time, this description casts doubt on her feelings of respect and admiration for him. But while Sujatin describes her father's less agreeable attitudes toward women, she does not explicitly criticise him. Some further questions arise in this connection: Why does not Sujatin criticise her father explicitly for having treated women so chauvinistically? Why does Sujatin consider as a role-model a man who has rejected her as a baby because she was a girl and who has treated his wife unfairly?

These questions may suggest the possibility that the patriarchal values which lead Sujatin to consider her father as an example, are integrated in her unconscious. This means that like Rachmawati and Herlina, Sujatin has internalised patriarchal values so deeply that she cannot escape from them. If this is the case, this may prove the fear, held by some feminists, that women cannot escape from patriarchal ideology at all: Sujatin, who declares herself a defender of women's rights and defies the stereotypes of women, still adopts some patriarchal values.

Looking more closely at this case, there may also be an element of resistance behind this patriarchal integration. Unconsciously, there may exist some calculation of benefit in Sujatin's idolisation of her father. Only through him, not her mother, can she achieve her desire to be successful in a world dominated by males. Sujatin does not become her father after all. Rather, by following his example, she also becomes its opposite. She embodies criticism or mockery of the original: Sujatin has contradicted the father's desire to make a man (his son) into his heir, the next archetype. She, the one who was rejected by her father at birth because of her sex, proves herself to be more competent than her brother.

Furthermore, the apparent inconsistency of Sujatin towards her parents can be seen to have its own underlying consistency. Although not stated explicitly, Sujatin may recognise that it is only her father's freedom that she desires and praises, but not his repression of women. Moreover, Sujatin never reproaches her mother as a woman: it is her mother's acceptance of patriarchal notions that she rejects. Her seemingly paradoxical attitude to her parents can thus be seen as the effect of the persistence of her aspiration, in which she applies feminist notions to parents who offend against her common principle of women's emancipation. This may also reflect her mature acceptance of the fact that otherwise lovable people have faults. In this case, while the patriarchal power seems to be sustained, the challenge against it also endures as its mirror image. In the next discussion, I will describe further the complex relationship between patriarchal power and the subjects of diaries.

9.2. Diary.

9.2.1. The Discussion of Women's Emancipation.

The discussion of women's rights / women's emancipation / women's liberation / women's struggle in Indonesian women's diary writings is rarely explicit. Nani, for instance, merely writes: "Aku mulai berfeminis-ria. Ya, nyoba ikuti naluri . . . juga omongan Sony dkk. Senior-2 ku lietku aga aneh kali. Luki banyak cerita . . . resehnya. Aku akhir-akhir ini deket sama senior-senior'91 . . . asyik lho" [I start talking about feminism with my friends. Well, trying to follow my instinct . . . also Sony's friends' chatting. My Seniors see me strangely maybe. Luki talked a lot . . . annoying. I get closer to the seniors' 91¹ lately. . . it's fun] (Nani, 21 June 1996). Although she writes that she talks about feminism, she does not explain any further what she talks about or what she means by feminism. Ironically, both of the friends who she mentions in the particular passage are males (Sony and Luki). This passage is also not very clear. She writes some incomplete phrases without further explanation of their context. It is doubtful whether she really is interested in talking about women's issues, because she describes more about the fun of being with all her male friends rather than the talk of feminism itself. Mina's problems with her mother and brother (which have been discussed in Chapter Four) can also be raised as a gender issue, but Mina does not relate her situation to women's issues in general. However, the absence of such an issue in her diary does not mean that Mina is ignorant about feminist ideas.

Although diary writings are considered to record the most personal events of life, it does not mean that they can provide clear and more comprehensive portraits of the writer. Certain subjects are skipped in a diary. Intended to be a private record of life, most of the subjects of diary writing do not usually address social issues explicitly. Their awareness of women's discrimination and what they mean or what they think about this issue are not always made clear. There are however two diaries, that of Mar and Eli, that provide more detailed views on discrimination against women.

¹ "Seniors" means students who enter the University earlier. What Nani means by seniors'91 is the students who entered the University in the year of 1991, a few years before she did.

9.2.2. Mar's Diary: A Man as a Reader.

As was discussed in the previous chapters, an individual can be ideological. Surrounding people can be carriers of the ideology and obstruct one's intention in rebelling against the ideology. Similarly, the relationship between individuals can reflect the ideology surrounding them. I have described previously how Mar shows rebellion against some aspects of the stereotypes of the proper Indonesian woman. Besides her transgression against sexual restrictions, her submission towards her boyfriend is expressed in the diary. Out of this submission nevertheless, she becomes more aware of the social conditions surrounding women. Mar's inquiry into gender discrimination is apparently aroused by her relationship with her boyfriend. In her diary, Mar often describes herself as a woman who lacks beauty and appeal, and she believes that this makes her boyfriend unfaithful to her.

The other woman that her boyfriend has is presented as superior to her: "And when you told me about your 'other lover', about how clever she is, about how kind she is, I think that she is more suitable for you than me" (Mar, 22 July 1991). Mar never describes the other woman based on her own perception of this woman but only in terms of his description. She just takes it for granted that what he describes is what she should believe. Not only does she accept his two-timing her, but she also writes that the other woman is more suitable for her own boyfriend than she is.

Mar denigrates herself, as she writes: "I feel that I am not a good woman. I am not good enough for you. I am not beautiful enough. I am not clever, I am not kind-hearted and I am not wise" (Mar, 18 September 1990). She portrays herself according to his perception and his standards. She cannot accept her own self. Rather, her boyfriend seems to become the reader of her identity.

An authority is often represented in such a way as to make one dependent no matter how oppressive this authority is. An authority tends to make the other feel that s/he is less knowledgeable by comparison. Knowledge, Sneja Gunew argues, has been "legitimated within a limited sphere" and has traditionally been the privilege of men (Gunew, 1990; 15). This accordingly renders one unable to escape because to betray this authority one will feel that she is betraying herself in showing more knowledge than the knowledgeable. In Mar's relationship with her boyfriend, this pattern can be found.

Although Mar recognises his oppression and injustice, she feels dependent on him, as she states: "Kadang-kadang aku tidak setuju dengan dia. Tapi aku masih belum tahu, apakah aku yang belum pandai atau dia yang salah" [Sometimes, I disagree with him. But I don't know whether I am not smart enough or if he is wrong] (Mar, 10 May 1991). As she doubts herself, he becomes the authority for her. Putting her "price" down, she considers him too valuable to be questioned. Rather, doubting her own intelligence ("belum pandai") implies her belief that he has better judgement, so that it is appropriate that she defers to him.

Considering him as part of her, to leave him will be to leave part of herself as she states: "I need him cause I need a reverie" (Mar, 5 June 1993). In this case, Mar constructs an ideal version of her boyfriend, which she equates with her "dream" or "reverie". This implies that if she loses him, she will have to lose part of herself. The question is not merely "can she afford being independent from him?" but also "can she accept her own self without him?". In this case, Mar immerses herself in him, so that she does not recognise her own self. His judgement is so integrated in her that she adopts and considers it as her own.

Since an ideology can be integrated in one's self, the ideology does not become merely an external factor of an individual. In fighting against a certain ideology, one often has to fight against one's self. Similarly, in rebelling against her own boyfriend, Mar has to deny part of herself. Mar's description of her love affair shows that there are multiple, complex and even opposing feelings which all need to be recognised in reaction and in relation to a certain authority. Because negotiating identity is continuous, it gives possibility to the subject's different reactions: while the authority of Mar's boyfriend subdues and silences her, this authority also creates a possibility for her to react otherwise, for her expression of submission is mixed with her criticism of the injustice of gender differences:

Aku mulai mengerti perasaan wanita yang menganggap laki-laki cuma mau dengan sex dan kecantikan saja. Aku makin sadar perbedaan lelaki dan wanita dan aku makin tidak bisa menerimanya.

[I begin to understand the feeling of women who think that men just want sex and beauty. I am more aware of the difference between men and women and increasingly I cannot accept this] (Mar, 28 February 1991).

Here, she states how she begins to understand the feelings of other women because she herself has a similar experience personally. She transforms her personal experience into a more general experience of women. By being able to identify with other women, she gains some confidence in accepting herself and her personal problems.

The injustice of her boyfriend leads Mar to question the ideology surrounding her. Similar queries about discrimination and responsibilities are raised later on in her diary:

Why the world isn't fair for women? Women have to be beautiful. Women have to be attractive. Women have to look young. Women have to stay at home. Women have to be careful. Why the world isn't fair for women? I wanna be a man (Mar, 15 November 1991).

Her boyfriend's treatment of her makes her pay attention to the relationship between men and women in general. As I mentioned earlier, in the process of denying a certain ideology, Mar has to deny herself. At the same time, this denial of her own self can lead her to herself as well: the self which is not bounded by him, the self independent from his perception. The denial of part of herself (her reverie, her submission to authority) does not make her lose herself but rather gains it: it leads her to the idea that her "low price" is caused by the unfair system rather than by her own inferiority.

Another question which comes up later in her diary also shows Mar's growing perception of her problem with her boyfriend as a social phenomenon, not merely a personal and isolated one, as she questions "Mengapa lelaki mempunyai lebih banyak hak dari wanita?" [Why do men have more rights than women?] (Mar, 24 February 1992). Her boyfriend's oppression of her thus leads her to oppose the social values behind his action. Accordingly, while ideology can trap one into its manipulation, the same ideology provides its own loopholes for escape.

That a certain ideology has the tendency to backfire against itself can be inferred by relating Mar's question to patriarchal domination in history. Mar states about her boyfriend: "he has the feeling of humanity. But what a pity . . . not to hurt women wasn't part of his humanity" (Mar, 11 June 1993). Here, she questions not only her boyfriend's unfairness to her but also unfairness to women in general. Mar questions the meaning of the word "humanity", showing that he can be considered humane in one way, but not in

others. Although Mar does not acknowledge the broader scope of this particular question, it can be associated with the long history of patriarchal dominance where many male philosophers or thinkers in history had talked about humanity but failed to mention women's rights. Mar's inconsistency in her diary shows how the authority of her boyfriend can produce submission while at the same time inducing resistance and challenge.

9.2.3. Eli's Diary: Career and Education.

While Mar's questioning of discrimination against women is mostly related to her relationship with her boyfriend, Eli's questioning of the distinction between men's and women's roles is provoked by her desire for a better education and a better job.

Maunya seperti dik Beny. Bekerja apa saja asal ada duit. Maunya seperti tokoh-tokoh gede yang bekerja dari bawah. Terus jadi orang yang berhasil. Maunya supaya teman-temanku angkat topi karena kekerasan hatiku. Maunya semua orang melihat aku tak rendah.

[I want to be like Beny. Doing any job as long as there is money. I want to be like important people who work their way up from the bottom. Then becoming a successful person. I want my friends to raise their hat to me because of my perseverance. I want everyone not to look down on me] (Eli, 19 September 1989).

Expressing her hope for success, Eli shows that she does not want to be just a supporter and backstop for men, but she wants to be recognised for her own sake. For this reason, she writes that she wants to be like her younger brother, Benny. Then, she expresses another, higher hope: she wants to be like a public figure and admired by many people. In this case, Eli wants to be more than Beny.

Indeed, in Java, status is very important. Javanese social stratification requires people to be aware of who they are and who they talk to. Being respected and prominent is more important where the society is hierarchical. However, the standard in Indonesia as well as in Java is still set by men, while women are considered subordinate. The importance of social values, status and respect, highlights Eli's subordination to men, and makes her recognise injustice.

Accordingly, in trying to achieve success, Eli is aware of the obstacles:

Aku bukan dik Beny yang dengan mudah mencari kerjaan. Dik Beny seorang laki-laki yang jalan baginya lebar sekali. Aku tidak bisa. Kalau seorang wanita seperti aku, lulusan SMA akan terperangkap lagi pada kerjaan yang menghendaki "penampilan menarik" dan bukan otak! Aku sama sekali tak suka itu.

[I am not Beny who can get a job easily. Beny is a man, the way is wide open for him. I can't. A woman like me, a high school graduate, will again be trapped in jobs that require "attractive appearance" and not brain! I don't like it at all] (Eli, 19 September 1989).

Comparing herself with Beny, Eli realises the difficulties she has to face in being a woman. However, although Eli is conscious that she cannot be like Beny, she does not lower herself by stating that she is inferior to him. She perceives that the different opportunities which are available to men and women cause Beny to be in a better position than she is.

The paradoxical nature of ideology itself incites Eli to react against it, because while women are more appreciated for their physical appearance, this appreciation places women in a subordinate position to men. Indonesian women's physical appearance becomes something that society enjoys but at the same time ridicules for its inferiority to the standard male values. Women must then sustain the devalued quality which satisfies male ego.

While prioritising women's physical appearance can be seen as a social construct, the transgression of this idea can be related to a social construct as well. Eli's rebellion against the stereotyping of women, for instance, is provoked by the importance of social factors like status and social respect as she states:

Dan semoga Allahpun tak mentakdirkan aku hidup dengan pekerjaan penampilan . . . Masih mulia mas Adi karena ia pernah menjadi sopir, tukang membersihkan mobil, juru masak dan apa lagi. Mas Adi tak akan malu karena uang yang diperolehnya berasal dari keringatnya. Dan bukan penampilannya. Semua membuka matak. Aku harus menjaga namaku, nama orangtuaku. Aku tak ingin membuat malu.

[And hopefully God will not destine me to have a job which prioritises physical appearance . . . Adi is more honourable because he has been a chauffeur, a car cleaner, a cook and whatever. Adi will not be embarrassed because the money he got comes from his sweat. And not his physical appearance. Everything opens my

eyes. I have to maintain my prestige, my parents' prestige. I do not want to create any shame] (Eli, 19 September 1989).

For Eli, using her appearance as an asset is degrading not only for her own reputation but also for her family's. In refusing this kind of stereotype, Eli wants to protect her reputation. Since having a good name depends on the opinion of many people, it is also part of social convention. In other words, Eli's rebellion against social ideology is not free from the desire to gain another ideological "triumph". Indeed, Judith Butler explains that "prohibition seeks to reproduce prohibited desire and becomes intensified through the renunciations it effects" (Butler, 1997; 56). The importance of social status and women's difficulty to gain entry into a hierarchical society have inspired Eli to question its discrimination against women. Accordingly, it is the values of ideology itself (that is to say, social prestige, a predominant place in the hierarchy) which she wants to achieve and in achieving this, she has to rebel against another part of the same ideology.

Because rebellion is also socially oriented, Eli's rebellion cannot be separated from the reactions of others. For this reason, Eli needs strength in convincing herself to rebel, in this case, the support of her parents. However, Eli's estimation of the other's reactions (her father's), is misjudged. Eli's refusal to concentrate on her physical appearance is a disappointment to her father:

Tadi malam aku sempat ngungsi ke rumah mbak Sulis. Aku hanya mendinginkan hati saja. Tak enak rasanya dianggap tak punya keinginan untuk menjadi orang, dianggap tak mengurus badan, menyalahi kodrat, seperti gembel, dlsb. Dan semua itu keluar dari mulut bapak hanya lantaran tak boleh ikut mengawal ke M.

[Last night, I had a chance to stay at Sulis's. I just wanted to cool myself down. It was not nice to be considered as a person who does not want to be respected, who does not want to take care of her body, who violates women's destiny, who is like a pauper, etc. And all of those accusations came from Father's mouth just because I was not allowed to go with him to M] (Eli, 9 November 1989).

Previously, Eli stated that merely paying attention to her appearance would cause her parents to be ashamed of her. Contrary to her expectation, in the above passage, she describes how her father scolds her for not paying enough attention to her appearance.

"Menjadi orang" or becoming a human being also means becoming a respectable person in Indonesian terms. Here, Eli's father considers that not paying attention to physical appearance is similar to disregarding destiny, and this would make her a person who does not want to be respected. However, Eli interprets her father's scolding as an excuse: he scolds her because he does not want her to accompany him to M. So, in some ways, Eli refuses to admit that her father really means what he says to her.

Receiving some negative feedback from her father makes her aware that she has to persevere:

Setelah aku ke rumah mbak Sulis, aku jadi sadar bahwa aku orang yang normal. Hanya orang-orang yang melihatkulah yang abnormal. Banyak orang seperti aku, bahkan lebih, bahkan yang lebih berhasil. Aku tak percaya orang hanya menilai fisik, lebih banyak otak dan budi pekerti.

[After I went to Sulis's, I realised that I am normal. Only the people who judge me are abnormal. There are many people like me, even more, even more successful. I don't believe that people only value physical appearance rather than intelligence and personality] (Eli, 9 November 1989).

While implying the possibility of people's disagreement with her behaviour, Eli rejects the tendency to value people only in terms of their appearance, by assuring herself of her normality. She gives an example that there are people like her who can be successful, denying her father's accusation that she does not want to be a respectable person just because of her appearance. Stating that other people like her can also be successful and that she is normal, Eli indicates that her rebellion needs and deserves acceptance. Sonia Kruks states that "recognition from others" often constitutes one's assurance of one's full self (Kruks, 2001; 84). Hence, Eli writes:

Mungkin benar kata mas Nardi. Aku harus hadir dengan pribadiku yang sesungguhnya. Acak-acakan, tak modis, awut-awutan, seenaknya. Aku berdiri pada idealisku untuk memandang orang bukan dari segi kerapian. Tapi batin. Mungkin aku setuju penampilan itu perlu. Tapi tidak 100 %. Penampilan yang keluar dari diri kita. Tanpa campur tangan orang lain. Tanpa campur tangan mode. Tanpa campur tangan apapun.

[Maybe what Nardi said is right. I have to be present with my real personality. Untidy, unfashionable, messy, and doing as I please. I stand on my idealism to see people not from the point of view of their neat appearance. But to see the spirit. Maybe I agree that appearance is important. But not 100%. Appearance which comes out of ourselves. Without the interference of other people. Without the interference of fashion. Without the interference of anything] (Eli, 12 November 1989).

Referring to another person's opinion (Nardi's) shows that Eli wants some kind of approval for her action. While her father cannot really accept her, she looks for another person who can do so. However, it is significant that the opinions which she takes to heart come from males (her father and Nardi). Her mother's opinion about her appearance is never mentioned and although Eli stays the night at her girlfriend's, Sulis, she does not write about Sulis's opinion. This may be a coincidence, but it may also imply that male discourse still predominates in her desire to rebel against it.

Indeed, the intercourse between Eli and the ideology surrounding her is a complex one, which involves both submission and rebellion, acceptance and rejection. Her rebellion is not merely a means of getting away from or rejecting this powerful discourse, but also a way of getting closer to it. Eli rejects social judgement by refusing to pay attention to fashion and appearance. However, there is still another social judgement that she longs for, as she states that she wants other people to pay more attention to her spiritual side, which means that she still needs their attention. At first, Eli expects that if she does not pay attention to her appearance, society will respect her. Nonetheless, her father's disapproval makes her think that somehow this expectation may be wrong. Rather than coming automatically, social judgement of her belief has to be fought for. Persevering with her own judgement, Eli confronts society:

Aku benci pengaturan. Paling benci. Inilah aku! Aku tak butuh penilaian orang lain tentang apa yang aku pakai, ini dan itu, dll. Aku tak butuh. Setidak butuhnya aku menilai orang dari segi fisik. Aku akan menilai dari segi batin. Itu yang akuuntut dari orang lain. Inilah Aku!

[I hate regulation. Really hate it. This is me! I don't need other people's judgement about what I wear, this and that, etc. I don't need it. As I don't need to judge a person from their physical

appearance. I will judge them spiritually. That's what I demand from other people. This is me!] (Eli, 12 November 1989).

Rasanya aku tak butuh orang yang melihat dan memandang dari segi lahir. . . aku tak ingin seorangpun menghalangi sekalipun itu bapakku sendiri.

[I think I don't need anyone judging and looking at me from the physical perspective only. . . I don't want anyone obstructing me even if it is my own father] (Eli, 7 October 1990).

Eli's desire to gain social respect for her ideas shifts into her desire to educate her society to respect her ideas. Hence, it is not only the subjects of autobiography who address their intention to a social audience. Eli's ambition to be accepted by the society that has rejected her, makes her persevere to change this society. Like Mar, Eli's personal experience of discrimination against women provokes her to reach a conclusion about social stereotypes in general. Although they may be influenced by some feminist theories they hear or read somewhere, their personal experiences of power remain central in their rebellion against the oppression of women.

9.3. Summary.

Writing about events happening before as well as during the New Order and reflecting about such events in the New Order era, most of the autobiographical subjects do not challenge the notion of *kodrat wanita* which had existed in Javanese tradition and was sustained by the New Order regime. The trace of patriarchal discourse can also be seen in the discussions of women's emancipation in the autobiographies of Rachmawati and Herlina. These autobiographies demonstrate how the subjects blame women themselves for the existence of gender stereotypes and discrimination, rather than turning their attention toward patriarchal power structures within Indonesian society.

When such a situation prevails among women, any prospect of rebellion or change seems remote and unlikely. Such description in the autobiographies show that to some degree, the New Order ideology was able to maintain and manipulate women's emancipation into submission by the promotion of *kodrat wanita*.

However, this does not mean that patriarchal power within Indonesia is absolute. While the discourse of power can subdue, it can also build up one's ambition to rebel.

Because the challenge of a certain system can be induced by the status quo itself, not only can any powerful ideology be resisted, but also the worst enemy of ideology is often the ideology itself. The control and dominance of a certain discourse can be self-destructive. As is described in Sujatin's autobiography and in Mar's and Eli's diaries, while the impulse to question gender discrimination may be influenced by an established idea of feminism or women's emancipation, this urge may also grow from personal encounters with such discrimination. For this reason, the efforts of the New Order in sustaining patriarchal values and in offering an unfair bargain for women may not be effective in the long run.

Chapter 10.

Conclusion.

Since one's existence is never absolutely independent but is also situated in social and political circumstances, the expression of a self cannot avoid being influenced by prevailing ideologies. Consequently, negotiating the self with social factors is unavoidable even in the private sphere, such as in unpublished diaries. Although the eight autobiographies of Indonesian public figures examined in this thesis have a different stance from the nine unpublished diaries by "ordinary" Indonesian women, these two forms of writing still share a common ground. The discussions of the process of edition, omission and deletion in the diary writings discussed in this thesis demonstrate that despite the writers' intention to make diaries personal records, the influence of the social gaze upon self-expression can still be found in these texts. Writing thus becomes a process of negotiation between the self and social factors.

Publishing in the New Order era, the eight autobiographical subjects examined in this study are either nationalists or relatives of nationalists whose experiences went back long before the New Order started. Reflecting on their experiences during the New Order period, the subjects of autobiographies were unavoidably influenced by the social conditions of writing. For instance, the hesitancy to express individualistic sentiments and the emphasis on the subjects' dedication to others in most of these eight autobiographies fit the demand to be non-egoistic, which had existed in the Javanese tradition and was sustained by the New Order. Nevertheless, the subjugation of personal ambition they display is often used as a kind of investment to attain recognition. This shows that the subjects of the autobiographies I discuss in this thesis still desire status and praise, although these desires are to some degree repressed and have to be hidden. On the other hand, the "I" of the nine unpublished diaries revolves around the author rather than other people. The unpublished texts give their authors more opportunity to reveal their ambitions and hopes for having their own career and recognition. However, the trace of

restrictions upon their personal ambitions can still be detected in terms of either religious or gender oriented patterns of thinking.

In emphasising a non-egoistic model of the self, the New Order regime also promoted loyalty and devotion to the regime. An important theme of biographical texts during the colonial period and before the 1960s, this sense of nationalism was sustained and modified in the New Order period by emphasising obedience to the New Order ideology. The different versions of Herlina's autobiography, *Pending Emas*, for example, imply her effort to show adherence to the New Order regime. While the text published in the Old Order rarely mentions Soeharto, the same autobiography published during the New Order expresses admiration for this President. None of the eight autobiographies express any explicit criticism against the government; rather they justify the policies and actions by the New Order regime and some even articulate admiration of the New Order government. Similarly, despite their utterances of dissatisfaction with social conditions in their autobiographies, Rachmawati's and Sulistina Soetomo's criticisms have to be negotiated with the powerful "eye" of the New Order regime.

Although diary writers are not threatened by the eye of the regime in the same way that the subjects of the published autobiographies are, some of these diaries still indicate the presence of political discourse surrounding the nation. Criticisms of the New Order regime, for instance, merely surface in some of the diaries when demonstrations against Soeharto reach their climax in public. The effort of the New Order regime in depoliticising women may also have interfered in these women's representation of themselves even in the private sphere. Furthermore, these diaries may also reflect certain political prejudices which are seldom expressed in the published autobiographies, such as the discrimination against Chinese descendants. In line with New Order censorship of the discussion of race related issues, such discrimination rarely surfaces in the published autobiographies, regardless of practices of discrimination by the New Order government.

Since the function of power is to control others, it is necessary to regulate individuals' private behaviour, such as their romantic and sexual life. A woman who is monogamous and displays a high level of sexual control was highly valued in the New Order era, and this is reflected in most of these autobiographies. However, two of the subjects, Herlina and Inggit, reveal their extra-marital sexual transgressions. Some

redemptive deeds, both preceding and following acts of transgression, nevertheless restore the status of these women. Herlina's divorcing her first husband is based on her concern for his future and career. She never mentions any sexual affairs outside the marriage bond. The initial "misconduct" associated with Inggit's affair with Soekarno is eventually redeemed by Inggit's transformation into the ideal woman who sacrificed her own desires in order to further the career of an Indonesian nationalist. This narrative of self-sacrifice and redemption has indeed been implanted in women for a long time and was assiduously cultivated by the ideology of the New Order. Had the books been written before the New Order, however, Inggit's condemnation of her sexual affair with Soekarno might not have been necessary for the emphasis on women's purity became a more important issue during the New Order period.

In the unpublished diaries, any connotation of sexual desire or lust in the experience of the subjects is either omitted, or is subjected to control and restriction even in their imagination. Although some of these diary writers are more explicit about their sexuality, their expressions of sexual desire are never far from self-contempt or guilt. These two forms of writings, Indonesian women's autobiographies and diaries, thus imply that while there is a transgression of what is considered as "the ideal Indonesian woman", there is also a trace of the repression of sexual desire. The two prevailing stereotypes of Indonesian women, those of "model and maniac", can become intertwined: while women's sexual desire cannot be denied even in the public representation of the self, the repression of this desire is still very influential even in the private realm.

Since the mission of power is also to win any negotiation, it has to be embraced and believed in by individuals. The invasion of the private sphere is a sign that power is often absorbed into a belief. Such dissemination shows the colonisation of individuals by the dominant discourse: rather than being aware of such control, an individual absorbs the discourse into her own identity. The role of such ideology is to become part of the self rather than merely being an external factor. In this case, an individual is not unique. Each individual has the potential to reflect his/her social conditions. On the other hand, ideology is never itself completely communal: it is also personalised and unique in everyone.

As both the published autobiographies and unpublished diaries discussed in this study demonstrate, the ways in which individuals interpret and react to ideology are complex, depending upon the predisposition of each individual. Because patriarchal discourse in the New Order was to impact as many individuals as possible, this discourse could indeed dominate women's sub-conscious and even be integrated into the discourse of women's emancipation. However, the spread of power is often accompanied by the risk that its ideology might be tested by many people. In this way, repression can trigger its own challenge. The excessive power of patriarchy in the New Order regime eventually led individuals to question the unfair negotiations with which they had to deal.

These eight autobiographies and nine diaries by Indonesian women demonstrate not only how ideology can be deeply attached to an individual but also how the counter ideology can be incited by that ideology itself. The negotiation between the self and social factors is often dominated by the discourse of power which may manipulate an individual, yet this manipulation can backfire upon itself.

List of Autobiographies and Diaries.

Published Autobiographies:

Mencari Makna Hidupku (1983): Ghost written by Hanna Rambe. The text is about the life of Sujatin Kartowijono, who was active in several women's organisations.

Bapakku Ibuku (1984): Written by Rachmawati Soekarno, who portrays her life with her famous parents, the first President Soekarno and Fatmawati.

Pending Emas (1985): Written by Herlina. The text describes Herlina's experience in the jungle of Irian and in getting the award *Pending Emas* (the Golden Buckle).

Bangkit dari Dunia Sakit (1986): Also written by Herlina, she describes her illness, her two marriages, and her adopted children in this book.

Kuantar ke Gerbang (1988): Ghost written by Ramadhan K.H. In this text, Inggit Ganarsih describes her love story with Soekarno.

Kisah Cinta Inggit dan Bung Karno (1992): Ghost written by Lily Martin. In this text, Ratna Djuami narrates the story of her adopted parents, Soekarno and Inggit.

Bung Tomo Suamiku (1995): Written by Sulistina Soetomo, the text focuses on the life of Sulistina and her husband, Soetomo.

Lasmidjah Hardi (1997): *Perjalanan Tiga Zaman* : Written by Ima H.N. Hadi Soewito, Sri Riris Wahyu Widati and Julius Pour, the text is about the life of Lasmidjah Hardi, an Indonesian patriot.

Unpublished Diaries:

Ani: born in mid- 1960. She is a divorcee and a devout Moslem. The diary given to me dates from 5 February 1990 until 30 March 1991.

Eli: born in early – 1970. Also a devout Moslem. Her desire for further study leads her to apply for the best University in her city. The diary given to me dates from 5 May 1985 until 21 March 1991.

Ema: born in late- 1960. She is of Chinese descent and a devout Christian. The diary given to me dates from 27 October 1986 until May 1988.

Fay: born in mid- 1970. She is a non-practising Moslem. Fay works in Kalimantan. The diary given to me dates from July 1997 until June 1998. Unlike other diary writers, Fay writes her diary not daily, but monthly.

Ida: Born in mid- 1960. She is a devout Moslem. The diary given to me dates from 8 September 1995 – 22 July 1998.

Lilies: born in mid – 1970. Lilies is a devout Moslem and goes to an Islamic University. The diary given to me dates from 24 August 1994 until 9 August 1998.

Mar: born in early – 1970. She is of Chinese descent and a non-practising Christian. The diary given to me dates from 12 August 1987 until 28 April 1998.

Mina: born in late 1960. She is a devout Christian. The diary given to me dates from 14 February 1991 until 1 January 1995.

Nani: born in mid- 1970. She is a Moslem. The diary given to me dates from 2 January 1994 until 30 December 1997.

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