

RETHINKING NATIONALISM

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Abstrak:

Maraknya globalisasi menyembulkan pertanyaan “masihkah perlu nasionalisme?” Sebuah pertanyaan yang bukan dimaksudkan untuk menggugat, melainkan untuk mengkonsep ulang makna nasionalisme. Artikel ini menyimak ulang nasionalisme dalam terang ide Benedict Anderson yang memandang “nation” sebagai “imagined political community”. Aktualitasnya untuk Indonesia diulas mengingat Indonesia juga sedang bergolak dalam merajut kembali integritasnya sebagai bangsa.

Keywords: nation, nationalism, Indonesian nationalism, imagined community.

Separatist movements and local conflicts in Indonesia, which happened on the verge of globalization era, are not caused merely by domestic conflict of interest and the need of identity of ethnic and other smaller groups. Rather they related to the issues that, as happened in any other parts of the world, are a consequence of the wave of globalization, namely: promotion of human rights, western liberal democracy, and economic liberalization. Not only does globalization, by undermining territorial, geographical, and juridical borders, challenge the sense of nation-ness or national identity at the material and visible level, it also dissolves nationalism as a uniting spirit or ideology, what Benedict Anderson calls “imagined community”, the spirit that provided the sense of identity, unity, and locality. Since nationalism provided the sense of unity, solidarity, and identity, which enabled Indonesia to expel the colonialists and provide the spirit of integration, excess of globalization upon Indonesian implies the need to reframe the formation of collective subjectivities of nationalism. The issue at stake is, therefore, the need to rethink relevance and sustainability of nationalism in the face of globalization. Can we rethink nationalism, which in fact emerged in time of and as a product of colonization as the ambivalence and problematic discourse, that may, on one hand, preserves the sense of national identity, but, on the other hand, bring Indonesian to be more accommodative and responsive to transnational issues such as promotion human rights, environment movement, or anti war movement? Can we reconfigure or re-enflame the spirit of nationness in the country of multiple religious, ethnic, and cultural legacies in a new perspective, as what Homi K. states as an internal liminal space, so that it can protect Indonesia from the wave

of globalization? This paper will rethink the relevance of nationalism of Indonesia in the era of globalization, to elucidate the idea of nationalism as an internal liminal space, and most important, to identify the ways to implement this idea in the context of Indonesia. I will divide this paper into three stages. First, I will observe the emergence of nationalism of Indonesia. Second, I will investigate the challenges of nationalism in the face of Globalization. And finally third, I will explore the possibility of applying Homi K. Bhabha's proposal of a new perspective of nationalism and identify its implementations.

1. Nationalism as Mimicry and Ambivalence Discourse

In order to understand what Indonesian nationalism means and how it creates Indonesian identity, we need to explore how nationalism has come into Indonesian historical being. I will use Benedict Anderson's study as the frame to explore Indonesian nationalism. As one of the leading Indonesianists, Benedict Anderson has devoted much of his times to anthropologically explore history of *Indonesia politics*. In his famous books, *Imagined Communities*¹ and *Language of Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia*,² he gives a special attention to the history of Indonesian nationalism. These two books will synthesize my exploration on the history of Indonesian nationalism.

Benedict Anderson defines nation as an imagined political community; imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear them, yet in minds of each lives the image of their communion. It is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, yet elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. It is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship (Imagined, 6-7). With this anthropological perspective Anderson next explores the emergence of nationalism, including the sense of nationhood in Indonesia.

Without undermining the role of common memory of oppression and suffering for the emergence of sense of national identity, Anderson argues that the indiffer-

1 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1991)

2 Benedict Anderson, *Language of Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)

ent attitudes of inlanders,³ as the beginning of the sense of identity, ended when these inlanders, especially the young native intelligentsias,⁴ get access to Dutch. It is this bilingualism that opened the horizon that eventually caused them to question their identity. In regards to the important role of bilingualism for the Indonesian young intelligentsias Anderson states:

It is no less generally recognized that the intelligentsias' vanguard role derived from their bilingual literacy, or rather literacy and bilingualism. Bilingualism meant access, through the European language-of-state, to modern Western culture in the broad sense, and, in particular, to the models of nationalism, nation-ness, and nation state produced elsewhere in the course of the nineteenth century (Imagined, 116).

Despite the young nationalist intelligentsias, the young Javanese officials, working under their Dutch superiors, were exposed to a new vocabulary of politics as well.⁵ It is through the literacy and bilingual that these young generations, both the intelligentsias and young officials, have a contact with the ideas of national identity, sovereign, Socialism, Marxism, Democracy, Nationalism, nation-state and event experiences to administer the state. Bilingualism ended indifference and also allowed the young Intellectuals and Javanese officials to say that “we” are different from “you” and can be like “you”. Indeed, despite paving the contact with international ideas, bilingualism also brings the realization of identity. The realization of identity implies the need to be critical and to challenge any identity imposed by the colonizer. It is bilingualism, Anderson states, which opened the way to a critical conception of colonial society (including the colonial assumptions that determined what the colonized identity is) as a whole and a vision of a future society after disappearance of the colonial regime (Language, 136). Bilingualism, hence, can be considered as the beginning of enlightenment of the inlanders.⁶

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- 3 Anderson notes that whatever mother-tongue the colonized spoke, they were irremediably called *inlanders*, a word which, like the English ‘natives’ and the French ‘indigenes,’ always carried an unintentionally paradoxical semantic load. *Inlanders* refer to both *inferior* and belong *there* (just as the Dutch, being ‘native’ of Holland, belong *there*) (Imagined, 122).
 - 4 These young intellectuals were trained in Dutch schools, whether in Batavia (Jakarta) or Netherlands. Those who stayed in Netherlands build the networking with others students in Paris. They had access to the European political ideas such as Rousseau’s concept of the people’s sovereignty, Marxism, and Ernest Renan’s ideas of nationalism. These young intellectuals of “Netherlands circles” even had connection and got support from their friends of socialist democrat in Netherlands, which eventually support their struggle for the Indonesian revolution and independence. See Coen Holtzappel, *Nationalism and Cultural Identity* (In Images Of Malay-Indonesian Identity, ed. by Hithcock and King), (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 74-75.
 - 5 While Dutch schools, contact with Dutch socialist and Communist writing affected the vision of the young nationalist intelligentsias regarding the concept of nation or nation state, the experience of being officials of the imperial administration gave experiences to the young Javanese officials to administer the office.
 - 6 Anderson shows the crucial role of bilingualism for the inlanders by stating “the role of Dutch was of crucial importance, since it provided the necessary means for communicating West European and Russian Marxist theories on colonialism and imperialism to a potential revolutionary elite in Indonesia” (Language, 136).

It was not until around 1928 that Dutch became the language of the inner circle of nationalist intelligentsias and Javanese officials. Not only did Dutch become the necessary means for comprehending and communicating Western ideas, it also functioned as the means for exchanging their experiences, opinions, new realizations and idealism each other. This process strengthened the realization of the need for identity which, in turn, was concretized by the foundation of political parties. The first Indonesian nationalist modern organization, established in 1908, was Budi Utomo (High Endeavor).⁷ Although dedicated mainly to the cultural advancement and not to the establishment of an independent nation-state, Budi Utomo is considered as the first modern organization that was established on the basis of modern-western structure of organization. "Its structural novelty," Anderson states, "seemed to mark a clear break with the past" and "Budi Utomo," Anderson continues by quoting Van Niel, "appears on the Indonesian scene as an *organization* based upon a *free* and *conscious* united effort by *individuals*" (Language, 244). The formation in 1908 of Budi Utomo is often taken as the beginning of organized nationalism. After Budi Utomo there were numerous social political organizations pushed for Indonesian independence such as Indische Partij (Indies Party), Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union), Indische Social-Democratische Vereniging (ISDV, Indies Social Democratic Organization, and Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party). Although these nationalist organizations faced the suppression from the colonial power their memberships constantly increased (Democracy, 94-95).

Common experiences of suffering, the need for resistance to the colonizer and for inscribing identity, the united spirit of longing for independence, and the ideal of the future self-determination, on one hand, and the fact of the ethnic, geographic, religious, and class plurality, on the other hand, produced the need for socio-cultural-political frame to accommodate and organize those elements. Realizing this need and having been exposed to the western-modern ideas and having been informed of the national movement of the neighbor countries for independence, Indonesian intellectuals adopted the concept of western nationalism as the socio-cultural-political frame for the struggle for independence.⁸ These young intelligentsias believed that the idea of nationalism can be used to unite, cloth, carry, and even enforce the realization of identity and the need for independence. The monumental event, which signified the crystallization of the driving force for independence and the realization of nationalism as a suitable socio-cultural-political strategy for independence,

7 Until now the establishment of Budi Utomo (May 20) is celebrated as the day of national rise. Budi Utomo had its conservative and liberal elements that corresponded to the class background of its members and leaders. Many of them were intellectuals trained in Dutch schools which eventually came to dominate the organization. See Syed Farid Alatas, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in Indonesia and Malaysia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 95.

8 The famous definition of nationalism is suggested by Ernest Renan. He states, "A nation is a soul, spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form." See Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 19.

was the first congress of the Indonesian youth on 28 October 1928, when the articulation of their commitment inscribed in Sumpah Pemuda (The Oath of the young Indonesian). Sumpah Pemuda consists of the creed of United Indonesia, of one nation, which is the Indonesian nation, and one language, which is Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia).⁹

There are several reasons, I argue, that caused these young intellectual adopting concept of nationalism as the social-political-cultural strategy for Independence. First, the idea of western nationalism, as it was adopted by other Asian and African colonial countries, was considered as the vehicle that provided the resistance to the colonizer's (Dutch) rule and cohesive instrument for the ethnic diversity. Second, the future orientation of nationalism can provide the frame to fulfill the need for producing identity. Third, the concept of nationalism can restructure the tradition of patterns of authority in order to create Indonesia as a modern state. Fourth, by adopting the western concept of nationalism as a strategy for independence the nationalists Indonesian mimicked the strategy of the Dutch to liberate themselves from the French colony that they celebrated, even in the colonial land of Indonesia (Imagined, 117). By mimicking the Dutch, who were using nationalism as a means to sustain the spirit of national identity, the young native intellectuals created a vehicle, that, first, united the Indonesian in the struggle for Independence under one umbrella, and, second, that made the Dutch hesitate to frontally attack the Indonesian independent movement.¹⁰

It is obvious that nationalist Indonesians adopted western concept of nationalism as mimic discourse, as, following Bhabha's phrases, a means to achieve the desire for a reformed, recognized Others, as a subject of a difference that is almost *the same but not quit*. Indonesian nationalism as a form of mimicry emerged as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal.¹¹ Indeed, it is a western nationalism that that was adopted by the young Intelligentsias, the group that trained in Dutch Schools and exposed to the socialist democrat writings, to be a means of struggle for independence. The western spirit of the Indonesian nationalism can be found in one of the official speeches of Sukarno, who is one of the revolution leaders that eventually became the first president of Indonesia, which he delivered before the Committee of the Independence Preparation:

9 Concerning the decision to choose Indonesia as a national language Benedict Anderson gives very important notes, "The vehicle of comprehension was therefore necessarily Dutch; the vehicle of attack was subsequently to be Indonesian (revolutionary Malay). Paradoxically enough, the spread of Indonesian as a national language was only possible once Dutch had become the inner language of the intelligentsia: Only then could Indonesia be developed to receive the new thinking, and then to diffuse it more widely within colonial society." (Language, 136-137).

10 Anderson states that "rather than simply absorb and adapt Dutch partially, to reinforce Javanese traditions, the younger intelligentsia, drawn mainly into the profession, was to build on the older generation's experience and advance to the radical absorption of Dutch as a "whole" – including the metropolitan spectrum of Dutch culture- and consequently, in the long run, *to destroy Dutch colonial power from within*" (my emphasis) (Language, 135-136).

11 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 86.

Nationalism! To be a nation! It was no later than the year 1882 that Ernest Renan published his idea of concept of "nationhood". "Nationhood", according to this author is a spirit of life, an intellectual principle arising from two things: firstly, the people in former times had to be together to face what came, secondly, the people now must have the will, the wish to live and be one. Not race, nor language, nor religion, nor similarity of needs, nor the borders of the land make that nation.... (Nationalism, 74).¹²

As a social-cultural-political strategy nationalism emerged in the time of transition. It came into existence when, on one side, the longing for independence, self determination, common memory of suffering, and the need for identity met, on the other side, the common will to build in future the sovereign state and to produce identity, as it offered by idea of nationalism. Indonesian nationalism emerged at the time, when, on one hand, the young intelligentsias wanted to challenge and break the nation identity as imposed by the colonizer (Netherlands Indies), and, on the other hand, started to think and construct a new identity for the social-cultural-political representation. As the form of mimicry, social, cultural, and political strategy for Independence and production of identity, emerged at the time of transition, Indonesian nationalism carries on, in its deepest feature, ambivalent elements. Indonesian nationalism, as mimicry, using Bhabha's terms, emerged as a system of cultural signification, as the representation of social life (Nation, 1-2). It emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal (the Location, 86). Indonesian nationalism, emerged at the time of transition, therefore, embraced its ambivalence. Bhabha agrees with Anderson concerning the ambivalence of nationalism when he quotes Anderson:

The country of the Enlightenment, of rationalist secularism, brought with it its own modern darkness... Few things were (are) suited to this end better than the idea of nation. If nation states are widely considered to be 'new' and 'historical', the nation states to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past and... glide into a limitless future. What I am proposing is that Nationalism has to be understood, by aligning it not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which –as well as against which- it came into being (Nation, 1).

2. Nationalism and Its Problems

Adoption of western nationalism as political strategy is problematic even since at the beginning. Several major problems occur as a result of the adoption of western nationalism are: first, although mimicry may be a bilateral process and a

12 See Ernest Renan's definition of nationalism as it is republished in Nation and Narration. See Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (New York: Routledge, 12002), 19.

strategic vehicle of the struggle for independence, the preponderance of European's socio-cultural-political perspective inevitably created an imbalanced set of relationship colonizers and the colonized and eventually obstructed the 'Indonesianization' of western nationalism. European nationalism, as indicated in Ernest Renan's definition, presumes the existence of the democratic-egalitarian culture, social context, and even socio-political institutions. Commitment and the will to produce a new national identity, instead of imposed identity, required a new horizon, which is that the identity is a production or construction. Because "Netherlands Indies peoples" had been accustomed to live in the feudalistic culture, social stratification, that even profoundly perpetuated by the colonization of the Dutch, and socio-political institutions, obstructed the process of construction national or cultural identity. This obstruction of the liberalization from the colonial feudalistic culture and structure of socio-political institutions and the production of national identity shows the inability of the native intelligentsias to understand and take into account the real context of the peoples of Indonesia. This phenomenon supports what occurred in the revolution history of Algeria, as Fanon identified, that the native intellectuals forgot that their own psyche and their selves are conveniently sheltered behind a colonizer's culture which has given proof of its existence and which was uncontested.¹³

Second, the introduction of western nationalism occurred when Javanese administrators had been accustomed to the mechanism and ethical rule of the existing political and governmental administration, which designed to serve the colonial government. Although the awareness of the need for the independence and self-determination emerged, Javanese administrators were not able to recreate a new political and governmental administration until independence. Neither do the young intelligentsias, who were more familiar with the philosophical or ideological issues, relate to the ideas of nation. The incapability of creating new political and governmental administration was not primarily caused by the fact that they were under control of the Dutch administrator, but by the fact that these young administrators used to live according to the assumptions and mentality of the colonized. The colonial assumptions and mentality, in fact, was rooted deeply in the colonial mentality. What they do were only continuing and perpetuating the colonial mentality and assumptions. The true new identity, therefore, can never be produced in such an atmosphere.¹⁴

Third, the adoption of nationalism as a means of integration and as a spirit of struggle for independence and self-determination is also problematic because In-

13 See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of The Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 209.

14 Perpetuation of colonial assumptions and mentality, to some extent, is caused by the process of acculturation between Dutch and Javanese administrators. Anderson mentions several examples: first, the Dutch obsession with detail, rule and rank, categorization and classification, accorded well with the Javanese priyayi (aristocrat) love of fussy protocol and elaborate hierarchies. Second, the Dutch moral emphasis of Ethical rule, concern for what was conceived to be the good of the ruled, echoed older Javanese idea about the duties of the ruling class. These phenomena indicate that the Javanese administrator lived according to the older Javanese assumptions and mentality that they believed in accordance with the Dutch work ethics (Language, 134-135).

Indonesia consists of diverse religious, ethnic, and cultural elements which inevitably require unique identity. Also, as a country of seventy thousand archipelagos, many different ethnics and groups have their own nuances of history and different degree of integration to the center (the capital). Also, Indonesia needs a cohesive and integrative means to create the national identity and better future. In response to these difficulties the Indonesian leaders started to bring into the public rhetoric the issues related to the need to build a national culture and identity. A serious problem emerged when any social and political institutions, such as institution of education and political apparatus, were mobilized to introduce this need for national culture and identity without offering prescription of what the essence of national culture and identity are, what its content and element are, and how it is created. The need for national culture and identity then became merely empty slogans. The need for cohesive and integrative spirit of unity and identity is performed by power and repression of political machine that, in turn, produced a steeply-ascending pyramid of social and political structure.¹⁵ The notion of nationalism, therefore, refers to the discipline of social *polity* and the repressive social and political machinery, rather than to the representation of social life (Nation, 2). Moreover, the need for national culture and identity, which provide the system of values, is superficially fulfilled by the accumulation (and homogenization) of traditional material cultures, in which Javanese culture and values became dominance, and ethnic and religious traditions, in which Islamic religion became main stream.

The lack of innovation in the process of implantation (Indonesianization) of western nationalism in Indonesia perpetuated colonial culture and atmosphere in the sovereign country of Indonesia. People still are imprisoned by the shadow of the colonial assumptions and mentality.¹⁶ Although political structure is claimed to be designed on the basis of democratic constitution, political culture and decision are still determined by feudalistic mentality and procedures. Since the Indonesian leaders are unable to architect new national culture and identity, social discipline is performed by power control, backed by the military. The national culture is associated more with the dominant culture of Java and Islam, which, in turn, suppresses the cultures of minorities, modern innovation and creativity, and undermines the openness to the international culture in the name of “national identity”. In such an atmosphere that the emergence of globalization, which carries the issues of human promotion, democracy and local identity, created complicated problems.

15 See William Liddle, *Leadership and Culture in Indonesian Politics* (Sydney: Asian Studies Association, 1996), 18-19.

16 It is interesting to mention that even the imagined geographical identity, the length or the limit of Indonesian territory is adopted from the colonial maps that constructed for the Dutch's sake (Imagined, 163-206).

3. Reframing Nationalism

The continuous separatist movements emerged as a consequence of the need of autonomy and identity, the absence of the juridical and economic structure and infrastructure that can accommodate the wave of international liberal trades and multi other level interactions, and the absence of national culture that provides the system of values and the sense of identity in the midst of globalization indicate that the crisis of nationalism in Indonesia has become a crisis of the existence of the nation. This crisis, nevertheless, does not imply that Indonesia will leave nationalism as its socio-cultural-political strategy and find new strategies to fulfill the need for identity, sovereignty, and unity instead. Facing the crisis of nationalism, I argue, is not about a matter of 'take or leave it.' Nationalism still appears as the discipline of social polity and the repressive social machinery, ever became a spirit that energized the Indonesian to expel the colonizers and provided the sense of sovereignty. The issue at stake, therefore, is how to redefine or reframe nationalism so that it can be the means of the representation of social life that can produce an accommodative national culture and identity in the verge of globalization. That is to say, as Bhabha proposes, the idea of nationalism which enables us to see boundaries not as simply the space between one nation and another, oneself and another, but to see the boundaries also as always facing inward, as kind of internal liminal space.¹⁷

Bhabha's proposal to review or reread the notion as a mental space, which enables people to rewrite their 'nationness', depart from his account on culture. Bhabha argues that beyond cultures there exists an *Idea* that generated by the minds of thinking and learning humans. This Idea of culture motivates peoples to create culture. For Bhabha, therefore, culture is more than artifact or any material symbols or forms of representation. It is an Idea or spirit that motivates people to create culture. Departing from such an idealistic concept of culture Bhabha suggests that nationalism shall be perceived as the internal mental spirit (life) that provides the room for the people to create, inscribe, and produce the sense of national identity (Race 27-28 and Nation, 35-38).

Bhabha suggests that critical theory has the potential to help reread a very potent myth of the national past, which was determinant in the construction of a homogeneous society. It also helps rewrite the nation, to alter the material realities as well as the symbolic context of nationness. In the context of globalization or transnational culture, Bhabha believes, the awareness of the internal liminal space can save the nations to conserve their identity (Race 27-29). Furthermore, despite arguing the importance of the critical theory for reframing the nationness or nationalism, Bhabha also suggests that the composition or literacy can be used to produce or inscribe identity. Literacy is one of the instruments for narrating the nation (Race 28).

17 Gary A. Olson and Lynn Worsham (ed.), *Race, Rhetoric, and The Postcolonial* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999), 28.

Referring to Bhabha's thoughts on culture and national culture and identity, and taking into consideration of his suggestion of the role of literacy, how do we then apply these suggestions in the reconstruction of Indonesian nationalism? Among other possibilities I suggest two areas of concern to reconstruct Indonesian nationalism in the context of globalization: first, since literacy is only the 'culture' of the educated elites and not of the ordinary peoples, it seems to me that, the verbal 'cultural forms or expressions' will be more powerful and effective to be the means of representations. These verbal forms of representation have a long and deep root in the lives of peoples of almost all ethnic groups in Indonesia. It is not by composition or writing but by verbal performances or entertainments as forms of representation that the Indonesians challenge the fixed and imposed identity or the forms of relation, and start to negotiate and inscribe their new identity.¹⁸ This strategy implies the need to conceive the national culture and identity, not merely as accumulation of the subcultures or the ethnic cultures, but as the plural and various representation of difference. That is to say that the reconstruction of national culture and identity is not performed by repression, homogenization, or imposition of the dominant culture, identity or political ideology, instead, it is exercised by creating a creative atmosphere that provide free room for peoples to express and create any forms of representation and to be more accommodative to the global culture. This new strategy of national formation challenges the binary division of social life, as it started since the time of colonization; the binary division that has always been Bhabha's area of concern.¹⁹

Second, institutions of education, which spreads out unto the most remote area, I believe, still play a crucial role in the process of liberation of the peoples from the colonial mentality and assumptions. The new perspective of culture, of national culture and of national identity must be the horizon of system, policy, and contents of education. Education, in such a perspective, shall be the means of liberalization; the liberalization from the colonial mentality and assumptions that has colonized the soul of Indonesians. Only through the process of liberalization of mentality, assumptions, and souls, that the Indonesians can create the new national identity and culture. This is the new step to reframe the idea and spirit of new nationalism.

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- 18 Laurie J. Sears, for example, investigate the role of *wayang* (puppet shadow theatre), poetry, and *gamelan* (music ensemble), as the means of identity representations and even as a means of criticism to the ruling power. See Laurie J. Sears, *Shadows of Empire: Colonial Discourse and Javanese Tales* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), IX-XVIII.
 - 19 Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri state, "One of the primary and constant objects of Bhabha's attack are binary divisions". See Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002), 143.

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