NATIONALISM FOR CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA: A STUDY ON Y.B. MANGUNWIJAYA'S *DURGA UMAYI* AND *BURUNG-BURUNG RANTAU*

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ABSTRAK

Karya sastra berpotensi menjadi dokumen sosial yang menguraikan sejarah sosial. Karena itu, situasi sosial dapat diabstraksikan dari karya sastra. Penelitian ini menggali novel Mangunwijaya "Durga Umayi" dan "Burung-Burung Rantau" untuk mengkaji konsep nasionalisme. Analisis tekstual narasi dilakukan melalui identifikasi simbol dan kiasan. Kedua cerita tersebut dianggap sebagai alegori. Teori simbol, alusi, dan alegori oleh Johnson & Arp dan Harmon & Holman digunakan dalam analisis tekstual. Untuk menarik abstraksi tentang nasionalisme, peneliti mengacu pada teori Bennedict Anderson. Dalam "Durga Umayi", melalui karakter Iin Sulinda Pertiwi Nusamusbida, Mangunwijaya menunjukkan dalam mencapai kemerdekaan suatu negara, individu yang terlibat adalah pribadi yang rentan. Mereka bisa menjadi pahit dan kehilangan tujuan, bahkan menjual bangsanya sendiri. Sementara itu, dalam "Burung-Burung Rantau", Mangunwijaya menunjukkan karakter yang berbeda-beda dalam menunjukkan sikap nasionalismenya. Tokoh protagonis, Neti, mencontohkan gagasan nasionalisme melalui pandangan kritisnya terhadap tradisinya sendiri. Sekalipun begitu, ia membuka diri terhadap nilai-nilai global dan mengambil darinya praktik-praktik yang baik untuk diterapkan di negaranya sendiri, Indonesia. Kedua narasi tersebut menunjukkan bahwa orang harus memiliki rasa kesetiaan kepada bangsanya juga ketika bersikap kritis, dan mereka harus memahami tugas mereka di panggung dunia. Selain itu, rasa nasionalisme itu harus ditunjukkan melalui solidaritas dengan sesama warga, terutama yang miskin.

Kata kunci: *nasionalisme, Y.B. Mangunwijaya, Durga Umayi, Burung-Burung Rantau*

ABSTRACT

Literary works have the potential to function as a social document, outlining social history. Because of that, social picture can be abstracted from literature. This research delves into Mangunwijaya's novels "Durga Umayi" and "Burung-Burung Rantau" to examine the concepts of nationalism. The textual analysis of the narratives is done through identification of symbols and allusion, and the stories are perceived as national allegories. Theories of symbol, allusion, and allegory by Johnson & Arp and Harmon & Holman are utilized in the textual analysis. To draw the abstraction about nationalism, the researchers refer to Benedict Anderson's theory. In the "Durga Umayi", through the character of Iin Sulinda Pertiwi Nusamusbida, Mangunwijaya shows in achieving independence of the country, individuals involved are vulnerable. They can turn bitter and lose their purpose, even sell their own nation. Meanwhile, in "Burung-Burung Rantau", Mangunwijaya shows the different characters in engaging to nationalism. The protagonist, Neti, exemplifies the idea of nationalism through her critical outlook on her own tradition. She opens herself to global values and derive from it good practices to be

applied in her own country, Indonesia. The two narratives suggest that people must have a sense of allegiance to their nation while being critical, and they must understand their duties on the world stage. Additionally, that sense of nationalism must be shown through solidarity with one's fellow citizens, particularly the impoverished one.

Keywords: *nationalism, Y.B. Mangunwijaya, Durga Umayi, Burung-Burung Rantau*

1. BACKGROUND

There are so many discussions on how one should interpret nationalism in Indonesia. Y.B. Mangunwijaya (1929-1999) as one of the Indonesian prominent thinkers put forward his idea on this subject. Known as a multitalented figure, Mangunwijaya gave contributions to the issue of nationalism both through his thoughts and his social activism. In his social activities, Mangunwijaya defended villagers and the poor against government oppression. One of the examples is when he defended the villagers of Boyolali who were forcibly removed from their property due to the Kedung Ombo dam project construction (1986-1994). The other example is when the poor residing at the bay of Code River in Yogyakarta had to face eviction enforced by the local government. Mangunwijaya successfully prevented the eviction from happening as he used his expertise as an architect to build aesthetic eco-friendly houses for them.

Mangunwijaya also conveyed his thoughts on nationalism through his fiction and non-fiction writings. Among them are: *Balada Dara-Dara Mendut* (1993), *Burung-Burung Manyar* (1981), *Di Bawah Bayang-Bayang Adikuasa* (1987), *Durga Umayi* (1985), *Gerundelan Orang Republik* (1995), *Ikan-Ikan Hiu, Ido, Homa* (1983), *Menuju Indonesia Serba Baru* (1998), *Manusia Pasca Modern, Semesta, dan Tuhan* (1999), *Saya Ingin Membayar Hutang Kepada Rakyat* (1999). In his fictions, Mangunwijaya portrayed the complexity of nationalism through the characters in the stories, who experience the tension between being devoted to their nations and being globally engaged. With a strong background in Indonesian history, Mangunwijaya tries to propose a new concept of nationalism in the mid of those complex tensions.

In addition to the above reasons, choosing to explore the thought of Mangunwijaya is important, because his figure is highly respected by Indonesians, especially the intellectuals and religious leaders. As a scholar, Mangunwijaya is highly admired for his insightful thinking. As a religious leader, he is well received by Christians and Muslims. During his lifetime, Mangunwijaya was active in interreligious dialogues. He was a good friend of some distinguished religious leaders such as Abdurrahman Wahid (Muslim), Th. Sumartana (Protestant), Syafii Maarif (Muslim), B.J. Habibie (Muslim), and others.

In examining the concept of nationalism from Mangunwijaya's perspective, the researchers examine his two novels entitled *Durga Umayi* and *Burung-Burung Rantau*. This article examines how the *Durga Umayi* and *Burung-Burung Rantau* establish concepts of nationalism through their narratives, and how those concepts are relevant to contemporary Indonesia.

Discussing Nationalism for contemporary Indonesia cannot be separated from the discussion of the ongoing democratization process in the country. Edward Aspinall in his "Democratization: Travails and Achievements" (2018) surveys democratization processes in Indonesia after the Soeharto era. Aspinall traces the most

visible process of democratization in Indonesia namely freedom of speech and expression, eradication of corruption, and the tyranny of authoritarianism which still persists in society. Aspinall argues that even though this process has become more and more democratic, the process of negotiation occurs at different levels (2018).

Aspinall shows that freedom of expression has been increasing, particularly in the case of minority's rights and media. For example, there is a growing acceptance of the Chinese language, Chinese culture, and Confucianism. At the same time, however, freedom of speech also gave chances to hardliner groups to grow. As a result, they are able to spread hatred and violence in society.

The process in the political sphere, especially in the case of corruption, according to Aspinall, is the process of political institutions which needs to be reformed (2018). The problem of corruption is not only about public money being stolen by public ministers, but it is also about the process of the elites governing from the unreliable and unreformed institutions which enable corruption to happen. Moreover, the high price of participating in elections and support from many different people and groups during elections tend to lead politicians to give rewards to people surrounding them.

In those contemporary cases, the quest for nationalism is at the center of idealistic ideas in a democratic nation. Nationalism should become the spirit of politicians and citizens. In *Durga Umayi* and *Burung-Burung Rantau*, conflicts occur as part of Indonesia's democratic journey. This study will examine the spirit of nationalism by paying attention not only to the characters but also to the social context in the stories that is Indonesia's post-independence and globalization era at the end of the 20th century.

2. THEORY

2.1 Nationalism

To help analyze the concept of nationalism, this research employs the theory of nationalism proposed by Benedict Anderson in his *Imagines Community: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983). In the book, Anderson explains the development of nationalism. He traces the historical background of the emergence of nationalism, the factors stimulating its development, and its reception. Anderson writes: "I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1983: 5-6).

Explaining his concept, Anderson sorts out the concept of "imagined political community" into four key concepts: imagined, limited, sovereign, and community (Anderson, 1983: 6-7). It is imagined because according to Anderson, although each member of the nation has never known and met each other, they feel the feeling of togetherness and unity. It is limited because it has boundaries that make others beyond the boundaries of other nations. It is sovereign, because, according to Anderson, the concept appears in the mid of Enlightenment when rationality became the fundamental standpoint to understand the truth; it does not depend on the religious sphere anymore. It is bound to the concept of community because the imagination of being a nation raises solidarity and willingness to die for such limited imaginings (Anderson, 1983: 7).

On this understanding, Anderson traces the "cultural roots" of modernism as the fertile soil for nationalism to grow. Nationalism grew in the mid of the decline of religious significance in society. The new understanding of governance that society has no center is different from the previous understanding of

monarchs (Anderson, 1983: 21). Sharing consciousness among people encourages them to coexist in a particular community as a nation (Anderson, 1983: 25). Moreover, Anderson argues that "print-capitalism" stimulated the rise of nationalism. Writings on ideas and stories were spread out in many places at the beginning of the 20th century that bound people to have "an imagined community" as a nation. Furthermore, "print-capitalism" used a particular language that enhanced the rise of nationalism (Anderson, 1983: 44-46).

2.1 Symbolism, Allegory, and Allussion

As the texts are rich with symbolism and allusion, theories on those two literary devices are used to decipher the ideas the texts contain. Additionally, the researchers utilize theory of allegory to examine how both novels can serve as political allegories during the Indonesian revolution and the post-independence period.

Experienced authors work through compression, carefully choosing details and events and prioritizing those that may serve a variety of purposes simultaneously. Literary devices such as symbolism or allegory help writers in achieving this compression. Each of these strategies, to varying degrees, is a means to depart from the rigid commitment to factual language and representation that a journalist uses, for example, when writing a newspaper article. A story's emotional impact and intensity may be enhanced by the author, implying a far bigger and deeper meaning than would be possible with a purely realistic approach (Johnson & Arp, 2018: 286).

In line with Johnson & Arp argument, Weller Embler said that there are times when ideas can only be effectively transmitted through the use of symbols, not words. He asserted that "We have to agree on the meaning of words because the word is not the thing it stands for but rather a convenient and accepted substitute" (1956: 50). Symbols, however, are different as they are true in their own literal sense, but they also represent something else. Furthermore, symbols accumulate a wealth of associations over time, and history is often the cause of the wealth of meaning they contain (1956: 50).

Johnson & Arp define literary symbols as "something that means *more* than what it suggests on the surface." In narratives, symbols can take the form of a character, an object, an event, or any other element such as a setting that has a literal meaning but also implies or represents an alternative meaning at the same time (2018: 286). They can be revealed through repetition or can be unveiled gradually by realistic details that accumulate over time. A symbol can be interpreted in multiple ways. It can suggest an area of meaning or multiple meanings, but the meaning will always be controlled by the story's context (2018: 288, 292).

The next is allegory. Harmon & Holman defines allegory as "a form of extended metaphor in which objects, persons, and actions in a narrative are equated with meanings that lie outside the narrative itself" (2003: 12). Allegorical narratives reveal a hidden meaning-most often moral or political meaning when they are interpreted. Often, the work's pattern connects each literary element to imply an abstract notion or moral ideal (Johnson & Arp, 2018: 293). The process is known as double signification. Word arrangements represent characters, actions, and other literary elements, and in turn, they represent ideas (Harmon & Holman, 2003: 12).

Allegory, therefore, seeks to generate two types of interest. The first one is on the events, characters, setting, or other literary elements present in the narratives, and the second one is on the ideas or meaning conveyed by those events, characters, setting, and other literary elements. The character,

events, and environment may be historical, imaginary, or fantastic; the critical point is that these elements be used in such a way that they express meanings distinct from the action on the story's surface (Harmon & Holman, 2003: 12).

The second literary device frequently used in *Durga Umayi* and *Burung-Burung Rantau* is allusion. In literature, "allusion is a reference within a literary text to some person, place, or event outside the text" (Quinn, 2006: 20). This literary device helps authors to develop characters, build story's structure, and establish connections to well-known works. According to Harmon & Holman, allusion is generally in the form of a disguised reference. It aims to elicit a resonant emotional response from the reader's knowledge and memories by drawing on associations that are already present in his or her mind. Therefore, its success relies on the amount of knowledge that the reader and the writer have in common (2003: 14).

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is a descriptive qualitative study conducted using the library research method. The primary data include Y.B. Mangunwijaya's novels *Durga Umayi* and *Burung-Burung Rantau*, while the secondary data are journal articles, essays, and book chapters on relevant subjects.

The approach employed in the analysis is the sociological approach to literature. The researchers inquire into the social context in which the works were created and, in turn, reflect. It is founded on two premises: literature is not formed in a vacuum, and literature includes concepts essential to the culture in which it was produced (Rohrberger & Woods, Jr., 1971: 9). Rene Wellek and Austin Warren classify the sociology of literature into three parts, namely the sociology of the author, the sociology of the work and its social significance, and the sociology of the audience (1956: 96). The researchers' concern is the second one, the sociology of the work.

Wellek and Warren argued that social picture can be abstracted from literature. Citing the first historian of English poetry Thomas Warton they wrote,

> "Literature has the 'peculiar merit of faithfully recording the features of the times, and of preserving the most picturesque and ex-pressive representation of manners; … literature was primarily a treasury of costumes and customs, a source book for the history of civilization, especially of chivalry and its decline." (1956: 103)

Because of that, literature can reveal the contours of social history. The revelation of the social history outlines make logical sense only if the researchers understand the writer's creative process and can articulate in precise words how the image relates to social reality (Wellek and Warren, 1956: 104).

Using the sociological approach to literature, the researchers began with textual analysis to determine the text's structure, specifically the symbolism and allusion. Additionally, the researchers strive to decipher the ideological/political significance of the two narratives, viewing them as allegorical stories. The theory of symbol, allegory, and allusion by Arp and Johnson is utilized in this first step. The researchers then proceed on to social phenomena that occur beyond the text. What is presented in the text is compared to societal concern. In this part, the theory of nationalism by Benedict Andersson is employed to see how the literary features and devices, specifically symbols and allusions, express the idea of nationalism.

4. ANALYSIS

4.1 Nationalism as Depicted in *Durga Umayi*

The researchers conclude that the journey of the main character in *Durga Umayi* is a political allegory of the Indonesian journey during the national revolution, and this allegory is created through the heavy use of allusion and symbolism.

The symbols explored in this study are the protagonist's name, her journey, Pegangsaan Timur number 56 Microphone, the Indonesian Disneyland project, and the protagonist's twin brother.

a. The Protagonist's Name, Iin Sulinda Pertiwi Nusamusbida

The first identifiable symbol is name symbolism. The protagonist is named Iin Sulinda Pertiwi Nusamusbida. Sulinda is a pun for insulinde, a poetic name that Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker) created for Indonesia in his book Max Havelaar. Insula means island and Inde means India (Cribb and Kahin, 2012). The middle name Pertiwi alludes to the words "Ibu Pertiwi' which is frequently used to call Indonesia motherland since Hindu-Buddhist period. The term's root is Sanskrit's word "Prthvi", the earth goddess (KBBI, 2016). The first half of the last name, Nusa, means land, alludes to the fact that Indonesia is an archipelago. The second half of her last name, Musbida, is a pun for an acronym Muspida (Musyawarah Pimpinan Daerah). It is a forum in 1980s for consultation and coordination between the Governor and the Regent/Mayor with officials of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI) in the regions as well as other government officials, in the context of realizing and maintaining national stability and national development in the regions (Ateng Syarifuddin in Sri Maulidiah, 2018: 58). Therefore, Iin's name, which is full of allusions, is symbolic. It signifies **In**donesia as an archipelago, that is personified through the earth goddess who sustains and provides, that is regulated by its councils with the help of its armed forces.

Name symbolism is not the only device used to portray Iin as a representation of her nation. There are also symbolic events in the stories which confirm the position of the protagonist as a symbol. A careful look into the plot, therefore, is necessary to uncover the symbolic events and or actions.

The protagonist's journey is comparable to a quest. Iin is someone who is continuously attempting to find her role in her country's fight for freedom, and never cease to take part in nation-building post Indonesia's independence. In the analysis, the researchers divided the story into three parts, showing how and who Iin is when she sets out on her adventure to fight for her country, her transformation after she was raped by NICA soldiers, and her role post Indonesia's independence.

b. Iin Sulinda Pertiwi Nusamusbida's Journey

The protagonist's journey is comparable to a quest. Iin is someone who is continuously attempting to find her role in her country's fight for freedom, and never cease to take part in nation-building post Indonesia's independence. The plot can be divided into three parts. The first part shows Iin's initial adventure to serve her country; the second part was her transformation after she was raped by NEFIS soldiers, and the last part was her failure as a patriot.

Iin was a commoner who defied and transcended her traditional gender roles and social class. Growing up in a family of four, Iin

inherited a sense of patriotism from her father who was a KNIL (Royal Netherland East Indies Army) corporal, a *heiho* soldier, and a TKR sergeant major. Her mother, Legimah, was a traditional food seller (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 6-10). When she was a child, she was envious of her twin brother who was given freedom to wander about the village while she was at home doing household chores (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 20). Once she had a chance to go out, she went to the house of a Dutch headmaster, Mijnheer Van Gelder, to play with his daughters. This is a bold move that shows that she has no sense of inferiority. There, she picked up Dutch accent that she would not learn in her own school, due to the discriminative system of education the Dutch established at that time. This headmaster once asked her what she wanted to be when she grew up, and she replied, "Queen of the Netherlands" (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 26). It is clear from this section of the novel that Iin refused to be confined to her station and serve responsibilities she inherited as a lower class and colonized woman. As Indonesia is painted in the narrative through this character, the idea of liberation is visible through Iin's refusal to be restrained, her having no sense of inferiority, and her desire to reign.

Iin did not just dream for her country's liberation, she was part of it as an active participant. When she moved to Jakarta with her aunt, to become a laundress, she found herself working for Soekarno, the country's founding father who would later become Indonesia's first president. Iin then became a part of this historic event, Indonesian declaration of Independence. She did not stay for long, and decided to join his twin brother, Brojol, who opened a communal kitchen to serve the freedom fighters who were about to seize the cities occupied by Japanese troops (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 50). She left after finding that the communal kitchen was a disaster for her and her brother. The fighters' hunger could not be satisfied. Iin and Brojol who only rely on poor farmers for donation struggled a lot (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 53-55). Unlike her brother who found refuge in his in-laws, Iin joined her father, then a sergeant major in People's Security Forces in Pariyangan. In that masculine environment she learnt shooting, fencing, and other martial arts (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 57). Despite being the only woman in her army group, Iin was the most advanced. She showed her patriotism by beheading a commander of the British Gurkha Battalion in Bandung during an open fire battle and put the head on the table of her commander. She won some respect for what she did, but it also left her restless (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 60-61).

Iin's heroism illustrates that protecting independence involves a great deal of dedication and sacrifice, and that not everyone is called to do so. Iin began her struggles with a little role serving the soldiers in a communal kitchen and proceeded to a more dangerous degree. She was contrasted to the soldiers who came to her kitchen for food, although showed no traces of having participated in any battles (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 56). Freedom requires struggle, commitment, and sacrifice, and plainly not everyone is eager to devote their lives to the emancipation of their nation. Some may even fish in troubled waters, profiting from their country's misfortune.

Following Iin's assassination of the Gurka commander, the story took a dramatic turn. Iin was disturbed and so uncertain. Killing an enemy in a battle is justifiable, but her problem is that she has a sense of empathy toward that soldier she killed. In her confusion, Iin left her fellow soldiers to wander. To her horror, she met the NICA army patrol, whose commander in chief she beheaded. She was interrogated by Netherland Forces Inteligence Service (NEFIS) Bureau, was assaulted,

stripped bare and raped. She had to live in a foul prison that was more like a stable (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 64). When she was released, she was no longer herself again. Iin, who was once seen as a beautiful, alluring virgin turned into a skinny, smelly, hoarse-voiced woman; and she found no other way but to become a prostitute (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 66-67). With proficiency in Dutch, French, and English, she becomes a prostitute who can conduct international lobbying and espionage (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 67). Her service is very crucial in the Cold War context. The bad news was she sometimes had no idea who benefited from her moves (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 72). Her job was like a double agency network, half romantic relationship, half espionage, or it can also be perceived as half patriotic and half liberal commercial move. She rode a gravy train with this role she played (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 95). Iin was trapped in this revolution era where killing, rape, and theft were rampant. She had to sit down among intelligent and honest countrymen, as well as among opportunist adventurers who serve foreign powers. At that time, the glory of ideals and the sense of sacrifice had to share bed with betrayal and greed, thieves of wealth and honor (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 64).

Iin's transformation can be seen as death that colors the liberation and revolutionary struggles. She killed the commander of the enemy troops as that what people did in a battle, and in turn, she herself was metaphorically killed when she was raped by the NEFIS soldiers. She, who was initially trying to save her country from colonization to live as a dignified person, free from subjugation, had to do the opposite, selling herself and selling her country through lobbying and espionage.

In addition to her work as an espionage, Iin continued to take part in nation building struggles. She was a cadre for leftist organizations, Lekra (an organization for artists and writers with socialist realist school) and Gerwani. A total political and economic breakthrough was what Iin and her organizations aimed for (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 107-108). As a leftist she condemned impartiality. She thought that the revolutionary struggle had not ended as new forms of colonialism emerged and many compradors were still around and ready to devour commoners. Because of her involvement with Lekra and Gerwani, Iin visited Beijing to control the preparation for the procurement of weapons that would arm 15 million people, including farm workers who would continue the revolutionary struggle. While she was there, a civil war happened in Indonesia. All her cadre friends were in disarray; she was left alone (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 128). Consequently, Iin could not return to her home country. With the help of her former lover who became an intelligent agent, she retrieved three fake diplomatic passports with three different identities with a sack of guilders in exchange. Iin underwent plastic surgeries in Singapore on 11 March 1966 that made her face look Eurasian. A face suitable for her new identities, Angelin Ruth Fortier, or Charlotte Eugenie, identities she could freely choose depending on the situation (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 31).

This part of the story alludes to the 1965 tragedy, which started with the killing of six generals and a middle-ranked officer. The communist party was suspected of being the perpetrator and of staging a coup. Within a year, many people who were associated with the communist party or any other leftist organizations were hunted down, killed, and exiled. People were busy distinguishing between friends and foes. It demonstrates how difficult it is to unite people's view of how the new country should be run, of what ideology

should be adopted. Different ideologies were contested at the expense of those millions of people who were killed at the hand of their own neighbors. The date of Iin's plastic surgery, 11 March 1966, is the same as the date of President Sukarno's issue of the 11 March decree. Suharto was given instructions in the letter to restore security after the coup. Suharto proceeded to exert his authority after the release of this order, eventually deposing Sukarno. The old order has been replaced by the new order. Iin's new face, therefore, symbolizes the new face of Indonesia.

At the end of the story, Iin, who used to sacrifice herself for her country's liberation, ironically ended up sacrificing people who she loved the most while she was living as a wealthy exile. With the fake identity and diplomatic passport Iin hand, she could visit Indonesia without being recognizable. The first time, she went home to investigate her Balinese painter lover, Rohadi, and the second time when she decided to visit her twin brother, Brojol. Her visit did not go well. Because of his association with Iin, people mistaken Rohadi as a Lekra cadre, a leftist. He was exiled together with other political prisoners and was killed when trying to escape. Iin was devastated, learning that she had caused misery to a man she loved dearly (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 131). On her second visit, she discovered it was the village where her brother lived with her in-laws that she sold in a business deal to build Indonesia's Disneyland. He and other villagers had to live in temporary huts. Their fields were bulldozed, so that the country's grand project could advance. Once again, Iin contributed to the suffering of her loved ones (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 151). To add salt to injury, Brojol could not recognize Iin with her new Eurasian's face. Iin felt that she lost everything she held close to her heart. Hoping to make amends, Iin went back to Singapore to reclaim her original look. She wanted to be recognized by her only blood relative, Brojol, and was determined to cancel the deal she made, so her brother and his family could live like they used to be. However, as her face returned to its original state, her true identity was recognized by some intelligent agents. She was briefly imprisoned as she was considered a political enemy. Those agents showed her some photographs that indicated her involvement in Gerwani and Lekra. She could only be released under one condition: that she would continue the Disneyland Indonesia project by lobbying two international financiers the agents mentioned. Fearing that her twin brother would be associated with her and be killed, Iin agreed. Iin's transformation is not something reversible. Even after she reclaimed her original look, she could not go back to undo everything she had done; she had to continue the destruction she mistakenly initiated.

Iin is symbolized in the narrative by a goddess in Hindu tradition named Dewi Umayi. She was the wife of Batara Guru who was strikingly beautiful, but then she was transformed into a scary looking giant. The cause of her alteration is quite bizarre. When Dewi Umayi and Batara Guru took flight in a golden chariot on the horizon, Batara Guru was overcome with lust over his wife. Umayi rejected him since they were not in an appropriate space. The two were in a heated argument, one cursing the other. Umayi was cursed into a beast and was exiled to rule the land of the dead; since then, she was called Batara Durga (Mangunwijaya, 2018: viii-xi, 63-64). She was an Umayi when she was young, very alluring and smart and full of dedication for her country. However, she ironically become a Durga, a murderer, a prostitute - whic in Indonesian language called woman without morals, who brought disaster after disaster. When she was younger, she was an

Umayi, extremely attractive, intelligent, and devoted to her nation. However, she became a Durga, a murderer and a prostitute, which in Indonesian language labeled a woman without morals, who brought catastrophe after catastrophe to her country, to her own lover and her own brother.

c. Pegangsaan Timur number 56 Microphone

The historic microphone used to announce Indonesia's declaration of independence at Pegangsaan Timur Street number 56 was animated in the story. When Indonesia independence was proclaimed at Pegangsaan Timur number 56, Iin, then a laundress for the Soekarno family, stood among the crowds, and during the moment of silence, the microphone Soekarno used to speak moved and headed to her. It said "Speak, speak my Iin, in me. Don't be afraid, don't think that the only people who have the right to speak in me are the great leaders of the nation or intellectual figures, speak up!" (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 41-42).

Iin was visited more than once by this microphone. The text said that it was like a company to her, the one that came and went once in a while to entertain her and give her courage. As long as she is telling the truth, the microphone would convey what she had to say to the millions of suffering people who are helpless (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 67-70).

Microphone, which is a voice amplifier, can be associated with orations delivered by founding fathers during the colonization era. Orations are powerful tools for leading people, lifting their spirit up, uniting them, making them challenge the presence of colonizers, giving them hope, and fueling them to fight against the oppressors. Orators such as Soekarno or Bung Tomo who appeared in the story are two examples of notable fiery orators Indonesia had during the revolutionary era. The two had charisma that could create movements. Orators like them help the people to imagine an independent nation, free from all forms of colonialism.

The animated microphone in this story is a representation of voices of freedom, that is usually delivered by orators like Soekarno or Bung Tomo. The microphone's invitation to Iin to speak into it and its accompaniment prior to her transformation into a prostitute symbolize Iin as the bearer of voices of freedom.

Ever Since Iin became an international call girl, this microphone stopped visiting her. It was around the same time when Soekarno left his humble dwelling to stay in more luxurious places like Istana Merdeka Lapangan Merdeka, Istana Bogor, and Istana Cipanas, Hotel Indonesia, and Wisma Yasa (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 71). The microphone who used to tell Iin what to do withdrew itself. It was disappointed by what Iin had become; it retreated back to the museum, forgetting and being forgotten. The story tells that the microphone's supernatural powers was that it could move millions of suffering people inside and outside of the nation. It would accompany Iin as long as she remains committed to serving commoners: the laundress or maid workers like she used to be or the food sellers in the market like his mother, or lowly corporals like his father (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 67-70). The disappearance of this microphone from Iin's life signifies the shift of the role she played. She no longer became the bearer of the voice of freedom who fought for commoners. Its disappearance thus symbolizes the withdrawal of fighters who articulated the people's suffering because they have begun to prioritize their own interests and comfort.

d. The Disneyland Project and Brojol

The project, which would sacrifice the valley where Kang Brojol lived, is a tourism project

with 17 main targets and 8 main program lines on a 1945-hectare land in order to increase production power, accelerate modernization, and population mobility. 1945 hotels and motels will be built there, equipped with 17 banks and 8 casinos (Mangunwijaya, 2018: 149-150). This project symbolizes Indonesia's development, which only benefits the haves and sacrifices the have-nots. Indonesian commoners are represented through Kang Brojol, Iin's identical twin. As Iin's identical twin, Brojol can be seen as a part of Iin and Iin a part of him. Referring to Anderson's theory of imagined community, the question arises was "Who is counted as Indonesian?" Certainly not only powerful intellectual ambitious wealthy people like Iin. Brojol should be counted too. The commoners should also have the rights to be liberated and live dignified lives alongside the powerful ones. In Brojol's case, however, he had to suffer the same thing. He was still 'colonized', not by foreign power in the end of the story, but ironically by her twin sister.

The story, Durga Umayi is an allegory for Indonesia's journey during the revolution. The moment when Iin was sexually assaulted by NEFIS soldiers, losing her innocence and become a prostitute might represent how Indonesia was once "assaulted" by foreign power to the point that it changed its core spirit. Once Indonesia achieved independence, it was very difficult for this country to stay true to its purpose, which is to empower its people. The act of betrayal that Iin did to her own twin brother showed that there is a flaw in the imagined community, that is limited and sovereign. As the liberated community portrayed in the narrative is limited to those who have power and status, and sovereignty is not for all people, as those who are marginalized continue to live under subjugation of others.

In conclusion, in the "Durga Umayi", through the character of Iin Sulinda Pertiwi Nusamusbida, Mangunwijaya shows that the struggle to achieve independence/ freedom for one's country is difficult. The party's involved is vulnerable, they can turn bitter and lose their purpose. The story also demonstrates that selling one's own nation is comparable to selling oneself. The comfort achieved through dirty politics is not comparable to the agony of being controlled by those in positions of authority.

4.2. Nationalism as Depicted in *Burung-Burung Rantau* (*Migratory Birds*)

Telling a story about Wiranto's family with his wife and five children, Mangunwijaya places his thoughts on nationalism. The five Wiranto's children are the "migratory children" generation, that is, the generation that moves from one place to another (Mangunwijaya, 2014: 324). This generation is different from the generation of Wiranto who express their love for Indonesia by taking up arms and defending Indonesia desperately. His three children feel independence and declare their nationalism as a post-Indonesian human being.

Placing Neti as the central figure in this novel, in *Burung-Burung Rantau,* Mangunwijaya is symbolizing this young woman as an ideal figure for modern Indonesian society (Allen, 1999: 190). Although as a central figure and even ideal, that does not mean she is a figure that is completely certain with her choices. Neti is described as a doubtful figure. In contrast, Neti's brothers and sisters are portrayed as someone who is full of enthusiasm and certainty in his life choices, except for her youngest brother who died from a heroin overdose. But the doubts shown in this novel are doubts as the process of finding the truth.

"Doubt is a form of love for the truth, ... that the path of science is a path full of scientific doubt, aka critical, and should not be content with complacency (Mangunwijaya, 2014: 369).

Burung-Burung Rantau is an allegory that shows the renewal of nationalism. Renewal lies in its reception and rejection of traditional and global elements. From the beginning, this novel places Neti as a figure who opposes traditions and habits that are simply considered good and right. Neti opposes the habits and beliefs of her mother particularly on local traditions. However, Neti also does not easily accept all Western things. She does not agree with her sisters' and brothers' choices. She is also not interested in the modern concepts offered by the West in general. Here, as an allegory of modern Indonesia, the story introduces the post-Indonesian concept of nationalism.

a. Resistance to tradition

Symbolized in Neti's characters, the critique of tradition is central to defining nationalism. Neti opposes traditions that are naturally considered good and must be adhered to without criticism. Here Mangunwijaya portrayed Neti as a symbolic figure who is questioning previous tradition. Neti was shown to be against the orders of his mother (Yuni) from the start. Ibu Yuni demanded that Neti should be polite and in accordance with Javanese or Eastern customs. Ibu Yuni reprimands Neti for practical daily matters such as how to sit politely and reflect the attitude of an Eastern woman, and how to dress well and speak well. In fact, Neti's clothes look saggy, even Neti likes not to wear a bra. The attitude of Neti who likes to argue with her mother and her unwillingness to get married often becomes a debate between Ibu Yuni and Neti. For Neti, her mother also doesn't have a sense of humor, so Neti and her father, Wiranto, often work together to make jokes. The contrast between Neti and her mother shows Neti's criticism of the traditions that live in traditional society.

In contrast to her attitude towards her mother, Neti can be more open to her father's attitude. Her father, the 45th generation warrior, the former ambassador, according to Neti, was more open than her mother. He is a wise father who is able to accept his five children even though their children have different life orientations. Neti even conspires with her father to show her disapproval of her mother. Wiranto's openness became more apparent when Neti wanted to ask permission to go on vacation with her boyfriend, Krish. Ibu Yuni strictly forbids it. Instead, Wiranto defended Neti.

These traditional traditions on the one hand are opposed by Neti, but on the other hand, they are still valued by Neti. As a symbol of new nationalism, she does not necessarily reject tradition and see it badly while calling other traditions better. When Neti met Agatha, her sister-in-law from Greece, and lived in Greece for a while, Neti was so appreciative of Greece and at the same time saw the positive side of the Indonesian people. The Greeks were more or less the same as the Indonesians, namely friendly, polite, simple, and did not demand much (Mangunwijaya, 2014: 163). Likewise, when responding to Indian culture, namely the culture of Krish, a young Indian she met in India and together in Greece. Neti fell in love with Krish, but she saw the goodness of Indonesian culture that India does not have. For example, there is no caste in Indonesia (Mangunwijaya, 2014: 203).

b. Reception and Resistance to Foreign Cultures

The debate between Neti and her brothers and sisters shows the post-Indonesian attitude that

is pursued by Neti. As a young Indonesian, Neti still has a strong love of Indonesia. It is different from his brothers and sisters. When Neti collides with Bowo, the difference appears. Bowo, a physicist, lives in Geneva, and has a Greek wife. For Bowo, the expression of love for the motherland and nation is love for the human race. Bowo said:

"If I become a person, a person, a clear figure, who contributes something valuable and beautiful to the human race, therein lies my love for the nation and the nation." (Mangunwijaya, 2014: 170)

Meanwhile, for Neti, love for the motherland was expressed through solidarity with the poor, especially those in their country. Neti was very moved to help poor people. Neti teaches the children of the poor. In Neti:

"... the homeland is a place of oppression to be fought, a place of war is transformed into peace ... A place where human comrades are raised to be human, by anyone who is willing to sacrifice." (Mangunwijaya, 2014: 171).

Therefore, for Mangunwijaya, the new notion of nationalism portrayed by Neti's conflict with his brother is related to solidarity. Here, Mangunwijaya portrayed new nationalism as a solidarity with the weak, poor, despicable and oppressed (Mangunwijaya, 2014: 171). Moreover, solidarity is practiced in the motherland, Indonesia. It is not solidarity or humanity without land such as Bowo's attitude. The figure of Neti shows that the motherland is important as a space where the 'imagined community' is centralized. As it is obvious in the Neti's character, the bond of 'community' with the members of the nation is central for Mangunwijaya's nationalism.

c. Humanitarianism Not Selfishness

The new notion of nationalism is also portrayed in the relationship between Neti with his sister, Anggi, and his brother, Chandra. For Neti, Anggi is too busy with her business. Everything is calculated at a profit and loss measure. Anggi is a hard-working woman, rich, and can enjoy her wealth. As a Migratory bird, Anggi also moves from one country to another. Neti, as well as the entire Wiranto family, were amazed by Anggi's attitude. However, it appearsland, the attitude of a post-Indonesian human being idealized by Mangunwijaya does not appear in this Anggi attitude.

Meanwhile, Neti's attitude towards Candra, his brother, the superfast pilot, was relatively receptive. Candra wants to become an astronaut. This figure seems to want to go beyond not only the country, but the planet Earth. Candra has a westernized lifestyle with the use of English. Candra also got married to a girl from Greece, Agatha. Candra allowed and even encouraged Neti to go on vacation with Krish, her boyfriend.

In contrast to Anggi, it is not an economic reason which move's Neti, but solidarity. New nationalism promoted by Mangunwijaya is about solidarity with people in the country. Everyday life of the nationalist people is not moved by wealth, but by togetherness in solidarity. Moreover, unlike Chandra, Neti's focus is still in the motherland. Neti also tries to free its members from any difficulties they face.

4.3. NATIONALISM FOR CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

The new concept of nationalism conveyed by Mangunwijaya to become a post-Indonesian human being (*Burung-Burung Rantau*), which is to remain strong in loving Indonesia but to be global and to contribute significantly to the nation, especially for the poor, weak, and marginalized, and to question the meaning of independence in post-colonial era (*Durga Umay*i), which shows that truly independence

is only for few while many are colonized by their own brothers and sisters, are relevant to provide an appropriate alternative nationalism for contemporary Indonesia.

a. Indonesian Nationalism and Politics

Indonesia's history shows that political changes in Indonesia have an influence on people's involvement in national issues. Eric Hiariej and Olle Tornquist show six stages of politics in Indonesia (2018: 89-122). The six stages are: criticism of the colonial regime which is characterized by popular movements against colonialism; the rise and disappearance of popular organizations and democracy marked by the implementation of a parliamentary democratic system and the massive growth of parties; the guided democracy initiated by Sukarno resulted in a unilateral arrangement of the state for the people; New Order politics characterized by authoritarianism to govern the people; elitist democracy after Indonesia's reformation marked by the pursuit of personal and group aspirations in an atmosphere of democracy and freedom; and transactional populism where there is a willingness to involve the community in general but by mobilizing the masses of the people in the interests of a handful of people in power.

These conditions gave rise to different attitudes toward nationalism depending on each era. Wiranto in *Burung-Burung Rantau* epitomizes the nationalism of the 1945 generation, which rejected the colonial rule and fought for independence. Similar to Yuni, Wiranto's wife, is an active member of the association of military wives and enthusiastically fulfills the role of mother. They both live in traditional culture, upholding local traditions. Meanwhile, the five children of Wiranto who lived overseas showed a shift in the paradigm of nationalism. They inclined towards internationalism and choices for personal interests. Neti nationalism manifests itself in such an environment through defending the vulnerable and underprivileged and rescuing them from hopeless circumstances. More specifically, through Iin's journey in *Durga Umayi*, nationalism is defined as the pursuit of national identity and its position in the global globe, which must be critiqued for causing harm to one's own country. At the conclusion of the novel, Iin had destroyed not only her own nation, but also her twin brother and herself, since she has lost control of herself. She survived, but became a puppet at the hands of those in positions of authority.

In *Burung-Burung Rantau*, criticism of nationalism was developed especially at the three Wiranto children, in terms of their love for the motherland and their involvement in the outside world. In the context of post-independence Indonesian history, Bowo seemed to be uprooted from the Indonesian context. He did a very great thing for humanity because he delved into particles and atoms that could change the life of the world, but working in Geneva and adopting a global perspective actually eliminated his devotion to Indonesia. Meanwhile, Anggi was even worse. She was just thinking for her own benefit. Whereas, Candra plays an important role for Indonesia and the world, but in the context of carrying out tasks. It is Neti who with her freedom prefers to give her life to the people around her.

b. Finding a New Nationalism Foothold

The figure of Neti in *Burung-Burung Rantau* shows the synthesis of being Indonesian, namely being global and modern minded yet motivated by a desire to liberate her country's children from powerlessness. In addition, as indicated in the *Durga Umayi*, the desire to

participate in the global world needs to be sought without harming her own homeland and oppressing her own brothers and sisters. These two things may serve as inspiration for the emergence of a new nationalism in Indonesia right now.

As Hiariej and Tornquist pointed out above, the stage of elitist democracy and transactional populism struck Indonesia precisely in the midst of a free democratic atmosphere. The atmosphere of elitist democracy re-positions the elite into power. Whereas the people are mobilized based on issues of identity and equality of interests with the purpose of obtaining votes in elections. An even more developed situation, according to Aspinal and Berenschot (2019) is clientelism, which is a collaboration between politicians and business connections to finance elections. Business permit transactions, contracts, and fundraising occur between politicians and business people to finance general elections. In a situation like this, the people, especially the poor, struggle hard to be able to get their rights. Citizens fight for recognition of their rights, identity and participation in society (Berenschot and Klinken, 2019; Hiariej and Stokke, 2018).

In the midst of the elitist democratic situation, transactional populism, and clientelism, the political basis of nationalism, according to Mangunwijaya, is solidarity to fight for the rights of the poor, weak, and powerless in its own country. That is the first relevance of Mangunwijaya's thinking. As Neti pointed out, the homeland is a battlefield for the liberation of its weak citizens. The state and nation are seen as human beings, not commodities to be traded and exploited, as in *Durga Umayi* and also in the Indonesian clientelism. Humans who are the subject of nationality are primarily weak humans. Thus, nationalism is first and foremost a sense of humanity that seeks to assist the weak and help many people.

The second contribution is local and global involvement. The basis of nationalism is humanity, but it also needs to be specific, particularly for the poor. Neti helped the poor in her country. However, she also helped, got involved, and was inspired by social work in other countries. Being global is accepted, but the expression of nationalism needs to be clearly manifested in its own country. That is the reason why Neti helped the weak and poor children in Indonesia. She did not move to Calcutta, even though she was interested in the work of Mother Teresa and Krish. Therefore, the Indonesian people, particularly the politicians, must demonstrate their love for the motherland by fighting for the impoverished in the Indonesian state. Clientelism damages the weak community because political transactions only benefit politicians and businessmen. Even worse, access to trade should be for the people, not for the benefit of businessmen alone.

The third thing is the local and global aspects, especially regarding the role of the state in the midst of globalism. The protagonist in *Burung-Burung Rantau* shows a desire to be able to play an important role on a global level, to be on an equal footing with modern nations. Mangunwijaya's post-Indonesian nationalism revised the narrow nationalism as advocated by Wiranto in *Burung-Burung Rantau* to defend the country and resisted colonialism. New nationalism, according to Mangunwijaya, is built on equality and respect for other nations. Neti, as a symbol of new nationalism, is critical of other cultures, claiming to learn from them while also criticizing them. This is clear in her attitude towards India and Greece.

The encounter with the global world also raises criticism of one's own culture. Neti is so critical of her mother's tradition. However, at the same time, she also respects it. She learns

from other traditions. The result of this process is being an open-minded person. Neti respects Agatha, her sister-in-law from Greece, even loving Krish, an Indian youth. She was also inspired by numerous ministries in India that strive for the common good, such as Krish's goal of developing technology for cultivating rice without water in locations with limited access to water. Neti also appreciated Bowo's efforts to advance nuclear technology for the common good, and admired Mother Teresa as a social worker.

Acceptance and openness to the global world do not imply submission to foreign control, but rather an opposition to foreign exploitation. Iin in *Durga Umayi* illustrated the people who were trapped in global political intrigues. They emerged as patriots willing to protect their countries, but were corrupted by terrible circumstances, and ultimately sold their own homeland and themselves. Clientelism in Indonesian democracy not only jeopardizes the rights of the people, but also eliminates the assets of the country. As Aspinall and Berenschot mention, partnership based on ethnicity or the circle of influence is harmful to groups outside them (2019: 195-197). In the end, the people lost the opportunity to obtain rights that should have been fulfilled.

5. CONCLUSION

The idea of nationalism presented in *Durga Umayi* and *Burung-Burung Rantau* criticize the uncritical understanding of nationalism. The process of being an independent nation is tainted by people's lack of understanding of nationalism. Both narratives seek to develop an attitude of loving one's country by remaining critical of it and knowing how to play roles in the global stage. A person is both a citizen of a nation and a citizen of the world. Particularly, love for one's nation is manifested through solidarity with one's fellow citizens, most notably through assistance to the underprivileged.

Mangunwijaya's idea on nationalism reflected in both novels could help Indonesia during Indonesia's social and political changes. Transactional politics in elections and clientelism between politicians and businessmen harm citizens and common good. In fact, it destroys state assets as the people's right. Mangunwijaya's critics reminded all elements to pay attention to civilians, especially the poor. Nationalism should help the weak and the poor, not benefit only some citizens.

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