
**Intersectional identities of Nyai and their resistance to oppressiveness
in Indonesian short stories****Wijang Iswara Mukti*, Dwi Budiyanto, Hartono, Suroso**

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ABSTRACT

The dominant values of colonialism influenced indigenous society in defining the status of women and worsening their treatment. This influence can be seen in the concubinage system experienced by the nyai. The figure of nyai not only received systemic oppression, but was also portrayed badly through colonial-era literature. In contrast to colonial-era literature, Indonesian literature in the postcolonial era tries to represent the figure of nyai with her intersectional identity, as well as reveal their resistance to the patterns of systemic oppression experienced in the concubinage system. This research uses a descriptive-qualitative research design. This research design aims to describe the intersectional identity of nyai and their resistance to forms of oppressiveness in Indonesian short stories. The data and information found from the selected short stories will be interpreted qualitatively using Kimberle Crenshaw's intersectionality perspective. The data sources are selected purposively, namely Indonesian short stories that represent nyai and concubinage in the Dutch East Indies, including (1) *Stambul dua Pedang* (2013), (2) *Racun untuk Tuan* (2011), and (3) *Keringat dan Susu* (2010), all three by Iksaka Banu, and (4) *Kutukan Dapur* (2003) by Eka Kurniawan. The data are in the form of story facts that include story sequences, characters, settings, themes, and other literary means from data sources that contain information related to the research problem. The data was obtained using reading and note-taking techniques. Furthermore, it was analyzed qualitatively by using Crenshaw's intersectionality perspective. The results of this study show that the intersectionality identity of the nyai in the four short stories above is a woman with charming physique and skills, colonized indigenous race, poverty and low social class, patriarchal system, and colonial system. The oppressions found are intimidation, expulsion, denial of rights as a woman, and murder. The resistance found is utilizing one's own skills, help from other parties, enjoying the role and surrendering to the situation.

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INTRODUCTION

Colonialism often leaves problems that are not fully resolved, even after the colonization process ends (Kurnia, Nurgiyantoro, & Fitri, 2021: 76). The dominant values inherited from colonialism often influence colonized societies for a very long time. One of them is the colonial model of marital relations that largely determined the indigenous elite in defining women's status and exacerbating the treatment of already degraded women (Anwar, 2021: 115). Another colonial model that left complicated problems was the concubinage system in Dutch East Indies colonial society.

Concubinage became a very oppressive system for a nyai. This system emerged with the arrival of VOC employees in the archipelago around 1600. The concubinage system placed indigenous women not only in charge of the households of VOC employees, but also served their sexual needs and, in many cases, became the mothers of their children. The system gained ground in European society in the Dutch East Indies and became a colonial system of great social complexity, not only for the European men and the native nyai, but also for the *bastaarden* born from these unequally mixed relationships (Baay, 2010: 1, Nasution, et al., 2022: 263). A nyai in the concubinage tradition was entangled in a very oppressive

system. They do not have any rights, neither over their children, nor over themselves. At any time the nyai could be abandoned by her master, without any form of support (Hellwig, 2007: 35-38).

In colonial society, concubinage was frowned upon and the position of nyai became marginalized. They were considered the cause of moral decadence among soldiers so that, according to Van Rees & De Graaf (Nasution, et al., 2022: 258), the perpetrators often got drunk, tarnished white supremacy, and spread venereal diseases in military tents. The bad image of nyai was also reinforced through literary works in the colonial era. There are several colonial-era literary works that provide a negative description of the figure of nyai in the concubinage system during the Dutch East Indies, including *Nyai Dasima* (1896) by G. Francis, *Vrouwen Lie fen Leed Onder De Tropen* (1896) by Therese Hoven, and *De Andere Wereld* (1946) by Madelon Szekely Lulofs (Janti, 2019). Efforts to negatively image nyai aimed to draw a clear social and a racial divide in Dutch East Indies colonial society (Baay, 2010: 197). In recent times, especially in the postcolonial era, a number of Indonesian literary works have attempted to reveal the lives of nyai differently, either through novels or short stories.

In the context of Indonesian short stories, several writers have attempted to explore the lives of nyai and concubinage during the systemically oppressed Dutch East Indies. Some Indonesian short stories identified as representing nyai and concubinage in the Dutch East Indies include (1) "Stambul dua Pedang" (2013), (2) "Racun untuk Tuan" (2011), and (3) "Keringat dan Susu" (2010), all three by Iksaka Banu, (4) "Love is Dangerous, Tuan Philip" (2021) by Edy Firmansyah, and (5) "Kutukan Dapur" (2003) by Eka Kurniawan. Several studies of these short stories place the nyai, in Spivak's (1988: 287) perspective, as a subaltern group, who have no history and cannot speak. Rusdiarti (2019) researched Kurniawan's short story "Kutukan Dapur" through Bourdieu's perspective and found that the kitchen can be a space of rebellion or resistance for women to be free from the repression of patriarchal culture. The same short story was researched by Irmawati & Gandi (2021) and found that the female characters in the short story were part of the subaltern who tried to resist patriarchal colonialism. The position as a subaltern woman was also found by Rahman & Nurgiyantoro (2019) when examining the short story "Racun untuk Tuan" by Banu.

These studies have identified the nyai in the concubinage system as a subaltern group, but have not revealed the complex, intersecting identities of the nyai, along with their patterns of resistance to the systemic oppressiveness experienced. Gender identity is sometimes not singular, but often faces complex intersecting identities, such as gender, social class, and ethnicity (Udasmoro & Nayati, 2020: vii). These intersecting identities caused the nyai to experience double oppression and discrimination. Therefore, as Anwar (2021: 115) states, efforts to unpack the meaning of human equality in the context of colonialism and postcolonialism must consider how gender, class and power intersect. Thus, Crenshaw's (1991) intersectionality perspective is considered appropriate to analyze the intersectional identity position of the nyai and their resistance patterns, which are represented in Indonesian short stories.

Studies of literary works that represent oppression against women during colonialism are needed for several reasons, including (1) these patterns of oppression have the opportunity to reappear in different forms, but with similar patterns in the era of capitalism (imperialism) (Ilma, 2016: 3). (2) Fiction can make an important contribution because it can reveal, silence, or hide things that are considered irrelevant so that they cannot be found in official information (Suprihatin, 2011: 210). That is why, efforts to demonize the nyai were carried out through the depiction of their bad behavior through literary works in the colonial era. (3) The study of patterns of oppression in literary works during colonialism is a step towards making literary works an effective means of gender awareness so that the number of sexual crimes can be reduced.

This research is basic research in the humanities subfield. This research is designed in line with the strategic plan developed by Yogyakarta State University, especially in scientific development that is beneficial for the advancement of people's lives.

Theoretical study

Colonialism is a form of domination and control over territory, material resources, exploitation of labor, and interference in the political and cultural structures of a region (Loomba, 2005: 11). When a colonized country has formal sovereignty, it is not automatically free from colonial domination and control. Sometimes a country enters a neocolonial situation economically and/or culturally. The emergence of domination and control over colonized territories is what eventually gave rise to

postcolonialism. Postcolonialism is a tool for critical analysis of the history, culture, literature, and modes of discourse of colonized territories. These studies have focused primarily on the colonial experiences of third world countries, such as Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and South America (Abrams, 1990: 236). The emergence of this view can mainly be referred to Said's (1978) notion of the term "orientalism" which dissects the specifics of Euro-centric universalism, especially in relation to European or Western superiority and their perception of non-Western cultures (Loomba, 2020: 65; Barry, 2010: 224-225). Postcolonialism is an awareness of the representation of non-Europeans who have been considered as the "Other" (Barry, 2010: 226).

The position as the Other makes the colonized people subordinate, marginalized, and oppressed. This group is referred to as the subaltern (Ratti, 2018: 3). In the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak. The subaltern as woman is even more immersed in the shadows." (Spivak, 1988: 287; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007: 201). The subaltern is a person who has no position or sovereignty outside the discourse that constructs him or her as a subject. In 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' (1985), Spivak rejects the view that one can access 'pure' subaltern consciousness because the subaltern cannot speak, and therefore be spoken for (Nayar, 2010: 25). Thus, since subalterns cannot speak, it is the duty of postcolonial intellectuals to represent the subalterns (Loomba, 2005: 203).

In contrast to Spivak, Younas (2017: 134) states that it is possible for the subaltern to make his or her voice heard. This view is the result of her analysis of the novel *The White Tiger* by Adiga. However, different conditions occurred in the case of the nyai during the colonial period in the Dutch East Indies. These women were marginalized, exploited and oppressed. They represented a subaltern group that had no voice. The nyai did not have any rights, neither to their children, nor to themselves. At any time the nyai could be abandoned by her master, without any form of assistance (Hellwig, 2007: 35-38; Baay, 2010: 1). Concubinage was usually preceded by the need to take care of the household, with a pattern of a serve-and-be-served relationship. Native women, usually young, who worked to take care of European men's homes were drawn into the practice of concubinage. Once a concubine, a new hierarchy would be established. The nyai would fill the position of *primus inter pares* (Baay, 2010: 46). Sometimes concubinage occurred with married women. She was bought easily from her husband. Others were offered by the girl's family to European men for money. In 1890 there were 20,000-25,000 European men living in concubinage (Baay, 2010: 49-50).

In terms of background, the nyai mostly came from poor families in Java. The children of poor farmers in Java partly worked as servants in European homes. In this home life, the female servants were completely dependent on their employers. They were economically tied to their employers. In addition, there was a power relationship between white men and native women, in addition to the relationship between employers and workers. The indigenous women also lived in a culture where men and their husbands determined their lives (Baay, 2010: 51). When these indigenous women chose or were forced to become nyai, they were stereotyped. Within societal norms, the position of nyai was almost equated with that of a prostitute as faith-mixed relationships were considered religiously invalid. In such a position, the nyai placed themselves outside of indigenous society and became ostracized (Baay, 2010: 52). Faced with this oppressive system, the nyai tended to remain silent.

The voicelessness of subaltern groups is partly due to the formation of a very strong system of oppression. In many cases experienced by subaltern groups, multiple oppressions are often encountered. The reality in the Third World reveals that women generally face many problems caused by cultural and economic tensions. This condition is experienced by migrant women who live with double oppression; first as second-class citizens and then as Diaspora entities (Karim & Nasir, 2014: 125). In the context of colonialism, the nyai experienced double oppression. They experienced double silencing, both through the patriarchal system and concubinage created by colonialism. This means that subaltern women were silenced because of their gender and race. Under this double pressure, women have no voice. The subaltern woman has no position of speech: she remains within the discourse of patriarchy and colonialism as the object of others' discourse. All ideas and representations of the consciousness of 'subaltern' or Third World women are essentially constructions of Western discourse (Nayar, 2010: 26). Patterns of multiple oppression against women often recur in different places and at different times. Therefore, the study of postcolonial literary criticism is very helpful in revealing the system of oppression experienced by subaltern women, as well as exposing the practices of marginalization and exploitation of women due to the inherited discourse of colonialism.

The pattern of oppression that occurs in women is not just dual. In some cases, the oppressions are multiple and layered (Anggraeni, 2020: 107; Carastathis, 2014: 304). This plural and hierarchical system of oppression intersects or experiences intersections. Intersectionality is a concept introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw to explain patterns of multiple and layered discrimination. According to her, racial discrimination will be difficult to eliminate due to the strong white domination of blacks, which is not only experienced by women but also black men (Crenshaw, 1989). In the case of black women, Crenshaw sees that race and gender intersect (Crenshaw, 1991: 1244). Systems of oppression can be multiple or even plural. This tendency is found in many cases, including the nyai in the colonial concubinage system in the Dutch East Indies. The nyai did not only face oppression driven by gender, but also by age, social class, belief system, colonialism, and so on. The nyai lived in a patriarchal system that left them with little choice over their lives. Their social class background came from poor peasant families which led to their entanglement in the concubinage system. The colonial system placed the nyai in a weak and marginalized position. These identities intersect and eventually create multi-layered forms of oppression and discrimination.

Based on a search for a number of Indonesian short story studies that represent the lives of nyai and the concubinage system during the colonial period in the Dutch East Indies, some of them have portrayed the position of nyai as a subaltern group. Rusdiarti (2019) researched Kurniawan's short story "Kutukan Dapur" through Bourdieu's perspective and found that the kitchen can be a space for women's rebellion or resistance to be free from the repression of patriarchal culture. The same short story was researched by Irmawati & Gandi (2021) and found that the female characters in the short story were part of the subaltern who tried to resist patriarchal colonialism. Rahman & Nurgiyantoro (2019) also found a position as a subaltern woman when examining the short story "Racun untuk Tuan" by Banu. These studies have not seen oppression as an intersecting system. Critical reading with Spivak's theory must be continued with Crenshaw's views to find patterns of intersectionality oppression through the non-single identities of the nyai. It is this intersectional identity that makes the nyai experience oppression and layered discrimination.

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative research design. This research design is used to describe (a) the intersectional identities of nyai and (b) their resistance to forms of oppressiveness in Indonesian short stories. Data and information found from the selected novels will be interpreted qualitatively using Spivak's subaltern perspective and Kimberlé Crenshaw's intersectionality.

The data sources were selected in a purposive manner, namely Indonesian short stories that represent nyai and concubinage in the Dutch East Indies, including (1) *Stambul dua Pedang* (2013), (2) *Racun untuk Tuan* (2011), and (3) *Keringat dan Susu* (2010), all three by Iksaka Banu, and (4) *Kutukan Dapur* (2003) by Eka Kurniawan.

The data are in the form of story facts which include story sequences, characters, settings, themes, and other literary means from data sources that contain information related to the research problem. The data was obtained using reading and note-taking techniques. Furthermore, it is analyzed qualitatively by using Kimberlé Crenshaw's intersectionality perspective.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Intersectional Identities

Women's identity has long been a subaltern that is so vulnerable to oppression. The data shows that the nyai were indigenous women, the majority of whom came from a low social class. Indigenous women were attractive objects for lonely colonial soldiers. Their skills and charming physiques were also something that could not be ignored. The strong patriarchal belief system also made women helpless. Identity as a colonized citizen is the main cause in addition to other causes.

The intersectional identities of the nyai contained in the short stories studied are gender identity as a woman, having a charming physique and skills, coming from a colonized indigenous race, poverty and coming from a low social class, patriarchal system, and colonial system. Presented in the following table:

Table 1

No	Identitas Interseksi	Cerpen			
		SDP	RuT	KdS	KD
1.	Gender sebagai perempuan	v	v	v	v
2.	Fisik atau keterampilan yang menawan	v	v	v	v
3.	Ras pribumi yang terjajah	v	v	v	v
4.	Kemiskinan dan kelas sosial yang rendah	v	v	v	v
4.	Sistem patriarkal	v	v	v	v
5.	Sistem kolonial	v	v	v	v

Forms of Oppression

Forms of oppression against the nyai in the short stories were found such as intimidation, restraint, physical violence, sexual violence, denial of rights as women, expulsion, and murder. Presented in the following table:

Table 2

No	Bentuk Opresei	Cerpen			
		SDP	RuT	KdS	KD
1.	Intimidasi	v			
2.	Pengekangan	v	v	v	v
3.	Kekerasan fisik				
4.	Kekrasan seksual	v	v	v	v
5.	Pembiaran hak-hak sebagai perempuan	v	v	v	v
6.	Pengusiran		v	v	v
7.	Pembunuhan			v	

For of Resistance

The forms of resistance carried out by the nyai include utilizing their own skills, getting help from other parties, or enjoying their role and surrendering to the situation. Presented in the following table:

Table 3

No	Bentuk Resistensi	Cerpen			
		SDP	RuT	KdS	KD
1.	Memanfaatkan keterampilan diri	v	v	v	v
2.	Bantuan dari pihak lain	v			
3.	Menikmati peran atau pasrah dengan keadaan	v	v	v	

Discussion***The Intersectional Identity of the Nyai and Her Resistance to Oppressiveness in Iksaka Banu's Stambul Dua Pedang Short Story***

This short story tells the story of a native woman named Sarni who makes love to a stambul comedy star named Adang Kartawiria. Sarni is actually the wife of a Dutch man named Adelaar, but she doesn't take him as a husband. Sarni's love story with Adang gradually became known to Adelaar. In a letter sent to Sarni, Adelaar challenged Adang to a fencing duel. Sarni, who received this angry and pressurized letter from her husband, felt confused and indecisive about who to side with. Sarni's intersecting identities include: the identity of a native woman with a beautiful face; coming from a low social class; entering the patriarchal system and the grip of colonialism by becoming a mistress. Some of these are reflected in the following quote:

“Mungkin mereka ingin tahu, seperti apa wanita Melayu yang menjadi mulia setelah tinggal serumah dengan lelaki lain bangsa. Si cantik dalam sangkar emas. Seperti kataku tadi, dahulu penonton gemar dongeng khayalan, kini mereka suka dongeng nyata. Lagi pula tidak semua kisah nyai berakhir sedih seperti Dasima, bukan?” “Cukup, Adang. Sekarang dengar dan pastikan kau memahami ini, sebab aku takkan mengulang lagi,” kali ini tak kututupi rasa kesalku. “Aku-bukan-perempuan-sembarangan. Ayahku tidak kaya, tapi dia juru tulis perkebunan. Mengerti? Di luar

itu, terutama yang menyangkut diriku saat ini, semata soal nasib. Apakah wanita bisa mengelak dari nasib yang dipikirkan lingkungan untuknya?" (Banu, 2018: 18)

Sarni's concern is the unfortunate fate of the nyai, who are often abandoned by their husbands, or sent away when the Dutch wife arrives.

Itu terjadi bulan lalu. Aku ingat, tiba di rumah sekitar pukul sebelas malam. Tak bisa memicingkan mata. Suamiku, tentu saja, masih bertugas di Malang. Ah, seorang suamakah dia? Orang kulit putih, dengan suara dan bau tubuh yang asing. Tujuh tahun kami satu atap tanpa keturunan. Sejak malam pertama, Adelaar tak bisa menunaikan tugasnya sebagai lelaki. Kuanggap itu sebuah berkah, karena hidup sebagai nyai seperti berjudi. Tak ada yang pasti. Tak ada yang abadi. Sering kudengar nasib malang para nyai, harus angkat kaki dari rumah bersama anak-anak mereka setelah sang suami menikah dengan wanita Eropa. Sering kali mereka turun pangkat menjadi moentji di tangsi-tangsi tentara. Itu tidak terlalu buruk. Setidaknya ada yang menjamin hidup mereka. Sungguh mati, aku tak ingin hidup ku berakhir seperti itu. Sayangnya doaku tak terkabul. Kemarin sore, datanglah surat dalam amplop cokelat ini. Meski teramat sulit, pilihan harus ditentukan. (Banu 2018: 21)

Sarni is a mistress who doesn't really care about her Dutch husband. As an escape from this reality, she has sex with Adang Kartawiria, the stambul comedian. When her romance with Adang became known to Adelaar, Sarni was worried. In terms of resistance, Sarni really hopes to get help from the other party, namely Adang, but she is also resigned to the fact that Adang will be canned by Adelaar in a fencing duel.

Yang jelas, Adelaar adalah juara pertama lomba anggar di klubnya tahun lalu. Adang tak akan sanggup menahan satu peluang *passado** darinya. Teringat kembali opera klasik "Pranacitra-Rara Mendut", yang akan dipentaskan oleh Adang dan temantemannya di Pasar Gambir. Apakah kami akan bernasib sama seperti kedua tokoh dongeng itu? Semoga pahlawan stambul itu tidak keras kepala dan bersedia pergi bersamaku. Entah ke mana. (Banu, 2018: 21)

The Intersectional Identity of the Nyai and Her Resistance to Oppressiveness in Iksaka Banu's Racun untuk Tuan Short Story

The short story *Racun untuk Tuan* tells the story of a tobacco plantation administrator in Deli named Fred who is forced to expel his mistress, Imah, ahead of the arrival of his official wife from the Netherlands. In Fred's judgment, Imah was a sincere mistress. When he remembers Imah's kindness and sincerity in serving him, Fred's heart also stirs. Moreover, Fred's children were also born from Imah's womb. As a mistress, Imah could do nothing. She just obeyed Fred's words and left the house. Imah is a victim of concubinage, her identities include: colonized indigenous woman; has good housekeeping skills; submits to the patriarchal and colonial system. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

"Beberapa hari kemudian, atas rekomendasi Tuan Van Zaan dan Mina, aku memilih Imah, seorang wanita yang berangkat bersama rombongan kuli wanita dari Jawa untuk menjadi pemetik daun tembakau. Tubuhnya kecil, kulitnya cokelat muda. Wajahnya, menurutku, tidak buruk untuk ukuran rekan sebangsanya, apalagi untuk daerah perkebunan ini. Ditambah lagi, saat datang ke rumah ia sudah didandani habishabisan oleh Mina, sehingga tampak bersinar di balik kebaya putih berendanya. "Dia sudah digembleng matang untukmu," Tuan Zaandam mengedipkan mata. Aku tak menyangkal. Kehadiran Imah menghasilkan rutinitas baru yang terasa janggal tapi menyenangkan. Mungkin karena ia cukup cerdas, tidak seperti kebanyakan wanita pribumi lain yang sulit sekali diajak bicara. Pagi-pagi buta, seluruh pelosok ruangan sudah rapi dan bersih. Di meja makan terhidang kopi panas kental, lengkap dengan roti panggang, selai, dan telur rebus. Tengah hari, ia me nyu ruh Unang mengantar makan siang dalam rantang. Malamnya, setelah seluruh rangkaian kegiatan tuntas dikerjakan, Imah akan menghampiriku di ranjang. Menuang minyak gosok, lan tas memainkan jemarinya dari ujung kepala hingga ujung kakiku. Meluruhkan kepenatan yang menggelayuti tubuh selama satu hari. Seringkali kegiatan ini berujung pada gelinjang perempuan itu di pelukanku. Ya, aku dan Imah. Tuan dan pengurus rumah. Agak aneh

pada mulanya, tapi kami melakukannya cukup sering. (Banu, 2018: 42)

“Aku menghela napas. Kuhampiri tumpukan barang di sisi meja. Kutarik sebuah papan berbingkai keemasan. Potret anak lelaki dan perempuan, tertawa girang dalam baju seragam pelaut. Anak-anakku. Lahir dari rahim Imah. “Mereka punya wajah Belanda. Mereka akan baik-baik saja. Hanya saja...” lagi-lagi aku tak berhasil menuntaskan kalimat. Imah menyeka mata. “Ini dunia yang mustahil kaupahami, Imah. Akupun sering kesulitan memahaminya,” gumamku. (Banu, 2018: 39)

The oppression Imah experienced was the expulsion and denial of her rights as a woman. Fred admits that from the beginning he would not take morals and love into consideration. Even though Imah had served Fred wholeheartedly, and Fred's children were born from her womb. However the expulsion broke Imah's heart, she could only surrender. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

Aku berusaha memasang senyum walau dalam pikiran berkecamuk seribu satu hal yang saling bertentangan. Sudah tentu perkara moral tidak termasuk di dalamnya, karena sejak berangkat dari Holland telah kutetapkan bahwa pekerjaan yang akan kugeluti di Hindia ini tidak banyak membutuhkan pertimbangan moral. Apalagi cinta kasih. (Banu, 2018: 42)

Di balik tudung saji kujumpai makanan kegemaranku: sam bal goreng tempe, rendang balado, sayur lodeh, telur dadar, serta semangkuk besar cendol. Kuisi gelas dengan cendol, santan, dan gula kelapa hingga penuh. Sejengkal sebelum mendarat di bibir, aku tersentak. Terngiang kembali nasihat Tuan Zaandam. Pil nomor 11! Larutan phenyl, arsenik, atau air liur ular kobra. Oh, baru saja aku menyakiti hati Imah, bukan? Ya, bahkan telah kubuat remuk hatinya dengan mengusirnya dari rumah agar istri Eropaku yang cantik bisa masuk dan tidur di sisiku. (Banu, 2018: 48)

Imah's resistance was that her intelligence and skills captivated Fred, but when Fred finally had to kick her out, he could only surrender.

The Intersectional Identities of the Nyai and their Resistance to Oppressiveness in Iksaka Banu's Keringat dan Susu Short Stories

The short story *Keringat dan Susu* tells the wisdom of a Dutch Lieutenant named Pieter Verdragen because of his past story. Lieutenant Verdragen emphasized to his subordinates not to be rash and arbitrary towards natives who were considered enemies or prisoners. Lieutenant Verdragen's wisdom grew because it turns out that during his childhood his life was very close to the natives. Even as a child, the Lieutenant was breastfed by a nyai for five years. The memory of his past then fosters empathy to not be arbitrary towards the natives, especially helpless women. In addition, this short story also tells the bitter story of Joris, Lieutenant Verdragen's subordinate who turns out to be the son of a mistress. Joris' bitter story is depicted in the following quote:

“Sebaiknya aku merokok lagi. Ceritamu membuatku lapar,” Joris menepuk perut sambil mencari pemantik di saku ja ket. “Kau beruntung lahir di tengah keluarga kaya, Letnan. Aku anak kolong. Lima bersaudara. Lahir dari seorang gundik Jawa. Ayahku mati dalam perang Aceh dan tak ada tuan Belanda yang mau meneruskan menjadi suami ibuku. Akhirnya ibu ke luar dari tangsi, kembali kepada orangtuanya setelah menitipkan kami, anak-anaknya, di sebuah rumah panti asuhan. Belakangan kami mendengar, ibu mati dirajam penduduk desa. Yah, seperti ceritamu tadi, ia dianggap pelacur, pengkhianat, karena pernah hidup bersama kair Belanda. Masa kecil yang sulit. Di kalangan Belanda, kami tidak pernah diterima utuh. Sementara di lingkungan pribumi menjadi bahan cemooh,” api dari pemantik membuat sepasang mata Joris seperti berkobar.” (Banu, 2014: 32).

The Nyai discussed in this short story is the mother of Joris. Joris' mother is a victim of concubinage. Her intersex identity includes a native woman who is involved in the concubinage system. The oppression experienced by Joris' mother includes the denial of her rights as a woman, being ostracized by the natives, and murder.

Joris' mother's resistance was to get help from other parties, namely to return with the natives after she was expelled from the Dutch family. However, this never happened, and Mrs. Joris was stoned instead.

The Intersectional Identity of the Nyai in Eka Kurniawan's Kutukan Dapur Short Story

The short story *Kutukan Dapur* tells the story of a woman living in the colonial era named Diah Ayu. She was a native woman who became a Dutch cook. She was sold by her own father to the Dutch because of her extraordinary ability to manage spices and cook. At that time, cooks were part of a Dutch family's pride. In fact, Diah Ayu was nothing but a mistress, a Dutch man fucked her several times until two children were born to her. The identities of interactionality found in Diah Ayu include: a native woman who had extraordinary skills in cooking; came from a low social class, so she was sold by her father; she entered the patriarchal system and the grip of colonialism. This is in the following quote:

“Inilah hal-hal salah yang kita kenal dan datang dari dongeng: ia dijual ayahnya kepada seorang Belanda pemilik perkebunan karena fakta kecantikannya. Itu tidak benar. Boleh dikatakan ia tak begitu cantik, meskipun benar Belanda itu beberapa kali menidurinya sampai ia punya dua anak. Fakta yang sesungguhnya adalah ia dibeli karena kemampuan luar biasanya mengelola bumbu, memasak, dan menghidangkan makanan lezat,” (Kurniawan, 2018: 4)

The oppression that Diah Ayu experienced was the restraint and deprivation of her rights as a free woman. She was restrained and had no freedom. This is illustrated in the following quote:

“Bagi keluarga-keluarga Belanda di tanah kolonial, seorang juru masak yang pandai tak hanya merupakan kekayaan keluarga, tapi bahkan harga diri. Mereka bisa memamerkannya dalam perjamuan-perjamuan malam. Itulah mengapa menjadi hal yang tak aneh jika perempuan-perempuan pribumi yang ahli dalam penanganan bumbu masak, mendapati diri mereka diperjualbelikan atau diculik,” (Kurniawan 2018, 5).

“Meskipun status mereka dalam keluarga tak pernah lebih baik dari seorang gundik, seorang juru masak pandai tak akan pernah dibiarkan meninggalkan rumah apa pun risikonya,” (Kurniawan 2018, 5).

Diah Ayu resisted the oppression that befell her. The resistance was not through physical resistance but through unusual cooking skills. Diah can create strange doughs that can make a man lose his lust. Or also make someone die slowly so that no one thinks that he is a murder victim. This is illustrated in the following quotes:

“Ia bisa menciptakan adonan-adonan aneh yang bisa membuat seorang lelaki kehilangan birahi selama-lamanya: ia berhasil melakukan itu setelah si Belanda memberinya dua anak,” (Kurniawan 2018, 7).

“Ia memilih tamu-tamu keluarga tuannya sebagai kurban-kurban pembunuhan. Tentu saja ia melakukannya secara diam-diam, dengan adonan pembunuh yang tersembunyi di dalam sayur. Dan untuk menghindari kecurigaan-kecurigaan tertentu, ia meramu adonan-adonan yang membuat orang mati seminggu, atau dua minggu, setelah memakannya,” (Kurniawan 2018, 7).

“Metode kerjanya sangatlah luar biasa, dan sanggup menjatuhkan kurban bahkan lebih banyak daripada perang di front. Setahun sejak pembunuhan pertama ia telah membunuh lima puluh dua orang Belanda totok. Itu sebagaimana dilaporkan surat kabar mengenai ‘kematian-kematian wajar yang mencurigakan’ di sekitar Batavia,” (Kurniawan 2018, 7).

CONCLUSION

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that the intersectional identity of the nyai in the four short stories above is a woman with a charming physique and skills, they are an indigenous race from a colonized country, they are from a low social class, included in the patriarchal system and colonial system. The oppressions found are intimidation, expulsion, restraint, denial of rights as women,

and murder. The resistance found is utilizing self-skills, help from other parties, enjoying the role and surrendering to the situation.

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