

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

Besides economic benefit as the main purpose of Western or European imperialism and colonization, there is also political and cultural motives behind it, namely representing and proclaiming the identity of Western or European as the leader and the best among other cultures all over the world. As the owner of advanced technology, military, and industrial power, Western or European promotes its right to dominate and civilize the Eastern.

Having found itself as the center, European power and domination is practiced by marginalizing the non-Europeans. Said argues this notion as he states:

At the margin of Western society, all the non-European regions, whose inhabitants, societies, histories, and beings represented a non-European essence, were made subservient to Europe, which in turn demonstrably continued to control what was not Europe, and represented the non-European in such a way as to sustain control. (106)

This is also hold by the Dutch during its colonization toward Indonesia. As Europeans, the Dutch constituted its place at the top or as the upper class in social group division in its colonial society, while the non-Europeans,

Foreign-Orientals and Natives, were in the middle and the lowest one. The Dutch intention to sustain its colonization was carried up by presenting the differences of identity –of race, gender, social class, religion, etc- among its colonial society. Hierarchy was divided strictly among the groups. Differences of identity appeared in its colony was represented based on the Dutch's European supremacy as whites. In this matter, because they were Europeans/Whites and had advance technology, they deserved to dominate. On the other hand, they considered the Browns/Colours and the Blacks deserve to be dominated. The Dutch's European supremacy resulted negative stereotype of everything that was non-Europeans. Representing identities of non-Europeans –natives, women, poor, and such- as had negative stereotypes often lead the subject who hold the identity being discriminated and marginalized. Through its mode of representation, both the Dutch and its lower classes and races kept stereotype they had strongly to position themselves in their appropriate place based on their racial group position in the society.

Related with 'Nyai' phenomena, such kind of European's view to dominate and control the non-Europeans and its attempts to have control of identity of its colonized resulted in the marginalization of the 'Nyai', the native women who become the Dutch mistresses and sexual partners. Having status as 'Nyai' means that the 'Nyai' has more than one identity: they are women, Natives (Javanese/Sundanese), and colonized.

A. COMPLEX MARGINALIZATION EXPERIENCED BY TITI AS A 'NYAI'

Having status as a 'Nyai' placed Titi in a stereotyped position. Both societies she has contacts with consider the status negative because of the identity resulted from it. As a 'Nyai', she is a native woman whose place is under European/Eurasian; she also a Javanese/Sundanese woman whose position is under the Javanese/Sundanese men. The Eurasian prefer marginalizing her because of her race. On the other hand, living in her Javanese/Sundanese society, she finds that the position of women in the society is under the men.

A. 1. Societies Which Marginalized Titi as A 'Nyai'

In this analysis, the writer intends to reveal what societies marginalize Titi. In this case, the writer will scrutinize it according to the Dutch division of its colonial society which resulted in racial and social discrimination. From this attempt, it will be known how the societies which marginalized Titi represent the identity they have which influence their practice of marginalization to Titi. Here, the societies which marginalize Titi are the Eurasian and the Javanese/Sundanese.

A. 1. a. The Colonizer (foreign/the Dutch/the Eurasian)

The analysis of the societies which marginalize Titi is interesting since it is done by the mix-blooded descents, Alex, her master, and Sophie, Alex's sister. However, it can be realized that the Dutch policy in dividing its colonial

society into three groups based on race or ethnic group resulted in racial discrimination among the member of each group. As White or European, the Dutch position themselves as the highest among other races: Foreign Oriental and Native. However, realizing the sources of races divided above are pure European or Foreign-Oriental or Native, the place of those who are in-between, the mix-blooded, is questioned.

As the consequence of the Dutch policy on mix-marriage, the mix-blooded descents born from the relationship thus are considered as European, just like the father. So, the Eurasian offspring would be recognized as Europeans under certain requirements: they must have such European upbringing and they must become Christian.

In practice, the fact was not as easy as what had been regulated under the Dutch government policy. Realizing the different origin and identity, the pure Dutch or European avoid the Eurasian to constitute themselves belonging to European. The pure Europeans keep their identity strongly and still positioned the non-Europeans different from their identity. Thus, the difference as not pure European and avoidance of the pure European to receive the Eurasian in practice cause the Eurasian identity become alienated. It was a difficult position and condition for not being accepted as European. On the other hand, in fact, the position was not such threatened as there is still racial or ethnic group which position is lower than Eurasian: the Natives. This difference in identity enables them to constitute their position higher than the natives. In the novel, the

Eurasians who marginalize Titi are the patriarch and the matriarch of De Pauly family, Alex and Sophie.

- **The Patriarch (Alex)**

Alex is Titi's master. He is a planter. He is the brother of Sophie. Quite different from Sophie, Alex does not keep his De Pauly in such a highest position to constitute his identity as a Eurasian higher than the natives. It is so different with Sophie, his sister, who holds her Dutch blood so high and always finds herself shame to have native blood. His differences with his sister can also be seen through the choice of place to live in. Sophie prefers living in Batavia, while Alex prefers living in a kampong near Sukabumi. In the novel, it is represented that Alex "lived in the country, near Sukabumi, on a family estate though it was the smallest of the property" (14). Such choice of living hold by Eurasian, historically, represented a feeling of extreme inferiority of identity as he finds himself avoided by his Europeans society. Historical fact informs that it was also a living hold by Europeans who find themselves born in the colony, different with those who come from Holland. Such kind of Eurasian or European can be said as the people who had to face the fact that their identity was severe to be constituted and received as Europeans. For Alex, being discriminated by his European society even caused him feel so much inferior under European women, as stated in the novel: "...-that in a relationship with a European woman his role would be totally different from what was with Titi..." (138).

Realizing the fact, the Dutch and the Eurasian who born in the colony tend to outcaste their European's habits and way of thinking to the native's. In the novel, the familiarity and conformity of Alex to the native culture can be seen from this quotation: "...he never drank tea in the afternoon, always coffee, the well-known native *koppie tubruk*" (137).

Other Alex's native habit and way of thinking also can be seen that he prefers using Sundanese language than Dutch. He finds that Sundanese language is more powerful than Dutch in constituting his position as '*Tuan Kandjeng*' in his native society. However, he needs his native surroundings understand his orders and command as '*Tuan Kandjeng*'. Besides that, he prefers using Sundanese language because he feels enjoy in having relationship with the natives because he does not need to feel inferior just like if he has to interact with Eurasian and Dutch. Above all, Sundanese language is more powerful to make him more privileged and superior among Sundanese people, as he is a Eurasian whose identity is higher than the natives. About Alex's choice of language, the novel stated it a follows: "...they will have spoken in short Sundanese sentences, the language Alex was already familiar with than Dutch" (137) when he has a talk with Titi. He also speaks the same language to his servants, and it seems that he is very familiar with and enjoys it. His choice to use native language also has shown in the novel when he calls his maid. His familiarity with the language can be seen from this informal situation between him and the maid: "She carried a chair over and put it next to his. He said something in Sundanese and she answered him in the same language with a smile and a hint of conspiracy" (21).

Alex's familiarity and conformity to such native way of life often result in conflict with his sisters, Sophie and Christien. Both of his sisters are really proud of their European upbringing and way of life. About the difference attitude in practicing upbringing to his children, his conflict with his sisters is written in the novel as "The money he spent on them was obviously less than would have been needed for a European education..." (14). It causes his sisters to ask him for their European upbringing for his first three children.

Above all, his sisters keep European attitude and manner in very high position. Above all, his sisters keep European attitude and manner in very high position. It is extremely different with Alex who prefers outcasting his 'European' attitude and keeps the native's one. In the novel, Alex's choice to conform Javanese/Sundanese culture than European while his family asks him to commit European culture as his identity causes he finds himself unfamiliar with the family European attitude life. The difference lead Alex finds himself alienated within the family. Realizing his different position between in his own home and in his sisters' home –which is also the house where he grew up in-, it is represented in the novel as:

.... Maybe he understood his mistake; in any case he must have known no longer belonged to the family gathering. Perhaps in that moment he was overcome by a longing for his home where his position was totally different from what it is here.... (22).

Alex at present is not Alex as a Eurasian no longer, he is now native Alex.

Although Alex finds himself outcaste as half European (Eurasian), being marginalized by his European society, and has kept native way of life, it does not mean that he cannot release all of Eurasian identity and thus change it into native. Still, he represents his identity higher than native. He practices discrimination to the native. In fact, as the writer scrutinizes from the matter of different cultural identity and stereotypes, the marginalization practiced by Alex is not a merely because Alex prefers keeping his superiority as having a half European bloodline and culture to the natives. It is a matter of representation and imposing identity with all of the stereotypes and its internalization hold by both Alex and his native surroundings. In other words, it is more a matter of how both Alex and his native surrounding impose and perceive their own different identity and how both of them self-impose and receive the stereotype of the identity and internalize their differences. This internalization and self-impose of the native of their identity who are under European and Eurasian can be seen in the way they address Alex as *'Tuan Kandjeng'*, which indirectly places Alex as a master because Alex is considered as 'European' by the native. Therefore, Alex deserves to practice marginalization to the native, and on the other hand, the native is deserved to be marginalized. Alex' s marginalization practice toward the native can be seen that he has native people as his servants and a native woman, Titi, as his 'Nyai'.

- **The Matriarch (Sophie)**

Sophie is Alex's sister. She is the matriarch of De Pauly family. She places herself as the dominant woman in the family. Although all of De Pauly families are Eurasians, she keeps efforts to preserve the purity of the Dutch bloodline and culture. Among all of De Pauly, she holds the strongest attitude to keep the purity of European within the family. She does it because she realizes her origin as having a half Dutch bloodline and culture. Her father was a Eurain – though he was the type of countryside European/Eurasian man, similar with Alex and her mother was a European town typically.

Although she attempts to hold the family's European bloodlines strongly, in fact, she cannot release herself at all not to practice any native attitudes. Sophie's strongest intention to preserve the European standard compared to other members of the family can be rooted back in her background within the family. She finds the fact of her parent's marriage which ended in divorce because her mother's strong tied to her family. Another reason was that the two had different standards. Besides, she also realizes that she is the only child that was born in the country, while the rest of her siblings were born in her mother's home in the town. Therefore, she keeps the fact to justify her dominant role among the family. Sophie's background in the family is stated: "...only the oldest, Sophie, was born in the country.... It as clear that from the beginning that they were living at cross purpose...; it is remarkable how sacrosanct her parents' marriage seemed to her" (36).

As has been mentioned above, although Sophie attempts to keep European standard strongly, she cannot avoid herself for not practicing native's cultures. Even, she is very familiar with the native's daily cultural practices. Sophie is not as rational as European. She believes in superstitious things, in spirits, and such. This is stated in the novel: "...she had *menjan* burned every *malam djumahat* in order to appease the spirits" (90-1). When her niece, Katty, was born, she also practices the Javanese/Sundanese cultural habit in caring the newborn baby. The native manner which is practiced by Sophie in caring the newborn baby is "Recommended by the *dukun*, the latter came with an imperturbable baby in a *slendang*" (88). Although she is a Christian, when the newborn baby comes and she is blond and white, Sophie shows her thank to God by organizing a praying party: "A *selamatan* would be organized to celebrate this happy event and to thank to *Tuan Allah* for the heavenly gift.... A *hadji* from nearby *kampung* was sent for...." (87). Such evidences presented in the novel show how hybrid individual Sophie is. Other family member, Christien, addresses her hybridity as one of her "mental ill" (23).

Denying her hybrid identity, in which she holds European culture highly but at the same time also practices the native culture, she cannot release herself from not imposing the negative and bad stereotypes of the identity the natives have. She practices such kind of discrimination to Titi, Alex-Titi's children, and even Alex. Realizing Titi's status as a 'Nyai' and Titi's original culture, she places Titi much more inferior than she is. To Titi's children who are under her upbringing, it is very often that the matter of their native manner and

physical appearances leads her into stereotyping them with the negative stereotypes the natives have. In the novel, such kind of stereotypes imposed by Sophie on the children is presented as “they learned the wrong things there, like laziness and indolence” (132). In here, ‘there’ refers to the kampong, the place where the children were under Titi’s upbringing in the previous. Above all, Sophie’s hatred and negative stereotypes toward native identity of the children result in the children’s hostile feeling to her:

For them Aunt Sophie represented a foreign and even hostile world because her method of upbringing was based on the strange mixture of frantic care and Indies prejudice. She probably had no idea that her constant remarks about ‘the kampong’, ‘native’, or race and skin colour, might deeply hurt the children (134).

However, what she has stereotyped to the children, indirectly, also the stereotype of the mother of the children. Thus, as a Eurasian, Sophie marginalizes Titi because of Titi’s identities both as a Javanese/Sundanese and as a mother. More complete analysis of Sophie’s marginalization toward Titi will be revealed in the next explanation.

A. 1. b. The Native (The Javanese/Sundanese)

During the time of the Dutch colonization toward Indonesia, the position of the native was at the lowest ethnic group in the colonial social stratification. The identification which causes the Javanese/Sundanese placed as the lowest can be traced from the Javanese/Sundanese color of skin, brown. The Javanese/Sundanese was considered as Browns or Colours. Other reasons were that the Javanese/Sundanese had different religion and culture from European. These differences caused the Europeans or the Dutch considered that the Javanese/Sundanese are traditional, backward, and not as advanced as the Europeans. Such differences –in race, religion, and culture- lead the Javanese/Sundanese being stereotyped as dirty, lazy, irrational, and such by the Europeans or the Dutch. Such stereotypes hold by the Europeans or the Dutch toward the Javanese/Sundanese thus become the justification of the Europeans or the Dutch to discriminate the Javanese/Sundanese. On the other side, the Javanese/Sundanese also found themselves different factually with the Europeans or the Dutch. The Javanese/Sundanese then self-imposed their factual differences with the Dutch and internalized it. Later, it caused the Javanese/Sundanese thought that it was their proper place in the Dutch colonization: much more inferior to the Dutch.

Internally, the Javanese/Sundanese also had its own stratification and hierarchy within its society. In general, the Javanese/Sundanese society was divided into two: the rich who constituted as the upper and the poor as the lower.

In gender relationship within its member, there was also a division between men and woman. In the Javanese/Sundanese society, the position of men was higher than women. Very often, the men were considered as having more power and high social status than women. The patriarchal ideology was kept strongly in the Javanese/Sundanese society. The Javanese/Sundanese placed men as the leader of the women. In this matter, taken as the examples, a wife should follow what her husband ordered her, a daughter has more limited chance to have better education, and so on. So, in the Javanese/Sundanese social hierarchy, the order was the rich or *priyayi* and the men placed as the first class and the poor or *wong cilik* and the women constitute the second class. Beside social stratification and hierarchy, the Javanese/Sundanese also practiced feudal system in its economic life which based on plantation. Under this system, the lands were owned by the rich. The poor only cultivated or lease the land from the rich with a high tax. Because of it, the landlord or the rich would remain rich while the landless would suffer in poverty.

A. 2. Racial, Gender, Social Class, and Religion Marginalization Experienced by Titi

A. 2. a. Racial Marginalization Experienced by Titi

In colonization, racial difference is maintained as a symbol of social status between the colonizer and the colonized. It is imposed through the arrangement of Black, Brown, and White as lower, middle, and upper in social stratification. Race also implies culture. It is practiced by asserting the superiority

of the Whites/Europeans and the inferiority of the Browns and Blacks or the non-Europeans. The Whites as the colonizer maintains its colonization through race difference by stereotyping it with certain patterns of behaviour. The stereotype of race with certain pattern of behaviour is used to justify the colonial social hierarchy.

Related with Titi's marginalization, based on the matter of social class, Titi's racial identity as a Javanese/Sundanese woman constitute the lowest position in European and Javanese/Sundanese societies. Realizing other factors such as that she lives in a plantation and the Dutch ask her to become a 'Nyai' because of her 'beauty' as a native woman, her lowest position in social class of the Dutch colonial society might be possible factor why she let herself to be a 'Nyai'. As the lowest both within the Dutch and the Javanese/Sundanese societies, Titi experiences a severe complex marginalization.

Having racial identity as Brown or Colour in the Dutch colonial society stratification, the Whites stereotype Titi's cultural identity as primitive, uncivilized, and such. Thus, the Whites have justification to maintain its colonization with the reason to modernize and civilize the Colour. This is also what has been practiced by Sophie to Titi. Indirectly, Sophie's marginalization to Titi can be seen in the way Sophie raises up Titi's children. In this matter, Sophie's intention to get Titi's children under her European's upbringing in order to get a legal status as Europeans can be read as her attempts to civilize and modernize the Colour.

Positioning herself as a 'White', Sophie stereotypes Titi's children as dirty, uncivilized, and such which are always related to the children's skin and colour. She has to civilize and modernize them by not letting the children "walk barefooted" (134), forbidding them to go outside of the building, entering them to school (134), and so on. In her attempts to civilize the children, she faces difficulties. It is a hard effort for her to 'Westernize' the children because they are really native, internally –from their attitude- and externally –from their physical appearance-. Sophie's difficulties and the result of her upbringing are represented in the novel as follows:

Raising the children brought many disappointments and irritations. She was seldom gratified. Only the oldest one gave her any satisfaction because she turned out to be a robust young woman with a stately way of walking. Completely European! ..., but of the other two children she could only say with all the more disdain: 'just look at those hips and that stomach... a real native build,.... (135)

Regarding that it is the fact of Sophie's high 'Self' as a Eurasian, indirectly, it can also be seen as Titi's racial marginalization as a native. Titi had risen up the three children under her native manner upbringing previously before Sophie asks her to let them under her European upbringing. The notion above gives an obvious information how the native's physical appearances and manner is considered as 'colour', inferior, uncivilized so that it is needed to make it 'white', superior, and civilized. It shows the superiority feeling of the Whites toward the Natives.

However, as the children get brown skin colour from the mother, it is also marginalization of Titi racially.

Moreover, the negative stereotypes of Titi as a Javanese/Sundanese woman can be seen in Sophie's intention to have Titi's children under her European upbringing. Sophie's intention in doing that is because she wants her nieces to have European upbringing which she considers modern, clean and civil. Under her European upbringing, she will not let the children barefooted because they are dirty. She will ask them to stay clean –she forces the children to take a bath regularly and brush their teeth everyday-, civil –by entering the children to go to school, and so on-. Those attitudes can be detected as Sophie's stereotype on Titi's poverty as a native. According to Sophie, Titi's poverty as the lowest social class in the society would only results in such poor and dirty upbringing to her children.

Titi's native racial identity causes her to be placed at the lowest in social hierarchy can also be seen from the way Sophie position her in the conference to discuss about Titi's children upbringing. In the novel, it is explained:

The conference took place in aunt Sophie's room. A *tikar* was spread out for Titi to sit on; her exceptional position entitled her. She behaved as all woman from the *udik* do in the presence of their superior or authority: she sat down, crossed her legs, put her hands in her lap and lowered her eyes. Aunt Sophie sat on the edge of a chair, bent forward, and began to talk.

After some formal questions and a few reassuring phrases, the subject of separation was broached. She pointed out to Titi that, above all, it would be in the girls' best interest.... (135)

From such situation, it can be read how Sophie treats Titi much more inferior than she is. Such great superiority feeling of Sophie would not be justified unless she gets Titi's racial identity under hers. Sophie considers that such marginalization is appropriate realizing Titi's racial difference with hers. Sophie will not practice the same thing to Eurasian or European.

A. 2. b. Gender Marginalization Experienced by Titi

Titi's identity as a Javanese/Sundanese woman causes her to be marginalized by Alex, Sophie, and her native society. Her gender, as a woman, is represented as the second sex under patriarchal system practiced by the colonizer and her Javanese/Sundanese society. Under the Javanese/Sundanese culture, the patriarchal system hinders the chance for woman to express herself in an active way. Patriarchal system constructs and represents woman as docile and passive.

For the colonizer, patriarchal system is not alone in constructing women as the second sex. It is interrelated with capitalism and imperialism as had been practiced by the Dutch during its colonization toward Indonesia. For the Whites, those three are useful to sustain the Western's superiority and the Eastern's inferiority, particularly to gain power over the colonized female

sexuality. It is imposed by constructing woman's sexuality into three ways: first, by giving the native woman image of the exotic oriental woman as sensuous, seductive, full of Eastern promises; second, on the contrary, by characterizing the native women as ugly, smelly, dirty, and so on; third, by portraying the native women as licentious or immoral.

- **As A Native Woman**

Titi's marginalization as a native woman is closely related with the Dutch policies of mix-marriage and the Dutch construction of its colonial society based on racial difference. It is also the result of the Dutch supremacy feeling as European of their position as 'Self' and the way it positions its colonized as 'Other' during colonization.

Under such system, with her identity as a native woman, Titi is represented as passive and has a high dependency on man. Titi's marginalization as a woman can be analyzed from her duties as a 'Nyai'. She has to serve Alex in the day as his home maid. In the night, she has to let herself to be Alex's bedmate. However, such kind of relationship is one form of Titi's marginalization: being a servant who has to serve Alex daily and being a sexual partner to fulfill Alex's sexual desire.

In her relationship with Alex, Alex places her as his subordinate. Their relationship is merely a matter of master-servant and sexual desire fulfillment. In the novel, Titi's position as Alex's servant and the way Alex subordinates her is stated as follows:

... Titi must have stayed near him, probably sitting on the steps while he lay in his lounge chair on the front veranda. In that position, hardly looking at one another, they will have spoken in short Sundanese sentences, the language uncle Alex was already more familiar with than Dutch. Long conversations were unnecessary anyway. His relationship with Titi was really typical of an *orang udik*; it involved a few words (137).

Besides, Alex also considers Titi's stereotypes as a Javanese/Sundanese woman in a low position. Alex is really aware of his position if he has relationship with a European woman. Although he is a man, his place will be much more inferior. He feels himself 'afraid' to have a European woman to be his partner because "...- that in relationship with a European woman his role would be totally different from what was with Titi" (138). Such Alex's inferiority feeling toward European woman indicates Alex's view of a native woman stereotype: that Titi is full of Eastern promises. In this case, Titi will give a total service to Alex. Titi will never protest her subordinate position because as a woman, she has been constructed by her native culture to serve a man totally and place herself as the second sex. Alex keeps this reason to marginalize Titi. He prefers to have Titi as his partner because she realizes Titi's natural characteristics as a Javanese/Sundanese woman. However, if he chooses a European woman, "... He had to talk with a European, to account for himself, and be obliged to do this and to do that" (138); while if he has native woman, in this case Titi, he can arrange his position to dominate as

represented: “Now he was only served, and there is no one to demand his attention and urge him to act” (138).

Alex does not only realize Titi’s sexuality as a woman to position her as a subordinate who hold total service on him, also, he subordinates Titi’s position by denying her reproduction right and forcing her on domestic position. As a native woman, Titi’s right of reproduction is broken by Alex. She cannot avoid not being pregnant. Titi has some –more than three children- with him. Titi’s marginalization of her reproduction right is shown: “Uncle Alex was not married to the native woman with whom he lived and who was the mother of his children. The whole family knew he had fathered more children with ‘that woman’.... (14). Domestic role marginalization experienced by Titi as a native woman can be analyzed from her duty to serve Alex and raise up the children. The first can be seen in that Titi has to serve Alex in his daily need: “With a single call from the front veranda, he’d have ordered Titi to come so that she could take off his shoes and socks, and prepare anything for his bath: his pajama pants, a bar of soap, and his towel” (137). Besides preparing and serving all of Alex’s need, when Alex enjoys his time after taking a bath by drinking coffee, Titi “...must have stayed near him, probably sitting on the steps while he lay in his lounge chair on the front veranda” (137). The second, Titi’s marginalization to raise up the children can be seen, indirectly, on Sophie’s opinion that Alex’s children have a real native upbringing. However, it indicates that Alex has spent much less time for the children and let it to be Titi’s duty to get them under her upbringing which is shown in the novel as “... You know Lex is, he’s good, you know, but he can’t

bring up the girls. After all he's the father" (132) when Sophie gives negative stereotype on Titi's native upbringing which results in "They learned the wrong things there, like laziness and indolence" (132).

Besides all of above Titi's representation as a native woman hold by Alex, it is also need to explain the background why Titi becomes Alex mistress. As a planter who is a Eurasian, Alex should live in a plantation area, with native surroundings. Then, the possible factor besides Titi's poverty family condition why Alex has Titi as his 'Nyai' is that he finds the fact that he is falling in love with the native woman in the plantation. However, living in a plantation area is not similar like living in the country or town because there are only a few inhabitants, mostly natives, lives there. Realizing the inferiority feeling of Alex toward European woman, he prefers choosing Titi as his sexual partners because of Titi's exotic as a native woman with whom he falls in love with.

From Sophie, Titi's marginalization as a woman can be seen that her right in mothering her own children has been restricted by Sophie. Sophie asks her to let her first three children to be under her European upbringing. In this case, as a native woman, Sophie considers Titi as 'ugly', 'smelly', and such. Also, as a native woman, Titi is licentious or immoral. The first marginalization can be seen in Sophie's notions on the difference between native woman upbringings compared to European one. The result of Titi's 'ugly' and 'smelly' mothering on her children is noted by Sophie "Remember girls! Aunt Sophie does not want you to walk bare foot.... Where are your toothbrush?..., every time after eating girls,

brush thoroughly and gargle well” (134). Also, the ‘smelly’ native upbringing of Titi is noted by Sophie as “Girls! Who peed in the *mandi* room? Aunt Sophie does not like such things, understand? You smell strange enough as it is” (134). For the second marginalization of Sophie who considers Titi as licentious also can be detected from the result of Titi’s upbringing on her children who are now under Sophie’s. Indirectly, all of the children bad attitudes are always associated as the result of Titi’s licentious upbringing. Such kind of Titi’s ‘immoral’ upbringing is represented “.... Girls! Keep your kimono closed. Think of the servants! And lock the bathroom door” (134). It indicates how ‘immoral’ the way Titi raises up her girls in Sophie’s opinion. In this matter, Sophie considers that Titi never teaches them not to stay naked in front of others and to feel ashamed if they do such kind of ‘immoral’ habit.

- **As A Javanese/Sundanese Woman**

In fact, Titi’s marginalization as a woman by her Javanese/Sundanese society is not mentioned at all in the novel. However, the phenomena of ‘Nyai’ as a part of historical fact which involve the relationship between the Dutch men with the native (Javanese/Sundanese) women, Titi’s marginalization as a native woman can be interpreted from the background why Titi let herself to be a ‘Nyai’ although the status is considered negative by her society and from Titi’s role and position in the relationship.

The first can be explained from the patriarch and family ideologies of the Javanese/Sundanese. Under the Javanese/Sundanese patriarchal system and family ideology, Titi's position as a woman is under the men. In the Javanese/Sundanese culture, woman is represented as weak and calm, because of that a woman is highly dependant on man. A woman is placed as the second sex. Her status depends on man's. Looking at this, it can be indicated from the historical facts that many 'Nyai' let themselves to be 'Nyai' because they were forced by their family. This is also what can be detected from Titi. As a Javanese/Sundanese woman, it is possible that Titi has the status because of she was forced by her family. In this matter, as a woman, she cannot oppose her father's order on her. As one of possible factor, however, as her family has lived in a plantation area, her father's order to let herself to be the Dutch or Eurasian man's 'Nyai' is to improve her family living, may be not because of poverty, but it is much to 'save' her father (family) position in front of the Whites.

Titi's role as the second sex within her native society indicates her marginalization by her Javanese/Sundanese society. In Javanese/Sundanese patriarchal culture, a woman hold domestic role inside the home and her position is under a man so that she has to totally serve a man. It is, in her relationship with Alex, Titi's obligation are raising the children, serving Alex totally, and positioning herself not in an equal position with Alex. In Javanese/Sundanese culture, raising children, serving the home well, and serving the husband totally are woman's duties. A woman who does not keep her duties well would be stereotyped negatively by the Javanese/Sundanese as: not loyal, not a good

woman, and so on. However, what Titi has done within her relationship with Alex, in which she is positioned as the inferior and the subordinate, is similar with the marginalization of a Javanese woman under the Javanese/Sundanese patriarchal system and ideology of family. On the other hand, the Javanese/Sundanese cultural construction positions a man as the ordinate who must be served. Under this reason, as a Javanese/Sundanese woman, there is no reason for Titi for not doing her duties to her family and 'husband'.

A. 2. c. Social Class Marginalization Experienced by Titi

Similar with the analysis of gender marginalization experienced by Titi by her Javanese/Sundanese society, Titi's social class status would be detected from the historical fact of 'Nyai' phenomena and a little notion presented in the novel which indicated her social class. From those two sources, generally, there are two possibilities: Titi comes from the lowest social class or she comes from the middle-up. Realizing that Titi's marginalization is imposed by her Eurasian and her Javanese/Sundanese societies, and that one who practice marginalization to other is always one who constitute her/his self in the higher position and status, it is needed to look back at the division of colonial society during the Dutch colonization.

Based on the matter of social class, first possibility, Titi's identity as a Javanese/Sundanese woman constitute the lowest position in European and the Javanese/Sundanese societies. From her social class position, it can be revealed

that she experiences complex marginalization because of it. Constituted as the lowest position both in the societies she has contacts with, the marginalization is so severe. It can be realized from historical fact which informs that the position of her Eurasian society is under the European –usually, the Eurasian were positioned as 2nd, 3rd, and even 4th citizen by the European-; while her Javanese/Sundanese society is at the lowest.

The first possibility, in colonial society stratification, Titi's position as a native is in the lowest. Such low position then becomes justification for both Alex and Sophie to marginalize her. Although Alex finds that his sexual desire has been fulfilled by Titi, in their relationship, Alex positions Titi as his subordinate. In the novel, it is shown: "... His relationship with Titi was really a typical of *orang udik*, it involved few words" (137). Alex's relationship with Titi is a master-servant relation, although, the choice of native life of Alex has proven his low position within European society and that he is unaccepted by the society, it does not mean that he can release all of his White's higher position in his interaction with the natives and Titi. In the novel, Titi's marginalization because of her social class position is under Alex's is shown "... As was his way, Alex won't carry anything himself. As *Tuan Kandjeng*, he had to lave it to the subordinates. With a single class from the front veranda, he would have ordered Titi to come so that she could take off his shoes and socks, and prepare anything for his bath..." (137). The way Alex positions Titi as his subordinate also hinders him to let Titi passes the same door as he when they visit his sister's home in Batavia. Titi should enter through the servant's door: "... When they arrive on

Salemba Avenue, she walked around to the back of the house, and went to the outbuildings. Uncle Alex came in through the front “ (133).

Titi’s awareness of her social status as a poor native woman has encouraged Sophie to position her similar with the servants. When she visits her children in Sophie’s house, she has to sleep with servants and has to stay in the outbuilding, the building for the servants. Such difference in social class between Sophie and Titi is stated: “.... That night she slept with the servants....” (133) and “Sometimes Titi came from Sukabumi.... While she was there, the girls were allowed to go to the outbuildings in the afternoon and stay with their mother.... All that mattered to her was seeing her children again, and after that she withdraw as quickly as possible from the place where they force her into a subordinate position” (136). Another much more subordinate position of Titi is practiced by Sophie “.... A *tikar* was spread out for Titi to sit on; her exceptional position entitled to her.... Aunt Sophie sat on the edge of a chair, bent forward, and begin to talk....” (133).

The social class difference which encourages Alex and Sophie to marginalize Titi can be read as the construction of colonialism to maintain its social hierarchy. It is done by imposing Titi’s identity and stereotype as a poor native woman. Because Titi’s identity is factually different from Alex and Sophie, Titi has to receive the only appropriate place for her is as a subordinate, a servant.

Further, although it is not mentioned in the novel, Titi’s position in the Javanese/Sundanese social stratification is low. She is a poor woman. That’s why

she lets herself to be a 'Nyai'. Based on historical facts, more or less, Titi's low class position is the impact of the Javanese/Sundanese feudalism. Under this system, the landlord or the rich would stay rich while the landless or the poor would suffer in poverty. The poverty experienced by the landless or the poor, or what so called *wong cilik*, causes they live in so suffer condition. As a woman also functions as a commodity of the family, so, in order to improve the living, the Javanese/Sundanese poor prefers 'selling' the daughter in the family to be a 'Nyai'. Thus, from the fact, as a poor Javanese/Sundanese woman, Titi is marginalized by her own family to release from the suffering of being poor.

The function of a daughter within Javanese/Sundanese family as a kind of 'commodity' brings to the second possibility of Titi's family social class in the Dutch colonial stratification. In this matter, there is a possibility that Titi comes from the middle-up social class. During the colonization, the position of the rich native was important to support the Dutch capital economic. Since the Javanese/Sundanese had practiced feudalism in its economic in which it gave a wide chance for the rich to own the land, under the influence of the Dutch capitalism, the land owned by the rich natives was so important for the Dutch production economic. In this matter, the Dutch needed to lease the land from the rich native including the workers who cultivate the land with high price. On the other hand, the rich natives had to do effort in order to make the Dutch interested in leasing their land. One effort they could do was let the daughter of the family to become the Dutch's men mistresses if the men like their daughters.

A. 2. d. Religion Marginalization Experienced by Titi

As one source of identity, religion preserved as the identity of certain community who keep it; it rules the way of life of a community which involve the way of thinking and conducting. Very often that certain religious belief is associated with particular race. For example, Arab is associated with Islam, European identical with Christian, and so on. The Arabs represent and identified as Moslems and vice versa. Between the differences, it is very often that the European or the Whites stereotype Moslems as terrorists, not modern, backward, have conventional life, and so on; while the Eastern usually stereotype Christians as modern, capitalists, and such.

Almost the same, the matter of religion stereotype also appears in the novel. Even though Titi's religious belief is not mentioned clearly in the novel, her religious belief could be scrutinized through the historical fact and the fact presented in the novel. As a Javanese/Sundanese, it has possibility that she is a Moslem while her Eurasian master is a Christian. This different religious belief causes Titi is being marginalized both by her Javanese/Sundanese society and her Eurasian one. Status as a "Nyai" causes the Javanese/Sundanese society doubt her faith in the religion. For the Eurasian society, she is let in such illegal sexual relationship because she does not change her faith into Christian.

Become a 'Nyai' means that she practices extra-marital sexual relationship with a Christian master. It is the stereotype of having identity as a 'Nyai': that a "Nyai" is extra-marital sexual partner of a foreign man who is

usually not Moslem. The Javanese/Sundanese blame the status because it means that the 'Nyai' breaks Islamic rule for not having sexual relationship outside marriage. Also, a Moslem woman is forbidden to be a non-Moslem's wife. Titi, who is a 'Nyai', thus experiences this marginalization. She is considered out of her religious identity as a Javanese/Sundanese woman by her origin society because she commits '*zina*', practicing sexual relationship outside marriage. Having extra-marital sexual relationship is considered as one of the big sins in Islamic law. In an extreme marginalization, she is avoided and unaccepted by her Javanese/Sundanese society because she prefers breaking Islamic law in order to improve her bad economic condition or in order to open the chance for her to enjoy European way of life. However, it is the worst marginalization since she is considered sells her religion for money.

On the other hand, Titi's identity as a Moslem also becomes the reason of the marginalization done by Alex and Sophie. It happens because her relationship with her master is not under a legal Christian marriage. However, the Dutch constitutes a policy for a 'Nyai' that she will be accepted as a European if she becomes Christian. Since Titi does not change her faith into Christian, Alex prefers not legally marrying her. Titi's identity as a Moslem hinders Alex to have her as his wife, so that she will have the same identity and equal position with him as a European/Eurasian. The fact that Alex keeps his sexual relationship with Titi illegally as the impact of Titi's belief in Islam can be seen in the novel: "Alex was not married to the native woman with whom he lived and who was the mother of his children" (14).

The notion above can also be explained as one of the reason of Sophie's marginalization toward Titi: because she is influenced by her religious belief in raising up her children. For Sophie, such kind of upbringing only results in the shy attitude of her children to foreigners and all of Sophie's relatives. Titi's religious belief influences her in the way she does mothering her children. Sophie's stereotype on Titi's religious belief and her Javanese/Sundanese identity in mothering her children is "They learned the wrong things there, like laziness and indolence" (132). Thus it is Sophie's stereotype of Titi's religious identity which used by her to justify her marginalization on Titi: lazy and indolent.

B. TITI'S REACTION TOWARD THE COMPLEX MARGINALIZATION AS THE RESULT OF HER STATUS AS A 'NYAI'

As the very limited data about 'Nyai' represented in E. Breton de Nijs *Faded Portraits*, the analysis of Titi's reaction as the 'Nyai' would be supported by the historical facts of the phenomena, besides the data of how Titi reacts toward her double marginalization from the novel as the primary data. Historical facts as the secondary data is considered valuable to be presented in the analysis by the writer because, in fact, the phenomena of 'Nyai' is not merely something which is interesting to be written as a story, but it is the factual phenomena occurring during the time of the Dutch colonization toward Indonesia and afterwards which flowering written as stories (in 1800s, there were many stories about 'Nyai'), as historical novels (such as in most of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's novels), and as memoir novels of Eurasian writers and novelists (such as in E. Breton de Nijs *Faded Portraits* or Alfred Birney's *Vogels rond een vrouw*).

In general, in E. Breton de Nijs' *Faded Portraits*, it is told that Titi receives the complex marginalization consequently. In this case, Titi really internalizes her stereotype as one who has identity as a Javanese/Sundanese woman. She gives no protest and does no effort to free herself from both the Javanese/Sundanese (native) and the Dutch/Eurasian (foreign) marginalization. She keeps passive though the marginalization has seized her rights as a woman as well as a mother, including reproduction and bearing her own children under her own upbringing. What Titi has responded toward her complex marginalization as

a 'Nyai' –receives the condition accordingly and seems to enjoy the condition because of financial benefit- historically, was common reactions done by 'Nyai' during the time of the Dutch colonization and afterwards.

As the secondary data, from various stories, memoirs, and articles related to 'Nyai' phenomena, almost all the data describe that most 'Nyai' feel pleased having status and position, although –it could not be avoided- the status leads them to be the subordinates of their foreign master and causes them to be stereotyped negatively by their native (Javanese/Sundanese) society. Based on the historical facts, most of the 'Nyai' love their masters and enjoy their status because it makes happen to them not to have any difficulties to earn money for their daily needs. On the other hand, the masters also love their mistresses and give them chances and accesses to enjoy European life. Realizing that the status as 'Nyai' is considered bad and something 'unwanted' –in such kind of relationship, the 'Nyai' have to prepare themselves to be left anytime by their masters under the reason that their relationship is illegal or that the masters have to back home to their own homelands, so that they will have any financial difficulties in the future-, the masters often propose and prepare the best thing for the future of their mistresses. In *Tjerita Nyai Dasima*, Dasima's master, Mr. W., has proposed a guarantee for Dasima's future as his mistress by saying "*... malahan akoe ada ingatan boeat kasi angkoe masuk ke dalam agama Kristen, dan kaloe angkoe soeka, bole kita kawin boeat menimboelkan hormatja kita poenya anak*" (Tempo Doeloe 238 qtd in Bandel). In Pramoedya' historical novel, *Tetralogy*, the future guarantee of a master for his mistress can be seen as

Mellema treats Ontosoroh very well and gives her a chance to manage a company he has. Nyai Ontosoroh has right to get salary for what she has been done with Mellema's company (Bandel). Others prove that the master loves and also has responsibility by thinking about the future of his mistress can be seen in Dukut Imam Widodo's article "*Kisah Cinta Si Koprak Panjang*" which told that the Dutch master, Koprak Panjang, really loves his mistress and propose the same thing as what Mr. W. has been proposed to Dasima.

However, the writer realizes that it would oversimplification to generalize the analysis that the 'Nyai' receive their marginality consequently and do no effort to free themselves from being marginalized because they love their masters and their masters also love them and treat them well.

Moreover, the analysis would go further of why the 'Nyai', who is Titi in this analysis, reacts passively, almost without response, toward her complex marginalization without denying that Titi also really loves Alex, her master. In the novel, Titi's inert reaction toward her marginalization can be seen that in a conference discussing about her children's upbringing with the matriarch, Sophie, Titi answers everything by saying "*Saya Njonja*" ("Yes, Ma'am") (133) although she finds herself in difficulty to be parted from her children. Another Titi's passive and seemingly 'full of fear' response toward her complex marginalization has been represented in the novel as:

Sometimes Titi came from Sukabumi. Because the girls were living there she was allowed to go through the house, even when the other were at the

table. While she was there, the girls were allowed to go to the outbuildings in the afternoon and stay with their mother. All that mattered for her was seeing her children again, and after that she withdrew as quickly as possible from the place where they forced her into a subordinate position. (136)

From the quotation above, it is clearly known that Titi tries to avoid and makes distance for herself from being placed in such marginal and subordinate position in Sophie's house, although she does it submissively. She only "withdrew as quickly as possible from the place where they forced her into a subordinate position" (136). She never oppose the marginalization she has experienced by confronting against the matriarch, Sophie, or protesting the marginalization done by Sophie to her master, Alex. She keeps silence toward her marginalization. She responds her marginalization passively by avoiding any disharmonious relationship with her ordinates, Sophie and Alex. She let herself being marginalized without asking or forcing herself to do any efforts to make their ordinates have an awareness not to place her as the subordinate any longer as well as to free herself be in such condition and situation.

Thus, from such passive reaction toward the complex marginalization experienced by Titi in particular and by 'Nyai' in general in Indonesian history during the Dutch colonization and afterwards, the question of why Titi and most of other 'Nyai' keep such response is essential in order to look deeper the ambivalence of (post)colonial experience of 'Nyai' toward the complex

marginalization. In this matter, the answers of the questions would be searched from fetish and ambivalence as Titi's (post)colonial experience. The analysis of Titi's fetish and ambivalence as a 'Nyai' is necessary in order to realize Titi's neither places so that she chooses to keep the harmonious relationship both with the native and the foreign societies she has interactions with. Then, to scrutinize Titi's fetish and ambivalence experience as a 'Nyai', it will be used Bhabha's and Hall's theory. Bhabha's theory will be used to point out Titi's marginalization as fetish and ambivalence experiences; while Hall's Cultural Identity will be used to scrutinize Titi's internalization on her identity as a native and a colonized as well.

B. 1. Complex Marginalization as Fetish and Ambivalence Experience for Titi

Having been caught between two cultures, Dutch and Javanese/Sundanese, has caused Titi faces difficulty to place herself in the proper position she deserves to fill in. Although physically she is a pure native woman, with her status as a 'Nyai', she holds more than one identity. It is her complex identity that leads her to be doubly marginalized by both her native (Javanese/Sundanese) society and by her foreign (Eurasian) society she has interaction with. Titi is regarded as not a pure Javanese/Sundanese woman who practices Javanese/Sundanese culture any longer by her origin society. The consideration is based on the fact that as a 'Nyai', it means that Titi gets in touch with the foreign (Eurasian/Dutch) culture. Titi experiences a way of life which is

completely different with her native culture and which is impossible to be experienced by the native without having any contact and relationship with the foreign, for examples having a status as a 'Nyai', having certain position under the Dutch government, and so on. In the novel, Titi's acquaintance with the foreign/Eurasian culture is represented "And one day he (Alex) came by car from Sukabumi with Titi. She sat in front of the chauffeur, he (Alex) in the back" (133) when Alex companies Titi to Sophie's house in Batavia. Titi's contact with the European/Eurasian/foreign culture then lads her Javanese/Sundanese/native society considers it as her 'otherness'. On the other hand, Titi's origin as a Javanese/Sundanese woman also becomes Titi's 'otherness' for her Eurasian society. Titi's contact with two cultures and societies in which she is marginalized by both gives her a fetish and ambivalence experiences.

Both the native (Javanese/Sundanese) and the foreign (the Dutch/Eurasian) consider that status as a 'Nyai' is a negative status. The native (Javanese/Sundanese) who keep social stratification strictly realizes that the woman who let herself or is forced by her family to become a 'Nyai' usually those who come from a poor family condition or whose family have certain (beneficial political or economic) relationship with the Dutch/Eurasian. As the poor constitutes the lowest place in the Javanese/Sundanese social stratification or that the family who have relationship with the Dutch/Eurasian are usually the middle-up one, the way a 'Nyai' increases her position or strengthens her family's position thus causes her or her family to be thrown away from the Javanese/Sundanese social stratification. Having status as a 'Nyai' is negatively

stereotyped as a poor Javanese/Sundanese woman, under the reason to get out of poverty or in order to increase and strengthen her family's social status in the colonial social stratification, a 'Nyai' allows herself to be a sexual partner of a foreign man in order to get financial access. Besides that, as 'Nyai's' relationship with her master is usually an extra-marital sexual relationship, the native society thus throw her out of the religious belief (in this case, Islam) because she is considered doing '*zina*' (committing extra-marital sexual relationship). Simply, having status as a 'Nyai' has caused Titi receives negative image as well as negative stereotype from the Javanese/Sundanese society and her position is considered nowhere within her native's social hierarchy. On the other side, the foreign/Eurasian society cannot receive her because she is not a Eurasian or European. She is purely a native woman, who is different at all with the Eurasian/European racially and culturally. Above all, those are the fetish and ambivalence experiences of her marginalization as a 'Nyai'. Although she finds herself negatively stereotyped and unaccepted by both societies, she keeps her in the position as a passive 'Nyai' because only by having the status, she can release herself from her poverty or save her family's position in the relationship with the Dutch. She finds herself happy to be a 'Nyai' because she can improve her (family) life into a better life. Besides the fact that she really loves Alex as represented in the novel that she sob hardly on Alex's death and always give a total services to Alex, Titi's happiness being released from poverty can be seen in the novel "When she left the next morning, Aunt Sophie gave her money, twenty-five guilders...." (133).

Furthermore, Titi's fetish and ambivalence experiences as the result of her status as a 'Nyai' can be interpreted that Titi is placed neither in the two societies. She cannot keep the Javanese/Sundanese culture as hers no longer because she has involved with European/Eurasian culture. It is this reason for the Javanese/Sundanese not to receive her as the member of the society as she is blamed as the betrayer of the Javanese/Sundanese social hierarchy and religious belief as well. The foreign/Eurasian also cannot receive her because of her 'otherness': she is not a Eurasian or European, she is a native woman. However, Titi's neither places within the societies has caused she becomes a 'rootless, colourless, tasteless' individual as the result of her 'otherness' within the two societies. This notion can be interpreted from the fact in the novel that she sobs hardly on Alex's death which indicate that there is no place for her no longer to state her identity as her master's mistress which brings the possibility for her to constitute a 'European life'.

Realizing the fact that Titi has contact with the European/Eurasian culture and because of it Titi finds herself in difficulty to return back to and to be received by her origin, Titi prefers keeping the status as a 'Nyai' consequently, without any protest or opposition action. She needs to keep the harmonious relationship both with the native and with the foreign in order to avoid herself being in financial difficulties and also, in fact, there is no better choice for her to be taken. Her need to keep the relationship with her Eurasian society lasting long smoothly is done by her by showing her gratitude and respect to Sophie. In the novel, it is written as "When she left the next morning, Aunt Sophie gave her

money, twenty-five guilders. *"Terima kasih njonja"* ("Thank you, Ma'am") she said, showing her benefactress the *hormat* she was due" (133) after she states her agreement to give her first three children to be under Sophie's European upbringing. She also does attempt to keep her relationship with Sophie without any confrontation by doing "She had already surrendered her opposition when Uncle Alex told her that she had been summoned to Batavia" (133). Though, in fact, she does not agree to let her children in Sophie's upbringing when Alex tells her of Sophie's compulsion to raise up her first children under hers' to legitimate them as Europeans, she determines not to have any confrontation with Sophie and goes to Batavia to have a conference with Sophie about Sophie's notion there. However, besides it can be seen as Titi's only choice as the result of her neither places, it is Titi's cultural value as a Javanese/Sundanese woman which she hold: showing gratitude and respect to other is her 'duty' as a native woman in the native culture. The deeper explanation of Titi's cultural value as a Javanese/Sundanese woman is in the following.

C. 2. Titi's Internalization of Her Cultural Identity as A Javanese/Sundanese Woman and as A Colonized (Native) Woman

Titi's internalization of her cultural identity as a Javanese/Sundanese and as a native (colonized) woman is the foundation of her passive reaction toward her complex marginalization as a 'Nyai'. As a native woman, Titi holds Javanese/Sundanese cultural values strongly. As a native woman, she realizes her

position as the result of the colonizer's –the Dutch- construction of identity as the colonized. Both institutions, her native culture and the Dutch/Eurasian stereotype construction and representation of her identity is the source in which Titi learn to represent her identity.

As a Javanese/Sundanese woman, Titi ties up with the Javanese/Sundanese cultural values of social interaction and the structure of the Javanese/Sundanese society. In this matter, in the relationship with other, Titi has to hold harmony and honor principles of the Javanese/Sundanese culture. Under the harmony principle, Titi should not have involved herself into any conflict and confrontation. She has to create any smooth and harmonious relationship with others. In this case, as a Javanese/Sundanese woman, Titi must not show up her anger in a direct manner. Titi has to be able to act pretending. In the novel, such Javanese/Sundanese cultural attitude is practiced by Titi when she is forced to let her first three children to be under Sophie's European upbringing in which, although she deeply hurt because of it, she is better not having any confrontation with Sophie. It is stated as "She had already surrendered her opposition when Uncle Alex told her that she had been summoned to Batavia" (133). Also, Titi has to pretend and not shows up her hurt and angry feeling under her subordination and marginalization by doing "Titi never stayed more than a day or two. All that mattered to her was seeing her children again, and after that she withdrew as quickly as possible from the place where they force her into a subordinate position" (136).

The second value of the Javanese/Sundanese social interaction internalized by Titi is honor principle. A Javanese/Sundanese is prohibited to not showing respect to others. In its practice, it is done by realizing one's position in social stratification. The lower status must show respect to the higher. For Titi, she is really aware of her status and position in her native and foreign societies. In her native society, as her position is under a man, her father, she could not refuse her father's intention in forcing them to be a 'Nyai'. However, her father's status is higher than she is who is the daughter. She practices her respect to her Eurasian society because she realizes that in colonial society stratification, her position and colonial status is under the Eurasian, even the Eurasian woman. In the novel, the way how Titi really internalizes honor principle is represented as:

.... A tikar was spread out for Titi to sit on; her exceptional position entitled her to do that. She behaved as all women from the udik do in the presence of their superiors or authority: she sat down, crossed her legs, put her hands in her lap and lowered her eyes...." (133).

Nevertheless, in Javanese/Sundanese culture, there are certain manners to show honor: through the use of language (*krama/ngoko*), through the gesture as has been shown by Titi, and so on. Showing honor to other also practiced by Titi as she answers all of Sophie's talk with "*Saya Njonja*" (Yes, Ma'am) (133). For the Javanese/Sundanese, this use of language in a direct talking to one who has higher social status and position is one way of showing respect and honor.

Then, Titi keeps staying passive over her complex marginalization because she really internalizes her identity as a colonized, native woman. Her differences cultural identity with her Eurasian society leads her not to protest against her marginalization. However, she finds that her Eurasian society cultural identity is higher: they are White, superior, modern, civilize, and such. On the other hand, she is Brown, inferior, primitive, uncivilized, and so on. These Whites' stereotypes on Titi's cultural identity sometimes find its justification. In this case, Titi prefers not opposing Sophie's notion to have her first three children under her European upbringing because she realizes that such kind of upbringing is better than she has: it is clean and civilize. Under European upbringing, her children will learn about staying clean, keep high morality, and so on. In the novel, it is shown as Sophie urges Titi's children to "brush their teeth regularly, not to peep in such dirty manner, not to walk barefooted, not to let them without kimono in front of others," (134).

Most of all, Titi's internalization of her cultural identity as a Javanese/Sundanese woman and as a native (a colonized) woman has created her as a 'hopeless' and 'speechless' individual. She cannot freely determine her own position in the society. She is constructed to keep silent in order to keep the position both of her native and foreign societies in the places which deserve to be dominated and to dominate. In this matter, both societies need Titi as the marginalized individual to strengthen and justify their right of domination.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION