A Comparative Study on Indigenous Female Sexuality Body in the Novels at Balai Pustaka and Tionghoa Descent

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Abstract
This qualitative study at examining the body conflict on indigenous women and sexuality were portrayed by the litterateur published in Balai Pustaka novels and Tionghoa Descent litterateur stories. Some of the literature that was studied included Siti Nurbaya (Marah Rusli), Salah Asuhan by Abdoel Moeis as a work of Balai Pustaka period. Meanwhile, Tjerita Si Jonet, Tjerita Nyai Rossina, and Tjerita Nyai Paina were some literary works of Tionghoa Descent. The present study saw that there was similarities colonial perspective against indigenous women. Similarly, indigenous men against indigenous women. They believed that indigenous women did not have a right and a freedom. In colonial view, indigenous women were thoroughly indigenous powerlessness. In the indigenous men view against indigenous women over the nativist position in their gender context. Orientalism in body conflict indigenous women and sexuality at Balai Pustaka novels and novels that were written by Tionghoa Descent presented by the authors through their characters. In Balai Pustaka novels, orientalism body conflict on indigenous women and sexuality presented by prominent indigenous men against indigenous women. For instance, the perspective Datuk Maringgih to Siti Nurbaya. Orientalism in body conflict indigenous women and sexuality in the novels that were written by Tionghoa Descent literature included that was carried out by the Dutch colonial figures and indigenous leaders. Some perspective that denoted the female body and female sexuality natives unlike the liyan wass a perspective mrs van der Ploegh towards Rossina in Tjerita Nyi Rossina, Si Jonat perspective toward Si Saipa in Tjerita Si Jonat, Mr. Briot perspective to Nyi Paina in Tjerita Nyi Paina by H. Kommer.

Keywords:
Novel;
Native;
Sexuality;
Balai Pustaka;
Tionghoa Descent;

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1. Introduction

Balai Pustaka (1908-1942) was founded by the Dutch in an effort to make social and political control of the wild readings (the textbook that was published by Tionghoa, Arab, and Natives community) in Indonesia. The social and political control was done in an existing effort itself as the only invaders who conquered natives fully. Therefore, all the literature that was published in surveillance and sensor power.

Herawati (2010: 200) stated that the Netherlands utilizes a literature as a hegemony media and domination of indigenous peoples. Dutch colonial recruiting an employees contract to manage Balai Pustaka e.g. Abdul Muis. He was highly paid as workers in Balai Pustaka. Likewise, Sutan Alisyahbana (Faruk, 2007: 50). The social and political control is done, not only for the natives as workers but also the author (literature) as well as literary that was published at the time.

The novel of Salah Asuhan, Siti Nurbaya, and Belenggu were literary work of literature that has been occurred sensor from colonial parties before final texts (novels) was read indigenous societies. The novels must be completed to the standards set by Balai Pustaka based on the decision of D.A. Ringkes; one of them was a literary work that was published did not conflict with the Dutch government political (Sarwadi, 2004: 28). In censorship, the colonial created a self-image, orientalism, and keep put the natives as slaves. The slave labor and slave impersonator of Western cultures.

Nevertheless, Balai Pustaka novels also show against a hidden author. Darma (2010: 172) stated that in the literature, the dichotomy between oppressor and oppressed is not always explicit. Azab dan Sengsara novel shows the indigenous resistance (Mahayana, 1994: 18-19). The suffering of indigenous societies as a result of the Dutch colonists reflected in Indonesian literary works published by Balai Pustaka, unlike Siti Nurbaya (1922) by Marah Rusli, Salah Asuhan novel. (1928), Pertemuan Jodoh (1932) by Abdoel Moeis, and Tjerita Boejoeng Bingoeng by Aman Datoeq Madjoindo, Azab dan Sengsara (1920) by Merari Siregar, Hulubalang Raja (1932) by Nur Sutan Iskandar, Si Cebol Rindukan Bulan by Tulis Sutan Sakti, Katak Hendak Jadi Lembu by Nur Sutan Iskandar (1935), Apa Dayaku Karena Aku Perempuan by Nur Sutan Iskandar (1922), Tuk Putus Dirundang Malang by Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana (1929). In addition, the suffering of indigenous, particularly indigenous women is also illustrated in several literary works written by Tionghoa Descent litterateur, unlike Tjerita Nyai Rossina authored by F.D.J. Fangemanan, Tjerita Si Jonat by F.D.J. Fangemanan, and Tjerita Nyai Paina authored by H. Kommer.

The arising of literary works of literature, which unlike Jauss terms (1983: 32) referred to literary series, indicating colonial clue can still be reminded; questionable; retrospect, that the colonial discourse displays a binary opposition, between rulers and ruled; colonizers and the natives; hegemony and resistance; and between the master/slaves. Ashcroft, et al (in Gandhi, 1998: iv) stated that the issues of dominance and subordination appeared at first to the surface with respecting to the colonial military control. The slaves described experiencing the oppression of the employers (the invader's nation); they were tortured and exploited.

The novels of Balai Pustaka period and authored by Tionghoa Descent really need to be assessed through the postcolonial approach as if approaches the postcolonial able to uncover traces of colonialism in literature and identify signs of colonialism therein and assess the nature and significance of the effects of textual signs (Foulcher, 2002: 3). In the post-colonial studies, a literature actually revealed traces of the colonial encounter, the confrontation among across races, nations, and intercultural relations unequal power since the European imperialism days (ibid).

Meanwhile, Sumarwan (2004: 61) stated that the post-colonial approach as an alternative to reading and interpret Indonesian literary effort in looking for the opposition between the colonizers against the colonized and showed the potential for violence on it. Thus, post-colonial provides a space that previously marginalized sections of society (subaltern) able to deliver their own opinion (Bhabha, 2006). In this case, the post-colonial view that a reality is the imagination result or discourse the actor's ruler as a knowledge representation. The knowledge mastering colonists used to systematize the Other Party, which is also seen as backward.

There are some researchers who have been conducted a study using post-colonial theory to Indonesian literature. First, the study entitled Identitas dan mimikri dalam roman Salah Asuhan authored Abdoel Moeis by Sugianti in 2005. Second, the study entitled Mimikri dan Resistensi Radikal Pribumi terhadap Kolonialisme Belanda dalam Roman Bumi Manusia by Noor in 2002. Though the two researchers studied Indonesian literature from the postcolonial perspective, the issue raised is not about body conflict on indigenous women and sexuality in the novel of Balai Pustaka period and Tionghoa Descent. Based on the similar studies, entitled Bandingan

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Orientalisme Kolonial terhadap Tubuh dan Seksal Perempuan Pribumi dalam Novel-novel Balai Pustaka dan Novel-novel Tionghoa Descent never done. Therefore, the paper is important to be conducted.

The post-colonial theory was initially started when literature commonwealth that attempts to analyze the colonization effects by the British. In the further developments, the Edward Said article entitled Orientalism lifting colonial discourses was very hegemonic in the Eastern world. Said viewed (1978: 5), the existence of East is not simply obtained as the East, however, the East has been East by the West through knowledge. The East is systematized and controlled fully “tubuhnya” (its body) by the West. Edward Said idea originated from the discourse concept of Foucault as his teacher. The Foucault view believes that the power creates truths of discourse or a discourse that is made (by the authority) to master the hegemonic of an inferior class.

Orientalism is a way to understand the East world of a special place in the human experience of Western Europe, the Eastern is not only close; it is also the places of the largest European colonies, richest, and oldest, the civilizations source and their languages, rival culture, and the deepest imagination and the most often appear in the “other world” (Said, 1978: 1). The East has helped to define Europe (West) as an image, idea, personality and the opposite experience with it.

2. Research Methods

Qualitative descriptive method is applied in the present study at describing an orientalism to bodies conflict and sexuality of indigenous women in the novels published by Balai Pustaka, i.e. the novel of Siti Nurbaya, Salah Asuhan and literary works by Tionghoa Descent, like Tjerita Si Jonat, Tjerita Nyai Rossina, and Tjerita Nyai Paina using post-colonial view, especially, the relationships concept in Western and Eastern in Orientalism by Edward Said. The resistance concept in Postcolonial Transformation authored by Bill Ashcroft, and the mimicry concept, ambiguous/ambivalent, and hybridity in The Location of Culture authored by Homi K. Bhabha, as already described in the previous literature review.

The research object is an orientalism body conflict of indigenous women and sexuality in Balai Pustaka and Tionghoa Descent novels. The data collection is done by doing a library study, i.e. collecting the reference materials, both primary and secondary. The technique of analyzing the data was done qualitatively (triangulation).

3. Results and Analysis

The subjects were Balai Pustaka novels and the Novel (story) written by the writers of Tionghoa Descent. Balai Pustaka novel that was researched i.e. novel that became a phenomenon, namely Siti Nurbaya by Marah Rusli and Salah Asoehan by Abdul Muis. Two novels were reviewed in terms of bodies conflict of indigenous women and sexuality. In these two novels, the treatment of indigenous men fetters the freedom of women, ranging from ways of thinking, behaving, and realize these ideals. On Novel, Siti Nurbaya body and sexual conflict were seen in Siti Nurbaya figure. Meanwhile, on Salah Asoehan novel, bodies conflict indigenous women and sexuality shown in Rafiah figure.

Salah Asuhan novel that was authored by Abdoel Moeis. The novel was researched was a novel that printed in the ninth edition in 1967. It told about indigenous men lives who love culture (life) Europe; Dutch colonial than indigenous culture. This research problem context, women in the male gaze always despised that indigenous women do not deserve to marry the man whose brilliant-thinking, as well as the Europeans thinking: the Dutch colonial.

Rafiah as the main character in this novel was seen unlike women with no education/modern thinking as European women, e.g. Corie de Buze. That thought was delivered through the main character, a man, named Hanafi. Hanafi always looked Rafiah only suitable to work in the kitchen, parenting, cooking, and other household work. Therefore, Rafiah is not suitable to be Hanafi wife who has a high educational, like European men. Some of the data quotations at describing the body conflict event indigenous women and sexuality shown in table 1.1 below.
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Novel Title</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Quotation</th>
<th>Glossary</th>
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<tr>
<td>Salah Asuhan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“dalam dua tahun hidup beristri itu, Rapiah dipandangnya sebagai seorang “isteri jang diberikan” kepadapadanja. Segala kewajiban sebagai suami, adalah diturutnja. ....Rafiah tidak boleh mengharap dari padanja. Demikian pula kemerdekaan. Hanafi berkata hendak menentukan batas-batasan sendiri, dengan tidak diberi hak kepada Rapiah buat turut menentukanja.” (halaman 85)</td>
<td>“Within two years in married, Rapiah was viewed as a &quot;wife who was given &quot;to him. Everything obligation as a husband is obeyed. ... Rafiah might not expect from himself. Similarly her freedom. Hanafi said to want to define her limitation by himself, with not given the right to Rapiah participate in determining.” (P. 85)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>“Diluar kewadjibannya, maka anak dan dapurlah yang diakukan dunia bagi Rapiah. Kalau suaminja kekantor atau keluar rumah, lapanglah dadanja, niaring suaranja, tapi kalau Hanafi ada dirumah mutunja sebagai diketam. Ia tak bentji pada suaminja, melainkan takut. Kalau Hanafi bergaul dan bermain tennis dengan kawan-kawanja bangsa Eropah, Rapiah berkubur sadjalah didapur dengan mentuanja.” (Halaman 86)</td>
<td>“Beyond her obligation, thus, children and kitchen were said the world by Rapiah. If her husband went to the office or out, free the breasts, high voicing, however, if Hanafi was at home she just quite. She did not hate her husband, but fear. If Hanafi met and played a tennis with his friends of European nations, Rapiah stayed in the kitchen with her mother in law. (P. 86)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“Hanafi makin lalu lalang kepada Rapiah, jang achiirnja dipnadangnja bukan lagi “isteri”, melainkan “babu” jang diberikan kepada padanja dengan paksa. (Halaman 90)</td>
<td>“Hanafi increasingly passing to Rapiah, which ultimately saw as no longer a &quot;wife&quot; but &quot;slave&quot; which was given to him, by force. (P. 90)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>“Bagainanakah ibu hendak membanding-bandikan anak kampong dengan anak Belanda! Kalau ibu berkehendak aku mengikatkan diri seumur hidup kepada seorang perempuan sebagai Rapiah it, jang takut melihat Belanda, jang bergulung-gulung didapurnj sebagai koki, jang tidak berani membuka tutur, lain daripada halihwali dapurn sadja, jang tidak sekali-kali menurutkan gerak zaman atau memperlhatkan tertib dan kesopanan sekarang, jang memandang akan rumah dan dapurn”</td>
<td>“How did the mother want to compare the woman from the village with a Dutch woman! If the mother wishes I bind myself for alive to be a woman like Rapiah it, who fear to see Netherlands, which stayed in the kitchen like a chef, who does not dare to speak up, other than kitchen terms, which did not occasionally indulge in motion the times or shows orderly and modesty at the time, which looked to be home and kitchen for their world ... oh mother ... ” (P. 99)</td>
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The subject of the second research is Balai Pustaka product in the present study is Siti Nurbaya novel by Marah Rusli. The novel researched was printed in 2004. The first printed was in 1922. It looks that is Siti Nurbaya considered women like the liyan. Siti Nurbaya regarded as goods that can be sold and exchanged to pay debts off Sulaiman King (Siti Nurbaya father’s) to Datuk Maringgih. In this novel, it appears the man gaze degrading native women of being characters. Some view that the liyan women by the men are illustrated in Table 1.2 below.

Table 2
Body Conflict and Sexuality of Indigenous Women in Siti Nurbaya Novel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Novel Title</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Quotation</th>
<th>Glossary</th>
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<tr>
<td>Siti Nurbaya</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Maka diceritakanlah oleh Samsu, bahwa ada suatu dakwaan datang dari Datuk Maringgih, mengatakan Nurbaya dan kusir Ali melarikan barang-barang dan uang Datuk itu dan meminta supaya mereka ditahan dan dikirimkan kembali ke Padang selekas-lekasnya”. (halaman 184)</td>
<td>&quot;That is not good the girls got schooling,&quot; said Fatimah. &quot;In order to keep stupid and forever become slaves of men, isn’t it? Maybe treated at willing, like buffalo, given laced his nose, so that can be drawn and control to voluntarily by their shepherd. If yourself, like a woman, like your people do so, like you! However, if I was a woman, at once I will not accept this ruling.&quot; (P. 200)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Cobalah kaupikir benar-benar, nasib kita perempuan ini! Dari Tuhan yang bersifat rahman dan rahim, kita telah dikurangkan dari pada laki-laki teman kita itu. Sengaja kukatakan teman kita laki-laki itu, karena sesungguhnyalah demikian, walaupun banyak di antara</td>
<td>&quot;Try to think really, our fate these women! God is Rahman and reincarnation; we have been deducted than men of our friend. Accidentally, I told our friend that man, because indeed so, although the most of them thought they were not friends, but our master and we are their servants. In their allegation, they are better than</td>
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</table>
The story that was written by Tionghoa Descent literature, some of the stories was able to be studied in *Tempoe Doeloe Antologi Literature* of pre-Indonesia collected by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. Lantern Dipantara published the book, Multi Karya II / 26 Utan Kayu, East Jakarta in 2003. The first published was by Hasta Mitra in 1982. In the anthology, there are several stories, namely (1) *Dari Boedak Sampe Djadi Radja* by F. Wiggers, *Tjerita Rossina* and *Tjerita Si Tjonat* by F.D.J. Pangemanann, *Tjerita Nyai Dasima* by G. Francis, and *Tjerita Kong Hong Nio* and *Tjerita Nji Paina* by H. Kommer.

The bodies conflict indigenous women and sexuality did not illustrate at all the stories. There are three stories featuring these problems, namely *Tjerita Rossina* by F.D.J. Pangemanann, *Tjerita Nyai Paina* by H. Kommer, and *Tjerita Si Jonar* by F.D.J. Pangemanann. The story entitled *Tjerita Rossina* described an indigenous women life to work as a slave and colonial mistress. Nyai Rossina is the name of indigenous women leaders. She has a pretty physically. It makes the Miss Dutch jealous and eventually harms Rossina. Rossina married to men who she did not love to avoid concerned if her husband not to marry her. This story tells more harsh treatment and inhumane Dutch colonial families against native’s slaves.

The next story, *Tjerita Nji Paina* tells about Dutch masters behavior that makes defamation against the natives to get the girl as his wife. He wanted Nyji Paina as his wife. In this story, the body conflict on indigenous women and sexuality seen in dependence of women to make choices even reject the parent's wishes. Nyai Paina must abide her father wishes to marry him, the Dutch colonial man.

The last story that consists of body conflict and sexuality is *Tjerita Si Jonat*. It tells about Jonat life behavior like an evil. He was as a thief from a child to adult. The body conflicts position and sexuality of indigenous women seen at Si Jonat treatment to Si Saipa, Si Saipa’s father to his daughter. Si Jonat behavior against Si Saipa is ignoring her and prohibiting remarrying, in fact, he had left her.

In term of this case, Si Saipa did not give a freedom to determine his life and he was shackled by Si Jonat. Meanwhile, Si Saipa’s father treatment is selling the children. The body conflict position and sexual lies in Si Saipa sale with a bag of rice. Si Saipa regarded as goods, inanimate objects that do not have the right to independence. In this case, his thoughts and behaviors shackled by a greater power, that is his father. The stories that were authored by the literature of Balai Pustaka period and the writers of Tionghoa Descent deliver different view ways toward indigenous women, in terms of the bodies and sexuality. In the literary work (novel) that was authored by Balai Pustaka period, Sang Liyan (indigenous women) convicted even labeled as being low by indigenous leaders. In *Salah Asuhan* that is authored by Abdul Muis, Hanafi valued Rafiah’s wife as a woman who is not educated and cultured as himself.

In this context, Hanafi did a mimicry towards Dutch colonial culture so that it was as part of the colonial culture (the mimic man). His perspective is in a different way to the native Dutch. Hanafi saw Rafiah as a woman who only can take care a child and cooking. Hanafi compares to a female Dutch descent (European), namely Corie de Buze who have a higher culture and educated. Due to Rafiah uneducated, Hanafi believes that Rafiah...

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not suitable to be his wife. Meanwhile, *Siti Nurbaya* Novel authored by Marah Rusli, orientalism issue of indigenous women's bodies and sexuality, are also stated by indigenous leaders, unlike Datuk Maringgih, Sulaiman King, and some female figures who criticize the men views toward women. In this novel, the women are seen as goods or exchange items that can be used to redeem debt/assets. The marriage of Siti Nurbaya with Datuk Maringgih is a sample perspective that positions of indigenous women as goods/thing. In addition, the views degrading position of women than men appear in conversation with Fatimah. The utterance that the women are seen weaker than men can be observed in the above table.

Orientalism of body conflict of indigenous women and sexuality on the stories that were authored by Tionghoa Descent conveyed through Netherlands figures (colonial) or by the indigenous men. In *Tjerita Nyai Rossina*, telling a female character Netherlands colonial descent of indigenous women is illustrated as follow.

“Adatnya ada amat bengis terlebih lagi pada boedak-boedaknya. Salah sedikit, marika itoe disiksa stenga mati” (p. 151)

“kemana sinjo Jan berteriak?
Dia djatoeh, Nja!
Djatoh?...siapa poenja salah, monjet?
Rossina, Nja! Dia jang djaga sinjo koetika saja pergi di blakang sabentaran.
....njonja van der Ploegh coebit sakoeat koetnia pipinja ini boedak hingga ia ini bertereak
“adoeh” ’’ (p. 152)

In *Tjerita Nyai Rossina* is authored by F.D.J. Pangemanann, this illustrates once suppression of the resistance of slaves against the employer. In the body conflict context of indigenous women and sexuality, the master or mistress the Netherlands considers that indigenous women should not be more than herself. Therefore, indigenous women are conditioned to remain unequal or inferior to herself. Rossina is a beautiful girl. It makes her boss; Mrs van der Ploegh, hate Rossina fearing they would compete with her to her husband like her. Therefore, Rossina soon married her to Si Apol.

“..tiada berapa lama maka Rossina soedah djadi istrinja si Apol, saorang boedaknya njonja Van der Ploegh, jang soedah toea sertapoen roepanja jelek dan ramboetnya soeda penoeh oeban” (hal. 150)

The violent acts or violent languages (verbal) by the boss to the slaves (Rossina) is also often performed. In this case, the body and sexuality of indigenous women are not respected, the whites. Verbal abuse appears when the slave (Rossina) called *monkeys, animals*, or violence nonverbal, such as ironing, kicking, and others.

“Mari sini loe binatang!
Saja njoja! Rossina dengan soeara jang amat rendah sambil deketin njonjanja ....
Tentoe loe poenja ingetan ada di mana-mana, barangkali, barangkali sedeng inget djantoeng hati loe, ja? Sampe tidak sempet djaga sinjo, babi!” (hal 152)

“Dalem sekejap mata ia soedah tjaboet dari kondenja satoe toeseok konde laloe toeseok-toeseok badaannya hingga ia menjerit minta tolong” (hal. 152)

Another story that was written by Tionghoa Descent descent is *Tjerita Si Jonat*. It is composed by F.D.J. Pangemanann. *Tjerita Si Jonat* tells about Jonat’s journey as children to adults who worked as a thief. He stole society wealth/neighbor and Chinese community. If it is connected to the Dutch colonial context rule, Jonat means a cause of Dutch colonial plunder the wealth of indigenous peoples, even the Tionghoa Descent societies.

In the Orientalism context, to body conflict of indigenous women’s and sexuality, which position the indigenous women perspective is lower that worldview presented by Si Jonat figures. The events presented in the story is when Jonat’s wife wants to get married again. Si Saipa was Jonat’s wife. Due to they do not have the wealth, Si Saipa was leaving Si Jonat in a long time. After, she left by Si Jonat, Si Saipa willing to marry again. Si Jonat banned it because Si Saipa is hers.
Therefore, he kills Si Saipa. In this relation, Si Saipa does not give a freedom to choose. The whole body and sexuality of Si Saipa tied and controlled up by Si Jonat. If it is related to the historical context of the colonial era, the Dutch colonial symbolized through Si Jonat figures actually imprison an indigenous people; wealth; and their freedom.

Another story that is used as the subject of this study is a story written by H. Kommer entitled *Tjerita Nyi Paina*. It tells the indigenous peoples liberation from Dutch colonial shackles. It is unlike symbolization as well as the indigenous people liberation from the invaders. The motive of this story has a similarity with Siti Nurbaya Novel in Balai Pustaka period, lies in the colonial techniques who wanted to rule the natives. In order to master Nyi Paina, Mr. Briot accused Nyi Paina’s father steal. In order to pay a debt off the stolen money, Mr. Briot requested Nyi Paina unlike instead.

*Toean Briot lantar mengarti itoe dan lantas doega iang Niti tentoe ada kakoerangan oewang di kasnja dan itoelah bole djadi lantaran aken daper Nji Paina, iang pantes sekali di bikan njainja.*

(hal. 385)

*Berkata toean Briot: “Dimana Nji Paina? Kaloe kaoe soeka Nji Paina djadi njai koe, nistjaja tiada nanti terdjadi satoe apa atas dirimoe dan semoea oewang itoe kau tiada oesah bajar koembali”*

(hal. 388)

The women position in Tjerita Nyi Paina is almost the same as in Siti Nurbaya Novel. Nyi Paina is seen seems a tool or thing to pay her father's debt off. However, Nyi Paina story is trying to free herself from the Mr. Briot powerful. She would be married to Mr. Briot in a motif to kill Mr. Briot. Nyi Paina succeeds to kill Mr. Briot by transmitting the virus or the disease. This story is indigenous resistance to the Dutch Colonial.

4. Conclusion

Orientalism in body conflict of indigenous women and sexuality of novels in Balai Pustaka and Tionghoa Descent presented by the authors through the characters. In Balai Pustaka novels, orientalism body conflict of indigenous women and sexuality presented by prominent indigenous men against indigenous women. For example, Datuk Maringgih perspective to Siti Nurbaya. Sulaiman King viewed to Siti Nurbaya in Siti Nurbaya Novel. Meanwhile, *Salah Asuhan* novel by Abdoel Moeis composition, the perspective of the male figure against indigenous women which conducted by prominent Hanafi to Rafiah.

Orientalism in body conflict of indigenous women and sexuality in the novels written by Tionghoa Descent, among others carried out by Dutch colonial figures and indigenous leaders. Some perspective that positions of the female body and female sexuality natives as *the liyan* are a perspective Miss van der Ploegh towards Rossina in *Tjerita Nyi Rossina*, Si Jonat perspective towards Si Saipa in *Tjerita Si Jonat*, Mr. Briot perspective towards Nyi Paina in Tjerita Nyi Paina by H. Kommer.

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