

# SUPPRESSION EFFORTS BY THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE PROTAGONIST IN PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER'S *HOUSE OF GLASS*

**Achmanudin Berutu, Sri Wulan**

Faculty of Literature, Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Medan, Indonesia  
E-mail: [aganberutu@gmail.com](mailto:aganberutu@gmail.com)

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## Abstract

This research examines the Dutch colonial government's efforts to suppress the actions of Minke, the protagonist in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's novel *House of Glass*. Using a descriptive qualitative approach, the study analyzes words, phrases, and sentences in the novel that indicate colonial attempts to hinder Minke's activities. The methodology involved qualitative data collection focused on identifying events that reflect the colonial government's interventions. The analysis centers on two key aspects: Minke's actions, which include spreading nationalist ideas, organizing movements, leading the SDI (Serikat Dagang Islam), and using speech and writing as tools for resistance. The findings reveal that the colonial government employed various strategies to curb Minke's influence, including surveillance and reporting, legal restrictions and extrajudicial measures, exile of prominent figures, property confiscation, and rumor-spreading. These efforts underscore the colonial regime's reliance on military force and the loyalty of indigenous officials, highlighting its fundamental weaknesses due to a lack of democratic foundations.

**Keywords:** *colonialism; colonial regime; movement; nationalism; postcolonialism*

## 1. Introduction

Literary works are the embodiment of life, the result of the observation of the surrounding life, the author in creating literary works is based on the experience he has gained from the reality of life in society that occurs in the role of characters in the real world and is poured into the form of literary works. Language in literary works becomes a tool to create a special sense that contains aesthetic value in addition of communication, which is able to convey various informations to the audience or readers. Literary works have several types such as poetry, romance, short story drama novels of the like.

Novel is one of the literary works or works of prose fiction that is narrative, a novel usually tells about the characters the author wants to tell, both about his behavior and daily life. Nurgiyantoro (2018) states that a novel is a totality, a whole that is artistic. As a matter of totality, novels have parts, elements that depend on each other. If

the novel is said to be a totality, the elements of words, language, for example are one part of totality.

Literary works as a cultural product can be a means of arousing awareness. Literary works are not born from the womb of cultural emptiness. It is a representation of human daily practice (Jabrohim, 2015).

Literature provides an overview and reflection on human behavior. There are so much contents of advice that we can explore through literature. The novel as a literary work is full of values that can be learned and exemplified. The values contained in novels often raise contextual problems. (Alwadhaf and Omar, 2011) stated that literature can be a bridge and become a reference to the past and bitter experiences as a colonized country. The reason is, efforts to understand the decline in nationalism and character values can be done through novel works that represent the impact of colonization (Suwondo, 2016).

The novel *House of Glass* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer is a literary work that firmly permeates the political history of the Dutch East Indies at the beginning of the 20th century. The novel depicts the lives of indigenous peoples living in the shadow of harsh and systemic colonial rule. Minke, the main character, became a symbol of resistance to the social and political injustices experienced by the indigenous population.

At that time, the Dutch colonial government was in full control of the territory of the Dutch East Indies, and resistance efforts from natives were considered a serious threat to the stability of colonial power. In this context, the novel *House of Glass* depicts the complex interaction between the colonial government and resistance figures.

The colonial government, with all its power and authority, used various strategies to stop the resistance of the protagonist and other indigenous liberation movements. They impose political repression, restrictions on freedom of speech, arrest and detention of activists, and manipulation of the law and judicial process to maintain their dominance (Adriansyah, 2016).

In response to this challenge, Pramoedya Ananta Toer through his narration in *House of Glass* provides a deep perspective on how resistance to colonial oppression was fought, as well as how the colonial government tried to maintain its power. Therefore, further analysis of the interaction between protagonist's resistance and the colonial government's efforts in this novel is important to study.

By looking at the historical and literary context, this study will explain efforts of the Dutch colonial government in suppressing and stopping Minke's influence in fighting for the rights of indigenous people. Through a deeper understanding of the dynamics of the relationship between the colonial government and the resistance movement at that time, it is hoped that this written can make a valuable contribution to the study of history and literature, as well as its relevance to contemporary socio-political conditions.

In this study, the main focus is to analyze the protagonist's actions and the efforts made by the colonial government in the novel *House of Glass* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer to stop the activities of Minke, the protagonist in the novel. This study limited the analysis to the historical and socio-cultural context set out in the novel. By maintaining the focus on the novel *House of Glass* as the primary source, the study can provide deep insight into the relationship between the colonial government and the main characters in the story, as well as its implications for the story as a whole.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Colonialism**

Colonialism is defined as "domination of a people or area by a foreign state or nation : the practice of extending and maintaining a nation's political and economic control over another people or area" or "the policy of or belief in acquiring and retaining colonies" (Merriam-Webster, 2023)

According to Tyson in Darmawan (2023), colonialism left a cultural residue involving adopting the colonizer's government, education, and practices that disparage the conquered culture. The colonized also adopted the colonizer's appearance. The colonized frequently had a psychological "legacy" of bad self-image from the colonizer. The conquerors also alienated them from their culture, which had been suppressed or ignored for years. Therefore, most pre-colonial or original colonized culture is gone permanently. Craven in Darmawan (2023) states that the colonizers established a hierarchical system where they positioned themselves at the highest level, thus asserting their authority and making decisions on behalf of the conquered population.

It can be concluded that a colonial power or colonial government is a country or entity that engages in colonialism. It is a state that exercises control or dominance over another territory or nation through recognized acts of colonial rule. Colonial powers often use military, economic, and political force to maintain and expand their control over conquered territories or nations. History records many examples of colonialism by European nations such as England, France, the Netherlands, and Spain during the period of exploration and colonial expansion.

### **2.2 Postcolonialism**

According to Said in Nurhadi (2007) culture and politics in the case of colonialism have cooperated, intentionally or unintentionally, to give birth to a system of domination involving not only cannons and soldiers but a sovereignty that transcends forms, allusions and imaginations of rulers and those who are controlled. The result was a vision that held that Europeans were not only entitled, but obliged to rule.

Nurhadi (2007: 2) stated Postcolonialism is the study of literary works (and other fields) related to the practice of colonialism or imperialism either synchronically or diachronically. Postcolonial studies seeks to unveil the practice of colonialism behind a number of literary works as a superstructure of a power, colonial power. Literature is seen as having power either as a constituent of hegemony or vice versa as a counter to hegemony.

The word postcolonialism, which is often used as a translation of postcolonial, is a term that refers to the problem of colonial "time after". In fact, postcolonialism does not only refer to literary studies after the colonial era, or the era of independence, but more broadly refers to everything related to colonialism

In Nurhadi (2007) Postcolonialism as a study emerged in the 1970s. Postcolonial studies in the West were marked by the emergence of Edward Said's book *Orientalism* in 1978 which was then followed by a number of other books that are still related to Western perspectives in looking at the East.

Postcolonialism as theory itself is a set of theories in philosophy, film, literature, and other fields that examine cultural legality related to colonial roles. This field is not a monopoly on literary studies. Postcolonial is similar to feminist studies in that it encompasses a broader field of humanities studies (Nurhadi :2007)

Foulcher and Day in Santosa (2012) argue that postcolonialism in literary studies is a reading strategy that generates questions that can help identify signs of colonialism in critical and literary texts and assess the nature and importance of the textual effects of these signs.

Postcolonialism is a theoretical approach in cultural, literary, and social studies that considers the impact and legacy of colonialism in culture, politics, and post-colonial society. The term refers to an analysis that looks at how colonial power structures continue to influence the post-colonial world, either directly or indirectly.

### 2.3 Character

Character is one of the most important elements that can be found in a literary novel or short story form. The problem of characterizations is one thing that presence in a very important and necessary fiction, because is not probably there is a literary work without the moving figures and eventually making a plot. Every character has different characterizations and it can cause a conflict. Character is the quality of the mind and soul that distinguishes one character to another.

Abarms in Nurgiyantoro (2009: 165) says that the meaning of character is the persons presented in a dramatic or native work, which are interpreted by the reader as being endowed with moral and dispositional qualities that are expressed in what they say the dialogue and what they do the action.

Minderop (2005: 2) says that character can also be a person, community, race, mental and moral attitude, the quality of reasoning, famous people and characters in literature.

Stanton (2012: 17) reveals that "the use of the term character itself suggests two different meanings, namely as a story character who is shown and as an attitude of interest, desire, emotion and moral principle possessed by the characters.

Nurgiyantoro (2018: 436) says character is "character, personality, self-identity, identity. Character is identity, personality, and character attached to a person related to the psychic and fictional dimensions.

According to Keraf (2010: 164), "a description of character can be achieved through other characters or characters who interact in the storytelling. The author must decide whether to use descriptions to present the character, or leave it to other characters in the narrative to talk about and stage other characters' characters.

Thus, it can be concluded that character is a description of personality, attitudes, emotions and interests related to story characters which are achieved through interaction in the storytelling shown.

### 2.4 Protagonist's Action

Action refers to an activity, behavior, or act that is intentional and directed toward achieving a specific goal (Chaplin, 2010). Meanwhile, the term *social* encompasses all aspects related to society, focusing on matters of public interest and interpersonal behaviors that contribute to or arise from social processes (Chaplin, 2010). Together, these terms help define the concept of social action, which is action oriented toward or influenced by social interactions and structures.

In the context of a literary work, the protagonist's actions are central to understanding the story's development and themes. The protagonist's activities are those actions, decisions, and behaviors that the main character engages in, often driving the narrative forward and creating or responding to conflict. These activities frequently

reveal the protagonist's motivations, values, and personal growth, making them pivotal in shaping the plot and engaging the audience with the character's journey.

### 3. Research Method

The research design used in this study was carried out in descriptive qualitative form. Asenahabi (2019) stated qualitative research is research that explores and understands the meaning of a person or group of people where the resulting data cannot be quantified. In addition, Leavy (2017) stated that qualitative research methods are methods used to examine the depth of the meaning of values and sub-qualitative approaches in society as well as the meaning-making process. In simple terms, qualitative research methods are research methods used to analyze, describe and interpret emerging phenomena. Descriptive qualitative research method was applied in this study to analyze the colonial government's effort to stop protagonist in the novel *House of Glass*. According to Creswell (2023), the descriptive qualitative research is an analytical approach where the researcher approaches the data, uses limited frameworks and interpretations to explain the data, and catalogs information into themes.

Then, Lambert and Lambert (2013: 256) explain that data collection of qualitative descriptive studies focuses on discovering the nature of the specific events under study. Thus, to achieve an accurate analysis, the data collection was done by the steps: (1) searching data from words, phrases and sentences related to the indications of colonial government's effort to stop the protagonist actions in the novel; and (2) making important notes based on the words, phrases, and sentences related to the identified points. Then, to analyze the data, several steps were classifying each data based on the protagonist's activity, government actions, government effort and the effect of the actions cause by both protagonists and colonial government, and analyzing the data notes based on the collected notes of words, phrases, and sentences.

### 4. Discussion

This part describes specific issues raised in the scope of the study. They are the protagonist's actions toward the colonial government and the efforts made by the colonial government to stop the protagonist's actions.

#### 4.1 Protagonist's Actions toward the Colonial Government

Minke's actions toward the colonial government were multifaceted. His strategies collectively challenged colonial authority and fostered a sense of national identity and self-determination among the natives. The quotations provided offer a glimpse into Minke's methods and their impact, illustrating his role as a key figure in the resistance against colonial.

##### a. Spreading Nationalist Ideas and Organizing Movements

Minke actively spread nationalist ideas and organized movements which led to the colonial government's concern. His actions were aimed at awakening and uniting the natives, fostering a sense of nationalism and self-awareness.

"But the Indies was not Europe, just an occupied colony. There was no House of Representatives here that could contain the power groups that existed. The government based its power here on the strength of its armed forces and the loyalty of the Native officials who served it. Its foundations were not as strong as those of the European

democracies. Every wound against authority encouraged further moves toward the growth of power groups (Toer, 1997: 10)”

This quotation illustrates the fundamental difference between colonial rule in the Dutch East Indies and democratic rule in Europe. In the Dutch East Indies, the power of the colonial government was based on military strength and the loyalty of the indigenous officials who served them. There is no legislature like in Europe that can accommodate the various groups of power that exist. Any action that undermines the authority of the colonial government encourages the growth of new groups of power. Minke was aware of the basic weakness of colonial government that did not have a strong democratic foundation. By spreading nationalist ideas and organizing movements, he sought to raise awareness of indigenous peoples about their rights and ability to self-determination. This action led to the creation of new power groups that could challenge colonial authority.

“Through organized rallies and meetings, Minke spread the message of nationalism and self-determination, challenging the legitimacy of colonial rule (Toer, 1997: 14)”.

The quotation above highlights Minke's efforts to organize rallies and meetings as a means to disseminate nationalist ideas. These gatherings provided a platform for educating and mobilizing the masses.

Minke's use of organized events to spread nationalist ideas underscores the importance of grassroots organizing in the struggle for independence. By creating spaces for collective action, he enabled people to come together and challenge colonial authority.

“Minke's speeches ignited a sense of pride and unity among the natives, who began to see themselves as a collective force capable of challenging colonial rule (Toer, 1997: 12).”

This emphasizes the impact of Minke's speeches in fostering a sense of national identity and solidarity among the natives. His words inspired them to view themselves as part of a larger movement for independence.

The ability to inspire and unite people through speeches is a testament to Minke's leadership and rhetorical skills. His oratory helped to galvanize support for the nationalist cause and build a cohesive movement.

#### **b. Leading SDI (Sarekat Dagang Islam)**

SDI (Sarekat Dagang Islam) was an organization that was originally established for the economic benefit of Muslim traders, but under Minke's leadership, it developed into a major political power. This rapid growth shocked the colonial authorities and caused serious concern because the SDI had the potential to rally the power of the people in opposing colonial rule.

“Minke and his SDI had moved more quickly and grown much bigger than anyone had predicted. The concentration of power in his movement now hung like the sword of Damocles. Such a situation could not be handled effectively within the law (Toer, 1997: 11).”

The quotation above explains how fast SDI grew and developed under Minke's leadership. The concentration of power in this movement posed a significant threat to the colonial government, and this situation could not be effectively overcome through existing laws.

"The SDI's influence extended far beyond trade, becoming a beacon of hope for those seeking political change (Toer, 1997: 15)."

The above quotation illustrates the transformation of SDI from a trade organization into a political movement. Under Minke's guidance, SDI became a symbol of resistance and a platform for advocating political reform.

The expansion of SDI's influence reflects the broader impact of Minke's leadership. By addressing both economic and political issues, SDI provided a comprehensive approach to challenging colonial rule.

"Minke's vision for SDI was not just economic empowerment, but also political awakening (Toer, 1997: 17)."

That quotation underscores Minke's broader vision for SDI. He saw the organization as a means to not only improve economic conditions but also to awaken political consciousness among the natives.

Minke's dual focus on economic and political goals highlights his holistic approach to resistance. By addressing multiple aspects of colonial oppression, he aimed to create a more robust and sustainable movement for independence. Minke led SDI, which quickly grew in size and influence, alarming the colonial authorities due to its potential to challenge their power.

### **c. Using Speech and Pen as Weapons**

Unlike past resistances which involved armed conflict, Minke used speech and pen to advocate for change, which was a new and effective method of resistance.

"Today their weapons were nothing else but speech and pen (Toer, 1997: 386)."

This quotation highlights the differences in the methods of resistance used by Minke and his supporters. They do not use weapons or physical violence, but rather use speeches and writing to voice change.

This change in the method of resistance shows Minke's forward thinking in dealing with the invaders. By using speeches and writing, he can disseminate ideas and information widely without having to engage in high-risk armed conflicts. This approach is also more effective in creating long-term change because it can build awareness and support of the masses peacefully.

"With the pen in my hand, I would fight all of them (Toer, 1997: 387)."

This showcases Minke's determination to use his writing as a tool for resistance. The pen symbolizes his commitment to challenging colonial oppression through intellectual means rather than physical force.

Minke's reliance on writing underscores the power of the written word in shaping public opinion and galvanizing support for nationalist movements. His writings served as a means to expose injustices and rally people to the cause of independence.

"Words are mightier than the sword, and Minke knew this well (Toer, 1997: 388)."

This quotation reinforces the idea that Minke understood the immense power of language. By choosing words over weapons, he could reach a wider audience and advocate for change more effectively.

The belief in the superiority of words over violence reflects Minke's strategic and moral approach to resistance. He aimed to create a lasting impact by fostering a culture of intellectual engagement and discourse.

#### **4.2 The Colonial Government's Efforts to Stop the Protagonist**

The government acknowledged the rise of nationalist movements as a significant challenge and responded by trying to contain and mitigate their impact through various means, including surveillance and direct confrontation.

"This government that represented Europe now confronted a product of Europe itself—an awakening and exploding nationalism (Toer, 1997: 386)."

It emphasizes that colonial governments representing Europe must now face the consequences of Europe's own influence, namely the rise and explosion of nationalism.

The nationalism that developed in the Dutch East Indies was the result of the influence of education and ideas from Europe. Ironically, colonial governments had to deal with the resurgence of nationalism that they spread through education and cultural interaction. The colonial government responded by trying to control and suppress nationalist movements through various means, including surveillance, direct confrontation, and so on to maintain their power.

##### **a. Surveillance and Reports**

Surveillance of individuals associated with political activists is a common strategy used by governments to isolate the activist and prevent the mobilization of support. By monitoring Minke's acquaintances, the government aimed to deter them from aiding him, thus weakening his position and ability to organize resistance.

"First, the activities of Minke were not illegal. There were no laws that could be used to stop his activities, neither colonial laws nor any laws from Holland. But every activity that tended to lead toward the accumulation of power was a danger to the government (Toer, 1997: 10)."

In the quotation above, we can tell that the colonial government closely monitored all Minke's activities even though there was no law that could be used to stop his activities. Although his actions did not violate colonial or Dutch law, the government saw the accumulation of power in the hands of the natives as a threat that could potentially diminish their authority and cause disruption.

"The Betawi police compiled a list of everybody who had ever been close to him and sent out its eyes and ears to see if any of them were preparing to give him any help (Toer, 1997: 442)."

In this quotation, the Betawi police made a list of all the people who had been close to Minke and kept an eye on them to see if anyone was planning to help Minke. By keeping an eye on the people around Minke, the government is trying to cut off all possible lines of support available to him. It also aims to create an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, so that people are reluctant to show support openly. This oversight reflects the government's fear of potential political movements that could rival or even overthrow colonial power. This kind of intensive surveillance is often used to suppress movements that are considered dangerous to the status quo.

"I have long known that every move and word of mine is recorded in their offices (Toer, 1997: 325)."

This quotation reveals that Minke was aware of the extensive surveillance he was under, with every action and statement being documented by the colonial authorities.

These quotations illustrate the extensive surveillance and reporting mechanisms employed by the colonial government to monitor and control Minke's actions. This constant surveillance aimed to limit his influence and preempt any organized resistance against colonial rule.

#### **b. Legal Limitations and Extrajudicial Measures**

Obstructing legal action is a way to ensure that the opposition does not have the means to legally resist government action. This closes the only possible avenue for the opposition to gain justice and support. The government recognized that Minke's activities were not illegal but posed a threat due to the accumulation of power.

"First, the activities of Minke were not illegal. There were no laws that could be used to stop his activities, neither colonial laws nor any laws from Holland. But every activity that tended to lead toward the accumulation of power was a danger to the government (Toer, 1997: 10)."

It underlines that although Minke's activities were not unlawful, they were still considered dangerous by colonial governments because they could accumulate power that challenged their authority.

The colonial government faced a dilemma because it could not use existing laws to stop Minke's activities. This shows that Minke is working within the boundaries of the law, but the impact is so great that the government is considering extrajudicial measures to stop it. This reflects the government's fear of a potential change in power that could be initiated by nationalist movements.

"Nobody knew that I had taken them for myself and that I kept them in my house (Toer, 1997: 442)."

This quotation showed The government ensured that Minke could not successfully sue or challenge the authorities, limiting his legal avenues and public sympathy.

### c. Exiling Prominent Figure

Exile was a tool often used by colonial governments to silence influential opposition voices. By exile of the movement's leaders, the government sought to cut off communication lines and reduce the spirit of resistance among its followers.

The colonial government had a history of exiling native figures who demanded equality or posed a threat to their authority, indicating a potential measure against Minke.

"Governor-General Idenburg had no qualms at all about exiling Natives who, after studying in Europe, did nothing more than demand equal wages with Europeans. They annoyed His Excellency because they had become so bigheaded as to think that they were the equals of Europeans (Toer, 1997: 143)."

This quotation makes it clear that the Governor General of Idenburg did not hesitate to exile the natives who demanded equality with Europeans, especially after they had studied in Europe and returned with new ideas about equality.

"My original report was still considered correct, because the governor-general had been able to take the decision to exile Minke in time (Toer, 1997: 149)."

In this quotation, Minke was exiled by the government as a precautionary measure to limit his influence and leadership in the Sarekat Islam organization.

Exile was one of the strategies used by the colonial government to control nationalist figures who were considered a threat to their stability. By exile these figures, the government seeks to extinguish the spirit of resistance and prevent the spread of nationalist ideas. It also shows how serious the threat the government feels from educated and influential individuals like Minke.

### d. Property Confiscation

Property foreclosure or confiscation is a drastic measure aimed at weakening a person economically, thereby reducing his or her ability to fund and lead opposition movements. It also shows that the government is willing to infringe on individual property rights in order to maintain their power.

"It looked as if he had not been informed about the confiscation of all his property by the government. And I knew why. The government was ashamed of what it had done (Toer, 1997: 419)."

The quotation shows that the government confiscated all of Minke's property with the aim of weakening its financial position and reducing its influence.

"It was also said that the government took over his press and used it for its own propaganda purposes (Toer, 1997: 442)."

This is another form of confiscation where the government seized control of Minke's press. By doing so, they aimed to suppress his voice and utilize his resources for their propaganda, further undermining his influence and spreading their own narrative.

Seizing control of the press is a strategic move to control the flow of information. By using Minke's press for their propaganda, the government not only

silences a critical voice but also manipulates the medium to disseminate their version of events, thus maintaining control over public perception and opinion.

Confiscating property is one of common tactic used by oppressive regimes to weaken political opponents by stripping them of their resources. By confiscating Minke's property, the government intended to hinder his ability to lead and support the nationalist movement. This measure not only impacts Minke directly but also sends a message to others about the potential consequences of opposing colonial rule.

#### **e. Spreading Rumors**

Spreading rumors is a tactic often used to divide and weaken movements by pitting their leaders against their followers. By instilling doubt and distrust, the government hopes to destroy solidarity within the organization.

“And he didn't know either that paid agents of the government were spreading rumors in the Sarekat that the return of Raden Mas Minke would bring disaster on the Sarekat and its members because it was Raden Mas Minke who was responsible for the attacks on the Chinese that had taken place four years earlier (Toer, 1997: 419).”

The quotation shows the government agents spread rumors to damage Minke's reputation and create distrust among members of Sarekat Islam. The rumors included allegations that Minke was responsible for attacks on the Chinese community several years earlier.

"Government agents had started a whispering campaign against Minke, suggesting that he was a traitor working with the Dutch (Toer, 1997: 442).

Government agents initiated a whispering campaign to portray Minke as a traitor collaborating with the Dutch. This tactic was designed to turn public opinion against him, damaging his reputation and credibility among his supporters.

Labeling a nationalist leader as a traitor can significantly undermine their authority and trust within the movement. The government's whispering campaign aimed to isolate Minke by creating an image of betrayal, thereby weakening his influence and the overall strength of the nationalist cause. This approach is particularly damaging in a resistance movement, where trust and solidarity are crucial.

## **5. Conclusion**

Based on the analysis, several key conclusions emerge. The protagonist actively promoted nationalist ideas and organized movements to raise awareness and unite indigenous people. These actions exposed the structural vulnerabilities of the colonial government, which relied heavily on military force and the loyalty of indigenous officials to maintain control. As leader of the SDI (Serikat Dagang Islam), the protagonist contributed to its rapid growth, which posed a considerable threat to colonial rule. The rise of the SDI highlights its potential to mobilize public support and challenge colonial authority. The protagonist's use of speech and writing as tools of resistance represented a novel and effective strategy, allowing ideas of change to spread widely and peacefully compared to armed conflict. While his activities were not inherently illegal, they were viewed as dangerous due to the accumulating influence and solidarity they fostered against colonial power. In response, the colonial government

took extrajudicial measures to counter the protagonist's influence, illustrating their concern over the potential impact of the nationalist movement. The colonial authorities frequently resorted to exile for indigenous figures who sought equality or questioned their power, using isolation as a tactic to weaken the nationalist spirit. Recognizing the rise of nationalism as a serious threat, the colonial government employed a range of strategies—including surveillance, direct confrontation, and propaganda—to control and curb its impact and ultimately sustain their rule.

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