
Exile Trauma and Gender Relevance in the Novel *Pulang*: Postmemory Studies Marianne Hirsch

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ABSTRACT

Inspired by the real-life experiences of Indonesian exiles, Leila S. Chudori's *Pulang* explores the journey of an exile of the New Order regime attempting to come to terms with the trauma of the 1965 tragedy, and the inherited trauma of his daughter, who returns to the country of her father's birth amid political turmoil. This research focused on revealing the discourse of exile as a victim who transmits their trauma to a subsequent generation, as well as the position of gender in the formulation of transmission, affecting the identification of trauma inheritance. Hirsch's postmemory perspective was employed to analyze the process of trauma inheritance, which was rarely found in Indonesian literary works, as were the historical descriptive, causality, and comparison methods. The trauma inheritance experienced by the first generation is the trauma of loss due to the 1965 tragedy, which was then passed down to a child. Familial transmission becomes the basis of trauma inheritance, strengthened by affiliate transmission, which was a work of authentication in Indonesia. Gender plays a role in the affectivity of transmission, wherein transmissions involving fathers (exiles) and daughters are just as trauma-creating triggers. It is noteworthy that affiliative transmission fosters intersubjectivity among non-exiled female characters who are closely connected to the first generation, thereby enhancing the inheritance of trauma more effectively than familial transmission. The first generation is exiled and identifies its trauma by remembering and bringing with it Indonesian features, in various forms. In contrast, the second generation does it more concretely by becoming a real Indonesian. These findings underpin how an exile's trauma stemming from the 1965 tragedy can be passed on to the second generation, through a transmission process, a journey back to Indonesia, and gender relevance. *Pulang* redefines an exile as a victim and as an effort for reconciliation.

Keywords: *exile 65; gender; Indonesianness; postmemory; trauma*

INTRODUCTION

Exiles have become a new reality in Indonesia, since 1965 several Indonesian citizens who were forbidden to come back home by the New Order appear to

be exiles. The New Order refers to a political regime which had the power to forbid certain people to come back to Indonesia. Even so, the New Order does not

represent Indonesia as a sovereign country. Whereas exiles were the victims of the 1965 tragedy—their departure abroad was in the leftist (socialist) countries of the mid-1960s and related to the occurrence of the G30S/1965 (Gusnelly, 2017: 1). They were Indonesian citizens who were outside the country to study or become state delegates to attend high-level conferences in socialist countries (Faisal, Muslimah, & Torry, 2017: 5). Furthermore, Akmaliah (2015: 72) said that the 1965 tragedy exiles were different from other exiles. The 1965 tragedy exiles are those who have a strong vision of Indonesia with the idea that before the events of 1965 they would return to their homeland and build Indonesia. In other words, these 1965 exiles are a group that has a strong nationalist identity with a mixture of socialist and communist ideological backgrounds regarding Indonesia.

Exiles are defined as a marginalized class that experienced violence from the New Order. Spivak (1988: 24–25) mentions epistemic violence that appears in a particular discourse that silences marginalized voices in the Western discourse. Spivak argues that epistemic violence arises from epistemic injustice within the structure of knowledge systems (Thambinathan, Kinsella, & Wylie, 2023: 3). In this context, the New Order government perpetrated epistemic violence against exiles by constructing their own version of history concerning them. This version of history became integrated into the knowledge structure, making it accessible and influential within society. More clearly, Galtung (1969: 172–173) explains that he divides violence into three; direct violence, indirect violence, and cultural violence. Exiles tend to experience indirect violence, characterized by its structural nature and systemic integration, rendering the perpetrator anonymous and the source of the violence obscured. This indirect structural violence was obtained through the New Order government system to forbid exiles from entering Indonesia. For this reason, exiles have their own memories and traumas. Exiles tend to experience indirect violence, characterized by its structural nature and systemic integration, rendering the perpetrator anonymous and the source of the violence obscured. Exiles experience forced dispossession because they are human beings made by their country and can no longer return to their homeland.

Pulang is a novel that explores the journey of an exile attempting to manage trauma in order to survive. Unlike previous works addressing the 1965 tragedy,

Pulang presents a unique narrative. Budiawan noted in his book that the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) discourse is often framed as one of revenge (Asa, 2019: 17). This theme is not prominent in Leila's work, which instead focuses on the victims from a political perspective. This study employs Marianne Hirsch's concept of postmemory to analyze the process of trauma inheritance from the first generation to subsequent generations, with particular attention to gender perspectives within the context of the 1965 tragedy.

Leila S. Chudori began her career as a journalist at Tempo, where she realized that not all stories could be fully captured in news and articles. Consequently, she turned to literature as a medium to convey what journalism could not. During a visit to Paris, France, she discovered an establishment named Indonesian Restaurant, where she met its founders, Umar Said and Sobron Aidit, former activists and exiles of the 1965 tragedy. Their experiences, including the opening of the restaurant and their lives as exiles in France, profoundly impacted Leila. This encounter inspired her to write *Pulang* as she explicitly details in the novel (Chudori, 2018).

Pulang narrates the story of Dimas, a man labeled as *kiri* (leftist) and subsequently designated as an *ex-tapol* (former political prisoner). Exiled to France, a country he never envisioned as a potential home, Dimas and his friends were forcibly displaced from Indonesia due to the 1965 tragedy. In their struggle to survive in France, Dimas ultimately decides to open an Indonesian restaurant. Historically, Dimas embodies the concept of *Nasionalisme Jarak Jauh*, a form of long-distance nationalism commonly practiced by exiles, a concept introduced by Akmaliah (2015: 72). Dimas Suryo lived in France and had a daughter, Lintang, who inherited his trauma related to the dark history of the 1965 tragedy. Lintang experienced her father's trauma as if it were her own, prompting her to investigate her father's past and the events of the 1965 tragedy. Her quest for answers ultimately led her to Indonesia during the 1998 crisis, a pivotal moment that helped her discover her identity. This narrative is particularly significant as it draws inspiration from the real-life experiences of an exile in France and is crafted by a journalist.

Wattimena (2016: 165) asserts that the 1965 tragedy has become a collective memory for Indonesians. Dimas internalizes this collective

memory as a personal trauma, stemming from the loss of a loved one. Faruk (2021: 6) supports this notion by stating that memories of the past are constructions of present recollections, and that competition over the truth of the past often manifests as contemporary conflicts. Dimas represents a modern individual negotiating with the memories of his past.

This article employs the concept of postmemory, which encompasses memory and trauma, to examine the 1965 tragedy in Indonesia. Faruk (2021) posits that postmemory is particularly pertinent to the Indonesian context, especially regarding the events of 1965. Notably, it is uncommon for the second generation of survivors of the PKI massacre to document their parents' experiences. In this context, Leila S. Chudori's two novels, one of them is *Pulang*, narrate the 1965 tragedy and the disappearances at the end of the New Order. Faruk (2021: 14) emphasizes that any written memory inherently involves a connection between the past and the present, a principle fundamental to memory studies.

Several studies discuss trauma as an object, Chu (2014) researched the Korean diaspora who experienced the violence of the Japanese, Russian, and American wars. Harris (2020) in her writing researched second-generation Jews who grew up in families affected by the Holocaust. Trauma inherited from parents is trauma resulting from political conflicts, wars of persecution, and genocide, according to Harris (2020), who further states that it is interesting that the trauma related to the Holocaust was carried out massively, organized, and had a deep psychological impact. Ernawati (2020), studying the Javanese novel, *Jawa Kadang Suriname Sanak Merapi*, reveals the elements of memory of Dutch colonialism towards Indonesia, and also discusses the narrative of a hyper-masculinized system through both intergenerational and intragenerational identification.

Three previous studies have discussed the novel, *Pulang*. Nasution (2016) found that *Pulang* has a construction of hybridity in the form of diaspora. His diaspora is characterized by figures who always reminisce and teach their children to always remember Indonesia. Mulyadi and Putra (2021), aimed to explain the transmission memory of the events of 1965 from the first generation to the post-generation in literary work. This transmission is described using the sourced text in *Pulang*. Their study resulted in the designation of the first generation, generation 1.5, and the

second generation experiencing the transmission of the trauma of the 1965 tragedy. Finally, Furqan (2022) sought to expound on the transmission of the memory in the post-generation and explore how the process of returning journey occurs, ultimately showing that the second-generation characters experience the same events as the first-generation when making a return journey to Indonesia .

The two last studies discuss the textual transmission in the novel. Mulyadi and Putra (2021) convey that the transmission will use books, museums, photos, personal letters, historical documents, and narratives, whereas Furqan (2022) refers to the process of a return journey that experiences the same trauma as the first generation.

The novelty of the present research lies in its focus on the trauma experienced by exiles in the context of the 1965 tragedy, highlighting the discourse of Indonesianness (sense of belonging) for an exile, who is often perceived as "another of the other." Additionally, this study examined the roles of familial and affiliative transmissions within the specific context of the 1965 tragedy and exile, incorporating gender perspectives in the process of trauma inheritance.

Postmemory describes the relationship of the second generation about the power, trauma, or events that occurred before the generation was born that were passed on to them to make the trauma like theirs (Hirsch, 2012: 5). Hoffman (2004: 13–14) defines the post-generation as "the hinge generation" and "the guardianship of the Holocaust" the way in which received, transferred knowledge of the events is being transmitted into history, or myth. This memory is transmitted by the Self, representing the first generation, to the Others, or the second generation, in a manner so profound that it appears as if they share the same traumatic experiences. Crucially, the second generation does not retrieve these memories from their own experiences, as they have no direct recollection of them. Instead, they reconstruct these memories through the narratives, photos, and other mediums provided by the first generation, which serve as vessels for these transmitted memories. Furthermore, Bergson (2023) defines memory as a collection of social memories. This collection of social memories will enter the dialectical process for each individual and create individual memories regarding the events they experienced.

The postmemorial generation—in displacing

and recontextualizing these well-known images in their artistic work—has been able to make repetition not an instrument of fixity or paralysis or simple retraumatization (as it often is for survivors of trauma), but a mostly helpful vehicle of working through a traumatic past (Hirsch, 2012: 5). This understanding of postmemory as potentially productive—not stuck or static, and as a condition and an approach that is haunted (a word that comes up frequently in scholarly discussions of postmemory) yet also hopeful—can be profoundly moving and motivating for those of us engaged in and with this kind of cultural work (Hong, 2020: 129–130).

Further emphasized by Frosh (2019), postmemory provides a space for the second generation to imaginatively and empathetically assume traumatic circumstances for others through themselves (Frosh, 2019: 1). Postmemory will focus on how this trauma transmission will lead to two things, one that leads to blood relations and one that is social. Furthermore, Kumalasari (2016: 63) highlights the relationship between postmemory and gender, specifically how gender relations are influential in the transmission of trauma. Kumalasari said that Hirsch saw differences in gender transmission relations between fathers-sons and mothers-daughters. Hirsch concludes that there are fundamental differences in women's subjectivity and intersubjectivity. In this case, the relationship between mother and child will be more visible, impactful, and more dramatic. This article will observe a different case where a familial transmission exists between father-daughter and the affiliative transmission is daughter-mother.

The research methods used in this research were historical descriptive, causality, and comparison. Descriptive methods were used to identify existing transmission. The causality method was used to discover the process of inheritance of trauma and discover the symbolization of Indonesian discourse using Marianne Hirsch's theory. Familial transmission, return journey, and affiliative transmission reconstruct the trauma inherited by the second generation. This process facilitates an identification mechanism to elucidate how the second generation's trauma emerges and how they define themselves based on this inherited trauma.

In this paper firstly describes the identification of familial transmission and affiliative transmission, followed by, the symbolization and meaning of objects

that become media in trauma transmission. Furthermore, the construction process of gender influence in both transmissions was carried out. Secondly, we discuss the identification of acquired trauma by the second generation with the returning journey process. And thirdly, the results of the Indonesian discourse built by the first generations and culminating in the second generations reveal the function of trauma inheritance in the context of the current 1965 tragedy.

This research contributes to the ongoing discourse surrounding the 1965 tragedy by identifying the transmission of trauma with considerations of gender and intergenerational notions of Indonesianness. It illuminates Leila's efforts to redefine the discourse of victimhood and perpetuate the victims' desire for reconciliation. Additionally, this study reveals that Leila inadvertently creates a narrative that keeps the 1965 tragedy relevant in the present, even as the first-generation ages. Ultimately, this research uncovers the function of intergenerational trauma inheritance within a literary work.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Transmission and Identification

The inheritance of trauma in postmemory is referred to as transmission. Hirsch wrote the definition of transmission based on the ideas of Jan and Aleida Assmann, both focused on memory (Hirsch, 2012: 32). Jan Assmann divided collective memory into two parts, communicative memory and cultural memory. Communicative memory includes individual memory and social memory, while cultural memory is divided into political memory and cultural memory. Faruk (2021: 6) confirmed cultural memory is the interplay between the past and the present in a socio-cultural context. This was the forerunner to the thinking about transmission put forward by Hirsch. The distinction between postmemory and memory for Hirsch is the same as Freud's distinction between physical and material reality, between experiences controlled by unconscious processes and consciousness. The first is not immediately present but has an equally large effect (Stuber, 2015: 1).

Hirsch (2012: 32) mentioned two things; familial postmemory relates to the context of family or blood relations and affiliative postmemory is outside the family or public domain. The two terms postmemory describe an arena or realm of postmemory work. Both

have the same depth and affectivity in different ways.

Familial transmission is particularly clear and almost undeniable in its depth and affectivity of trauma transmission. This depth can be identified through various factors, such as the duration of exposure, the intensity of encounters is generally lifelong, and facilitating the massive inheritance of trauma. Additionally, parents possess an inherent authoritative context, granting them the power to shape their children. This authority indirectly aids in transferring trauma from parents to children.

Affiliation is often considered unable to compete with the depth and affective of familial transmission. Familial transmission is indeed the main key in the presence of postmemory (Hirsch, 2012: 30). However, affiliative transmission is likely to be a significant determining factor in the transmission of trauma. Many aspects that are absent within the family domain can be found in the public domain. Meanwhile, the family acts as a gateway that triggers the emergence of trauma. It is the public sphere that further elaborates and intensifies this experience. The affiliative domain is vast and boundless, potentially allowing the second generation to receive more transmission in certain cases. If familial transmission is akin to a sketch in the form of lines, affiliative transmission adds the color that clarifies and completes the blurred image. Thus, affiliative transmission plays a crucial role and should be considered a decisive element in the context of postmemory.

Pulang: The Inheritance of Loss

This novel narrates the story of Dimas, a man who strives to survive his exile in France, where he ultimately receives asylum. While living abroad, his paramount dream is to return home. To sustain himself, he establishes an Indonesian restaurant called Tanah Air Restaurant. Eventually, Dimas marries a French woman and has a child named Lintang. Lintang travels to Indonesia to meet Dimas's closest friends, who are also victims of the 1965 tragedy.

This article not only focus on Dimas as the central figure but also examine the character of Lintang. Dimas's trauma centers on loss—the 1965 tragedy robbed him of his people and homeland. This trauma is inherited by Lintang, who does not immediately experience loss in the same way as Dimas. Instead, Lintang grapples with questions of

identity, wondering who she is, whether she is a part of Indonesia or Indonesia is part of her.

Trauma in this context is defined as an emotional response to an unpleasant thing or experience. This unpleasant thing can be exemplified by several things, for example, coercion, rape, natural disasters, or forced exile. The response to this trauma is an act of displeasure, which can take the form of several things or actions. The character who has trauma, Dimas, who experiences trauma due to an unpleasant incident, forced exile from his homeland. Due to this trauma, Dimas responds to the trauma in the form of anxiety. The anxiety has occurred because he lost everything he loves, such as his family, Indonesia, and all his happy memories. This anxiety is always present, even though he has got a new life. For Dimas, his dreams or achievements are "his past". He just wants to return to his past which was cut and lost because of the events of the 1965 tragedy.

In simple terms, the familial transmission that Dimas inherited from Lintang can be seen in four objects:

1. Spices in the jars. Dimas collected various spices, such as turmeric and cloves, in a container. These spices are a symbol of Dimas' longing for Indonesia. The smell of these spices always reminds him of the taste and familiar ambience of Indonesia.

"Lalu mengapa kunyit, Ayah? Demikian tanya Lintang dengan mata yang besar memandangi warna kuning bubuk itu di dalam stoples. Dimas tak pernah menjawab kecuali tersenyum dan juga membiarkan Lintang mencium harum kunyit yang menusuk. Cuping hidung Lintang kembang kempis".

(Chudori, 2022: 214)

"So why turmeric, Dad? Asked Lintang with big eyes looking at the yellow color of the powder in the jar. Dimas never answered except to smile and let Lintang nose-piercing smell of turmeric. Lintang's nostrils flared and deflated".

2. Restaurant *Tanah Air*. Dimas and his friends decided to build a restaurant serving Indonesian cuisine in France. This restaurant is a miniature Indonesia. Dimas tries to present everything about Indonesia in this restaurant.

Restoran Tanah Air, 90 Rue de Vaugirard, 1985

...

“Aduh kenapa lama sekali, ini sudah jam tujuh dan sudah waktunya makan malam. *Le diner sera délicieux*. Malam ini menunya adalah nasi kuning dengan lauknya: *tempe kering*, sayur urap empal, dan sambal goreng udang. Ayah akan membuatkan dua macam sambal, yaitu sambal bajak yang tidak terlalu pedas—Ayah selalu membuang biji cabe yang merah itu dan menggodoknya terlebih dahulu—agar sesuai dengan lidah pengunjung Prancis. Sambal yang satu lagi adalah sambal kacang dengan cabe rawit yang luar biasa pedas dan hanya dinikmati lidah Indonesia di Paris, Maman, dan Aku”.

(Chudori, 2022: 140)

Restoran Tanah Air, 90 Rue de Vaugirard, 1985

...

“Oh, what’s taking so long, it’s already seven o’clock and it’s time for dinner. *Le diner sera délicieux*. Tonight, the menu is *nasi kuning* with side dishes: *tempe kering*, *empal urap*, and *sambal goreng udang*. My father would make two kinds of *sambal*, that is *sambal bajak* which was not too spicy—father always removed the red chili seeds and boiled them first—so that it suited the taste buds of French visitors. Another type of *sambal* is *sambal kacang* with cayenne pepper which is extraordinarily spicy and is only enjoyed by the Indonesian tongue in Paris, Maman and Me”.

Lintang receives trauma through familial transmission not only in the form of images and stories but also through Indonesian cuisine. This culinary inheritance highlights the transmission of trauma, as Strand reveals that food recipes and flavors are crucial elements in forming an identity that connects with the past within a cultural context. These elements help negotiate with the present, create memories, and sustain a sense of continuity and identity (Strand, 2023: 468). The food, taste, and memory of the food that Lintang received from her father apparently influenced Lintang in negotiating her identity.

3. Surti. A woman loved by Dimas, his best friend’s wife. Surti is turmeric and cloves in a container in Dimas’ room. Surti is Dimas’ dark and beautiful story that Lintang accidentally finds out.

Maman...

Di tangannya ada beberapa lembar, entah kertas apa. Dia memegang lembaran itu dengan tangan gemetar. Astaga ada apa? Lintang memberikan lembaran itu, lalu keluar. Terdengar suara pintu kamarnya ditutup. Tidak dibanting, Ditutup”.

“Aku membaca selintas satu per satu, ini adalah surat dari Surti Anandari di akhir tahun 1960-an Ketika Hananto akhirnya tertangkap tentara. Tapi tunggu dulu, ada beberapa surat lain... tahun 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1978, 1979, 1980...1982...”

(Chudori, 2022: 214-215)

Maman...

In her hand there were several sheets of paper, I don’t know what. She held the sheet with trembling hands. Gosh, what’s wrong? Lintang handed me the sheet, then went out. She heard the sound of her bedroom door closing. Not slammed, Closed”.

“I skimmed through them one by one, this was a letter from Surti Anandari at the end of the 1960s when Hananto was finally caught by the army. But wait, there are several other letters... 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1978, 1979, 1980... 1982...”.

4. *Wayang*. *Wayang* is an Indonesian puppet show. The puppet figures that Dimas introduced to Lintang were Ekalaya and Bima. Bima is a symbol of sincerity which is relevant to the way he loves Indonesia and Surti. Dimas loves both of them sincerely without needing anything in return. Ekalaya is a symbol of sacrifice which is relevant to his sacrifice to love Indonesia, he is willing to lose his identity which is symbolized through the loss of his citizenship.

“Desiran darah asing itu senantiasa terasa lebih deras dan mendorong jantungku bergegas setiap kali aku mendengar suara gamelan di antara musim dingin yang menggigit; atau ketika aku mendengar kisah wayang dari ayah tentang Ekalaya yang merasa terus-menerus ditolak kehadirannya atau Bima yang cintanya tak terbalas.

(Chudori, 2022: 137)

“The rush of strange blood always felt stronger and pushed my heart to rush every time I heard the sound of gamelan amidst the freezing winter; or when I heard wayang stories from my father about Ekalaya whose presence felt constantly rejected or Bima whose love was unrequited”.

Bima, one of the Pandawa brothers and Drupadi’s husband, is portrayed as the most affectionate toward Drupadi compared to his other brothers, including Yudhisthira, the eldest brother and Drupadi’s first husband.

Ekalaya, another character in the wayang (a traditional puppet show), is identified by Dimas as a reflection of himself, symbolizing sacrifice. Ekalaya’s depiction, particularly the act of sacrificing his thumb, represents Dimas’s sense of forced sacrifice and the loss of his rights. The thumb symbolizes Dimas’s identity as an Indonesian citizen, illustrating that true love does not entail relinquishing one’s rights. When rights are surrendered, it inevitably leads to loss, rendering Dimas unable to love fully. Thus, to love means to possess.

These elements are transmitted to Lintang as memories of her father’s past. At this stage, Lintang only acknowledges her father’s suffering and his perspective on Indonesia. In Lintang’s mind, Indonesia remains a blurred image, oscillating between a beautiful homeland and the country that exiled her father.

Lintang’s departure to Indonesia opened up a new avenue for affiliative transmission. In France, Lintang’s exposure to affiliative transmission was very limited. Her journey to Indonesia, therefore, becomes a crucial component of the trauma transmission process, on par with the familial transmission from Dimas. This new form of transmission is particularly impactful through direct visualization. Upon arriving in Indonesia, Lintang immediately experienced the country’s landscape, atmosphere, and conditions firsthand, solidifying and confirming the transmissions she received while in France. This direct experience allowed the trauma to become internalized, making it feel as if it were her own.

The more significant affiliative transmission came from Surti, Lintang’s father’s first love. This transmission is particularly important because it encompasses personal and psychological aspects, embodying intersubjectivity. Despite being affiliative,

it closely resembles familial transmission due to Surti’s familial-like relationship with Dimas and his friends. Additionally, Surti is a direct victim of the 1965 tragedy. The following is an account of the story Surti shared with Lintang.

“Semua diawali dari Mas Hananto yang berpamitan di pagi hari tanggal 2 Oktober karena situasi di kantor tak menentu katanya. Dia meminta aku tak keluar rumah jika tak perlu. Atau, jika merasa tak aman, kembali berdiam ke rumah orangtuaku lagi di Bogor. Untuk sementara. Karena aku baru saja mengungsi ke sana untuk alasan yang berbeda, alasan kekisruhan rumah tangga, tentu saja aku menolak untuk pergi. Aku tak menyadari betapa meningkatnya suhu politik Indonesia saat itu”.

“Dia bercerita hingga mereka dipulangkan, lantas ditahan lagi di Budi Kemuliaan, yang berbeda dari membaca surat-surat itu, kini aku mendengarnya sendiri dari suara yang sudah ditimbun oleh 32 tahun yang menekan. Suara itu sesekali terdengar tenang dan mantab. Tapi saat menceritakan tentang Kenanga yang mulai menyaksikan kekejian di usia terlalu dini, Tante Surti mulai parau”.

(Chudori, 2022: 379-387)

“It all started with Mas Hananto saying goodbye in the morning of October 2nd because the situation at the office was uncertain, he said. He asked me not to leave the house if I didn’t have to. Or, if I felt unsafe, I should go back to my parents’ house in Bogor. For the meantime. Because I had just fled there for a different reason, for reasons of domestic problems, of course I refused to leave. I didn’t realize how much the political temperature in Indonesia had risen at that time.”

“She told the story until they were sent home, then detained again at Budi Kemuliaan, which is different from reading the letters, now I hear it for myself in a voice that has been buried for 32 years of pressure. The voice occasionally sounded calm and steady. But when she told about Kenanga, who started witnessing atrocities at a young age, Aunt Surti started to get hoarse”.

The character of Surti and the timing of Lintang's arrival, which coincided with the fall of the New Order and the Trisakti riots, were crucial in completing the trauma inherited from her father. The previously vague and monochromatic sketch of Indonesia now gained texture and color, reflecting Lintang's observations. No longer limited to thinking or imagining, Lintang was able to grasp the reality of Indonesia. This newfound understanding allowed her to comprehend both her own identity and her relationship with Indonesia more profoundly.

The Role of Gender in the Transmission of Exile Trauma

Hirsch emphasizes the view of posmemory from a feminist perspective (Altınay & Pető, 2015: 387). She tries to map the connection between the first and second generations through the lens of gender. In her book *The Generation of Postmemory Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*, she highlights that masculine transmission (father to son) is different from feminine transmission (mother to daughter). Mother and daughter's transmissions are considered by Hirsch to have their particularities (Hirsch, 2012: 98–99). These particularities refer to all-identification which emphasizes certain feminist practices. This difference is not mapped by Hirsch because it is very contextual to the transmission process that occurs between generations. This becomes important in the transmission that occurs in the novel *Pulang*.

Familial transmission occurs within the relationship between father and daughter, while affiliative transmission fosters connections between daughters and other female victims. Dimas, an exile living in isolation, is depicted as highly masculine yet profoundly melancholic. He tends to create monuments to commemorate his life's history through various objects, embodying the role of a true memorializer. Dimas's memories of Indonesia, symbolizing his trauma of loss, are transmitted to Lintang. This transmission is influenced by the gender difference between father and daughter, which in this case acts as a barrier to direct transmission. Consequently, the familial transmission between father and daughter serves as a catalyst for a more extensive and impactful transmission process.

Affiliative relationships are important because they function to authenticate inherited trauma. Lintang as a daughter gets an affiliative transmission

from other female characters, Surti and Kenanga, who are mother and daughter. In the novel Surti is a stranger to Lintang, but the closest person to Lintang's father. This is what is then considered as allo-identification in this case. The intersubjectivity between Dimas, Lintang, and Surti is a unique phenomenon. Alienation and familiarity appear in the process of affiliative transmission towards Lintang. In the dialog, Lintang and Surti are involved in an intimate relationship between women. Lintang seems to feel Surti's struggles because they are both women. This appears in the letter that Lintang sent to her father in Paris.

"Mewawancarai Tante Surti adalah pengalaman yang paling meruntuhkan hati, karena saya sudah mengenal nama keluarga ini sejak kecil".

(Chudori, 2022: 395)

"Interviewing Tante Surti was the most heart-breaking experience, because I have known this family name since childhood".

This quote emphasizes how Lintang engages with Surti psychologically through the objects and memories she inherits. In the transmission process, Lintang and Surti are both foreign and familiar to each other. The clear distinction lies in how trauma is transmitted, Surti provides a direct account of her experiences during the 1965 tragedy in Indonesia. Although both Dimas and Surti are victims of the same event, their forms of suffering differ. Surti's trauma stems from direct physical and mental violence, whereas Dimas suffers from alienation as an exile viewing Indonesia from afar. Consequently, the trauma inherited by Lintang from Dimas differs significantly from that inherited from Surti.

Surti offers a more comprehensive and deeper account of her trauma, which is further intensified by the shared femininity that bonds her with Lintang, almost like a mother-daughter relationship. Their connection, facilitated by Dimas, allows for a more complex and impactful transmission of trauma. Therefore, affiliative transmission proves to be a more effective and affective means of passing on trauma than familial transmission.

Reconstruction and Autentification

Lintang saw Indonesia as something foreign,

something that was beyond her. This emerged when she met with her lecturer to present a proposal for a documentary film she would make in Indonesia.

“Lintang merasa sedang melalui sebuah upaya mencapai satu titik tujuan asing yang bernama Indonesia”.

(Chudori, 2022: 257)

“Lintang felt that she was going through an effort to reach a foreign destination called Indonesia”.

Slowly, as this affiliative transmission is increasing, she begins to realize that Indonesia is not something that comes from outside herself. This is the beginning of Lintang’s duality.

“Lintang berlari-lari sepanjang koridor. Dia merasa seperti akan menggapai sesuatu. Menggapai sesuatu yang selalu asing dalam dirinya. Memetik satu dari I.N.D.O.N.E.S.I.A....”

(Chudori, 2022: 258)

“Lintang ran along the corridor. She felt like she was reaching out for something. Reaching for something that had always been foreign to her. Picking up one of I.N.D.O.N.E.S.I.A....”

This quote encapsulates Lintang’s evolving perception of Indonesia following a discussion with her lecturer and leading her to recognize that Indonesia is an intrinsic part of her identity. This realization triggers Lintang’s dual identity. She has an ambivalent view toward the trauma she inherited. From Dimas, she received familial trauma, manifesting as anxiety and fear of loss, which exacerbates her worries about her identity. Conversely, through affiliative transmission, Lintang acquired a different form of trauma, characterized by fear of the New Order regime and Suharto as its authoritarian figure.

Space and time influence the nature of transmission, as evidenced by Lintang’s departure to Indonesia, which triggers a crisis for her. Hirsch (2019: 173) discusses how the second generation’s journey to trace additional information fosters a closer connection to sites, objects, or people. Lintang’s presence in Indonesia provides her with a new understanding of the country. Given that trauma transmission is inherently fragmented and incomplete,

this journey is essential for making it whole. Lintang’s trip to Indonesia serves as a process to confirm the memories transmitted to her. Visiting the place where the trauma occurred is the only way to piece together the trauma puzzle that she received. This act of visiting the scene of the incident helps bridge the past and the present. However, the time gap can create confusion or doubt in the recipient of the transmission. Thus, Lintang’s journey back to Indonesia functions as a trauma reconstruction process.

Lintang’s journey to Indonesia aligns with Hirsch’s assertion, as she discovers the truths and authenticates the transmissions she received before her departure. Through her findings, Lintang concludes that her father is indeed a victim. The sorrow surrounding her father’s rejection by his country and subsequent exile substantiates this conclusion. Furthermore, her father’s depiction of the *wayang* character Ekalaya, unequivocally defined as a victim, reinforces this understanding.

Lintang first received transmissions about Indonesia from her father while in France, who described it as a beautiful, fertile, and cultured country. This view was further reinforced by her father’s friends, the environment at the Tanah Air Restaurant, and various books she read. Lintang internalized this perspective, considering Indonesia as an embodiment of beauty and exoticism, a notion heavily influenced by her father’s memories.

However, through her father’s transmission, Lintang also learned about the deteriorating conditions in Indonesia due to the 1965 tragedy. She understood that Indonesia was facing a crisis and experiencing oppression from its government, marked by numerous murders and disappearances, and political strife that sacrificed its people.

Despite this understanding, Lintang’s direct experience in Indonesia profoundly altered her perception. The initial idyllic image her father painted was replaced by the harsh reality she encountered. The beauty and exoticism seemed like mere fairy tales as she faced the sweltering heat of Jakarta and discovered a new, more complex Indonesia. When Lintang was in Indonesia, the political temperature was at its peak, there were lots of actions everywhere because of the reformation (Agus, et al., 2023: 1), Lintang saw Indonesia in a new context.

Lintang’s duality does not just happen, her departure to Jakarta and finding a figure named Alam

is the beginning of her duality. France and Indonesia, Paris and Jakarta, and Nara (Lintang's girlfriend) and Alam are binary oppositions that represent Lintang's choice. These three oppositions refer to the confusion about Lintang's identities, which later become a choice as her identity.

Lintang does not necessarily have France or Indonesia, Paris or Jakarta, but she chooses Alam. This is clearly seen in the text.

"Alam jangan pernah lagi bertingkah memberi ruang utukku. Aku tak ingin ada ruang kosong yang isinya cuma aku sendiri! Aku tak ingin punya jarak denganmu. Tidak satu sentimeter. Tidak satu milimeter"

(Chudori, 2022: 441)

"Alam never again acts to make room for me. I don't want an empty space where it's just me! I don't want to have distance from you. Not one centimetre. Not a millimetre."

This quote explains that Lintang has chosen Alam, which also means choosing Jakarta and Indonesia. Lintang is finished with her dual identity and defines herself as Indonesian. Indonesia is within her.

Indonesia is both a subject and an object for Lintang. Indonesia defines Lintang and is also defined by Lintang. Quoting research from Fernanda on the "Transmission of Memory and Trauma in Dmetri Kakmi's Mother Land: Postmemory Studies", he said that the country of Turkey represents the icon of destruction from the transmission given to the second generation (Fernanda, 2017). This icon of destruction serves as a metaphor for transmission that triggers the emergence of trauma. Similarly, Lintang perceives Indonesia as an icon of destruction, reflecting the complex and traumatic legacy she has inherited.

According to Hirsch (2012: 85), the concepts of idiopathic and heteropathic identification are relevant when examining how Lintang receives trauma transmission from another, specifically her father. Initially, the self is able to internalize another's trauma as if it were their own, which is evident in the identity crisis Lintang experiences. However, the journey to the location of the trauma is crucial for the self's identification process. This journey, facilitated by affiliative transmission, provides a new context that differs from familial transmission, helping the

self-recognition the distance that separates them from others. Although the resolution of the crisis aligns with others' expectations, the process and reasons differ that resulting in a heteropathic form of identification. This signifies that the self can distinguish between their own identity and the identities of others.

Reconciliation

Reconciliation efforts continue to be advocated by various parties in Indonesia. A significant trigger was President Joko Widodo's press conference on the Recognition of Major Human Rights Violations in Indonesia in 2023, where 12 cases were acknowledged, with the first being the events of 1965-1966. Opinions on reconciliation vary.

"Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace".

(Brounéus, 2021: 22)

Reconciliation is defined as a social process involving the recognition of traumatic past events that have led to destructive attitudes and behaviors, transforming these into constructive relationships that foster sustainable peace. It aims to establish positive and enduring peace among those involved in armed conflict. Leila, through her novel, suggests that unresolved conflict cannot lead to positive change.

As a writer, Leila seeks to advance the principles of "truth and reconciliation." Her work reflects a new enthusiasm to challenge the longstanding New Order regime. Although Leila did not experience the trauma firsthand, she listened to the victims' stories and applied logical analysis to understand why these victims deserve recognition and justice. This includes both exiles and those who directly experienced the 1965 events in Indonesia.

The novel's purpose is not merely to revisit the tragedy of 1965 but to inspire a new spirit of resistance against the government responsible for perpetuating this trauma. Leila and Lintang advocate that while the events of 1965 are over, it is time to forgive without forgetting. Forgetting is a decision that cannot instantly heal the wound. Wounds are eternal and cannot be erased by forgetting. Forgiveness aims to reconcile conflicting parties, eliminating resentment

and hostility, but it does not imply erasing the memory of the conflict.

CONCLUSION

The four familial transmissions that Dimas passed down to Lintang form the basis of her inherited trauma. Gender plays a crucial role in affiliative transmission, as transmission between women involves intersubjective relationships that trigger affective trauma in the second generation. These transmissions served as a doorway for Lintang to confront her own trauma. She was torn not only by her mixed heritage but also by her fragmented identity.

Lintang's decision to live in Indonesia reflects her choice to reject the roles of Bima and Ekalaya, which her father presented to her. Instead, she chose a middle path, deciding to love and own Indonesia. Lintang believes that to love means to be a part of something; therefore, she chooses to become Indonesian, living there and participating in its struggles. This decision is a result of her process of authentication.

Leila's novel *Pulang* represents an attempt at reconciliation. Leila constructs a narrative that begins by offering a memory of the 1965 tragedy, then forms a version of the truth from her perspective by redefining victims through her characters, employing a human rights lens. Through the enthusiasm and choices of Lintang, who represents the younger generation, Leila advocates for reconciliation efforts, culminating in the discourse of forgiving but not forgetting. She encourages people not to dwell on the bitter memories of the past but to rise up and fight for what Indonesia should embody.

In conclusion, this research posits that *Pulang* is an effort to perpetuate the discourse on the 1965 tragedy. It ensures it remains an issue that the government must address. The current government's tendency to neglect exiles underscores the need for "trauma regeneration" through postmemory which enables the inheritance of trauma to the second generation. This research identifies Leila's unconscious effort to ensure that the present generation acknowledges and seeks reconciliation regarding the 1965 tragedy.

STATEMENTS OF COMPETING INTEREST

The author(s) herewith declare that this article is

totally free from any conflict of interest regarding the data collection, analysis, and the editorial process, and the publication process in general.

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Interview

Interview with Leila S. Chudori Jakarta, 22 September 2018, 16.41 WIB.