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Spaces for Literary Production in New Order Indonesia and Beyond

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses the production of literature in Indonesia, particularly during and after the New Order regime. Several elements that require consideration in an examination of the conditions and mechanisms of literary production include external elements such as general production tendencies, literary production tendencies, general ideologies, literary ideologies, and aesthetic ideologies, as well as internal elements such as the cultural and linguistic values experienced by human beings (artists/auteurs). At an empirical level, these conditions and mechanisms are set up by how different forces compete with each other. One of these powers was dominant in the structuration process. This power informed the ultimate results of the production process (i.e., the literary work). The material objects discussed in this article were selected randomly as case studies, testing the hypothesis that, although structures of literary production resulted from commercialization efforts, there remained spaces in which authors could resist outside dominance.

Keywords: New Order; Indonesian literary; space; production; taste

INTRODUCTION

The conditions and mechanisms of literary production are informed by transformational structures and forces, which are generally linked to governance. This assumption is used here to understand the conditions in which literature is produced in Indonesia. This article understands the production of literature as resulting from historical processes of competition for economic and natural resources as well as ownership of capital and tools of production. As contestation occurs in society, it is polarized, divided into those who rule and those who are ruled. Those who rule seek to maintain their power by any means necessary, while those who rule resist in various ways.

In colonial-era Indonesia, the Dutch East Indies government regulated all elements of society, up to and including the publication of literary works. In this, the Commission for the People's Reading *[Commissie voor de Volkslektuur*] had the authority to determine which works could and could not be published. As such, it was an inherent part of the colonial power system, as it offered the colonial government a means of maintaining stability by controlling the reading material available to the public. (Yudiono, 2007, p. 70—71). This control was buttressed through a series of government regulations (Mahayana, 2005, p. 409; Soemardjo, 1992, p. 13; Suwondo, 1997, p. 3). The publication of numerous literary works was blocked, including *Student Hidjo* (Student Green) (Kartodikromo, 2010), *Rasa Merdika: Hikayat Soeadjanmo* (A Feeling of Freedom: The Tale of Soeadjanmo) (Soemantri, 1924), and *Tuan Direktur* (Mister Director) (Hamka, 1939). *Student Hidjo*, for example, tells the story of a young Javanese man who studies in the Netherlands but does not depict Europeans (i.e. the Dutch) as superior. Meanwhile, *Rasa*

Merdika: Hikayat Soedjanmo follows a youth named Soedjanmo and the injustices he witnessed while living in colonial Semarang. Finally, *Tuan Direktur* follows a young Banjarese youth who migrates to Surabaya, becoming wealthy even as he alienates those around him.

In terms of its economic structure, the Dutch East Indies government applied a colonial capitalist model. In this model, workers were viewed in terms of the benefits they could bring to the colonial government (Alatas, 1977, p. 151). Private actors were allowed to conduct business, but almost all elements of the business were controlled by the colonial government. The activities of book publishers, thus, were heavily informed by the government, its activities, and its regulations. Owing to contemporary society's relatively low level of education, relatively few works of literature were published in this period (Yudiono, 2007, p. 63). Under the colonial system, during which the colonial government exerted significant power, the works of literature that were published were embedded with colonial economic and political interests.

Private-sector publishers and authors were unable to publish their works independently. The relationships between them were formal, not social or emotional, and ultimately, novels such as *Sitti Nurbaya* (Rusli, 1922), *Azab dan Sengsara* (Pain and Suffering) (M. Siregar, 1920), and *Salah Asuhan* (Never the Twain)(Moeis, 1928) were subordinated by the colonial capitalist ideology. Indeed, *Salah Asuhan* was initially deemed unfit for publication by the censor and thus required significant revisions before publication (Yudiono, 2007, p. 105). These novels—many of which promoted romanticism or even religious humanism—were expected to be nothing more than "aesthetic escapes" that posed no danger to Dutch colonial rule. Nevertheless, Sitti Nurbaya's novels, for example, subtly continue to criticize the colonial hegemony represented by the existence of men (Bahardur et al., 2022, p. 34).

In their use of language, an internal constituent of literature, authors used Malay as their lingua franca, combining their understanding of the associations, connotations, and styles of the language with elements of Dutch and Arabic (a language that influenced Malay through Islam practised by most Malays). After the end of the colonial era, the Dutch had increasingly less influence on Indonesian literature. Conversely, Arabic continued to be incorporated into Indonesian literature; indeed, in subsequent years, Muslim communities took an increasingly important role in Indonesian literature.

Also worth mentioning is the marginalization of the magic, myths, and irrationalities that underpin traditional (oral) literature. Modernism and realism were dominant in early Indonesian literature, particularly those first published after the State-run publisher Balai Pustaka was established in 1917 as an extension of the Commission for the People's Reading. The use of modernist and realist approaches was seen as proof of Indonesian literature's validity.

During the Japanese occupation of the Indonesian archipelago, Balai Pustaka was controlled by the Japanese regime. Between 1942 and 1945, few works of literature were published. External unrest, as well as strict control of publication activities, resulted in only two novels being published during the occupation, *Cinta Tanah Air* (Love for the Homeland) (Iskandar, 1942) and *Palawija* (Secondary Crops) (Halim, 1944). Both novels were works of propaganda whose main characters admired the Japanese and despised the Dutch.

In 1945, Indonesia proclaimed its independence. Subsequent years were revolutionary ones, during which Indonesians attempted to "learn how to grow as a people" and develop dynamic political spaces; consequently, ideological contestations and negotiations were replete with acts of violence. These became increasingly severe after President Soekarno began opposing all things "Western". He created spaces for socialist and Marxist ideologies, with members of the Institute for the People's Culture *[Lembaga Kebudajaan Rakjat*, *L*.E.K.R.A.] being particularly prominent

(Mackerras & Knight, 2015, pp. 251—270). Such "leftist" leanings were widespread but also broadly challenged through 1965.

Several works by Pramoedya Ananta Toer that were published during these years, which subsequently became known as the Old Order, are worth mentioning: *Perburuan* (The Hunt, 1950), *Bukan Pasar Malam* (Not a Night's Fair, 1951), and *Cerita dari Blora* (Stories from Blora, 1952). *Bukan Pasar Malam* (1951) (Toer, 1951), for example, follows a young revolutionary. However, it is not a story of a young man's willingness to embrace death but rather one who feels that Indonesia, for whose independence he fought, has ignored him. This highlights how external factors influence works of literature, as—during Soekarno's political regime—literary works predominantly dealt with questions of independence, nationalism, and capitalism versus socialism.

After the events of 1965, Indonesia came under the rule of the New Order regime, which ruled until 1998, when it was replaced by the Reform Order. The fall of the New Order prompted tremendous development in terms of mass media production with various identities, both national and regional (Suryadi, 2005, p. 132). This article seeks to explore the modes and mechanisms of literary production during and after the New Order. As such, it gives particular attention to the ecosystem of Indonesian literature and the human potential embedded within it.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Survival is one goal of human life, and to survive, human beings must transform the materials and potentials to which they have access. This process necessarily involves competition for access to resources, with the strong prevailing over the weak. This competition thus creates social and economic classes. Production structures, mechanisms, and systems are thus produced through the processes and as the result of (individual and collective) human interactions.

Those who control production (i.e. capital holders) are those with power, and they attempt to maintain their power in various ways. For example, they may attempt to maintain their power by mobilizing literature, philosophy, and law (Jones, 2015), using these media to espouse their ideologies and maintain hegemonic dominance. It is within such a structure of dominance (hegemony) that production mechanisms—including literary production mechanisms—operate.

The publishers of literary works are part and parcel of these production mechanisms. Authors are directly involved in these mechanisms, both through their relationships with publishers as well as through their positioning as human beings (subjects) that exist within the dominant (hegemonic) structure (Eagleton, 1978, p. 55). In this manner, the dominant ideology influences literary works. However, authors still have the opportunity to negotiate their ideologies through their aesthetics and their literary texts (Eagleton, 1994, p. 146, 2008, p. 15; Gramsci, 1992, p. 158). These conditions the literary ecosystem.

As the dominant structure is conditioned, space is created for the authors' creative potential. Human beings act as mysterious yet creative entities within the structure of global capitalism, with their flexibility offering them significant power. Not all human beings are coopted by capitalism; there are always those who attempt to divert their creative energy towards establishing emotional, social relationships, creating collaborative networks, and otherwise strengthening their bonds.

This is what we may term the power of human flexibility, something that is understood as a multitude (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 51). Human flexibility produces what may be termed biopolitics (Foucault, 2004, pp. 21—22). Human beings, as individuals and collectives, transform their understandings of work, seeing their endeavours as both material and immaterial. Humans

do not simply promote capitalism by producing goods and other materials but also produce immaterial ideas through their language, knowledge, and aesthetics. This is not to say that material goods are unimportant; they are simply instrumenting and tools for refining and improving their immaterial (biocultural) endeavours.

In this study, the material objects from which data have been collected are limited to works of Indonesian literature that were popularly recognized in their era. In discussing the New Order, works of popular literature that were published between the 1970s and 1990s will be discussed, with a particular focus on the works of contextual and Sufistic literature that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s. Discussion of the 2000s, meanwhile, will focus on works of literature with Islamic themes that were intended as *da'wa* (proselytization). Overall, this article is limited to the macro-level, intending solely to provide a general understanding of the spaces of literary production in Indonesia.

LITERARY PRODUCTION DURING THE NEW ORDER

The New Order government formally gained power in 1966. Under this regime, colonial ideologies of capitalism and modernization were again promoted, this time with even greater levels of control. The new regime implemented a broad capitalist economy through a centralized power, under which activities that were not controlled directly by the government were placed under strict supervision. Capitalism's special position was reaffirmed through the oil boom of the 1970s, as a result of which the Indonesian economy grew rapidly. This resulted in the rise of a class of nouveau riche, known locally as *orang kaya baru* or O.K.B., as well as a middle class. For the rest of the country, Jakarta offered an example and model of successful economic and physical development.

The Indonesian people were hegemonized by the regime's power and capital, both of which were derived from the booming economy. Strictly monitored by the government, many Indonesian authors wrote works that reflected the political and economic regimes. For example, through works such as *Roh dari Masa Lampau* [Spirit of the Past] (Harahap, 1987), *Pemuja Setan* [Satan's Worshipers] (Harahap, 1988), and *Misteri Perawan Kubur* (Mystery of the Grave Maiden) (Harahap, 2010). Abdullah Harahap attempted to commoditize sex through the horror genre. These novels were mostly published in the early 1970s and then reissued in the 1990s. His stories did not deal explicitly with political and economic development but rather presented sex and horror as entertainment.

Other works of popular literature published under the New Order regime included *Cintaku di Kampus Biru* [My Love of the Blue Campus] (A. Siregar, 1974; M. Siregar, 1920); *Ali Topan Anak Jalanan* [Child of the Streets] (Esha, 1977), *Ali Topan Detektif Partikelir* [Private Detective] (Esha, 1978), and *Ali Topan Wartawan Jalanan* [Beat Reporter] (Esha, 2000); and *Arjuna Mencari Cinta* [Arjuna Seeks Love] and *Arjuna Mencari Cinta Part II* [Arjuna Seeks Love II] (Massardi, 1977, 1980). Most of these works followed middle-class youths and explored their anxieties during their love lives as well as their experiences in the new middle class. These novels thus emerged from the political and economic structures and mechanisms of the New Order government.

At the same time, several women writers came to the forefront, including Titi Said, Mira W, and Ike Soepomo (Hellwig, 1994, p. 158). This phenomenon can similarly be linked to economic growth, increased involvement of women in the public sphere, and increased rates of education. Most novels by these authors deal with women's love lives and their household difficulties. From a feminist perspective, these novels cannot be understood as promoting a new

feminist discourse; rather, they remained shackled by patriarchal culture (Smith-Hefner, 1995; Tahir, 2006, pp. 163—164). Over the course of a 50-year period, the portrayal of women in Indonesian literature did not challenge patriarchal dogma; rather, it strengthened it.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the *Lupus* series (Hariwijaya, 1986) and *Balada si Roy* (Gong, 1989) dealt with the romantic lives of youths, innovatively presenting settings, characterizations, and motifs that differed significantly from earlier stories such as *Cintaku Di Kampus Biru*. The titular character of the *Lupus* series, for example, was not a member of the middle class, and his love—or, rather, his teenage crushes—were presented within a school setting.

The popular novels published during the New Order era characteristically reflected the dominant ideology, having been shaped by external factors. These works were published by large commercial companies such as Gramedia, which were unwilling to take the risk of publishing works that directly challenged the ruling regime. At the same time, author-publisher relationships remained predominantly formal and administrative.

As works of popular literature, these novels did not challenge the ideological and aesthetic structures that birthed them. Works of popular literature tend to reinforce the dominant ideology, with authors' ideologies—their aesthetics, their humanism, their nationalism, and even their religiosity—reinforcing said ideology. As argued by Gramsci, the ideological relationships within popular literature are entirely correlative and subordinated by the dominant ideology. The hierarchy is reproduced continuously, being presented as a natural and normal part of the human experience.

However, within the context of New Order literature, two genres offered important examples of how Indonesian writers used their flexibility to deal with the political and economic structures around them: contextual literature and Sufistic literature. Contextual literature may be understood as works of literature that attempt to contextualize themselves through a local (regional) perspective, thereby distancing themselves from national issues (Heryanto, 1985, p. 32). Contextual literature thereby employed local strategies, perspectives, and understandings to avoid confrontation with the central government. Such "local colour" offered authors the space they needed to exercise their creativity. Prominent works in this genre include those by Ahmad Tohari, Umar Kayam, Kuntowijoyo, and Arswendo Atmowiloto. Although all of those authors drew on and were influenced by Javanese culture, examples can also be found in other parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

Embracing the local and distancing themselves from the national, authors created spaces in which they could use local histories, myths, and languages to negotiate with the dominant ideology. Several novels, including *Para Priyayi* (The Nobility) (Kayam, 1992) and *Jalan Menikung* (Winding Roads) (Kayam, 1999) and the trilogy *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (The Dancer, 1982–1986) (Tohari, 1980, 1982a, 1982b), criticized the modernization and growth of capitalism in Javanese villages through narratives that spanned decades. We will not discuss the works of Pramoedya Ananta Toer in this section as, although many of his works were published in the 1980s, they had been written many years previously. Early publications of his works were banned, and only in the 2000s were they freely sold in the Indonesian market. Importantly, these novels did not challenge the regime itself but rather the ideologies and practices of modernism and capitalism.

At the same time, another genre known as Sufistic literature was emerging in cities such as Yogyakarta and Bandung. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, many poets incorporated elements of Sufism in their works. Generally, however, these poets' works were not accepted by commercial

publishing houses. Most of them published their works independently, often through small (local) publishers. Consequently, their work had limited distribution and offered them little income.

The reference to Sufistic values and beliefs was a strategic means of negotiating with the New Order regime's political and economic structure. Such Sufism was not unprecedented in Indonesian (Malay) literature; hundreds of years previously, poets such as Hamzah Fansuri and Araniri in Sumatra had spread Sufi teachings, while Sunan Bonang and Sunan Kalijaga had spread Sufism in Java. However, Sufism had faded from the public consciousness in the early years of modern Indonesian literature. It only began to be reasserted as the New Order regime asserted its power and stifled opposition. Through codes of *tasawuf* [Islamic teachings], Sufism was used not only as a means of escape but also as a means of subtly opposing the regime (Salam, 2004).

The 1990s saw the rise of small publishing houses in Indonesia, which attempted to gain access to the economic benefits offered by Indonesia's booming economy. These publishers were accessed by authors who were disappointed by larger companies, which they saw as desiring nothing but mainstream commercial works. The case of Yogyakarta offers an illustrative example. In this central Javan city, approximately 70 new publishers were founded in the 1990s and 2000s. However, only a few endured. These included, for example, Social Agency and Mizan, which endured predominantly because of their bookstores (through which they sold other companies' publications), as well as companies such as LKiS, Ombak, and Diva, all of which relied on their community networks. Dozens of other companies collapsed or survived as "zombies" that only published works to assert their continued existence before relapsing into nothingness.

Consequently, none of Yogyakarta's smaller publishers was able to survive without embracing the systems, mechanisms, and structures of capital production (and, by extension, the interests of the state). State-published works of literature were distributed to students free of charge, enabling the state to produce and legitimize itself.

As such, it may be argued that the fall of the New Order was not challenged by works of literature that it had domesticated and coopted to advance its interests. The state had secured the conditions and mechanisms of literary production. Universities were conditioned to advance State interests, as was literature. Nonetheless, authors were able to challenge the regime through available spaces, voicing the accumulation of their anxieties and their concerns for the future to synergistically create an emotional energy that rose to the fore when the regime collapsed in 1998. Human beings continued to act flexibly, a multitude that operated continuously through the available mechanisms and spaces.

Towards the fall of the New Order, President Soeharto recognized that his power was being eroded. In response to the perversions of the regime, particularly its practices of corruption, collusion, and nepotism, Indonesians began consolidating power and voicing their interests. These included Muslim groups, whom Soeharto attempted to entice by practising Islam more publicly and establishing Islamic organizations; these include, for example, the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia, I*.C.M.I.), which was founded in 1990 and entrusted to B.J. Habibie. However, opposition forces were still able to synergize and demand the resignation of President Soeharto. Islamic organizations took new forms, establishing their political parties and movements, as well as their schools of literature.

Structurally, little changed between the fall of the New Order and the rise of the reform regime. Production mechanisms and tendencies were carried over from the previous regime; in other words, the same principle mechanisms, functions, policies, and economic motifs were maintained. Factories, malls, hotels, transportation companies, book publishers, and general infrastructure all developed rapidly, thereby accelerating the production process. These were all dominated by capital holders working in conjunction with those in power.

Literary production processes were accelerated through technological advancements, particularly the rise of digital technology and the internet. Authors were able to write, edit, present, and publish their works. Publishers enjoyed the fruits of these technological developments, which enabled them to publish books more quickly and in greater quantities. The internet, digital technology, and mobile communications (particularly smartphones) enabled them to distribute their works to broader audiences.

Within this ecosystem, the state began to exert less control of literary production; this became particularly true as online (cyber) literature became more prominent. Although the legitimacy of cyber literature continues to be debated, it cannot be ignored that it continues to affect the speed and reach of literary publications. One work that drew widespread public attention was the poem "Ibu Indonesia" (Mother Indonesia) by Sukmawati Sukarnoputri, which became viral in 2017 after a video of her reading was posted to the internet. Sukmawati stated that this poem was part of her poetry collection, *Ibu Indonesia* (Mother Indonesia, 2006). Many Indonesians subsequently debated the essence of literature, partisan literature, the link between literature and religion, the link between literature and culture, etc.

However, further discussion of cyberliterature would require its own space. More relevant to this discussion is the shift from authoritarian capitalism to more democratic spaces for literary production. Under the New Order regime, authors who positioned themselves as "organic intellectuals" (to borrow a phrase from Gramsci) had faced a definitive situation and opponent, thereby dedicating the entirety of their energies to opposing this "enemy". Since the fall of the New Order, the Indonesian people have not had a clearly defined opponent. All elements of Indonesian society instead present themselves as the most dedicated, the most nationalistic, the most religious, and the quintessentially Indonesian.

As such, the Indonesian people are today dealing with what I term a "post-Indonesian" situation. It is a situation in which all elements of Indonesian society feel themselves to be the "most" (nationalistic, religious, etc.) and, as such, position themselves as opposed to all other Indonesians. Generally, at the empiric level, two distinct categories may be recognized. However, both have claimed themselves to be the "most" Indonesians. Consequently, the lines between friend and enemy are unclear; all must be seen as potential enemies. Further research is, therefore, necessary to understand the direction of this "post-Indonesia".

In such a situation, it may be assumed that contemporary Indonesians have also been involved in a situation in which individual authors compete against all others. However, the current situation has been conducive for literary production, as authors are given the opportunity and space to experiment and explore. However, these opportunities and spaces have not been optimally utilized by authors, who have remained dependent on the capitalist economy and have been unable to assert their existence. Existing economic structures and literary spaces have no interest in the experimental literature.

Many authors have become involved in political literature, anti-corruption literature, anti-narcotics literature, etc. Many authors have been unwilling to remain outside the spotlight, with their appearances being more widely discussed than their works. As such, there has been a shift in the internal production mechanisms of Indonesian literature. No longer is it a site of aesthetic contestation; instead, it is a site for contesting appearances. There is no evidence that anti-corruption or anti-narcotics literature will have the desired effect, as criminals are not afraid of prison—let alone literature. However, it cannot be denied that the cooption of literary spaces to advance specific socio-political agendas will limit their ability to make aesthetic breakthroughs.

However, within the context of contemporary Indonesian literature, three genres are worth consideration: *da'wa* literature (henceforth identified as "Islamic literature"), magical realism, and historical literature. All of these specific genres have become prominent in recent years. Although no concept can accurately and comprehensively describe the ideologies and aesthetics of contemporary Indonesian literature—there is always overlap—these categories will ease reference to works of literature that share specific tendencies.

Religious literature has strong roots in Indonesian literature, as religion has—to some extent, as informed by the ruling production regime—been apparent in various genres throughout its history. During the colonial era, for example, *Sitti Nurbaya* and *Azab dan Sengsara* presented moderate Islam through their narratives. In revolution-era works, meanwhile, religion was presented in conjunction with nationalism and communism as opposing secular Western ideologies that hid behind the mask of universalism. Finally, in the New Order, works presented religiosity in the form of moderate and/or Sufistic ideologies.

Since the fall of the New Order, works such as *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* (Woman in Turban) (El-Khalieqy, 2001), *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* (Verses of Love) and *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* (When Love Prays) (El-Shirazy, 2004, 2007), and *99 Cahaya di Langit Eropa* (99 Lights in the European Sky) (Rais, 2011) have offered a moderate sharia perspective of religion. Technically and aesthetically, these novels offer no innovations, as their formats and narratives are those of popular literature (and thus reflect the dominant structure). This shows that the tastes of the Indonesian people have been produced through the dominant structure (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 16—17).

Meanwhile, magical realism has been evident through novels such as *Setangkai Melati di Sayap Jibril* [Jasmines on Gabriel's Wings](Danarto, 2000); *Cantik Itu Luka* [Beauty is a Wound] (Kurniawan, 2002), *Lelaki Harimau* [Man Tiger] (Kurniawan, 2004), and *O* (Kurniawan, 2016); *Di Tubuh Tarra Dalam Rahim Pohon* [In Tarra's Body, In Tree's Womb] and *Puya ke Puya* [From Puya to Puya] (Oddang, 2014, 2015), and the Jakarta Art Council Award-winning novel *Semua Ikan di Langit* [All the Fish in the Sky] (Zezsyazeoviennazabrizkie, 2016). In these works, the boundaries between the real and the surreal are deliberately blurred, thereby combining magic with the local themes of contextual literature. At the same time, however, these works offer their magical realism as a commodity.

Realism and magicism are not new themes in Indonesian literature, as precedents for both exist in the corpus. Only recently, however, have authors such as Kurniawan and Oddang succeeded in balancing them, in playfully combining realism and magicism, creating a fusion dominated by neither (Faris, 2004, p. 43). This magical realism appears to be intended as a form of resistance against the dominant aesthetic.

Less widely discussed is historical literature. All literature must, by necessity, incorporate historical elements. However, historical literature refers more specifically to novels that deliberately use specific historical settings and figures, such as *Gajah Mada* (Hariadi, 2004), *Gadis-Gadis Amangkurat: Cinta yang Menikam* [The Girls of Amangkurat: A Stabbing Love]

(Widada, 2011), *Keris Setan Kober: Perang Niskala Tanah Jawa* [The Demon Kris of Kober: Java's Hidden War] (Hutomo, 2016), and *Ranggalawe: Sang Penakluk Mongol* [Ranggalawe: The Mongolian Conqueror] (Samin, 2018). In some parts of Indonesia, there has been a significant passion for writing local histories; however, I have not explored this topic in detail. In their technique, these novels have made no innovation; indeed, many can be classified as works of popular literature owing to their predominantly escapist nature.

In the past ten years, immaterial spaces for literary production have shifted. Almost all parts of Indonesia have made policies to prioritize local literature and culture, as well as to promote its development. Various workshops, competitions, and studies have explored issues of local literature, language, and culture, often within the context of identity politics. At the same time, national policies have forefronted the importance of reinforcing local literature, language, and culture.

Although the state, through its policies, has provided spaces for general and literary production, new multitudes and forms are always emerging—often, in recent years, through resistance to capitalism itself. This can be seen, for example, in the widespread rise of new artistic, literary, and cultural communities across Indonesia. Although social media has offered new spaces, it also has limited literary communities; the influence of their resistance does not extend to offline spaces. Works of cyberliterature, thus, are ineffectual and used by authors for little more than making oneself known.

CONCLUSION

Several conclusions may be drawn from the above discussion. Generally, the production and tendencies of Indonesian literature have changed little since the Dutch colonial era. Although the mechanisms for literary production were more strictly controlled during the New Order era than under previous regimes, this regime also saw the rise of new literary strategies and approaches, particularly contextual literature and Sufistic literature. Neither contextual nor Sufistic literature was seen as threatening the existing power structure.

Since the fall of the New Order, democratic spaces have been used differently by authors. There have been three major tendencies in recent years: "Islamic" *da'wa* literature, magical realism, and historical literature. Although Islamic literature was not initially viewed as popular, it found a considerable market and thus was soon ensnared by the themes and forms of popular literature; historical literature has had similar experiences. Finally, although magical realism has retained a spirit of opposition, it has yet to challenge mainstream ideology.

The problem, thus, is that new democratic spaces have not transformed the multitude (the flexibility of human beings) into significant creative energy. Although social media may have created flexibility and facilitated the concretization of literary energies and potentials, this was short-lived. Today, however, Indonesians—as individuals and as communities—continue to work and think, promoting literary education through workshops, competitions, and literary activities. As such, we argue that Indonesia's literature is on the verge of something new; continuous and ongoing immaterial efforts imply such innovation.

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