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Mimicry and the Formation of Colonial Subjects: Postcolonial Studies in *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia*

Andaru Ratnasari[1]*, Junal[2]
[12]Prodi Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia, STKIP PGRI Bangkalan, Jawa Timur, Indonesia
*E-mail: andaruratnasari@gmail.com

ABSTRACT
This study aims to analyze the representation of mimicry and the formation of colonial subjects in the novel *Bumi Manusia* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer and the short story anthology *Semua untuk Hindia* by Iksaka Banu based on the postcolonial perspective of Homi K. Bhabha. The study uses a qualitative descriptive-interpretive approach with a library design. The research data are in the form of narrative quotations, dialogues, and character depictions that represent the practice of mimicry in both works. Data collection was carried out through reading and note-taking and documentation techniques, while data analysis used classification, contextual interpretation, theoretical reading, and comparison between works. The results of the study show three main dimensions of mimicry. First, the mimicry of language, education, and knowledge that demonstrates the mastery of colonial competencies by indigenous figures. Second, the mimicry of values, norms, behavior, and lifestyle that demonstrates the adjustment of life practices based on European culture. Third, the formation of mimic man *that* shows the similarity of indigenous subjects with colonial subjects without eliminating the differences in their original identities. Comparatively, *Bumi Manusia* represents this process primarily through Minke's intellectual journey, while *Semua untuk Hindia* presents it through the experiences of various characters in colonial life. Both works show that mimicry produces cultural similarities without erasing differences in identity and social status. This condition reflects the ambivalence of identity through the concept of *almost the same, but not quite*. The potential for disruption to colonial hierarchies through *resemblance–menace* appears more explicitly in *Bumi Manusia* than *in Semua untuk Hindia*. This study concludes that mimicry is not simply an imitation of colonial culture, but a process of negotiation and identity formation that demonstrates the instability of the boundaries between native and colonial.

Keywords: *mimicry, colonial subject, ambivalence, postcolonial*

Mimikri dan Pembentukan Subjek Kolonial: Studi Poskolonial dalam *Bumi Manusia* dan *Semua untuk Hindia*

ABSTRAK
Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis representasi mimikri dan pembentukan subjek kolonial dalam novel *Bumi Manusia* karya Pramoedya Ananta Toer dan antologi cerita pendek *Semua untuk Hindia* karya Iksaka Banu, berdasarkan perspektif poskolonial Homi K. Bhabha. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif-interpretatif dengan metode studi pustaka. Data penelitian berupa kutipan naratif, dialog, dan penggambaran karakter yang merepresentasikan praktik mimikri dalam kedua karya tersebut. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui teknik membaca, mencatat, dan dokumentasi, sementara analisis data mencakup klasifikasi, interpretasi kontekstual, pembacaan teoretis, serta perbandingan antar-karya. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan tiga dimensi utama mimikri. Pertama, mimikri dalam aspek bahasa, pendidikan, dan pengetahuan yang memperlihatkan penguasaan kompetensi kolonial oleh tokoh-tokoh pribumi. Kedua, mimikri dalam nilai, norma, perilaku, dan gaya hidup yang menunjukkan penyesuaian praktik kehidupan berdasarkan budaya Eropa. Ketiga, pembentukan "manusia tiruan" yang memperlihatkan kemiripan antara subjek pribumi dan subjek kolonial, tanpa menghilangkan perbedaan identitas asal mereka. Secara komparatif, *Bumi Manusia* merepresentasikan proses ini terutama melalui perjalanan intelektual Minke, sementara *Semua untuk Hindia* menyajikannya melalui pengalaman berbagai karakter dalam kehidupan kolonial. Kedua karya tersebut menunjukkan bahwa mimikri menghasilkan kemiripan budaya tanpa menghapus perbedaan identitas maupun status sosial. Kondisi ini mencerminkan ambivalensi identitas melalui konsep "hampir sama, tetapi tidak persis sama. Potensi gangguan terhadap hierarki kolonial melalui kemiripan yang menjadi ancaman tampak lebih eksplisit dalam *Bumi Manusia* dibandingkan dalam *Semua untuk Hindia*. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa mimikri bukan sekadar peniruan budaya kolonial, melainkan sebuah proses negosiasi dan pembentukan identitas yang menunjukkan ketidakstabilan batas antara pihak pribumi dan pihak kolonial.

Kata kunci: mimikri, subjek kolonial, poskolonial

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INTRODUCTION

The colonial experience of the Dutch East Indies left a profound impact on the lives of indigenous people, not only through political and economic control, but also through language, education, knowledge, values, norms, behavior, and lifestyle. This influence shaped the complex relationship between indigenous and colonial societies. In everyday life, this relationship was not always manifested through conflict between the colonizer and the colonized, but also through a process of cultural adaptation, imitation, acceptance, and negotiation. This condition shows that colonialism also worked through shaping the ways of thinking, behavior, and identity of the people under its control.

Representations of the colonial experience can be found in literary works, particularly Pramoedya Ananta Toer's novel "*Bumi Manusi* " and Iksaka Banu's short story anthology "*Semua untuk Hindia*." Both works present the lives of the Dutch East Indies through the characters' experiences, social relationships, education, language, knowledge, and cultural practices. "*Bumi Manusia"* depicts the process of changing subjectivity through Minke's journey through colonial education and society. Meanwhile, *"Semua untuk Hindia"* presents the colonial experience through a number of short stories with diverse characters, settings, and intergroup relationships. These differences in narrative form provide space to observe how the imitation of colonial culture is represented in the individual experiences and social life of the Indies community.

To understand this issue, Homi K. Bhabha's thoughts in *The Location of Culture* serve as a relevant theoretical basis. Bhabha (1994) explains that colonial relations do not produce a completely fixed separation of identities between colonizer and colonized. Instead, the relationship creates an ambivalent space where the colonized subject adopts elements of colonial culture, but never fully becomes identical to the colonial subject. Through the concept of *mimicry*, Bhabha explains the process of imitation that produces a condition of *almost the same, but not quite*. Thus, mimicry is not simply an act of imitating the appearance or habits of the colonial party, but a process related to the formation of subjectivity and identity within colonial power relations.

In this study, the concept of mimicry is operationalized through three dimensions of analysis. First, the mimicry of language, education, and knowledge, which includes mastery of colonial languages, European education, and knowledge that shapes the way of thinking of indigenous subjects. Second, the mimicry of values, norms, behaviors, and lifestyles, which includes adjustments to social practices, social norms, customs, and self-representation. Third, the formation of *the mimic man*, namely the representation of indigenous subjects who show similarities with colonial subjects, but still have different identities. These three dimensions are used to identify the process of mimicry and the formation of colonial subjects in both works without automatically considering every form of European influence as mimicry.

Previous research has shown that Bhabha's ideas have been used to examine colonial identity and representation in Indonesian literature. Abdullah and Rabbani (2022), through their study of Iksaka Banu's short story "Penunjuk Jalan," found representations of hybridity, mimicry, and ambivalence in the indigenous character Oentoeng. Nurmalasari and Soleh's (2023) study of the novel *Bumi Manusia* also identified mimicry through aspects of culture, language, behavior, mindset, clothing, and objects. Meanwhile, Ratnasari, Wahab, and Muhri (2024) examined the anthology *Semua untuk Hindia* from Bhabha's perspective and identified issues of ambivalence, mimicry, and hybridity. These three studies demonstrate the relevance of a postcolonial approach in understanding identity formation in colonial-set literary works. Sofyan and Ratnasari (2026) examined Iksaka Banu's novel Sang Raja through

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Edward W. Said's orientalist perspective. The study found representations of Western superiority, Eastern inferiority, and the ambivalence of colonial relations. These findings demonstrate that Iksaka Banu's work addresses issues of identity and colonial power relations. Although using a different theoretical framework, this research provides a comparative basis for this study, which focuses on mimicry and the formation of the colonial subject from Homi K. Bhabha's perspective.

Nevertheless, the study of these two works still provides room for comparative research that specifically focuses on the relationship between the process of mimicry and the formation of the colonial subject through three interrelated dimensions. This research places *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia* within a single analytical framework to identify the similarities and differences in the representation of mimicry, starting from the mastery of colonial competence, adjustment of life practices, to the formation of *the mimic man*. Thus, the novelty of this research lies in the comparative reading of the two works through the relationship of these three dimensions, not solely in the application of Bhabha's theory.

Based on the description, this study formulates the problem as follows: How are mimicry and the formation of colonial subjects represented in the novel *Bumi Manusia* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer and the short story anthology *Semua untuk Hindia* by Iksaka Banu based on Homi K. Bhabha's postcolonial perspective? This study aims to describe and analyze the representation of mimicry and the formation of colonial subjects in both works through the dimensions of language, education, and knowledge; values, norms, behavior, and lifestyle; and the formation of *mimic man*. Theoretically, this study is expected to enrich postcolonial literary studies, especially the application of Bhabha's concept of mimicry in reading colonial identity. Practically, this study is expected to contribute to the development of Indonesian literary studies, especially in understanding the relationship between colonial culture, imitation, and identity negotiation.

Based on the theoretical description and focus of the research, a research framework is constructed to demonstrate the relationship between the object of study, Homi K. Bhabha's postcolonial perspective, and the three dimensions of mimicry analysis. This framework serves as the basis for identifying and comparing representations of mimicry and the formation of colonial subjects in *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia.*

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive-interpretive qualitative approach with a library research design. This approach was chosen because the research data are in the form of words, phrases, sentences, dialogues, narratives, character actions, and discourses that represent mimicry and the formation of colonial subjects. The analytical perspective uses Homi K. Bhabha's postcolonial theory, specifically the concept of mimicry *and* the formation of *the mimic man*. This concept is used to identify how indigenous subjects adopt elements of colonial culture and how the imitation process produces similarities as well as differences in identity (Bhabha, 1994). A comparative design is used to identify similarities and differences in the representation of mimicry in both research objects. The research procedure was carried out in several stages. First, a complete reading of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's novel *Bumi Manusia* and all the short stories in Iksaka Banu's anthology *Semua untuk Hindia* was conducted to gain an understanding of the colonial setting, characters, social relationships, and the story's context. Second, a directed reading was conducted by focusing on three research dimensions, namely (1) mimicry of language, education, and knowledge; (2) mimicry of values, norms, behavior, and lifestyle; and (3) the formation of *the mimic man*. Third, relevant textual data were recorded by including the data number, research object, short

story title, page, quotation, narrative context, and data code. Fourth, the data were selected through a textual and conceptual relevance examination to ensure that each quotation had a textual basis and a clear relationship with Bhabha's concept of mimicry. Fifth, data that met the criteria were grouped and designated as the core data of the research.

The research was conducted through a literature review and documentation of two colonial-set literary works: the novel *Bumi Manusia (This Earth of Mankind)* and the short story anthology *Semua untuk Hindia (All for the Indies*). Both works were chosen because they represent the lives of the Dutch East Indies through the characters' experiences, social relationships, education, language, knowledge, and cultural practices. The differences in the narrative forms of the two works allow for a comparison of the representation of mimicry through character development in the novel and the diversity of character experiences in the short stories. Data collection was conducted through a review of texts and library sources, rather than through field research.

The data collection tool uses documentation instruments in the form of data cards or recording tables. The researcher acts as the main instrument in determining, reading, classifying, and interpreting data, while the data card is used as an auxiliary instrument to maintain the systematics of information collection. The instrument contains the data number, research object, short story title, page, quote, context, data code, mimicry indicators, and initial interpretation notes. Coding is differentiated based on the research object, namely RM1-BM for data from *Bumi Manusia* and RM1-SuH for data from *Semua untuk Hindia*. Specifically for short story anthology data, recording also includes the title of the short story so that each quote can be traced back to its original source.

The data analysis technique used interpretive qualitative content analysis. The analysis was carried out in five stages. First, description, which describes the textual form, characters, situations, and contexts that underlie the data. Second, classification, which groups data based on the three dimensions of RM1 analysis. Third, theoretical interpretation, which connects quotations with narrative contexts and Bhabha's concepts, especially mimicry, *almost the same, but not quite*, ambivalence, and the formation of *the mimic man*. Fourth, comparison, which compares the representation of mimicry in both works to find similarities, differences, and tendencies of each object. Fifth, synthesis, which formulates the relationship between the mastery of colonial competence, adjustments to life practices, and the formation of subjects who have both similarities and differences in identity. Data validity is maintained through theoretical triangulation, source triangulation, and textual checking. Checking is done by re-matching the editorial of quotations, page numbers, short story titles, and narrative contexts in the editions of the literary works used.

RESULTS

The results of research on the novel *Bumi Manusia* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer and the short story anthology *Semua untuk Hindia* by Iksaka Banu show that mimicry and the formation of colonial subjects are represented through three dimensions, namely mimicry of language, education, and knowledge (RM1-A); mimicry of values, norms, behavior, and lifestyle (RM1-B); and the formation of *mimic man* (RM1-C). These three dimensions show the process of adopting colonial cultural elements in the lives of indigenous characters, both through education and mastery of knowledge as well as through social practices and representation of identity.

1. Language Mimicry, Education, and Knowledge (RM1-A)

1.1 In the Novel *Bumi Manusia*

The findings in *Bumi Manusia* show that colonial education became the primary space for

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mastering European language, knowledge, and ways of thinking. Based on the research report, the RM1-A group consists of 17 data, with codes RM1-A-01 to RM1-A-17. The first data shows Minke's statement, "knowledge has given me a blessing" (Toer, 2011, p. 2) [RM1-A-01]. The influence of this knowledge is also evident in his confession, "my personality has become somewhat different from my fellow countrymen" (Toer, 2011) [RM1-A-04]. Both quotes show the relationship between the acquisition of knowledge and changes in the character's self-awareness.

The mastery of European knowledge is also seen through the expression "Javanese people with European knowledge" (Toer, 201:2) [RM1-A-05]. In addition, Minke shows his belief in modern rationality through the statement "I believe more in science, reason" (Toer, 2011:6) [RM1-A-11]. Formal education also shapes his social identity through the mention of "HBS student, Mama" (Toer, 2011:18) [RM1-A-13].

The influence of education is limitless on intellectual knowledge, but also includes the formation of behavior. This is seen in the statements "We were taught to honestly express our feelings" (Toer, 2011:23) [RM1-A-15] and "our teachers taught European manners" (Toer, 2011:23) [RM1-A-16]. Dutch language mastery is shown through the change in Minke's abilities, from "I entered ELS without knowing a word of Dutch" to "I can already understand Dutch somewhat" (Toer, 201:28–29) [RM1-A-17].

1.2 In the Short Story Anthology *Semua untuk Hindia* (*All for the Indies)*

In *Semua untuk Hindia*, the mimicry of language, education, and knowledge is found through the experiences of several characters with different story backgrounds. In the short story *Stambul Dua Pedang*, Adang acquires fencing skills through learning relationships with Europeans. This is seen in the quote "practicing fencing from Monsieur Thibaut" (Banu, 2018:17) [RM1-SDP-09]. The learning process takes place in the "fencing room at his house" (Banu, 2018:17) [RM1-SDP-10], then develops into the ability to "play fencing" (Banu, 2018:17) [RM1-SDP-11].

Another finding is found in the short story *Semua untuk Hindia*, through the character of Suandani, the princess of the Balinese palace. Her Dutch language skills are described through the quote "almost perfect Dutch" (Banu, 2018:62) [RM1-SuH-39]. This ability was acquired through learning from Tuan Lange, as shown in the quote "Dari Tuan Lange" (Banu, 2018:62) [RM1-SuH-40]. Suandani's knowledge also comes from colonial print media, namely "De Locomotief" (Banu, 2018:62) [RM1-SuH-42]. These data show that the mastery of colonial competence took place through personal relationships, skills, and media knowledge.

2. Mimicry of Values, Norms, Behavior, and Lifestyle (RM1-B)

2.1 In the novel *Bumi Manusia*

The RM1-B group in *Bumi Manusia* consists of 20 data, with codes RM1-B-18 to RM1-B-37. The findings show adjustments in social norms, social etiquette, behavior, habits, clothing, and lifestyle. One form of this is seen when Minke recognizes the practice of shaking hands as a European custom through the expression "This is not a native custom; it is European!" (Toer, 2011:19) [RM1-B-18].

The change in social relationship patterns is evident in the statement "how beautiful life would be without crawling" (Toer, 2011:20) [RM1-B-21]. This practice demonstrates a change in the social relationship patterns experienced by Minke. When read through Bhabha's perspective, mimicry operates in the social space when indigenous subjects experience and adopt relationship patterns associated with European social order. However, its application in the context of indigenous families and communities produces new forms of relationships that are not identical to European society (Bhabha, 1994; Fajar, 2024).

These changes also demonstrate that colonial encounters opened up possibilities for subjects to compare, evaluate, and question social norms

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previously considered normal. This is evident in Minke's statement, "There's no one who doesn't like praise" (Toer, 2011:23) [RM1-B-26], which is linked to his teacher's teachings. In this context, acceptance of European social patterns took place amidst a colonial societal structure that still maintained differences in social standing. Hayati and Suhadi's (2026) research on the caste system in *Bumi Manusia* provides a supporting perspective for understanding how social hierarchy influences relationships between characters and the formation of identities in the novel. Thus, encounters with colonial social patterns can result in a process of imitation as well as negotiation of norms, as subjects begin to recognize that social relationships do not have to completely follow the hierarchical patterns previously considered normal (Bhabha, 1994; Hayati & Suhadi, 2026).

Lifestyle mimicry is evident through the introduction of modern technology and information. Data from RM1-B-28 records the question "have people started making ice?" (Toer, 2011:25) [RM1-B-28], while RM1-B-29 shows the use of newspapers as a source of information. These findings indicate that mimicry does not always occur through direct contact with Europeans, but also through the circulation of modern discourse. Ardianto (2020) explains that the choice of diction in *Bumi Manusia* represents linguistic hegemony, racial discrimination, and the encounter of Western and Eastern cultures. From Bhabha's (1994) perspective, the adoption of this modern discourse allows for the imitation and reinterpretation of colonial signs.

Lifestyle changes are also seen through the representation of women leaving the domestic space. This is shown through the expressions "women leaving their own household kitchens" (Toer, 2011:27) [RM1-B-30] and "a sign of the modern era in the Indies" (Toer, 2011:27) [RM1-B-32]. The data shows Minke's encounter with the model of a modern woman who is not entirely tied to domestic work, but begins to occupy a wider social space. This phenomenon shows the entry of modern representations regarding the position of women into the thoughts of indigenous subjects. Putri et al. (2026) show that the issue of women in *Bumi M*anusia is related to criticism of gender injustice and patriarchal structures in colonial society. From Bhabha's perspective (1994), the encounter with these modern representations can be read as a negotiation of values and norms regarding the position of women in colonial social space.

The practice of adapting European customs is more explicitly seen in the statement "following the customs in the Netherlands there" (Toer, 2011: 27) [RM1-B-33]. The data shows that the influence of European culture is not only present through education and knowledge, but also permeates the practice of daily life. Thus, mimicry in the dimensions of values, norms, behavior, and lifestyle shows the process of adopting and adapting colonial customs that occurs simultaneously with changes in the subject's understanding of their identity and social environment.

2.2 In the short story anthology *Semua untuk Hindia*

In *Semua untuk Hindia*, the mimicry of values, norms, behaviors, and lifestyles is spread through the experiences of several characters. The short story *Stambul Dua Pedang* shows the adoption of European cultural elements through performances and appearances. The use of "genie or musketeer costumes" (Banu, 2018:18) [RM1-SDP-16] shows the use of clothing associated with European culture. Changes in public tastes are also seen through the statement "in the past, audiences liked imaginary fairy tales, now they like real fairy tales" (Banu, 2018:18) [RM1-SDP-17].

Sarni's experience in the short story *"Stambul Dua Pedang" (Two Swords Stambul*) demonstrates a change in social status and lifestyle habits. Data from RM1-SDP-18 records her status change to "officially Mrs. Cornelia van Rijk" (Banu, 2018:10). However, this change does not diminish her awareness of cultural differences, as seen in the statement "there are many different ways of

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life that are difficult for me to cross" (Banu, 2018:20) [RM1-SDP-19]. The habit of reading and watching performances acquired from her Dutch family environment demonstrates mimicry at the level of cultural habits and tastes. Batool and Dustgir (2024) also use Bhabha's mimicry perspective to examine identity adjustment in literary works. Thus, Sarni's mimicry occurs through the internalization of cultural habits without completely eliminating the differences in her original identity (Bhabha, 1994; Ratnasari et al., 2024).

3. Formation of *Mimic Man* (RM1-C)

3.1 In the novel *Bumi Manusia*

The formation of *the mimic man* in *Bumi Manusia* shows the similarity of the native characters with European subjects through education, knowledge, behavior, clothing, language, and social interactions. Group RM1-C consists of 13 data, with codes RM1-C-38 to RM1-C-50. One of the initial markers is Minke's confession that "my personality has become somewhat different from my countrymen" (Toer, 2011:2) [RM1-C-38]. This in-between position is further clarified through the phrase "a Javanese person with European knowledge" (Toer, 2011:2) [RM1-C-39].

The similarity is also represented through the character of Nyai Ontosoroh who is described as having behavior "no different from that of an educated European woman" (Toer, 2011:22) [RM1-C-40]. Meanwhile, on page 64, Minke's appearance and social life are shown through the quote "wearing European clothes, with Europeans" (Toer, 2011:64) [RM1-C-46], accompanied by the ability "to speak a little Dutch" (Toer, 2011:64) [RM1-C-47].

The limits of this similarity are evident in the question "so you become European?" (Toer, 2011:64) [RM1-C-48], which is then followed by the statement "Still a monkey!" (Toer, 2011:64) [RM1-C-49]. The most explicit representation of Minke's identity position is found in the phrase "Educated by the Dutch, so he becomes Dutch, this kind of brown Dutch" (Toer, 2011:193–194) [RM1-C-50]. This data set shows that mastering European competencies and practices does not necessarily change the character's original identity.

3.2 In the short story anthology *Semua untuk Hindia*

The formation of *the mimic man* in *Semua untuk Hindia* is represented through several characters with different forms of similarity. Suandani shows similarity in language competence through his "almost perfect mastery of Dutch" (Banu, 2018:62) [RM1-SuH-39]. Adang in *Stambul Dua Pedang* shows similarity through European skills, namely "fencing" (Banu, 2018:17) [RM1-SDP-11].

Meanwhile, Sarni shows the formation of social identity through a change in status to "officially become Mrs. Cornelia van Rijk" (Banu, 2018:20) [RM1-SDP-18]. However, this status is still accompanied by an awareness of "many differences in ways of life that are difficult for me to cross" (Banu, 2018:20) [RM1-SDP-19]. The three characters show similarities through language, skills, and social status, with experiences and cultural backgrounds that remain different.

4. Comparison of *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia*

A comparison of the two objects shows that the mimicry in *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia* shares a common foundation, but its articulation differs. Both works depict the appropriation of colonial cultural elements by indigenous subjects, but present them through different narrative patterns and character experiences.

Table 1
Comparison Mimicry in *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia*

Aspect	Bumi Manusia	Semua untuk Hindia
Mimicry process	Especially through Minke's intellectual and social journey.	Spread across various characters and situations.
Language	Dutch became an important part of Minke's formation of consciousness.	European languages emerged as part of colonial social interactions.
Education	Very powerful as a shaper of subjectivity.	Present in various forms of colonial experience.
Knowledge	European knowledge both shapes and critiques Minke's consciousness.	Colonial and local knowledge interact in various spaces.
Values/norms	Minke is confronted with European values as well as Javanese customs.	The characters experience negotiations between various colonial and local values.
Lifestyle	Similarities with modern European life clash with indigenous identity.	More diverse according to the setting of each short story.
Mimic man	It is very focused on Minke's position as an educated native subject.	Appears in plural through various figures.
Ambivalence	Strong on Minke's identity conflict and consciousness.	It comes in various forms of acceptance and rejection.
Resemblance–menace	Similarities produce critical abilities towards colonialism.	Similarity can disrupt social boundaries and colonial representations.
The main character of mimicry	Formation of individual subjectivity.	The formation of subjectivity in a plural social space.

Comparison *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia* show that mimicry is a process of formation subject colonial through adoption language, education, knowledge, values, norms, behavior, and style life Europe. Second work show that the process of similarity the No Once produce complete identity the same with subject colonial. The difference located on the pattern representation: *Bumi Manusia* display formation subjectivity through journey Minke ‘s intellectual and awareness sustainable , whereas *Semua untuk Hindia* present it in a way fragmentary and plural through experience various figure in room social colonial conditions the produce position ambivalent identity , as almost the same concept , but not quite Homi K. Bhabha, because similarity cultural still limited by differences racial , social , and structural . In these conditions certain, similarity also has the potential become a resemblance–menace, when capabilities and devices culture colonial controlled subject indigenous used for questioning or bother authority and hierarchy colonial. With thus, mimicry No just imitation, but rather a process of negotiation identity at a time formation subject in relation power colonial.

DISCUSSION

Mimicry as a Mechanism for the Formation of Colonial Subjects

The research findings show that mimicry in *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia* cannot be understood simply as an imitation of European culture. Mimicry is a mechanism for the formation of colonial subjects through the acquisition of language, education, knowledge, values, norms, behaviors, and lifestyles associated with colonial society. This process demonstrates how colonial power operates

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not only through institutions and social arrangements, but also through the shaping of indigenous peoples' ways of thinking, behavior, and self-representation.

This understanding aligns with Bhabha's (1994) thinking, which posits mimicry as a process where colonial powers attempt to produce colonized subjects who resemble their colonial counterparts. However, this mimicry never results in perfect similarity. Colonized subjects may acquire colonial language, knowledge, and customs, but remain distinct from the colonizing group. Thus, mimicry has two dimensions: the partial reproduction of colonial characteristics and the formation of an identity not fully under the control of the colonial power.

In *Bumi Manusia*, this process is primarily seen through Minke's intellectual development. European education provides him with access to Dutch, modern knowledge, technology, and rational thinking. However, this change does not simply result in a character adopting European culture. Education actually shapes Minke's ability to understand and question the social conditions that place indigenous people in a subordinate position. This demonstrates that colonial knowledge has consequences that are not entirely in line with its intended purpose.

This finding can be linked to Nensilianti et al.'s (2026) research on mimicry and resistance in *Bumi Manusia*. The study demonstrated the relationship between the process of mimicry and the potential for critical attitudes toward colonial power. However, this study expands this reading by positioning the mimicry of language, education, knowledge, values, norms, behavior, and lifestyle as part of a series of subject formations.

Meanwhile, in *Semua untuk Hindia*, the mechanisms of colonial subject formation are depicted through characters with differing experiences. Suandani demonstrates mastery of Dutch through learning and utilizing print media. Adang demonstrates mastery of fencing skills acquired from Monsieur Thibaut, while Sarni demonstrates changes in social status and lifestyle habits through her closeness to a Dutch family.

These findings are related to research by Abdullah and Rabbani (2022), which examined the identity of indigenous characters in Iksaka Banu's short story *"Penunjuk Jalan"*. This research demonstrated that indigenous identity within the colonial sphere can be shaped through mimicry, hybridity, and ambivalence. This study expands on this perspective by comparing several characters' experiences in the anthology *"Semua untuk Hindia" (All for the Indies)* and connecting them to the development of Minke's subjectivity in "*Bumi Manusia* . "

Thus, both works demonstrate that the formation of the colonial subject occurs through a multifaceted process. *Bumi Manusia* (*Earth of Mankind)* emphasizes the development of individual subjectivity through Minke's experiences, while *Semua untuk Hindia* presents the formation of the subject through diverse characters and social situations. These differences in narrative form demonstrate that mimicry can operate through a character's intellectual journey as well as through social experiences shared within colonial society.

Almost the Same, but Not Quite and Identity Ambivalence

One of the important findings of this study is that mastery of colonial cultural elements did not result in a complete change in identity. This condition can be explained through the concept of " *almost the same, but not quite"* developed by Bhabha (1994). This concept suggests that colonized subjects may share similarities with colonial subjects in certain aspects, but these similarities always leave differences. In other words, cultural similarities do not automatically result in shared identities or social standing.

In *Bumi Manusia*, this issue is seen through Minke's identity as a Javanese with European knowledge. The phrase "Javanese with European knowledge" serves as a crucial representation of this in-between position. Minke has acquired the intellectual competence associated with European society, but his native identity remains. Even when

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he wears European clothing, socializes with Europeans, and speaks Dutch, his identity remains questioned through the question "so does that make him European?" This question demonstrates that similarities in appearance and ability are not enough to erase the boundaries of identity constructed by colonial structures.

This issue is further clarified by the phrase "Educated by the Dutch, they become Dutch, this kind of brown Dutch." The term "brown Dutch" demonstrates the paradox of colonial subject formation. Minke may resemble the Dutch in education, knowledge, and a number of cultural practices, yet remains differentiated by his racial identity. Thus, colonialism enabled the acquisition of colonial competence without granting equality of identity and status to indigenous subjects.

These findings demonstrate that the formation of colonial identity was not only determined by one's ability to adopt the dominant culture, but also by the power that determined who was entitled to be recognized as part of the dominant group. In this context, mimicry reveals the contradictions of colonialism: the colonial system encouraged indigenous people to master European knowledge and culture, while simultaneously maintaining the boundaries that differentiated colonizers from colonized.

These findings suggest that ambivalence is not simply identity uncertainty, but rather a condition in which acceptance of colonial cultural elements coexists with an awareness of lingering differences. Subjects can embrace language, customs, skills, and social status derived from the colonial environment without completely abandoning their original experiences and identities.

This reading aligns with Ratnasari et al.'s (2024) study of postcolonialism in the anthology *Semua untuk Hindia (All for the Indies)* using Homi K. Bhabha's theory. The study demonstrates that colonial relations in the anthology present issues of identity, ambivalence, and cultural negotiation. This study provides development through a three-dimensional mapping of mimicry, allowing for a more systematic explanation of the relationship between colonial competence acquisition, life practices, and the formation of *the mimic man* . Thus, both works demonstrate that the identity of colonial subjects cannot be understood through a simple opposition between native and European. There exists a space in between that allows for the blending of experiences, the acceptance of cultures, and the maintenance of differences. Mimicry, in fact, demonstrates the ambivalent nature of colonial identity, as cultural similarity never fully erases social and racial boundaries.

Resemblance–Menace: Resemblance as a Potential Disturbance to Colonial Authority

The next finding concerns the relationship between resemblance and the potential disruption of colonial authority. Bhabha (1994) explains that mimicry has a dual nature: *resemblance and menace* . Mimicry produces resemblance to the colonial model, but this resemblance can also destabilize the differences that serve as the basis for the legitimacy of colonial power. When indigenous subjects master skills previously considered superior to Europeans, claims of colonial superiority become increasingly problematic.

In *Bumi Manusia*, this relationship is strongly evident through Minke's experiences. His mastery of language, education, knowledge, clothing, and social interactions make Minke increasingly resemble a European subject. However, this similarity is accompanied by an affirmation of difference through the insult "Still a monkey!" This expression demonstrates an attempt to restore identity boundaries after Minke displays characteristics resembling those of a European.

Conceptually, the insult not only serves as a personal attack on Minke but also demonstrates how racial classifications are used to maintain colonial hierarchies. When ability and appearance are no longer sufficient to distinguish the indigenous subject from the European model, the assertion of racial identity is used to restore the boundary. Minke's similarity thus becomes problematic because it demonstrates that

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competencies considered European superiority can in fact be mastered by the indigenous subject.

This issue demonstrates that mimicry does not always result in compliance with colonial power. Mastery of European language and knowledge can open up possibilities for indigenous subjects to develop thinking skills and express views that do not always align with colonial interests. This relates to research by Brameswari et al. (2026) which discusses mimicry as a strategy for gaining recognition and equality in the novel *Jejak Langkah*. This research shows that mimicry can be related to the subject's strategy in dealing with colonial inequality.

In *Semua untuk Hindia*, this potential is seen through Suandani's mastery of Dutch and Adang's European skills. Both characters demonstrate that abilities associated with European environments can be acquired by subjects from different cultural backgrounds. However, the available data does not directly demonstrate that mastery of these competencies results in a crisis of colonial authority, as seen through the humiliation of Minke in *Bumi Manusia*. Therefore, *the resemblance–menace relationship* in this anthology is more appropriately positioned as a conceptual potential than a direct finding.

This distinction is important because it demonstrates that mimicry does not always produce the same consequences in every literary representation. In *Bumi Manusia*, Minke's resemblance is met with an explicit affirmation of racial boundaries. In contrast, *Semua untuk Hindia* presents a greater negotiation of competence and identity through the social experiences of its characters. Thus, both works demonstrate the potential consequences of mimicry, ranging from acceptance and adjustment to the emergence of tensions within colonial hierarchies.

Comparative Synthesis of the Findings of the Two Works

A comparison of *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia* demonstrates that both works share similarities in their representation of mimicry as a process of colonial subject formation, but differ in how they articulate it. This similarity is evident in the mastery of language, education, knowledge, skills, values, norms, and lifestyles associated with European society. These elements serve as a means of identity formation, enabling indigenous characters to resemble colonial subjects.

The differences lie primarily in the form of representation and the breadth of the characters' experiences. *Bumi Manusia* develops a process of mimicry through Minke's relatively continuous journey. Readers can follow the changes in his knowledge, behavior, and sense of identity within a single narrative sequence. In contrast, *Semua untuk Hindia* demonstrates mimicry through a variety of characters, stories, and social situations. This diversity creates a more pluralistic depiction of the encounter between Indies society and colonial culture.

To clarify the relationship between the findings of the two research objects, a comparative synthesis was conducted based on Homi K. Bhabha's concept of mimicry. This synthesis brings together the representations of mimicry in *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia* through aspects of subject formation, identity similarities and differences, ambivalence, and the potential for disruption to colonial hierarchies. The comparison shows that both works have different patterns of representation, but both show that the adoption of colonial culture does not produce an identity that is completely identical to the colonial subject.

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Tabel 2
Synthesis Comparative Mimicry and Formation Subject Colonial in Both Works

Bhabha Concept	Bumi Manusia	Semua untuk Hindia	Synthesis of Findings
Mimicry	The formation of subjects through language, education, knowledge, values, behavior, and colonial lifestyle.	The formation of the subject through various colonial social situations and the experiences of diverse characters.	Colonialism shapes subjects through likeness, but does not produce perfect copies of colonial subjects.
Mimic man	Minke acquired European education and knowledge, but remained in a native position.	The characters exist in a space between local identity and colonial influence through language, knowledge, behavior, and social representation.	*The Mimic Man* is a liminal subject who stands between indigenous and colonial identities; his resemblance simultaneously reveals his non-identity.
Almost the same, but not quite	Minke masters European knowledge and cultural tools, but does not acquire the same identity and structural position as Europeans.	The characters adopt colonial elements, but still carry local identities and social positions.	Colonial similarity is always limited by racial, social, and structural differences, resulting in similarity without full identity.
Ambivalence	Colonial knowledge and education were accepted, but at the same time became the basis for the emergence of a critical attitude towards colonialism.	Colonial elements can be accepted, used, or adapted, but this does not always translate into acceptance of all colonial values.	Colonial subjects are in a dual position: receiving and negotiating, using and questioning colonial elements.
Resemblance–menace	Minke's similarity to the colonial educated model has the potential to disrupt the boundaries that differentiate colonial and native.	The control of colonial apparatuses by indigenous subjects had the potential to disrupt the colonial monopoly on knowledge and representation, although direct evidence is more limited.	Mimicry has the potential to become *a menace* when the likeness of indigenous subjects begins to disrupt the hierarchies and boundaries of colonial identity.

Based on synthesis mentioned, it can be seen that mimicry in second work No stop in action imitation culture Europe, but relate with formation subjectivity in room colonial. *Bumi Manusia* show the process through development Minke's intellectual and conscious, while *Semua untuk Hindia* present it through experience diverse figure in life social colonial. Both show that similarity culture No delete difference identity and position social. In conditions certain, similarity the even potential bother boundaries maintained by power colonial.

Difference it also shows that form literary works also influence method experience colonial represented. The novel provides room for development subjectivity figure in a way more sustainable, whereas anthology short story allows experience colonial displayed through fragments different life. Although thus, both of them show problem the same basic principles, namely impossibility produce identity completely colonial uniform.

Contribution important study This lies in the reading mimicry through connection three interrelated dimensions related. First, mastery language, education, and knowledge form competence intellectual subject. Second, taking values, norms, behavior, and style life expanding the mimicry process to in practice life everyday. Third, both processes contribute to formation *mimic man*, namely subjects who have similarity with a colonial model but still maintain difference his identity.

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With Thus, research This No only identify forms imitation culture Europe, but also explains connection between mastery competence colonial, negotiation identity, ambivalence, and potential disturbance to hierarchy colonial. Reading comparative to second work show that mimicry is a productive process in formation subjectivity, not just reproduction culture dominant.

In a way overall, discussion This confirm that mimicry in *Bumi Manusia* and *Semua untuk Hindia* produce the subject that is in position ambivalent: having similarity with culture colonial, but No Once fully become part from identity colonial. Position the show paradox power colonial at the same time push conformity and maintenance difference. In the condition certain, similarity even potential bother legitimacy hierarchy colonial Because show that competencies that are considered as owned by exclusive colonizers can controlled and used by the subject natives.

CONCLUSION

Based on results research and discussion, can concluded that mimicry in the novel *Bumi Manusia* works of Pramoedya Ananta Toer and anthologies short story *Semua untuk Hindia* work Iksaka Banu is a process of formation subject colonial through adoption elements culture Europe. The process represented through three dimensions, namely mimicry language, education, and knowledge; mimicry values, norms, behavior, and style live; and formation *mimic man*. Third dimensions the show that mastery competencies and practices culture colonial form similarity subject indigenous with subject Europe, but No remove difference identity and position social.

In a way comparative, *Earth of Mankind* represent formation subject colonial especially through journey intellectual and change Minke's awareness, whereas *Semua untuk Hindia* present it through experience diverse figure in connection social colonial. Second work show that mimicry produce position ambivalent identity as draft *almost the same, but not quite* Homi K. Bhabha. Similarity the in condition certain also have the potential bother boundaries and hierarchies colonial through mechanism *resemblance–menace*, although its representation more explicit in *Bumi Manusia* compared to in *Semua untuk Hindia*.

With Thus, the contribution study This lies in the reading comparative that connects three dimensions mimicry with formation subject colonial in two form different literary works. Research This confirm that mimicry No just imitation culture colonizers, but rather the negotiation process identity that shows instability limit between native and colonial. Similarities cultural No always produce the same identity, but precisely show ambivalence and complexity formation subject in relation power colonial.

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