

# Hybridity, Mimicry and Ambivalence of Female Characters in Indonesia: A study from Postcolonial Novels

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The purpose of this research is to describe the hybridity, mimicry and ambivalence of *priyayi* and *wong cilik* female characters in the novels: *Student Hidjo* by Mas Marco Martodikromo; *Nyai Dasima* by G. Francis; *Bumi Manusia* by Pramudya Ananta Toer; and *Para Priyayi* by Umar Kayam. Descriptive qualitative research is approached by critical gender studies. Critical gender studies examined the reality of women who are hegemonic in socio-cultural construction. Data was collected through analysis of four post-colonial novels. Theory triangulation was used for data validity. Data analysis included an interactive model consisting of data collection, data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions. The results showed that *priyayi* and *wong cilik* women had different hybridity. *Priyayi* women were Dutch educated and they adjusted their values to the ideal values brought by the Dutch, such as ways of thinking, social etiquette, language, reading habits, etc. *Wong cilik* women suffered a sad fate because they became afraid of the Dutch authorities. In the aspect of mimicry, *priyayi* women and *wong cilik* women were the same. They imitated the Dutch lifestyle. *Priyayi* women experienced mimicry to the point of imitating, but not to the stage of breaking down the establishment. In the aspect of ambivalence, although the female leaders had absorbed the Dutch lifestyle and education, they were still considered to be natives who are not equal to the Dutch.

**Key words:** *Hybridity, Mimicry, Ambivalence of female characters, Postcolonial novels.*

## Introduction

The novel is a literary work and a cultural product that represents life, especially the socio-cultural representation of the community. Literary works are produced based on community background and the author's thoughts on the conditions of people reflected in the form of literary works. Different authors will produce literary works with different socio-cultural backgrounds and thoughts. Therefore, in the development of Indonesian literary works, many literary works with diverse social and cultural backgrounds are based on the different cultural backgrounds of the authors. This is in accordance with the opinion of Gandhi (1998), which states that the novel is a medium for authors to accommodate and display the diversity of a nation. The diversity of a nation described in the novel will enrich the cultural knowledge of its readers.

The novel often displays the representation of women's lives and their relationships with men in that cultural. In the history of modern Indonesian literature, the relationship between women and men is an interesting study. Postcolonialism studies are also related to studies of women as a result of colonialism. This is in accordance with the opinion of Wilson-tagoe (2010), who stated postcolonialism cannot be separated from feminism. As a foreground of the experience and confrontation of women with sexual ideology, in addition, he has succeeded in pushing the normative male subject at the heart of postcolonial theory and challenging its conceptual foundation. The insertion of women's experience in postcolonialism may be a feminist act, but only to a certain extent. According to Loomba (1999), literary texts not only reflect the dominant ideology, but encode tension, complexity and nuances in colonial culture. Literature is a place where transculturation occurs in all its complexity.

This article examines the hybridity, mimicry and ambivalence of female characters in postcolonial Indonesian novels including: *Student Hidjo* by Mas Marco Martodikromo; *Nyai Dasima* by G. Francis; *Bumi Manusia* by Pramudya Ananta Toer; and *Para Priyayi* by Umar Kayam. The novels are divided into two groups, namely novels with priyayi female characters and novels with young female characters. According to Kartodirjo (1987), priyayi are Javanese who are educated and have a higher position in society. Wong cilik are Javanese people consisting of a mass of farmers and laborers. This classification of *priyayi* and *wong cilik* means children whose parents are *priyayi* or *wong cilik* must follow the line of social stratification of their father.

Novels with *priyayi* female characters are *Student Hidjo* by Mas Marco Martodikromo and *Para Priyayi* by Umar Kayam. The female figure in the *Student Hidjo* is *Raden Ajeng Biroe* and the female character in *Para Priyayi* is *Ngaisah*. In these two novels, *Raden's* father *Ajeng Biroe* and *Ngaisah* were *priyayi*, so their children were also *priyayi*. The novels with female *wong cilik* characters were *Nyai Dasima* by G. Francis and *Bumi Manusia* by Pramudya Ananta

Toer. The female character in the novel *Nyai Dasima* is *Nyai Dasima* and the female character in the novel *Bumi Manusia* is *Nyai Ontosoroh*. In these two novels, the fathers of *Dasima* and *Ontosoroh* come from the *wong cilik* who work as laborers, so that their children belong to the *wong cilik* class.

This research is focused on hybridity, mimicry and ambivalence in the novels. Hybridity is different cultural interactions that produce new forms of culture and identity (Foulcher, et al., 2002). Hybridity is called a symptom of crossing cultural exchange. Mimicry is a way to imitate both sound, colour, shape and other aspects. Imitation as a postcolonial concept, is imitation between one community group and another community group. Mimicry occurs due to an ambivalent relationship between the coloniser and the colonised (Foulcher, et al., 2002). Ambivalence is a phenomenon that presents itself as original and authoritative and is articulated with repetition and differentiation (Foulcher, et al., 2002; Fathi & Dastoori, 2014).

## Literature Review

Postcolonialism is one of the right theories to examine the influence of culture in the creation of literary works, especially novels. Postcolonialism is a theory that was born after most of the colonised countries gained their independence. Fields of study include literary works that contain the story of colonial power from the beginning of colonisation to the present. The form of colonialism in this sense is physical occupation or psychological occupation. Fox, et al. (2004), states that postcolonialism is an entire culture that is influenced by the imperial/colonial process from the time of colonisation to the present after a nation has officially been recognised and is not colonised again.

Colonialism in Indonesia went hand in hand with political hegemony, economic hegemony, and the exploitation of natural wealth and its people. Hegemony as described by Gramsci (1999), occurs so that those who are controlled obey the authority, those who are mastered internalise the values and norms of the ruler and give approval to the subordination. Gramsci (1999), states that hegemony is: a political force; a cultural force through moral and intellectual leadership; and functions to control public awareness in colonial society. Leadership is considered very important to pursue change and reform (Sumintono et al. 2015; Shirvani et al. 2015).

Relations between men and women are not only local but between nations. For example, *Student Hidjo* by Mas Marco Martodikromo, *Nyai Dasima* by G. Francis, *Bumi Manusia* by Pramudya Ananta Toer, and *Para Priyayi* by Umar Kayam show the relationship between native women and Dutchmen. The relationship between men and women shown through these works is gender-biased. There is dominant group and a subordinate group (Fox et al. 2004), or in the term (Morton 2007), a subordinative group is called a subaltern group. Men are the

dominant group, while women are the subordinate group (subaltern). According to Gandhi (2014), between patriarchy and imperialism, subject-constitution and object formation, the woman's figure disappears, not into pure nothingness, but back and forth which is a depiction of a third-world female figure trapped between tradition and modernisation. Wilson-tagoe (2010), states that with injustice due to patriarchy and imperialism, the problems faced include racial, class and sex differences. Relationships that occur are patriarchal and racial oppression (Hooks 2014).

Gandhi (2014), states that the study of postcolonialism is an area associated with various cultural constructions that do not pay attention to marginal groups such as coloured groups, women or former European colonies. Morton (2007), states that women in the colonial context do not have a conceptual language to speak because there are no colonial or indigenous men listening. There is no subject position in the discourse of colonialism that allows women to articulate themselves as individuals. Thus, Gayatri refers to women as destined subalterns for silence.

Some studies related to protocol include the research conducted by Zeiny & Yusof (2016), which states stereotypical images can be called visual imperialism. Visual imperialism can be traced back to the way the painter described the East and its people during the European occupation. Photographs of an obedient young woman staring at an artist/audience became prevalent in that era. It is a rule to represent Muslims to describe the East as exotic and submissive women. Research conducted by Karim & Nasir (2014), states that *The Brick Lane* by Monica Ali and *Maps for Lost Lovers* by Nadeem Aslam raises features of female oppression that lead to their fragmentation at the emotional, social, cultural and physical level.

Dalley's research (2013), states that there is trauma painted in Nigeria's postcolonial literary work in which there was a civil war involving children. Panakawan who is liable through: naming body appearance, traits and habits; attaches roles to them (Wita 2013). The film *Kingkong*, directed by Peter Jackson, is a critique of the subordinate relationship between white figures and Kong was directed previously by Carl Denham (Fahmi, 2017). Kaya (2018), compared novels set in the Victorian era and the Gandhi era in India. The results show that colonialism in the Victorian era in England and the Gandhi era in India brought social, economic and political influence on the community.

## **Research Method**

This research is a qualitative descriptive study and uses a critical gender study approach. This is intended to answer questions that are formulated in accordance with this research method (Creswell, 1998). Gender research studies examine the socio-cultural construction related to relations between men and women, where women experience marginalisation and hegemony

and there must be an effort to liberate. The data collection technique were by analysis of hybridity, mimicry and ambivalence of female characters in: The *Student Hidjo* novel by Mas Marco Martodikromo; *Nyai Dasima* by G. Francis; *Bumi Manusia* by Pramudya Ananta Toer; and *Para Priyayi* by Umar Kayam. The data validity technique used was theory triangulation . Data was analysed with an interactive model consisting of data collection, data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions (Miles et al., 1983).

## Findings and Discussion

### *Hegemony through the Form of Hybridity against Women in Post-Colonial Indonesian Novels*

Postcolonial Indonesian novels show symptoms of hegemony between the dominant group and the subordinate group (subaltern). The group that dominates is the invaders. While the subordinate group is the Indonesian people who are in the power of the invaders. Hegemony is also related to domination between dominant groups, namely Dutchmen and Indigenous men to subordinate groups, namely Indigenous women. This hegemony is in the form of physical mastery through socio-political and legal policies, as well as psychic mastery. Hegemony is in the form of hybridity, mimicry and ambivalence.

Hybridity as a cultural exchange due to the meeting of one culture with another culture. Hybridity arises through hegemony between the dominant and subordinate groups, through the internalisation of colonial culture among the Indigenous people. Under these conditions, the natives adapted to the new values which were carried out through colonialism. Hybridity is also demonstrated through the inculcation of values that Dutch culture is better than Indigenous culture. In the novels *Student Hidjo*, *Para Priyayi* and *Bumi Manusia*, the characters show that Western education is superior. *Hidjo* studied in the Netherlands and *Minke* goes to a school established by the Netherlands in order to absorb Western knowledge. *Sastrodarsono* aspires for his sons and daughters to be educated in schools established by the Netherlands in order to become *priyayi* Dutch bureaucracy. The highest value for the natives is being educated in the Netherlands and working in the Dutch bureaucracy office. The following excerpts from *Student Hidjo's* show Indigenous ways of thinking that have been affected by the hybridity of Dutch hegemony.

“I am just a merchant. Nowadays, people like me are still looked down on by people who are employees of governments. Sometimes our own brothers who also become employees of the government don't want to get together with us. Because he thinks his degree is higher than ours. I mean sending *Hidjo* to the Netherlands is nothing so that those who despise us can understand that humans can be the same. The proof is that our children can also learn the same as regents and princes” (Kartodikromo 2002).

Dutch education obtained by *Minke* in Human Earth showed *Minke's* behaviour change due to the hybridity experienced by most *priyayi* Indigenous people. The change in westernised thinking is a form of hybridity. This is seen in the following quote.

"You are no longer Javanese. Educated by the Dutch so they were Dutch, this kind of brown Dutch."

"Ah, this mother is just something. *Shaya* remains the first son of the Mother."

"My old son was not a contradictor like this."

"Your son used to not know the good and the bad. What he denies now is only the untrue."

"It is a sign that you are no longer Javanese, heedless who is older, more entitled to honour, who is more powerful." (Toer 2005).

Dutch ethical politics by establishing special schools for the sons and daughters of nobility and *priyayi* greatly influenced the mindset of Indigenous communities regarding education. The ideal values of Indigenous education were created, formed and applied by the Dutch for Indigenous communities. The *priyayi* pointed out that the ideal value of *pribumi* was if they were educated in a school founded by the Dutch and worked in a Dutch bureaucratic office. This is seen in the following quote.

"Our children, we enter the HIS school (Hollandsch Inlandsche School), the primary school for *priyayi* children, because this school was held to prepare *priyayis gupermen*. Children who attend school there will be taught Dutch, the language that is important to get a position in the *gupermen* office and can continue their studies to high school and high school *priyayi*, such as MULO, AMS, Normaal, Kweeksekul, etc." (Kayam, 1992).

Bhabha (1994), states that there is an obsession with colonialism in creating new humans; a black body but tastes similar to white skin. Hybridity here is seen through acculturation between Dutch and Indonesian (native) culture in which Indonesian culture must adapt to the hegemony of Dutch culture that has been institutionalised. The values of truth and ideals possessed by the natives must conform to the Dutch ideal values. The inferior and subaltern position of the natives under the domination of the Dutch colonisers did not only afflict men but also women. Women bear the double burden of being colonised by colonial powers and subordinated by colonial men and Indigenous men (Gandhi 2014). In such conditions, women are unable to speak their thoughts. In terms of Morton (2007), women in various colonial contexts did not have a conceptual language for speaking because neither colonial men nor native men listened.

### ***The Hybridity of Wong Cilik Woman Figures in Nyai Dasima and Bumi Manusia Novels***

*Nyai* is a term used to refer to Indigenous women who were mistresses of the Dutch during the colonial period. *Nyai* is also called *moentji*, *snaar*, *inventarisstuk*, and so on. They came from poor Indigenous groups in Java. In the mid-19th century, a group of poor peasant families went to the city to improve their livelihoods. The girls then worked as Dutch domestic helpers. The relationship of concubinage occurs when a Dutchman wants the woman to be his (Baay, 2009).

The *wong cilik* woman in *Nyai Dasima* is called *Nyai Dasima* and the *wong cilik* figure in *Bumi Manusia* is *Nyai Ontosoroh*. *Nyai Dasima* is a village woman in Kuripan. She was the son of a farm labourer and later worked as a housekeeper of Mr. Edward W., a Dutch ruler of the Land of Curuk. Although the child of a farmworker, *Dasima* has a beautiful face. After a while working as a housemaid, *Dasima* becomes Mr. Edward W's mistress and changed her name to *Nyai Dasima*.

The same thing is found in *Bumi Manusia*. *Ontosoroh* come from the majority of the people and real name is *Sanikem*. Her father *Sastrotomo* was a cleric who had big ambitions to become a worker on a Dutch plantation. He is willing to do anything for the sake of his ambitions. He is desperate to offer *Sanikem* (*Ontosoroh*), his biological daughter, to become the mistress of *Herman Mellema*, head of the Dutch plantation. The goal is that *Sastrotomo* can be appointed as a plantation worker. *Sanikem* sold his father for 25 golden. After becoming *Herman Mellema's* mistress, *Sanikem* changed her name to *Nyai Ontosoroh*.

*Dasima* and *Ontosoroh's* life is no different to *Sangi*. Both have a weak position legally and only as a satisfying appetite for the Dutch colonisers. This is seen in the following quote.

Life as a *Nyai* is too difficult. She was only a slave whose obligations were only to satisfy her master. In all respects! Instead, every time people have to get ready for the possibility that their master feels bored. Body mistakes can be expelled with all children, their own children, who are not valued by the native community because they were born without a legal marriage (Toer 2005).

*Nyai* is a bad stigma for the *wong cilik* women in the Dutch colonial period. They get the position but not because of the desired life choices. Mostly because they get work as a domestic servant for Dutchmen or are offered by their parents to high-ranking Dutchmen. In this position, the chanting becomes *primus inter pares* in the terms of Baay (2009). Women cannot refuse. They are unable to speak. Their position is legally weak because it is only to satisfy lust and is without the bond of marriage. Whenever the Dutchman was bored, the women had to be prepared to leave their employer's house. The relationship is still a hegemony relationship between the dominant (Dutchmen) and subaltern (native women), even though the relationship

was born by their children. *Nyai* was not only looked down upon by the Dutch but was also looked down on among the Indigenous peoples. The *Nyais* are regarded as traitors of the nation's struggle against the invaders and they are considered as selling their body for money and luxury. Even though life is abundant, the nuns have no self-respect in the eyes of their own nation.

In addition to being hegemony by colonialist men, the nuns are also hegemony by native men. This can be observed through the figures of *Nyai Dasima* and *Nyai Ontosoroh*. *Nyai Dasima* was a hegemony by the novel's character of *Samiun* and *Nyai Ontosoroh* was a hegemony by his father *Sastrotomo*. *Dasima* chants from the rich Mr. Edward W, but *Dasima* is not happy. He had an affair with *Samiun*. However, it turned out that *Samiun* only wanted to extort and use *Dasima's* assets while he was singing. The same thing was done by *Nyai Ontosoroh's* father. He sold *Ontosoroh*, to *Herman Mellema* just for the sake of ambition to work in the Dutch plantation. In such conditions, the woman is helpless.

### ***The Hybridity of Priyayi Women's Leaders in Hidjo Student and Para Priyayi Novels***

The *priyayi* female figure in the *Student Hidjo* novel is named *Raden Ajeng Biroe* and the female figure in the novel *Para Priyayi* is named *Ngaisah*. There are values and beliefs among *priyayi* that colonial culture is higher, so the *priyayi* must adapt to the colonial culture. The *priyayi* female figures in the novel also adapt to various colonial ethics. This includes mastery of the Dutch language, ethics of Dutch eating, Dutch cuisine, social ethics of the Dutch way and so on. This is seen in the following quote.

When *Raden Mas Wardojo* was jumping from his seat about to move to the back, the two *Raden Ajeng* together made room for *Raden Mas* in the middle. Namely as European courtesy.

"Where should I sit?" *Raden Mas* asked his sister, while he was still standing in front of her. "Here, right there, in the middle!" *Raden* answered *Ajeng Wongoe* while pointing out the place that had been provided.

"May I sit here?" *Raden Mas* asked the *Princess of Biroe*.

"Of course you can, with pleasure!" *Biroe* replied using the customs of courtesy Europe too (Kartodikromo 2002).

*Priyayi* women are also required to speak Dutch as a high language in society. This language is only mastered by *priyayi* people who study at a Dutch established school. This is seen in the following quote.

"Ben je klaar Zus?" Asked *Wardojo* at the door to his sister.

"Yes, ik ben klaar," *Woengoe* answered in a loud voice, "Ga binnen!"

"Wij Zijn klaar" *Woengoe* said to *Wardojo* while taking two fans made of bird feathers in the cupboard (Kartodikromo 2002).

These women were prepared to absorb the colonial lifestyle so that they could accompany their husbands when they socialised with the Dutch. This is in accordance with Bhabha (1994), who states that hybridity not only directs attention to the products of cultural fusion itself, but to the way these cultural products are placed in social and historical spaces under colonialism and become part of the imposition of colonial power.

Unlike *wong cilik* women, *priyayi* women get a better position than the surrounding community because they have had the opportunity to be educated in the Netherlands as do *priyayi* men. *Priyayi* women are accustomed to reading Dutch books as knowledge enhancers. Extensive knowledge and good social etiquette are highly recommended for *priyayi* women. Although they have not yet applied their knowledge to work, *priyayi* women must be able to present themselves when they associate with their husband's position, both among native and Dutch officials.

### ***Mimikri Female Wong Cilik in Nyai Dasima, Student Hidjo, Bumi Manusia, and Para Priyayi Novels***

Mimicry is a process of imitating what was done by the colonized or the subaltern group to the dominant group. This happens because the culture of dominant groups is considered better or more advanced than the culture of subaltern groups. In the concept of mimicry, cultural imitation does not actually occur entirely. There is an element of ambivalence in it. On the one hand, subaltern groups try to form cultural similarities with dominant groups, but they cannot be entirely the same. They are still seen as subaltern groups that are not equal.

Mimicry occurred since the implementation of the *trias politica*, especially in the field of education. The Netherlands applied the rule that *pribumi* can occupy jobs in the Dutch bureaucracy, as long as the natives are educated in the Netherlands. Then the native Indonesians flocked to education in various schools established by the Netherlands in the hope of occupying a position in the Dutch bureaucratic office. In this educational process, the mimicry process occurs, both in terms of language and lifestyle that mimic the Dutch lifestyle. In this mimicry process, the social mobility of the *wong cilik* community rises to the status of *priyayi*. The bureaucratic *priyayi* which were originally inherent in a person's identity cannot be changed. Since the Dutch established many schools, many new *priyayi* were formed by the Dutch through education and were called intellectual *priyayi*. So, they can rise to status as intellectual *priyayi* because they go to a Dutch school and eventually work in a Dutch bureaucracy office. This mimicry is performed *priyayi* such as the characters in the novel

*Student Hidjo* and *Para Priyayi*, through westernised thinking, how to dress, eating ethics, imitation of the enjoyment of Dutch food, speaking in Dutch and so on. Mimicry is also performed by the *wong cilik* characters in the *Nyai Dasima* and *Bumi Manusia* Novels. The habit of associating with a Dutch husband caused the women who sang to imitate the Dutch lifestyle. To do this mimicry, the natives try to learn it. This happened to the figures *Raden Ajeng Biroe*, *Ngaisah*, *Nyai Ontosoroh*, and *Nyai Dasima*.

*Raden Ajeng Biroe* who attended a Dutch school also absorbed the way of dress like Dutch girls. She wears silk, wears shoes and uses emerald jewellery. *Biroe* also used Dutch in conversation with fellow *priyayi*. She was also able to accept the way of thinking *Hidjo* who continued her education in the Netherlands. *Ngaisah*, as the wife of a teacher *Sastrodarsono*, absorbed and imitated the Dutch lifestyle such as how to set the dining table, a Dutch food menu and the ability to speak Dutch. This can be seen through the opinion of *Sastrodarsono*, *Ngaisah's* husband in the following quote.

“In arranging the dining table, my wife was very orderly in training the servants to put the prone plate, the fork, and spoon to the right of the plate, the glass to the left of the plate and the napkin. Chairs and tables in the front room and inner room must always return to their original place” (Kayam 1992).

*Nyai Ontosoroh* imitates the entire Dutch lifestyle of her husband for example how to set the dining table, a Dutch food menu, how to speak Dutch and how to dress in a way that mimics Dutch dress. She even studied and took care of matters related to her husband's company.

*Nyai Ontosoroh* is not only smart but kind. She studied agriculture, business, animal care and office work. First learn Malay, then read and write and then Dutch. She was also taught by *Herman Mellema* to deal with banks, legal experts, trade rules and so on (Toer, 2005).

The mimicry done by the female characters in these novels is largely a lifestyle mimicry.

### ***The ambivalence of Wong Cilik and Priyayi Women's Character in Nyai Dasima, Bumi Manusia, Student Hidjo, and Para Priyayi Novels***

In these postcolonial novels, there is a cultural transformation between Indigenous culture (especially Java) and Western culture through Dutch colonialism. This cultural transformation gives rise to hybridity and mimicry. This mimicry and hybridity give rise to ambivalence. The native peoples accepted Western influence through Dutch colonialism, not as a whole. The colonisers also did not fully accept the subaltern group to be Western and equal to the. The Dutch colonialists considered that if the natives absorbed the whole of Dutch culture, the Dutch power in the colonies would fail. So, the Western culture transmitted to the Indigenous people



is in mimicry and hybridity in the standard of lifestyle. For example, the stigma that good education is Dutch education in order to work in the prestigious Dutch bureaucratic office, how to dress, how to eat, and so on, which is largely a lifestyle of prestige and creates a mental obedience to the invaders. Good and established things for the natives have been determined by the invaders, which is in accordance with the values of the invaders in the colonies. The spirit to break the establishment was not taught by the Dutch. As a subaltern, they feel that these new values must be absorbed so that they accept the established values. However, on the other hand, the subaltern is helpless in a colonised nation.

Although they had accepted the Dutch influence in the lives of the natives, the Dutch did not fully accept that the natives were equal to them. Natives are still considered subaltern because they are a colonised nation. This can be seen through the view of *Herman Mellema* who is not willing to accept *Minke* as her son's lover, *Anellies* because *Minke* is a native. Even though *Minke* has a Dutch education and Dutch lifestyle, *Herman Mellema* considers *Minke* to still be an Indigenous person. That is seen in the following quote.

"Who gave you permission to come here, monkey!" *Herman Mellema* snorted in Malay-Market language, stiff and rough, as well as its contents.

"You think, if you already wear European clothes, with Europeans, can speak a little Dutch and then you become European? You are still a monkey," continued *Herman Mellema* angrily (Toer 2005).

## Conclusion

Hybridity occurs in characters because it is thought that the Dutch as the invaders and the dominant ones have cultural values superior to the Indigenous people as colonised and subaltern. This hybridity forms an inferior mindset and behaviour of the Indigenous people. Through hybridity, mimicry is formed in which cultural values of the colonising nation are imitated in such a way by the colonised nation. This inferior mindset is only limited to the imitation of lifestyle not to imitate mindset to break the establishment. This happens because the hybridity formed by the invaders gives birth to humans who are obedient to the invaders. Hybridism and mimicry give rise to ambivalence, which is an ambiguous attitude both by the colonised and coloniser. Even though the colonised people absorbed Dutch values and were even Dutch educated, they were still Indigenous people who were seen as subordinate by the colonial people and would never be equal.



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