
**Minke's Cultural Formation of Postcolonial Nationalism
in Toer's *Anak Semua Bangsa***

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ABSTRACT: The second novel of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Buru Tetralogy, entitled *Anak Semua Bangsa*, uplifts cultural formation of the main and prominent character, Minke, especially in dealing with his postcolonial nationalism. Minke's encounters with various people and cultures impact his worldview in becoming *pribumi*, or local, of Indonesian people. This research frames the analysis in the light of cultural formation theory, which scrutinizes the dominant, residual, and emergent cultures. Here, Minke's postcolonial efforts are in accordance with his growing sense of Indonesian nationalism. They cover such as analyzing the position of being marginalized, the resistance, and also the creation of space. Therefore, postcolonial approach is applied towards the data provided by the text of *Anak Semua Bangsa*. The findings show that Minke's nationalism is triggered more by the awareness of being marginalized due to his status of being local, or the colonized, by the dominant power of the colonizer. Minke's resistance against the oppressed authority drives him to embrace of being educated and qualified. Meanwhile, the creation of space is about gaining opportunity to expose his postcolonial writings, which imply his freedom of voicing and also bringing the awareness for the colonized Indonesian people. The research concludes that Minke's postcolonial nationalism is the result of complex interplay of several aspects, i.e. capital powers, identity formation, and cultural encounters.

KEYWORDS: *Anak Semua Bangsa*, cultural formation, nationalism, postcoloniality

INTRODUCTION

The second novel of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Buru Tetralogy, entitled *Anak Semua Bangsa* (1980), or its translation version *Child of All Nations* (1984), identifies an interesting point to muse because it opens paradigm delivering postcoloniality in accordance with nationalism. The talk of postcoloniality in the context of postcolonialism is rarely about also nationalism, and even the two usually have each own discourse. It happens because postcolonialism refers to the conflicts of relation between "the colonizer and the colonized" (Ashcroft et al., 2013; Innes 2007), but nationalism is more on how nation is imagined (Anderson, 2006). It means postcoloniality, as the deeds in the realm of postcolonialism, is beyond the goals of establishing nationalism. In other words, postcoloniality will be after the establishment of nationalism. However, Toer's Minke, the main character of *Anak Semua Bangsa*, uplifts something new and different from the conventional logic. For him, nationalism is about his cultural formation and it is in the discourse of opposing to and resisting the colonial power of the Dutch colonizer. The nationalism of Minke

is mainly due to his encounters with the local worker people, or *pribumi*, and his postcoloniality is triggered by his qualified education and the meetings with various people. That's why Minke's cultural formation of being nationalist is in fact also postcolonial.

Since this Toer's work is recognized as postcolonial text (Anoegrajekti, 2025) the novel is properly scrutinized through postcolonial studies. Moreover, the novel's story describes Minke, as the postcolonial character, who undergoes deeds in the context of resistance against the power of the colonial authority by the Dutch East Indies Government. This phenomenon, noted as historical facts to establish the plot, is also emphasized that Indonesia was previously colonized by the Dutch colonizer (Stroomberg, 2018) and that's why some like to say as well that Toer's *Buru Tetralogy* could stand as historical data of novel. However, the novel specifically portrays the concept of nationalism which is triggered mainly by postcoloniality. Minke is depicted different from the local Indonesian people due to his status of *anak Bupati*, the local Regent's son (Toer, 2002, p. 55) and his education is by European system (Toer, 2002, p. 64). His experiences with those living in the status of "being colonial" are the basis of his awareness that there is a gap between the people, being colonized, and the people belonging to the society of the colonizer. Minke is in the position of being trapped by "*kesadaran tidak berdaya*" (Toer 2002, p. 52), or helpless consciousness. In Minke's mind, there are two keenly different identities, i.e. Javanese and European, with the condition that the latter is oppressive (Toer, 2002, pp. 84, 108).

The context of being Javanese in fact stands to represent what has happened between "the colonized" and "the colonizer", regarding the Dutch colonial authority upon the area called the East Indies Dutch colony. The novel presents Minke, the Javanese, to represent the conflict between the two, and that's why the text is called postcolonial, since postcolonial text is about the relation between the colonized and the colonizer. It happens that Minke's establishment of *pribumi* identity starts actually when Nyi Ontosoroh, his mother-in-law, opens his perspective by acknowledging him with the local worker people in order to build the habits of giving attention towards the *pribumi* (Toer, 2002, p. 173). He surely does Javanese customs and adjusts accordingly based on his education from HBS. As an educated and well read person, Minke's capacity is also enriched by his encounters with various people and cultures, and this creates him with that the local people, or *pribumi*, must undergo the deeds to resist against the oppressive power of the colonial authority (Toer, 2002, p. 312). Those phenomena of Minke actually are about His processes of cultural formation for his identity, both nationalist and postcolonialist. Therefore, here are the questions for this research: (1) How is Minke's postcolonial nationalism identity constructed? (2) How can the breakthrough of cultural materialism formation be explained? Surely, the message is delivered from the existence of Minke, who is not purely marginalized and oppressed as the local and *pribumi* workers, because of his status, but who is, by his sensible experiences encountering with them, in the situation to become postcolonialist for his nation.

This research is significant in contributing a new perspective about postcoloniality and nationalism. It means the concept of postcoloniality must be viewed critically, especially it is in accordance with the establishment of nationalism identity. The processes, called cultural formation, are prominent to examine in order to identify what cultural aspects are involved there. Moreover, this study also provides another appreciation addressed to Toer's *Buru Tetralogy* in delivering the bulk of insights dealing with postcoloniality and nationalism.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The topic of Minke, in his cultural formation of postcolonial nationalism, is distinctive from the previous discussions or researches. The ambivalence of Minke's position, of not being part of the colonizer and also the local worker colonized, triggers the examination of his postcoloniality. However, there were several studies focusing on Minke's nationalism. In her research on *Anak Semua Bangsa*, Kusumayanti mentioned that Minke's nationalism awareness was raised after seeing proletarian people, including landowners and workers, who lived in Dutch colonialism (Kusumayanti, 2018), and Minke's meeting with the colonials developed his hybrid character. She obviously emphasized that there's a new "establishment" in Minke about the concern with the common people around him. Her view is in line with this research, especially talking about Minke's nationalism as the result of cultural contacts, as mentioned previously when his mother in law, Nyi Ontosoroh, led him to meet the workers (Toer, 2002, p. 173). Meanwhile, the talk about mimicry in *Anak Semua Bangsa* also appeared (Asyafi et al., 2020). The topic is common in the context of discussing postcolonial text, since this phenomenon is close to the conflict between the colonized and the colonizer. However, it's also necessary to put the text of *Anak Semua Bangsa* in its big context of Buru Tetralogy, because in all texts the figure of Minke, as the main postcolonialist character, is prominent in bringing the colonized Indonesians' postcoloniality. Even, there were in bulk of discussions dealing with those novels of Buru Tetralogy. One interesting and stimulating talk is about, finally, the death of Minke in the last sequel of it, *Rumah Kaca* (Aji, 2023). However, in *Anak Semua Bangsa* the character, Minke, is about to start establishing identity as postcolonial nationalist, through his cultural materialism formation in encountering with the cultures of the local *pribumi* Indonesian people, and the other foreign people. As an important clue to emphasize, nationalism was also an interesting topic discussed by several talks previously, especially dealing with the texts of Buru Tetralogy. In the first text or novel, *Bumi Manusia*, nationalism is strongly emphasized by the existence of the main character, Minke, and here nationalism is perceived by presenting the binary opposition of the colonized and the colonizer (Guillermo, 2017). Simply, the existence of Minke as nationalist is just due to fact that he is also local and that's why he must be in the category of "the colonized." It means the talk splits two groups of people who are nationalist and non-nationalist or the nation's enemy. The sense of nationalism was also spotlighted again in *Bumi Manusia*, which presented the sense of nationalism from a feminist perspective (Rahayu et al., 2019). Here, Nyi Ontosoroh, Minke's mother in law, stands to oppose and struggle against an unfair white court. Since the era is about the conflict between the "White," or the colonizer, and the "non-White," or the colonized, nationalism is recognized as the efforts of resistance against the oppressor. Meanwhile, there was also a research focusing on Minke's effort to escape from colonialism was by organizing nationalistic activism (Trihtarani, 2019). Thus, nationalism seems utilized to oppose and to fight colonialism. Clearly, those above talks specify that the topic of nationalism must be in the context between the colonizer, standing as non-nationalist, and the colonized, as nationalist.

Meanwhile, this present research points a new perspective in perceiving nationalism, which is also postcolonial. Its cultural formation later will be conducted more on portraying the dominant, residual, and emergent cultures. In defining nationalism, Anderson proposed the definition of a nation as "an imagined community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 2006). A nation can be only imagined since the members might not know each other, but they've drawn an image in their minds of what they live together. It is limited in the sense that the members would limit and set boundaries of the nation's

membership. In fact, a nation's characteristic of being *imagined* is also thought and suggested by Toer, as mentioned by (Cheah, 2003) that the renaming of the Dutch Indies into Indonesia had formed the imagined community to oppose the name given by the colonizer. In this sense, therefore, the concept of nationalism can be inseparable from the intertwined relation between the colonized and the colonizer. Further, in the case of Indonesia, the Dutch colonization brought western education and transportation, and the media nourished Indonesian national consciousness (Tsao, 2012). However, the remained and residual colonial spirits added to the national identity complexity. In the different talk, Toer's nationalistic ideology was shaped by the resistance against the colonial system, and it is "the battle of the youth" since the colonial system had contaminated the elders (Teeuw, 1997). In other words, nationalism is also born from the tension between the colonial residue brought by the elders and the youth's resistance towards colonialism. There was also another view on nationalism in Indonesian contexts. Nationalism is associated with patriotism, including war heroes and patriotism after being colonized for several centuries (Wibawa, 2024). This present paper, therefore, synthesizes the notion of nationalism as a struggle by the colonized in imagining a national community (Anderson, 2006) in fighting the colonial residual past. Meanwhile, to specifically discuss the idea of cultural formation, covering dominant, residual, and emergent cultural forms, the concept from Raymond Williams is applied (Williams, 1977). Here, dominant cultural form refers to the existing culture, which its individuals must undergo. Then, residual cultural form is surely the culture someone has had previously, and it could be from his/her traditional customs. Finally, emergent cultural form is the new cultural practices.

METHOD

The research object is Toer's *Anak Semua Bangsa* (Toer, 2002) or *Child of All Nations*, the second novel of Buru Tetralogy, and it's selected due to its prominent postcolonial nationalistic theme. The research object represents a text responding to the colonizers, demonstrating the colonizers' ideology, and delivering a new perspective of resistance against the colonizer. Postcolonial readings attempt to reveal colonial ideologies and processes (Ashcroft et al., 2013), the research object fits the postcolonial reading since it might fulfill the conditions and positions of marginality, struggle for resistance, and the creation of space (Dewi, 2007). Postcolonial discourse also suggests that the creation of a space creates knowledge outside the colonizers' knowledge. This present research frames the analysis and discussion in defining the concept of nationalism, especially in accordance with postcoloniality.

In conducting the research, first, the researchers read the novel thoroughly to find the depiction of the textual evidence depicting the interaction of residual, emergent, and dominant cultures in the novel. Second, the researchers define the postcoloniality of the collected evidence by elaborating on how they portrayed the position of marginality, the struggle of resistance, and the creation of space. The analysis concludes with the notion of postcolonial nationalism reflected in the discussion. This nationalism is shown by the struggle of the colonized in imagining a national community in fighting the colonial residual past.

Dealing with cultural forms, it is important to note that what has happened to Minke is in fact about his cultural development, especially in his awareness of gaining postcolonial nationalism. This process deals with what Williams thought of cultural materialism about those three aspects, i.e. dominant, residual, and emergent cultural forms. In addition to it, concept of hybridity and ambivalence (Bhabha, 1994) is also applied. Ambivalence may also be in the context of rejecting and accepting any behaviors of the colonizer (Neisya et al., 2022). By summarizing

the applied theories and concept, due to its prominence in presenting the opposition between the colonized and the colonizer, this paper approaches the novel from a postcolonial perspective.

RESULTS

Findings

Based upon the stated problems above, the followings are about the data and the analysis or discussion. The data are found and taken from the novel *Anak Semua Bangsa*, and it is in the part of findings. Meanwhile the analysis, which is in the part of discussion, examines the data by implementing the theoretical concepts, especially about nationalism, postcolonialism, and cultural formation. Two pillars of discussion are dealt with Minke's sense of postcolonial nationalism and his cultural formation due to it.

Minke's postcolonial nationalism

The novel of *Anak Semua Bangsa* centers on Minke, who has experienced shifts in viewing Indonesian people's status and struggle against colonialism. Minke's journey shows his growing sense of nationalism as triggered by his meetings and interactions with the people, and the people's struggle against the Western colonizers. The imagination of the nation as a community continually grows in Minke's mind. Minke is aware of his stand to join the people in their struggle, fighting against the colonial residual past. The portrayal of colonialism and the struggles against it starts from Minke's home and goes outward to his meetings and interactions with other people of many cultural backgrounds.

Minke's sense of nationalism grows as the story progresses. Minke's sense of nationalism firstly seems to imitate what have been in China and Japan, by reading an article written by Nijman.

Dan Maarten Nijman menulis: Angkatan Muda Cina yang terpelajar cemburu melihat kemajuan Jepang..... Juga geram dan gusar karena kesadaran yang tak berdaya.

Seperti aku seorang. (Toer, 2002, p. 52)

(Dan Maarten Nijman wrote: The educated Chinese Youth Generation were jealously flamed regarding Japanese advances..... Also they angrily growled because of the helpless consciousness.

It's like me myself.)

Here, he is absolutely aware that Indonesia is different from China and Japan, but he starts to learn what nationalism is. Indeed, the novel depicts Minke as *Bangsa Jawa* (Toer 2002, p. 43) but this terminology stands as the representation of the colonized nation, called *Hindia*, under the Dutch's oppression (Toer, 2002, p. 44). In other words, there is a point that Minke's geopolitical knowledge, especially about China, Japan and even also Philippines (Toer, 2002, pp. 47–48, 91) drives his concern to the country as the colonized against the Dutch colonizer.

Setidak-tidaknya dari dialah untuk pertama kali aku dan Mama mendengar tentang kebangkitan sesuatu bangsa. Bangkit, maju dan terhormat, berkebudayaan, ber peradaban dalam jaman modern ini. (Toer, 2002, p. 93)

(At least, from him for the first time I and Mother heard awakening of nation.

Awaken advance, dan dignified, cultured, civilized along this modern era.)

Surely, the context provides the information that Minke's nationalism is triggered and supported by Jean Marais and Kommer. The two pushed him to write any articles in Malay, because of his reluctance at the beginning to write in Malay (Toer 2002, p. 114). They urged him to change the way how to deliver his writings, from the Dutch language into Malay one. The argument given to him is that Malay

language would be understood by many people, while it is not about Dutch (Toer 2002, p. 116). The Dutch would be understood by limited people, especially those in the higher status and many local people unfortunately are ignorant of this language. This leads Minke into new awareness.

Tak kenal bangsa sendiri! Ucapan yang sungguh berlebihan, dan menyakitkan, seperti pukulan mata kapak tumpul..... Aku tak kenal bangsaku sendiri pada mata mereka. Aku! (Toer, 2002, p. 119)

(Knowing nothing about my own nation! An exaggerated and hurtful comment, as beaten by a blunt axe's blade..... I know nothing about my own nation at their eyes. I do!)

Minke also encounters with *pribumi*, such as Ontosoroh and Trunodongso (Toer, 2002, pp. 179, 230). These meetings provide him with ideas of the local people's resistance against colonial power. The novel exemplifies the solidarity of workers, farmers, and landowners in responding to the violence of colonialism. The phenomenon seems to open Minke's perspective dealing with the evident two groups, i.e. the local people versus the colonizer. The local people, or *pribumi*, collaborated in pursuing the same goal: combating the colonial power. ...*Kasihannya Trunodongso. Dengan parang dan cangkul dia mau melawan...*(Toer, 2002, p. 311) (Poor Trunodongso. He would fight by machetes and hoes).

Makin menjadi tahu aku kini: untuk kesekian kali dan untuk seterusnya kami harus terus melawan..... Namun toh ada sesuatu yang harus dilakukan. Yang dilakukan itu tak bisa lain dari melawan. (Toer, 2002, p. 343)

(My knowledge grows better now: for several times and also for the next times we must continually fight....However, there must be something to undergo. It is about to undergo but to fight.)

It is important to note that Minke's sense of nationalism is in accordance with the concept of binary opposition, between the colonized and the colonizer, and not due to racial identity. The spirit of opposing against the colonizer has in fact come from Jean Marai and Kommer, who are not the Indonesian or local people but from European society (Toer, 2002, p. 55). The two has been sure that the local people must be able to stand by themselves and not by the Dutch colonizer.

Minke's cultural formation of postcolonial nationalism

The three aspects of cultural formation, suggested by Williams, i.e. dominant, residual, and emergent cultures, are obviously seen in the existence of Minke in developing his quality of postcolonial nationalism. *Anak Semua Bangsa's* cultural or social setting is of the Dutch authority, and readers would easily identify that the context of it is about the superiority of the colonial authority in comparison with the inferiority of the local people. There is an evident relation between the colonized and the colonizer.

"Mengapa kau tak ikut bicara?" tegur Mama. "Takut?" Suaranya kemudian menurun mendekati gerutu, "Memang mereka membutuhkan ketakutan kita, Nak, biar kita diam saja, bagaimana pun Pribumi diperlakukan." (Toer, 2002, p. 3)

("Why didn't you speak?" Mama told me. "Afraid?" Her voice then gets lower to become growled, "Indeed they need our fear, Son, so we would just be silent against whatever they do towards *Pribumi*.")

Ontosoroh, called Mama by Minke, examines his behaviour of being silent, regarding the conduct done by those of the colonizer. This describes Ontosoroh's complaint to Minke, and it emphasizes the power the colonial authority in controlling the local people. In other words, the colonial Dutch holds the dominant culture, and surely it's

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in accordance the position of the colonizer upon the colonized. Minke is aware that he has been co-opted by his education status, and he seems not to be able to get rid of it. Here is the fact that Minke has been trapped by his Dutch-ness.

Mungkin dia hanya tak mau melihat kenyataan: pribadiku tak bisa berpisah dengan tulisanku, sedang tulisan tak dapat berpisah dengan bahasa Belanda. Perpisahan antara ketiganya hanya akan membikin orang, yang bernama Minke ini, sampah jalanan belaka kurang-lebih. (Toer, 2002, pp. 54–55)

(Perhaps he does not want to see the reality: my personality is not separated from my writings, and while my writings are impossible to separate from the Dutch language. The separation of those three would create someone, named Minke, to become just street litterers.)

It portrays Minke's dominant culture. Despite his origin is locally Java, precisely from Jepara, his hegemonic life is the Dutch language. As the Region's child and educated by the Dutch system (Toer, 2002, p. 123). Minke is in the position obviously different from the local people of Java. Beside the phenomenon, Minke is actually in the situation in which the elder people, similar with him, such as Ontosoroh and Trunodongso, are undergoing struggles against the colonial powers. The novel exemplifies the solidarity of workers, farmers, and landowners in resisting the violence of colonialism (Toer, 2002, pp. 256–257).

Therefore, it is worth noting that Minke is already hegemonized into his dominant culture, relating to colonial Dutch authority, which stands as the colonizer for the local people. His status and education create him in the situation that he does not belong to the local and colonized people. However, in mingling with the local people Minke is aware of their efforts to fight against the colonial oppressor. The condition, which then provides Minke with daily realities, supports Minke's sense of postcoloniality. The elder people around Minke, such as Ontosoroh and Trunodongso, open the paradigm about the local people's struggles against the colonial power.

Ini rupanya negeri kelahiran Nyai Ontosoroh. Semua berpusing pada gula. Biar demikian tidak semua berasa manis. Pengalam hidup Mama sendiri sudah membuktikan. (Toer 2002, pp. 128–129)

(This land is indeed Nyai Ontosoroh's birth land. All focus on sugar. However, not all feel sweet. Mama's daily experiences have proven it.)

"Aku menghargai Pak Trunodongso dan semua yang senasib.... Kesulitan-kesulitan tidak selamanya bisa diselesaikan dengan parang dan kemarahan. Sudah, Pak, pulanglah, tidurlah, kau mengantuk dan lelah....." (Toer, 2002, p. 194)

(“I really appreciate Mr Trunodongso and those in the similar situation.... The problems should not be solved merely by swords and angers. Well, Mr. Trunodongso, just go home, because you're sleepy and exhausted....”)

Even, the novel also exemplifies the solidarity of workers, farmers, and landowners in responding to the violence of colonialism (Toer, 2002, pp. 184, 188, 311, 343). They collaborated in pursuing the same goal: combating the colonial power. Here, Minke's sense of postcolonial nationalism progressively grows. This highlights the residual culture, opposing or challenging the dominant culture. Once Ontosoroh told Minke to show that Javanese people have equal power and position compared to European people.

".... Setiap kau melihat kenyataan adanya Eropa tanpa kehormatan, kau lantas jadi sentiment. Eropa tidak lebih terhormat daripada kau sendiri, Nak!"

Eropa lebih unggul hanya di bidang ilmu, pengetahuan dan pengendalian diri. Lebih tidak....Kalau mereka bisa disewa oleh siapa saja yang bisa membayarnya, mengapa iblis takkan menyewanya juga? (Toer, 2002, p. 76)

(“...Every time you discover reality dealing with Europe without honor, you become sentimental. Europe is no more honorable than you, Child! Europe is only superior in the field of science, learning, and self-restraint. No more than that.... If they can be hired due to those able to pay, why don't the devils pay them also?)

Finally, Minke's emergent culture can be shown from his creation of space as a postcolonialist and also nationalist. Minke develops the culture of being postcolonial nationalism. His awareness is certainly due to his geopolitical understandings as well, since he is well read against the phenomena of Asian countries, such as China (Toer, 2002, p. 48), Japan (Toer, 2002, pp. 43, 48), The Philippines (Toer, 2002, p. 298), and the others. At least, Minke is a well read person, especially reading the political situations of Asia.

Rasa-rasanya memang seperti dongengan: Jepang dapat menjamah Hindia. Dia akan berhadapan dengan Prancis di Indo China, berpapasan dengan Inggris di benteng Asia Tenggara terkuat yang bernama Singapura. (Toer, 2002, p. 363)

(It is really like tale: Japan could touch East Indies. It would face France in Indo China, encounter Britain at the strongest South East Asia's fortress, called Singapore)

Therefore, by his knowledge and local experiences, Minke seems to gain new meaning in his life, when saying, “I'm a baby of all nations from all eras, which passed and would go.” (Toer, 2002, p. 186). Certainly, there is a special space created to stand, i.e. in resisting the colonial power. Minke's eagerness to understand his people and to represent them via his writing also indicates the creation of space in colonial occupation times. The eagerness to write for/about his people in Malay is resulted from the encouragements by Jean Marais (Toer, 2002, p. 114), Kommer (Toer, 2002, p. 119), and Ontosoroh (Toer, 2002, p. 125).

Discussion

This part is about discussing the data found previously. Theoretical concepts are applied to the findings in order to gain the meanings stated in the pillars of discussion.

Minke's postcolonial nationalism

The findings dealing with Minke's postcolonial nationalism present to identify the progression of shifts in Minke's existence as the main character of *Anak Semua Bangsa*. It is interesting that his nationalism, or sense of being one imagined nation (Anderson, 2006), is triggered by the interactions with the local people, who have suffered from the deeds of oppression from the Dutch colonizer. Following the concept, Minke is actually beyond the condition of the colonized people, who are uneducated and the local workers for the colonial factories, such as sugar cane. In his position Minke may feel not to be colonized since his status of Jepara's Region's son. Even, due to this status, Minke may join the European system of education by the Dutch government. In other words, Minke is different from the common local people because of his social status and education. However, also because of his broad knowledge and readings, he could see what has happened to the countries next to Indonesia, such as China, Japan, and Philippines. The imagined community then has the way in his mind. The quote, about Minke's sense of nationalism, just emphasizes that the flame of it proves his responsibility as young man of the country.

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New insight, as part of the educated youth generation, fills him with the fact of being helplessness. At least this starts his awareness of having “the imagined community” who is under the colonization.

Ontosoroh, his mother-in-law, stands also as an important support for Minke. The two are in the situation of belonging to the country which needs to rise to gain its advances and dignified identity along with the advances of the world's eras. The clue refers to the country, which is suffering from being marginalized and oppressed by the colonial deeds. However, the role of the other two friends, who are not locally Indonesians, is also important in flaming Minke's sense of nationalism. They are Jean Marais and Kommer. Together they urge him to apply Malay language, which is more commonly understood by local people, to deliver his writings, and then he agrees with them. Therefore, there are two reasons why his sense of nationalism fills in him. The local language, and not the Dutch, which is foreign for the local people, is the identity that Minke holds now. It means he is back to his own people and there his nationalism, together with the other local people, starts to become his new awareness. It can be said he is able to overcome his personal problem dealing with his helpless consciousness.

The second entity happening in Minke is about his postcoloniality. As postcoloniality deals with the conflict relation between the colonized and the colonizer, it is obvious that Minke's spirit of postcoloniality is mainly due to this concern about the colonial government, identified as the East Indies Dutch, in oppressing the local people. What happen to Ontosoroh and Trunodongso are the common phenomena Minke encounters. Here he certainly sees two different groups of society, i.e. the colonized and the colonizer. This leads him into a new insight about condition and position of those people, such as Ontosoroh and Trunodongso. Despite their helplessness and powerlessness, due to power and authority, they are sure to stand as the enemy of the colonizer, and Minke understands that their only weapon is just to fight. It's not about who will win or lose, but it's about the conviction that they must survive by fighting and resisting. In other words, Minke learns that colonial power can be fought by the non-colonial power, and he grows this spirit. Minke becomes postcolonial and at the same time he also develops the sense of nationalism. Minke now is in his postcolonial nationalism.

Minke's cultural materialism formation of postcolonial nationalism

Regarding Williams' concept on cultural materialism formation, the analysis focuses on the three aspects of it, i.e. dominant, residual, and emergent cultures. However, this concept identifies the formation by the perspective of developing processes that finally the emergent culture is the end or result. So, if previously the discussion is on the existing Minke in holding postcolonial nationalism, here it is more about the processes of it.

The first phase in Minke's postcolonial nationalism is dealt with the dominant cultures, in which Minke has trapped. They are the status of being educated, by the European system, and the position of being locally Javanese, who must strive to survive against the colonial power of the Dutch government. Those dominant cultures are Minke's realities. In his first reality Minke has the gap with his own local people, and even he is totally different since his language is also the language of the colonial government. His passion of writings is highly supported by this language because he could build his community, and he believes in the system as his rooted personality. On the other hand, the second culture, which is his second reality, gives him experiences about the treatments of the colonial power, represented by the government, in poorly treating the local people, as happened to Ontosoroh, Trunodongso, and also Surati. The treatment even causes rebellion and resistance from them, seen what Trunodongso did by whatever traditional tools and weapons.

This creates him a gap with the educated friends, who are dominantly from the colonial people. Here, the existence of Minke is depicted in the dilemmatic position, because his status, due to class and education, is opposed to his sense of nationalism, due to the concern with the local people's struggles.

The next phase, residual culture, stimulates Minke to establish space. His new awareness, that the local people of his own are suffering from the marginalization and oppression done by the Dutch people, is about to select for him the correct position to stand. His encounters with various people and readings are reasonable to emphasize that Minke must implement the knowledge for the sake of nation's needs, especially in resisting against the colonial power. In other words, Minke's creation of space delivers the idea that he moves up to free himself from being trapped by the unfortunate realities. The residual culture of the first reality, that he tightly holds, is his broad and deep knowledge. He seems to realize that he has good brain. It happens as well that Minke finally decides not to complete his study to become doctor. However, he has appeared educated and it is the residual capital of him. About the second reality, he, by intention, drops his high status which interrupt him from mingling with the local people. His residual culture of this phenomenon shows his choice of bringing nationalism. He together with the other poor and marginalized local people has their own imagined nation or society. Their language of it is nationalism, i.e. resisting and fighting against the colonial violence of the Dutch East Indies.

Finally, Minke's emergent culture is evident, i.e. postcolonial nationalism. Despite two entities involved, Minke's postcolonial nationalism is in fact also about establishing identity. In the context of postcoloniality, there is a spirit of denial towards the hegemonic culture of the colonizer. Minke's choice of being the colonized is not just his crisis of belonging, whether in the community of colonizer or that of the colonized, but it's the responsibility of being educated. His knowledge provides him by awareness and insight to stand behind the colonized. Meanwhile, his sense of nationalism may be said to be triggered by his readings against the surrounding countries next to Indonesia or the Dutch East Indies. Japan, China, Philippines, and the others are so dignified to survive along with the European countries. The helpless consciousness finally has the answer that there must be ways of fighting and resisting the colonial violent power. The end of the novel interestingly delivers an important message:

"Ya, Ma, kita sudah melawan, Ma, biarpun hanya dengan mulut." (Toer 2002, p. 400)

(Yes, Mom, we have already fought, Mom, despite just by our mouths.)

It means postcolonial nationalism is mainly about establishing one imagined nation who could prove the struggles of resisting the colonial authority and power.

CONCLUSIONS

The novel *Anak Semua Bangsa* narrates Minke's journey in growing his sense of nationalism. However, it's based upon his postcoloniality as well. It can be said that sense of nationalism is not merely about postcoloniality, and it's also that postcoloniality is in accordance with the sense of nationalism. Minke's sense of nationalism starts to begin by his views on the poor condition of the Dutch East Indies local people, completed by his knowledge on geopolitical conflicts. However, Minke's postcoloniality is dealt with his conviction about the bad treatments done by the colonizer to the colonized. This conviction is certainly supported by his geopolitical understanding as well. The colonized nation could build its dignified identity only by standing independently along with the other liberated nations. The idea of fighting and resisting against the hegemonic colonizer is the ultimate answer.

Minke's Cultural Formation of Postcolonial Nationalism in Toer's Anak Semua Bangsa

Minke's cultural materialism formation, dealing with his postcolonial nationalism, can be identified from the improving phases of his dominant, residual, and emergent cultures. The clue happens in the act of creating space. The dominant culture is solved by leaving the hegemonic foreign culture, and the residual culture can be the power to start the emergent culture, which represents the ideology of being postcolonial nationalism.

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