

# PROCEEDING

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHINESE DIASPORA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA STUDIES

(Socio Cultural Research of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia)

November, 25<sup>th</sup> - 27<sup>th</sup> 2022



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**(Socio Cultural Research of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia)**

25<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup> November 2022  
Universitas Kristen Maranatha  
Bandung, Indonesia



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International Conference on Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia Studies  
(Socio Cultural Research of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia)

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Proceeding Editor

Dr. Ir. Sugiri Kustedja, M.T

Editors:

Asst. Prof. Dr. Jirawat Vongphantuset

Dr. Krismanto Kusbiantoro, S.T., M.T., CIQaR

Dr. Pauw Budianto, S.T., M.Si., M.Lit.

Qianqian Luli, Ph.D.

Prof. Tsuda Koji, Ph.D.

Prof. Dr. Yang Xiaoqiang

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Jl. Prof. drg. Surya Sumantri MPH no. 65

Bandung- 40164, Jawa Barat, Indonesia

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(Socio Cultural Research of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia)**

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# Conference Chair's Foreword

*Dr. Christine Claudia Lukman, M.Ds., CIQaR*

It is an honor for the Center of Chinese Diaspora Studies of Universitas Kristen Maranatha as host the International Conference on Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia on 25<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> November 2022 in a webinar. The consortium of 8 Chinese study centers of various universities decided to expand the scope of study from the Indonesian region to a wider region, namely Southeast Asia. In accordance with the scope of the study area, the conference name became the International Conference on Chinese Southeast Asia Studies. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, which has started to spread since 2020, the first conference can only be held in 2022.

Why was Southeast Asia chosen as the study area? Currently around 75% (or 45 million people) of the Chinese diaspora reside in Southeast Asia. Due to geographical proximity and trading ties, the Chinese diaspora has a long history in Southeast Asia timeline, which was the main destination of emigrants mostly origin from Southern Chinese provinces of Fujian and Guangdong. As immigrants, the Chinese diaspora experiences acculturation when encounter and adopted gradual acquisition of the characteristics and some norms of new culture from the people in the country they live in, as well as some communities still maintaining the traditional culture by passing it on to their descendants. The fast development of digital technology that creates of a borderless world is another cultural challenge today. Cultural encounters are no longer dependent on territorial aspects but can occur globally. The Chinese diaspora community is also facing this current inevitable cultural challenge. What is the right cultural strategy so that Chinese culture can survive without losing its identity? Can we learn from past best practices about choosing the right strategy to deal with today's situation?

The papers in this proceeding are the results of scholarly research in exploring various possible cultural strategies, from the history of experiments, to ensure the sustainability of Chinese culture as a living culture without losing its identity.

On this occasion, we would like to thank the Chancellor of Maranatha Christian University, the steering committee from various universities and institutions, keynote speakers, all committee members, and the conference participants who have made the conference and its proceedings possible.

# ICCDSAS Editorial's Foreword

*Dr. Krismanto Kusbiantoro, S.T., M.T., CIQaR*

The need to share and discuss Chinese studies gathers scholars and academicians in an international conference forum. Several leading universities in Indonesia, China, Japan, and Malaysia have formed a joint consortium to organize this prestigious forum. Talking about Chineseness is always interesting. Not only because of the long history of migration of Chinese people out of China to various places, but also because of cultural interactions with a very wide spectrum of significance. Starting from the Chinese culture that was accepted, absorbed, and even adopted by the local community, to the Chinese culture that was considered foreign by the local community. All of these are interesting materials to study and discuss in scientific forums.

The universities joining the consortium are even wider with the inclusion of Tarumanegara University, University of Indonesia, Soegijapranata Catholic University, and Rikkyo University in Japan as consortium members. This conference is a prestigious scientific forum that brings together academics, humanists, students, and the Chinese community to discuss and share knowledge about Chineseness.

The consortium saw the need to broaden the scope of the study so that it was no longer limited to Indonesia, but within the Southeast Asian region. Due to geographical proximity and trading ties, the Chinese diaspora has a long history in Southeast Asia, which was the main destination of emigrants from Southern Chinese. Currently, a significant number of around 75% (or 45 million people) of the Chinese diaspora reside in Southeast Asia.

The presence of Chinese immigrants with their own culture to the Southeast Asian region is confronted with local people with their respective cultures. This is when they experience an encounter that is not merely a physical encounter, but also a cultural one. The cultural encounter that occurs opens many possibilities for the existence of cultures in a very broad spectrum: the most constructive possibility is the emergence of a new culture as a result of the interaction of the two cultures, and the most destructive possibility is the loss of one of the cultural elements. In this process, we are familiar with various terms such as adaptation, acculturation, inculturation, enculturation and so on. This cultural meeting strategy and approach is something interesting to look at as a historical fact, as well as a projective cultural strategy in the future.

As immigrants, the Chinese Diaspora experiences acculturation when encounter and adopted gradual acquisition of the characteristics and some norms of new culture from the people in the country they live in, as well as some communities still maintaining the traditional culture by passing it on to their descendants. The interaction between the two approaches affects the adaptation strategy chosen by them, whether in the form of assimilation into major ethno-cultural groups, or integration within larger society. These distinction strategies involved two dimensions, based on orientations towards one's own group, and those towards other groups.

The first dimension is a relative preference for having blended mixed with the larger society. The second is rendered as a relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity, together along other ethno-cultural groups. This formulation is presented for both the ethno-cultural groups and the larger society.

The fast development of digital technology that creates of a borderless world is another cultural challenge today. Cultural encounters are no longer dependent on territorial aspects but can occur globally. The Chinese diaspora community is also facing this current inevitable cultural challenge. What is the right cultural strategy so that Chinese culture can survive without losing its identity? Can we learn from past best practices about choosing the right strategy to deal with today's situation?

This conference aims to explore various possible cultural strategies, from history of various cultural experiments, to ensure the sustainability of Chinese culture as a living culture without losing its identity. The object of study in the articles discussed in this conference is Chinese culture which has interacted with the local Southeast Asian context, both tangible and intangible, in a time perspective, both as history and as a projection of the future.

This conference collects various articles related to the topics raised from various groups of writers. there are Chinese humanists, researchers, teachers, as well as students, both doctoral students and undergraduate students. The topics raised were very diverse, ranging from topics related to religion, language, cultural identity, performance culture, culinary to popular cultures that are common in everyday life. This conference brings awareness about the value of Chinese culture living in Southeast Asia as an integral part of local culture, while inviting all conference participants to work together to preserve and strive for the continuation of this culture through new cultural strategies that can overcome the challenges of the times.

# Keynote Speakers

**Didi Kwartanada**

*Tionghoa Diaspora Researcher, Indonesia*

**Prof. Esther Harijanti Kuntjara, M.A., Ph.D.**

*Universitas Kristen Petra, Indonesia*

**Dr. Ganewati Wuryandari, M.A.**

*BRIN, Indonesia*

**Dr. Krismanto Kusbiantoro, S.T., M.T., CiQaR**

*Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia*

**Nurni W. Wuryandari Ph.D.**

*Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia*

**Dr. Rahadjeng Pulungsari**

*Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia*

**Prof. Ir. Roesdiman Soegiarso Ph.D.,**

*Universitas Tarumanagara, Indonesia*

**Prof. Satoshi Masutani Ph.D.**

*Rikkyo University, Japan*

**Tsuda Koji, Ph.D.**

*The University of Tokyo, Japan*

**Prof. Dr. Azizi Bahauddin**

*School of Housing, Building and Planning, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia*

**Prof. Dr. Danny Wong Tze Ken**

*University of Malaya, Malaysia*

**Prof. Nie Dening, Ph.D.**

*Xiamen University, People Republic of China*



# **PROCEEDING PAPERS**



# Day 1

## Keynote Speakers

**Dr. Krismanto Kusbiantoro, S.T., M.T., CiQaR**  
*Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia*  
Adapt of Perish: Learning from the Old Chinatown Jamblang

**Prof. Dr. Danny Wong Tze Ken**  
*University of Malaya, Malaysia*  
Dialect Identity and the Study of the Chinese in Malaysia

**Tsuda Koji, Ph.D.**  
*The University of Tokyo, Japan*  
Finding the “Missing Link”: Organization Process of Batavia’s Chinese Community under the Japanese Military Rule

**Prof. Ir. Roesdiman Soegiarso Ph.D.,**  
*Universitas Tarumanagara, Indonesia*  
The Opportunities and Challenges of Tionghoa in West Sumatera

**Dr. Rahadjeng Pulungsari**  
*Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia*  
Dominant Ideology through Cultural Articulation of Chinese Diaspora Films in Indonesia in 2015-2021

## Research Papers

Irena Vanessa Gunawan, Yudita Royandi, Veren Gabriella, Melisa Natalia  
“Study of changes in the function of space in Thio Tjoe Teng’s shop and residential building Indramayu City

Kai Kwong Loh  
The Cemetery of Lo Fangbo and Luo Clan Cohesion in Southeast Asia

Olivia, Toetik Koesbardiati  
Sea Goddess Mazu Ritual at Tjoe Tik Kiong (Cide Gong) Pasuruan Temple after Covid 19

Graciella Ferrary, Greysia Susilo, Oktavianus Nangoy, Alifia Wida Izzati  
The Phenomenon Chinese Culinary Centers in Jakarta

Monica Hartanti  
Aesthetic and Authentic Chinese Culinary Dissemination Through Film Delicacies Destiny

Joseph W. W. Chan  
China and ASEAN on Maritime Silk Road - Past, Present and Future



# Finding the “Missing Link”: Organization Process of Batavia’s Chinese Community under the Japanese Military Rule

Tsuda Koji, The University of Tokyo, Japan

*Abstract: The historical dynamism experienced by the ethnic Chinese in Java during the Japanese military rule (1942–45) remains unclear due to a critical lack of data, leading to this period being called “the missing link in the historiography of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia.” Previous studies have simply stated that all existing Chinese organizations in Java during this harsh period were disbanded. Instead, a brand-new organization named Overseas Chinese General Association (Hua Ch’iao Tsung Hui / Kakyo Sokai) was established in every province as the sole framework for controlling and mobilizing the Chinese residents in their respective regions. Based mainly upon articles in the daily newspaper for the ethnic Chinese in Java, the Kung Yung Pao, as a primary source, this paper clarifies in detail how the preparations for the establishment of the Hua Ch’iao Tsung Hui (HCTH) in the capital city, Batavia (later Jakarta) were carried out. Particular attention is paid to the process in which the search for building the framework of the capital’s HCTH was pursued by bringing together all existing Chinese organizations there during the first six months of Japanese military rule when Chinese residents faced a series of major challenges. This paper calls attention to the value of the Kung Yung Pao as a source of information in unraveling the historical experiences of the ethnic Chinese in Java in the early 1940s.*

*Keywords: Kung Yung Pao, Japanese Military Rule, Chinese Community, Batavia, Hua Ch’iao Tsung Hui*

## INTRODUCTION

When viewed in the context of the contemporary history of the Chinese in Java and, by extension, in Indonesia as a whole, the 1940s was sandwiched between two notable periods that saw a rise in Chinese print capitalism (both in Chinese and Indonesian): from around 1900 to 1941, and from 1950 to 1965. Both periods produced a variety of printed materials that shed light on the diverse political positions and concrete social lives of the Chinese in Batavia (later Jakarta)<sup>1</sup> and in other smaller cities. However, the historical dynamism experienced by the ethnic Chinese in Java during the 1940s remains shrouded in mystery as the availability of historical sources became severely limited due to the harsh Japanese military rule (1942–1945) and the subsequent turmoil of the War of Independence (1945–1949). This period therefore became known as “the missing link in the historiography of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia” (Kwartanada, 1996, p. 25).

What is well known concerning the historical experience of the Chinese in Java during the period of Japanese military rule is that the Overseas Chinese General Association (Hua Ch’iao Tsung Hui / Kakyo Sokai [華僑總會], hereafter “HCTH”)<sup>2</sup> was established in every province (Shuu / Kooti / Tokubetu-si)<sup>3</sup> to control and mobilize the Chinese residents in their respective regions (Setiono, 2002, p. 523; Twang, 1998, pp. 84–86). At the end of the Dutch colonial period, the Chinese communities in Java were extremely diverse in terms of their place of ancestry, degree of localization, daily language use, social class, political orientation, religious belief, educational background, and so on (cf. Suryadinata, 1997, pp. 251–257; Tsuda, 2015, p. 5; Govaars-Tjia, 2005). In accordance with these divisions, organizations with different purposes and functions were established, and their respective positions were conveyed by the print media they published.

However, the Japanese 16th Army, which occupied all of Java (including the island of Madura) and established military rule on March 9, 1942, regarded the Chinese as “potential enemy aliens” and tried to monitor and manage them in an integrated manner under the principle that the “Chinese is Chinese”<sup>4</sup>. Such principle was in accordance with the basic policy of the government of Japan, which had been at war with China for at least a decade. Consequently, under

<sup>1</sup> The former Batavia City (Stads Gemeente Batavia) became Batavia Special City (Batavia Tokubetu-si) on August 7, 1942 and was further renamed Jakarta Special City (Djakarta Tokubetu-si) on December 10 of the same year. Note that, strictly speaking, its territory was somewhat larger than that of the late Dutch colonial period.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling of words of Japanese origin used in Java at that time was not consistent depending on the source. The same was true for that of Chinese-derived words. This paper uses the spelling as it appears frequently in the primary sources, including the *Kung Yung Pao*.

<sup>3</sup> During Japanese military rule, basically following the administrative divisions of the late Dutch colonial period, Java was divided into 17 provinces (Syuu [州], formerly Afdeling / Karesidenan). In addition, the Principality-Regional Offices (Kooti Zjimukyoku [候地事務局]) were established in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, and the capital city of Jakarta (renamed from Batavia in December 1942) was made a separate Special City (Tokubetu-si [特別市]), all of which had roughly the same status as a province. In accordance with this regional division, as shown in Table 1, a total of 20 HCTHs were established in Java and its adjacent island of Madura. No higher organization was ever set up to integrate and mutually coordinate them.

<sup>4</sup> In the late Dutch colonial period, the ethnic Chinese were at least treated as a unified group in terms of policy, despite their diversity within the group. Nevertheless, with the rise of the Chinese nationalism movement and the increasing collective consciousness associated with it, the Dutch East Indies government attempted to steer the Chinese communities toward a pro-Dutch orientation through policies related to education and subject status (onderdaan), which resulted in a major rift within the Chinese communities—to some extent overlapping with the difference between Peranakan and Totok, especially in Java.





the supervision of the Japanese military authorities, the HCTHs were established throughout Java as the organizations solely representing the Chinese communities in their respective regions. In this way, quite ironically, the Chinese in Java acquired an integral framework for the first time in history. However, while the HCTHs certainly functioned as a mutual aid for the Chinese, their purpose was clearly to aid the Japanese military authorities in controlling and mobilizing them economically and physically (Tsuda, forthcoming, chap. 9; cf. Somers, 1965, pp. 106-107).

Prior to the establishment of these HCTHs, it has been roughly understood that all existing Chinese organizations were ordered by the Japanese military authorities to disband (Setiono, 2002, p. 522; Li & Huang, 2005, p. 411; Sadayoshi, 2016, pp. 130-131). However, it should be noted that, as shown in Table 1, the official establishment of the HCTHs in each province (20 in total) was done mostly one year after the start of the Japanese military rule. Meanwhile, especially within the six months after March 1942, Chinese communities in all parts of Java faced a series of major challenges that had to be dealt with immediately and collectively. How, then, did they respond to these challenges in an organized manner when the HCTHs had not yet been launched?

Table 1: Dates of the Establishment of HCTHs in Each Province

province	date of est.	president	predecessor organization
Banten	?	Lie Fet Siong (李獲祥)	*43-03-08: HCTH Serang Ken (西朗縣華僑總會)
Djakarta	*43-10-26	Teng Giok Seng (鄧玉成)	*43-07-09: HCTH Djakarta Ken (嘉克達縣華僑總會) *43-08-29: HCTH Djatinegara Ken (渣底訥加拉縣華僑總會) *43-09-08: HCTH Krawang Ken (加拉橫縣華僑總會)
Djakarta Tokubetu-si	*43-08-08	Oey Tiang Tjoei (黃長水)	*42-09-16: Batavia Hua Chiao Chung Hui Chou Pei Wei Yuan Hui (吧達維亞華僑總會籌備委員會)
Bogor	*43-03-20	Seki Sou Jou (石楚耀)	*42-05-01: Hoa Kiauw Siang Kong Hwee Bogor (茂物華僑商工會)
Priangan	*43-02-27	Yap Tjwan Bing (葉全明)	*42-04-11: Bandoeng Hoa Chiao Lian He Wei Juan Hui (萬隆華僑聯合委員會)→Tiong Kok Djien Hwee Bandoeng (萬隆中國人會)→Ryh Hu Fu Chi Hui (日華互濟會)→Chung Hua Hu Chi Hui (中華互濟會)
Tjirebon	*43-04-15	Kwee Swan Lwan (郭碩巒)	*42-05-27: Tiong Kok Djin Hwee Tjirebon (芝勒汶埠中國人會)
Pekalongan	*43-07-09	Toh Kiat Tjiang (杜吉昌)	*42-08-01: Tiong Hoa Siang Hwee Pekalongan (北加浪岸中華商會)
Banjoemas	*43-09(?)	Liem Tjoan Khoen (林傳坤)	*42-06-13: Djiet Hwa Hoe Tjee Hwee Purwokerto (普禾格多日華互濟會)
Kedoe	*43-04-13	The Beng Liong (鄭明良)	*42-10(?): Kiong Ing Tjioe Tjee Hwee Magelang (馬吉浪共榮救濟會)
Semarang	*43-02-26	Oei Tjong Hauw (黃宗孝)	*42-11-24: Komite Tionghoa Semarang (三寶壠中國人委員會) *42-11-24: Komite Penjelidikan Harga Barang (經濟研究委員會)
Djogjakarta Kooti	*42-07-07	The Hong Oe (鄭宏宇)	—
Soerakarta Kooti	*42-10(?)	Ong Siang Tjoen (王祥春)	*42-07 (already active): Hoa Chiao Tjioe Tjie Hwee Soerakarta (梭羅華僑救濟會)
Pati	*43-04-24	Liem Tek Jang (林德揚)	—
Bodjonegoro	*43-07(?)	Liem Peng Kiem (林炳錦)	—
Madioen	*43-07(?)	Njo Hong Soe (楊鳳棲)	*42-07: Hoa Kiauw Kiauw Min Tjie Too So Madioen (茉莉芬華僑民指導所)
Kediri	*43-08-21	Kho Keng Siok (許經續)	*42-07 (approved): Tiong Hoa Siang Hwee Kediri (諫義里中華商會) *42-07 (approved): Hoa Kiauw Siang Hwee Blitar (勿里達華僑商會)
Soerabaja	*43-04-22	Liem Toan Tek (林傳德)	*42-09 (began preparation): HCTH Soerabaja (泗水華僑總會)
Malang	*43-06-25	Djie Ting Tjioe (徐庭州)	*43-01 (already active): Tiong Hoa Siang Hwee Malang (瑪琅中華商會) *43-04-08: Badan Persiapan Pendirian Hua Chiao Fung Kung Hui Malang Syuu (瑪琅州華僑奉公會籌備委員會)
Besoeki	*43-10-11	Souw Hong Pin (蘇芳濱)	—
Madoera	*43-07-27	Lie Goan Soei (李元水)	—

Source: Based on articles in the *Kung Yung Pao* (cf. Tsuda forthcoming: chap. 9).

This paper answers this question by focusing on the capital city and, based mainly on articles in the *Kung Yung Pao* (共榮報), tracing the concrete process of the preparations done to establish the HCTH Jakarta Special City (Djakarta Tokubetu-si Kakyō Sokai [嘉克達特別市華僑總會])<sup>5</sup>.

The *Kung Yung Pao* was the only daily newspaper for Chinese residents in Java that continued to be published throughout the Japanese military rule<sup>6</sup>. It issued both Chinese and Malay (Indonesian) editions. The Chinese edition

<sup>5</sup> Charles Coppel was generally correct when he briefly mentioned the process of formation of the HCTH, saying that “the various Chinese associations (apart from the banned political organizations) were grouped together in a single federation, the Hua Ch’iao Tsung Hui, which was established after July 1942 [sic] in each locality and with a central headquarters in Jakarta” (Coppel, 1976, p. 39). Unfortunately, his description lacks concreteness. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, there is no known evidence that the HCTH in the capital city was ranked higher than HCTHs in other provinces.

began its publication on March 10, 1942, five days after the Japanese occupied Batavia. It was initially named “Sin Sin Po (新新報, meaning New Sin Po)”, as it utilized the facilities and employees of the former Sin Po (新報), which was famous for spearheading anti-Japanese campaigns among the Chinese in Java. It was then renamed “Kung Yung Pao” on March 26, 1942, and continued its publication until the end of the final month of the war (Tsuda, 2019, pp. 26-30). The Malay edition started somewhat later, on September 1, 1942. Prior to that, the Hong Po (洪報), which had unusually taken a pro-Japanese stance since the prewar period, was allowed by the Japanese military authorities to continuously serve as a news source for Malay-speaking Chinese residents for a time. Half a year later, it was incorporated as the Malay (Indonesian) edition of the Kung Yung Pao in its entirety (Tsuda, 2019, pp. 30-35). In late 1943 / early 1944, the Chinese edition of the Kung Yung Pao had a circulation of 4,742 throughout Java (34% of which was distributed in and around Jakarta), and its Malay edition had a circulation of 4,283 (40% in the same area) (Jawa Shinbun-kai, n.d.; Tsuda, 2019, pp. 28, 32). Oey Tiang Tjoei [黃長水], former director and editor-in-chief of the Hong Po, was appointed as president of the Kung Yung Pao (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkujo, 1959, pp. 253-254, 590-591).

## MAJOR CHALLENGES FACED BY THE CHINESE IN JAVA AFTER THE START OF JAPANESE MILITARY RULE

### The Need to Organize Relief Programs

On March 1, 1942, the Japanese 16th Army led by Lieutenant General Imamura Hitoshi (今村均) landed en masse in Java. Eight days later, the Dutch East Indies Forces Headquarters at Bandung surrendered unconditionally, whereupon the three and a half years of Japanese military rule began. In the course of the brief battle, the Dutch East Indies Forces adopted a tactic of retreating to their strongholds while destroying important infrastructure before the arrival of enemy forces, which led to a temporal power vacuum in many areas. Amidst the chaos, riots broke out across the island, with native populations targeting colonial government officials and ethnic Chinese businesses. As a result, many Chinese lost their homes and properties (Twang, 1998, pp. 70-74). To accommodate the large number of Chinese people who had become refugees and provide them with cash and rice on a regular basis, an organized response became essential. This led to the first challenge on how relief programs can be organized for the distressed Chinese fellows (Tsuda, forthcoming, chap. 4).

In Batavia, serious damage occurred in Tangerang and other neighboring areas, from which a large number of refugees flowed into the city (SSP, 1942-03-11; 1942-03-12; 1942-03-13; cf. Twang, 1998, pp. 72-74). To address this emergency, an organization named Batavia Overseas Chinese Relief Society (Hua Chiao Tjoe Tjie Hui Batavia [吧達維亞華僑救濟會], hereafter “Tjoe Tjie Hui”) was immediately set up on the site of the Batavia Chinese General Chamber of Commerce (Tiong Hoa Tjong Siang Hwee Batavia [吧達維亞中華總商會], hereafter “Siang Hwee”) (SSP, 1942-03-11). While it was widely known that the Siang Hwee had been functioning as one of the most influential organizations in the Chinese community of Batavia during the prewar period, and had maintained strong ties with the Kuomintang (KMT) Government in Chongqing (Dahana, 2000, pp. 66-67; Setiono, 2002, p. 464; Govaars-Tjia, 2005, pp. 58-60), it was unclear where the enormous amount of money for the relief programs came from.

The March 12, 1942 article of the *Sin Sin Po* reported that the money that had previously been collected by the Batavia Overseas Chinese Charity Association (Hua Chiao Tjoe Sian Hui Batavia [吧達維亞華僑慈善會], hereafter “Tjoe Sian Hui”) would henceforth be used to fund the relief program carried out by the Tjoe Tjie Hui (SSP, 1942-03-12). The Tjoe Sian Hui had been known to actively collect donations from the Chinese in Java (especially around Batavia) and send them to the Red Cross in mainland China since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Its founding chairman was Tjong See Gan (莊西言), a friend of Tan Kah Kee (陳嘉庚). Many of its directors were board directors of the Siang Hwee and leaders of the *Sin Po* (Ang, 2009, pp. 120-127). In short, quite ironically, the money that the Tjoe Sian Hui had collected to support the war victims in faraway mainland China was now being used to help the incoming Chinese refugees in Batavia<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that a Malay-language newspaper for the Chinese titled *Pewarta Perniagaan (Siang Po [商報])* was launched in Surabaya on June 19, 1942. This newspaper declared itself to be a sister paper of the *Kung Yung Pao*, but was merged with the Indonesian-language newspaper *Soeara Asia* on June 22, 1943, thus lasting only one year (Tsuda, 2019, p. 35).

<sup>7</sup> The funds diverted from Tjoe Sian Hui only lasted for a while. From early June 1942, the Tjoe Tjie Hui began to receive weekly subsidies of 685.3 guilders and 3,426.5kg of rice from the Social Affairs Bureau of the Batavia City Government for its activities. This form of aid was soon increased by about 30%, but it was still far from enough, and the Tjoe Tjie Hui had to repeatedly ask for donations from the Chinese in the capital (KYP-C, 1942-03-26; 1942-06-09; 1942-06-20).



Figure 1: A refugee relief program in Batavia

*The scene appears to depict an activity of the Toe Tjie Hui set up on the site of the Siang Hwee.*

*Source: SSP, 1942-03-19.*

Table 2 shows the composition of the board of directors of the Tjoe Tjie Hui set up in Batavia<sup>8</sup>. Noteworthy are those marked with “\*” who would be arrested shortly after and sent to concentration camps by the Japanese military authorities (Chen, 1948, pp. 37-38; cf. Nio, 2008; Luo, 2015). This means that these Chinese figures who led the prewar anti-Japanese campaigns were still active in the public scene in the very early phase of Japanese military rule (cf. Coppel, 1976, pp. 38-39). In fact, even the Siang Hwee itself, which had been considered an anti-Japanese stronghold, was still functioning up to two months after the start of Japanese military rule, and many of its board members also acted as leaders of the Chinese community in the capital for some time. In this way, the leadership of the prewar Chinese community in Java’s capital remained largely unchanged<sup>9</sup> as it responded immediately to the unprecedented situation of providing relief to a large number of Chinese refugees.

Table 2: List of the Board Directors of the Tjoe Tjie Hui

position	name
Chairman	Teng Djin Seng (鄧仁生)
Vice-Chairman	Euwjong Fa Sen (歐陽華生)*, Tan Tit Ha (陳滌瑕)*
Secretary	Hie Foek Tjhoy (許福才)*, Njo Bian Hien (楊棉興)
Coordinator	Phoa Hoat Too (潘發濤)
Treasurer	Lie Tjiau Auw (李昭歐)*

*Source: Based on the article in the Sin Sin Po, March 11, 1942.*

## The Need to Participate in the 3A Movement

Another major challenge that the Chinese communities in Java faced in the early months of Japanese military rule was how to participate in the “Triple A Movement (三A運動).” The Triple A Movement was a mass mobilization campaign planned and led by the 16th Army’s Propaganda Unit, which raised the slogan “Japan the light of Asia, Japan the protector of Asia, Japan the leader of Asia.” The movement began to develop in earnest in Batavia in late March and reached its first climax on the occasion of the Emperor’s Birthday on April 29, when a large-scale rally was held.

Prior to the landing operation in Java, the Japanese had been actively engaged in propaganda efforts to incite the Indonesian nationalist movement in order to undermine the foothold of the Dutch East Indies Forces. However, since the operation was completed unexpectedly quickly and easily, there was no need to stimulate the nationalist movement any further. Once the 16th Army took control of all of Java, they began to refrain from any operations that might unnecessarily fuel expectations for independence, in accordance with the “Guidelines for the Administration of the Occupied Territories in the South (南方占領地行政實施要領),” which had been stipulated by the government and the military headquarters in Tokyo just before the war began on November 20, 1941. For the time being, the Japanese military authorities in Java even prohibited any assembly, association, political speech, or use of any symbols that could have been associated with the Indonesian nationalist movement. At the same time, however, they had to, at all costs, avoid a situation wherein the local masses, including the nationalist leaders who had pinned their hopes on the Japanese, would turn against them in response to these harsh measures. Against this background, the Propaganda Unit planned and initiated the Triple A Movement as a token mass mobilization campaign to meet this purpose. Though advocating the unity of the “Asian peoples” with Japan at its center, this movement was, in reality, nothing but slogans—it did not have any actual substance.

<sup>8</sup> It should be noted that it was not only Tjoe Tjie Hui that was developing the relief programs in the capital at that time. Other existing organizations, such as the Batavia Chinese Society for the Poor (Tiong Hoa Tjee Pin Hwee Batavia [吧達維亞中華清貧會]), were also conducting projects to deal with the large number of Chinese who were unemployed and in need of assistance.

<sup>9</sup> Several explicitly anti-Japanese Chinese leaders, including Tjong See Gan and the leading editorial members of the *Sin Po*, were hunted down early during the start of the Japanese military rule.

The Triple A Movement lost momentum within a few months and came to a natural end around September 1942, following the restructuring of the Propaganda Unit itself. The failure of the Triple A Movement has been previously analyzed by several excellent studies. In particular, regarding the relations with the Chinese, it has been pointed out that “the movement involved not only Indonesians but also Chinese, Arabs, Indians, and other Asian minorities under the [Java’s] military rule, who had been economically powerful before the war and gradually came to take over leadership of the movement through contributions of campaign funds and other means, which made the Indonesians rather unweighted in the movement, and this fostered discontent among the Indonesians” (Waseda Daigaku Okuma Kinen Shakai Kagaku Kenkyujo, 1959, p. 340; cf. Somers, 1965, p. 106). Though this point in itself is undoubtedly true, it remains unclear what organizational framework the Chinese relied on to take a principal role in the Triple A Movement when the HCTHs had not yet been established at this stage.

The articles in the *Kung Yung Pao* provide a detailed answer to this question, particularly with regard to the development in Batavia. On March 31, 1942, its Chinese edition reported that, “at 2 p.m. yesterday, the Siang Hwee Batavia invited representatives of Chinese organizations [in the capital] to its meeting to discuss all aspects of the Triple A Movement, which the Malays [= Indonesians] are already promoting, including how to move forward with it, since the Chinese side also needs to make preparation for it as soon as possible” (KYP-C, 1942-03-31). The meeting, attended by several dozen prominent Chinese figures, was chaired by Tan Hin Hie (陳興硯), the president of the Siang Hwee. According to this article, Tan first explained the purpose of the Triple A Movement and called for participation in it, saying that the entire Chinese community must show its loyalty and support to the Japanese military, which is striving to build “New Asia.” It was reported that Shimizu Hitoshi (清水齊), who designed and led the Triple A Movement as a staff member of the Propaganda Unit, also attended the meeting and expressed his opinion that the Siang Hwee should take initiative in first launching the Triple A Movement in the Chinese community in the capital, then expanding it to other areas (KYP-C, 1942-03-31).

On April 4, the second meeting of the Chinese in Batavia was held again at the Siang Hwee, during which it was decided that a new “Triple A Movement Committee (Chinese section)” would be formed (KYP-C, 1942-04-06). The composition of the committee was such that all 35 current board directors of the Siang Hwee would slide in as members of the new committee. In addition, 15 other prominent Chinese figures in Batavia would be invited as associate members, thereby demonstrating the full cooperation of the capital’s Chinese community towards the Triple A Movement (Table 3). Although formally independent of the Siang Hwee, the Triple A Movement Committee was unquestionably an integral part of it. In other words, the Siang Hwee, which provided the organizational framework for the development of the refugee relief programs discussed earlier, also played a substantial role in the initial phase of mobilizing the capital’s Chinese community towards the Triple A Movement.

Table 3: List of Steering Members of the Triple A Movement Committee

position	name
Chairman (1)	Tan Hin Hie*
Vice-Chairman (1)	Chun Foo Chun (陳撫辰)
General Coordinator (2)	Kwee Bie Sin (郭美丞)*, Deputy: Liong Sit Joe (梁錫佑)*
Treasurer (2)	Oh Soe Moy (胡賜梅)*, Deputy: Lie Tjiau Auw*
Managing Director (3)	Hioe Njan Joeng (丘元榮)*, Kwee Tjin Koen (郭鎮坤)*, Lim Wie Min (林偉明)*
Board Directors (26)	Other board directors of Siang Hwee, including Tan Tit Ha*, Mak Tjiok Sian (麥燭煊)*, Ling Sin Chow (林杏超)*, Tan Ko Wei (陳可偉), and Lie Jioe Sam (李友三)
Associate Members (15)	Loa Sek Hie (賴錫禧), Hie Foek Tjhoy*, Tan Soen Hok (陳順福), Teng Djien Seng, the <i>Kung Yung Pao</i> , Oey Tiang Tjoei, Tjong Tjoek Sam (張祝三), Tan Pak Peng (陳百鵬), Euwjong Fa Sen*, Tjong Hioen Nji (章勳義)*, Kwa Tjoan Sioe (柯全壽)*, Lim Tjoe Kie (林子驥)*, Jo Kheng Tjiang (楊慶璋), Lie Kian Seng (李建成), Oei Siong Hok (黃松鶴)#

Source: Based on the article in the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, April 7, 1942.

Another important point is the fact that the persons marked with “\*” in Table 3 were, at the beginning of April 1942, still proudly listed as leading figures in the promotion of the pro-Japanese campaign (cf. Somers, 1965, p.106; Coppel, 1976, p. 38). Three weeks later, however, all of these men were arrested by Japanese military authorities on the grounds that they had been involved in “anti-Japanese” campaigns through the activities of Siang Hwee and other organizations before the war. They were transferred to the concentration camp in Bukit Duri, then in Serang, and finally in Cimahi until the end of the war (Chen, 1948; Nio, 2008; Luo, 2015)<sup>10</sup>. Not long after, on May 4, the Siang Hwee announced that it would “voluntarily” dissolve itself because it no longer had enough board directors (KYP-C, 1942-05-04; Figure 2).

As mentioned above, previous studies have pointed out that one of the main reasons for the failure of the Triple A Movement was that the prominence of the Chinese in the movement caused displeasure among Indonesians. While this

<sup>10</sup> Oei Siong Hok, marked with “#” in the Table 3, was arrested in December 1942 and sent to prison in Cipinang for his alleged involvement in the “Fuxing-she (復興社),” an underground anti-Japanese organization formed by the KMT (Xu ed., 1953, pp. 61-64).

aspect may certainly be true<sup>11</sup>, a closer look at the Triple A Movement Committee organized by the Batavia's Chinese reveals another factor. Despite being initially expected to not only be a mobilization framework for the Chinese in the capital area but also a driving force of the Triple A Movement as a whole, the committee itself was almost inseparable from the Siang Hwee and lost many of its operating members due to arrest at the very time when the Triple A Movement was about to gain momentum<sup>12</sup>.

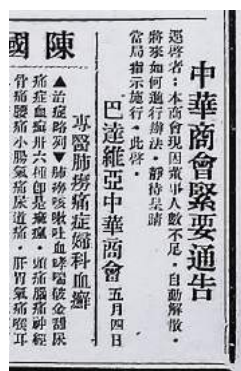


Figure 2: The emergency notice of the Siang Hwee Batavia announcing its dissolution, as appeared in the advertising space of the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition  
Source: KYP-C, 1942-05-04.

It was only about two months after the start of Japanese military rule that the Chinese in Batavia were forced to drastically revise their leadership structure since the late Dutch colonial period. More importantly, as discussed further below, while the anti-Japanese elements of leadership were eliminated in the ensuing process, the existing organizational framework of the Chinese community in the capital itself was not completely dissolved.

### The Need to Respond to the “Foreign Residents Registration” System

The existence of the Siang Hwee was extremely crucial for the Chinese in Batavia, especially in the initial period of Japanese military rule; it provided immediate and substantial frameworks for organizing the Chinese in the capital when they were faced with the two major challenges mentioned above. However, things changed when they were faced with a third challenge; how to deal with the “Foreign Residents Registration” system, introduced by Decree No. 7 on April 11, 1942.

The “Foreign Residents Registration” system required all adult foreigners (aged 17 or older) staying in Java, except Japanese and “natives of the East Indies,” to take oaths of loyalty to the Japanese military and to register information about their residency. With regard to the Chinese in particular, the Japanese had been aware of the details of the developments of the anti-Japanese campaigns among overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. Hence, on March 26, 1942, the 16th Army quickly drew up the criteria “Concerning the Hostility Determination of the Overseas Chinese (治政秘第8号「華僑ノ敵性判定ニ関スル件」),” in an attempt to identify “Hostile Chinese (敵性華僑)” throughout Java. The “Hostile Chinese” included, among others, the KMT officials, staffs of the Dutch East Indies’ East Asian Affairs Office (Dienst voor Oost-Aziatische Zaken), anti-Japanese newspaper journalists, and executive members of anti-Japanese organizations, such as the Tjoe Sian Hui (Iwatake, 1983, pp. 113-114). It would be natural to assume that these criteria were used as a basis when implementing the “Foreign Residents Registration” system for Chinese residents (Tsuda, forthcoming, chap. 5.2). In essence, the above-mentioned Decree No. 7 functioned to facilitate the Japanese military’s effort to ensure all foreigners were documented, of which the Chinese accounted for the largest population, and furthermore to single out the adversarial ones on an individual basis. The registration fee for the Chinese was an outrageous 100 guilders for men and 50 guilders for women<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> According to a mid-April 1942 article in the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, the General Headquarters of the Triple A Movement consisted of four sections: Indonesian, Chinese, Arab, and Indian (KYP-C, 1942-04-15). Of these, the Chinese section came into being early on with the Siang Hwee providing the organizational framework for it. On the contrary, the Indonesian section faced great confusion as to what organization could represent the entire Indonesian community in the capital, and the selection of its committee members was not settled until mid-May (KYP-C, 1942-04-11; 1942-04-25; 1942-05-15). Similarly, it was not until late May that it was reported that the organization of the Arab section had been finalized (KYP-C, 1942-05-30).

<sup>12</sup> The April 29 issue of the *Hong Po* just reported that, “due to some reasons, there has been a change in the composition of the Triple A Movement Committee organized by the Chinese. The members of the Triple A Movement Committee decided at the meeting held yesterday at the Siang Hwee building are as follows....” and introduced the composition of the new steering members with Oey Tiang Tjoei as chairman, Teng Djin Seng and Tan Tjoan Keng as vice chairmen (HP, 1942-04-29). In this vein, immediately after the dissolution of the Siang Hwee, a hasty change in committee members was made in the Triple A Movement Committee. All new committee members mentioned in this article would soon go on to represent the Chinese community in the capital throughout the period of Japanese military rule.

<sup>13</sup> The registration fee for Westerners was 1.5 times that of Chinese and other Asians. At the official price at the time, 1.1 tons of rice could be purchased with the registration fee for a Chinese male (KYP-C, 1942-04-04).



The duration and procedures for registration differed slightly among the regions (Tsuda, forthcoming, chap. 5.9). For Batavia City, the deadline for registration was set at 42 days, from April 20 to May 31, and the registrants were required to visit the City Hall in person bringing two photos of the prescribed size (5cm x 4.5cm), as well as the registration fee (Figure 3).



僑華之記登廳市駐示圖上

Figure 3: Chinese residents undergoing procedures for the “Foreign Residents Registration” at the City Hall  
Source: KYP-C, 1942-04-22.

A few days after the registration procedure in Batavia City began, however, the number of registered Chinese did not grow as expected. The *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition published on April 24, 1942 contained an article that expressed deep concern that such situation would intensify the Japanese military’s distrust of the Chinese in Java as a whole, and analyzed the reasons for the slow growth, which included the following: (1) photo studios were closed and they [= the Chinese] did not have photographs on hand, (2) banks were closed and they did not have cash on hand, (3) some localized Chinese mistakenly believed they were not required to register, (4) they could not pay the large registration fee, and (5) some were just waiting to see how things will turn out (KYP-C, 1942-04-24). The third point is quite interesting because it shows the bewilderment of the Peranakan Chinese being categorized as foreigners, but the most fundamental reason why registration did not proceed smoothly would certainly be related to the fourth point.

Unfortunately for the Chinese in Batavia, at the very time this registration procedure began, their community leaders were arrested en masse and the Siang Hwee was dissolved (KYP-C, 1942-05-04). Consequently, the organized response among the capital’s Chinese was critically delayed due to the situation wherein many of their fellow Chinese were in confusion because they could not immediately afford the absurdly high registration fee.

Only when the registration deadline was approaching at the end of May did the Tjoe Tjie Hui and other organizations submit petitions to the Japanese military authorities requesting an extension of the registration deadline and permission to pay the registration fee in installments (KYP-C, 1942-05-26; 1942-05-28). While it is not clear what kind of coordination took place within the military authorities, the original stipulation was amended by Decree No. 19 on June 11, thereby extending the registration deadline and providing the option to temporarily defer payment or pay in installments.

The new registration deadline in Batavia City was set for July 31. According to an article in the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition published that evening, 91,140 foreigners had successfully registered at the City Hall (KYP-C, 1942-07-31). While this figure included not only the Chinese but also the Dutch and other “foreigners”<sup>14</sup>, it can be said that, based on some available statistics, close to 100% of the adult foreign residents in Batavia completed the procedures (Tsuda, forthcoming, chap. 5.6; cf. Castles, 1967, p.166; KYP-C, 1945-06-30).

## TOWARDS THE FULL-FLEDGED ORGANIZATION OF BATAVIA’S CHINESE COMMUNITY

In August 1942, a well-organized military government structure, i.e., the Java Military Administration (ジャワ軍政監部), was established and a more systematic and unified rule was put in place throughout the island. At the same time, with the Triple A Movement losing momentum, the Java Military Administration began to search for new forms of mass mobilization, which would come to fruition in March 1943 as “Poetra (Poesat Tenaga Rakjat [住民總力結集運動]).” The key point here was that the Poetra was organized exclusively to mobilize the “Natives,” in response to the failure of its predecessor, the Triple A Movement. What is noteworthy for the interest of this paper is that, almost simultaneously with the inauguration of the Poetra, preparations for establishing the HCTHs began in each province (Table 1). In short, the establishment of the HCTHs would not be unrelated to the exclusion of the Chinese population from the new mass mobilization framework, which created a new need to control and mobilize them separately (cf. Somers, 1965, p. 106). About two months after the dissolution of the Siang Hwee Batavia, the Japanese military authorities issued Decree No. 23, thereby partially easing the restrictions on assembly and association. Shortly thereafter, a “Preparatory Committee (Commissie Persedia’an)” was tentatively formed on July 27 for the purpose of reorganizing the Siang Hwee and setting up an HCTH in the capital (KYP-C, 1942-05-18; HP, 1942-07-29). Meanwhile, the military authorities granted several existing Chinese organizations in the capital (initially to 22 organizations in September 1942, then to an

<sup>14</sup> The actual final number of registrations may have been a bit higher than this, since this figure was reported in the evening newspaper on the last day of the registration period.

additional 12 organizations one month later) permission to continue their activities (KYP-C, 1942-09-22; 1942-10-24). On September 16, based on the coordination at the above-mentioned Preparatory Committee, a new formal organization named “Preparatory Committee of HCTH Batavia (Batavia Hua Chiao Chung Hui Chou Pei Wei Yuan Hui [吧達維亞華僑總會籌備委員會])”<sup>15</sup> was officially launched, bringing together all existing Chinese organizations in Batavia. Its headquarters was located in the building of the former Siang Hwee.

Table 4 shows the list of board directors of the Preparatory Committee of HCTH Batavia in the early days of its operations. At a glance, this newly founded Preparatory Committee comprised of the representatives of all the Chinese organizations in Batavia that had been authorized to continue their activities as of September. In other words, it was a patchwork of the capital’s existing Chinese organizations<sup>16</sup>.

Table 4: Composition of the Preparatory Committee of HCTH Batavia (as of October 16, 1942)

position	name	
Chairman	Ie Tjoen Siang (余春祥)	
Vice-Chairman	Jo Tek Tjoe (楊德子), Lioe Khie Min (劉啓民), Oey Tiang Tjoei, Tjoeng Tjoe Sioe (鍾子秀)	
Treasurer	Tjie Jock Tjing (徐毓清)	
Secretary	Lauw Tian Seng (劉天生)	
participating organizations	number	main members
Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (中華會館)	3	Ie Tjoen Siang, Gouw Siang Tiat (吳上秩)
Hok Kian Hwee Koan (福建會館)	3	Jo Tek Tjoe, Tjoa Tian Hin (蔡天興)
Kwong Siau Hwee Koan (廣華會館)	3	Tjoeng Tjoe Sioe, Tjhan Tjioe Lam (陳照林)
Batavia Waroeng Bond (亞弄公會)	3	Lim Pak Tjing
Hoo Hap Hwee (和合會)	2	Oey Tiang Tjoei
Ban Hap Hwee (萬合會)	2	Lauw Tian Seng
Hoa Siang Tjap Ho Kong Hwee (華商雜貨公會)	1	Lioe Khie Min
Hoa Kiauw Kong Hwee (華僑公會)	3	Teng Djin Seng, Fam Siau Sak (范小石), Tan Ko Wei
Hoa Kiauw Batik Siang Kong Hwee (華僑峇澤廠公會)	1	Jo Kheng Tjiang
Koe Sien Hap Kiet, Sin Hap Hoo (旧新合吉, 信合和)	2	Lim Lim Tjoan (林霖泉)
Tiong Hoa Tjee Pin Hwee (中華清貧會)	1	Tjoa Yoe Djin (蔡有仁)
Yo Ong Kong Hwee / Persariketan Pedagang Obat (藥王公會)	1	Liau Men Chi (廖敏之)
Koan Thouw Sit Peng Lian Hap Hwee (罐頭食品聯合會)	1	Tjoe Tek Tjiang (周德昌)
Tiong Hoa Im Gak Hwee (中華音樂會)	1	Ku Kuan Hay (古觀海)
Batavia Djie Phoa Hie Siang Kong Hwee (吧達維亞二盤魚商公會)	1	
Batavia Beikoku Orosiyo Kumiai (吧達維亞米穀卸商組會)	1	Tan Pak Peng, Tjie Jock Tjing
Hui Chow Hui Kwon (惠州會館)	1	
Hiap Tong Hwee (協同會)	1	
Pie Kiat Kong Hwee (皮革公會)	1	Lauw Gie Eng (劉宜應)
Kong Sin Tong (公善堂)	1	
Tjhoei Sih Lian Hap Hwee (廚師聯合會)	1	
Lioe Seng Hong Kong Nigap Hoei (魯成行工業會)	2	
Po Liang Tong, Po Liang Hwee Koan (保良堂)	1	
Poo Siang Kong Hwee (布商公會)	1	The Se Hoa (鄭世華)
Tjin Djin Hwee (親仁會)	1	Tjie Joek Moy (徐育梅)
Perkoempoelan Sport Djalan Tiong Hoa (中華遠足會)	1	Tio Tek Hong (趙德芳)
other Chinese leaders	2	Pang Chit Ngo (潘植我), Tan Tjoan Keng (陳泉慶)

Source: Based on the article in the *Kung Yung Pao* Chinese edition, October 19, 1942.

Eleven months later, on August 8, 1943, the Preparatory Committee of HCTH Batavia would directly evolve into the full-fledged organization, the HCTH Jakarta Special City (Djakarta Tokubetu-si Kakyo Sokai) with Oey Tiang Tjoei as president. Like Oey, all of the persons listed in Table 4 would continue to play active roles within this sole organizational framework of unifying the Chinese community in the capital until the surrender of Japan in August 1945 (Figure 4)<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> In the *Kung Yung Pao* Malay edition, the Preparatory Committee of HCTH Batavia was abbreviated as “H.Ch.Ch.H.Ch.P.W.Y.H.”

<sup>16</sup> The number of organizations participating in the Preparatory Committee of HCTH Batavia continued to increase, reaching a total of 35 in early 1943 (KYP-M, 1943-01-07).

<sup>17</sup> The Poetra, led by Soekarno, Hatta, and others, was later regarded as dangerous by the Japanese military authorities for inciting a nationalist movement, which led them to feel the need to diminish the influence of the native leaders. As the Japanese defeat deepened in the Central Pacific and the need for all organizations in Java to work closely with the military administration structure for the defense of the island, the Poetra was dissolved developmentally into the Djawa Hokokai (ジャワ奉公會) in March 1944. Initially, the HCTH in each province was also to be merged with the Djawa Hokokai, leaving the minimum necessary functions. However, due to its usefulness as a framework for controlling and mobilizing the Chinese population, its functions were rather strengthened toward the end of the war (Tsuda, forthcoming, chap. 9).



Figure 4: Scene of the establishment convention of the HCTH Jakarta Special City

Source: DS: 1943-08-09.

## VALUE OF THE *KUNG YUNG PAO* AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

Figure 5 summarizes the organizing process of the Batavia’s Chinese community during the first six months of Japanese military rule, described thus far.

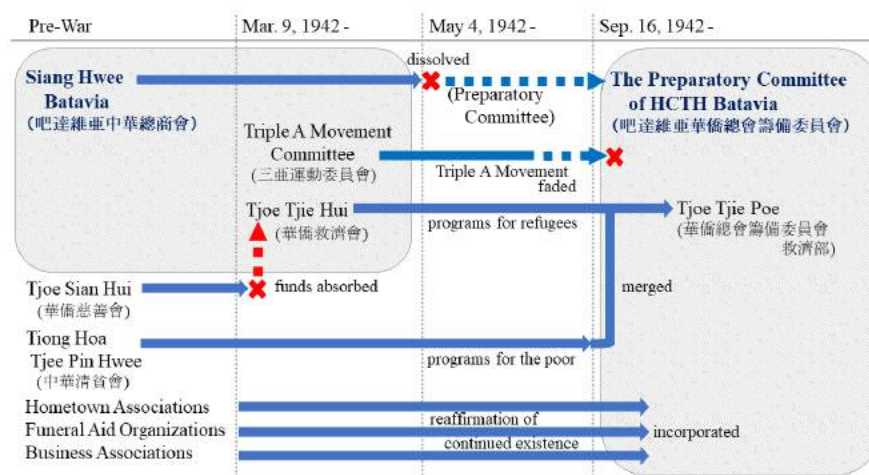


Figure 5: The process of the formation of the Preparatory Committee of HCTH Batavia

Soon after the Japanese occupation, the Siang Hwee Batavia, which had more or less represented the capital’s Chinese community since before the war, played an important role for a while in developing relief programs for Chinese refugees as well as in promoting the Triple A Movement among the Chinese in the capital. However, the arrest of a significant portion of its board directors at the end of April 1942 delayed the collective response to the abrupt introduction of the “Foreign Residents Registration” system. In September 1942, the Preparatory Committee of HCTH Batavia was launched, bringing together all existing Chinese organizations in the capital, including hometown associations, funeral aid organizations, and business associations. Originally organized under the Siang Hwee, the Tjoe Tjie Hui was also incorporated as a division of the Preparatory Committee after merging with other Chinese relief organizations. As the sole body representing the capital’s Chinese community, this Preparatory Committee would immediately develop a wide range of activities to control and mobilize Chinese residents without waiting for the official launch of the HCTH Jakarta Special City in August of the following year. Such activities included, among others, developing economic activities, supervising education, mobilizing Chinese students for celebratory events, collecting donations for the Japanese Military Administration, as well as carrying out relief efforts (KYP-C, 1943-08-10).

In his voluminous book, Benny Setiono wrote about the historical experiences of the Chinese in Indonesia (in fact in Java) as follows.

Immediately the Japanese military authorities carried out a very repressive and ironhanded government. [...] All Chinese leaders and figures, both Peranakan and Totok, were arrested and taken into custody. All Chinese organizations [...] were dissolved and banned [...]. To gain support from the Chinese, the Japanese military authorities then allowed the formation of an organization called Hua Ch’iao Tsung-hui. This organization was formed in every city on the island of Java. (Setiono, 2002, pp. 522-523)

Such statement cannot be far from the truth if one simplifies the long and complex historical process that has taken place since March 1942. However, a closer look at the development in Batavia (Jakarta) in this paper reveals that the Chinese organizations were not immediately and completely disbanded; rather, the existing organizational frameworks were utilized considerably not only by the Chinese in the capital to deal with the challenges they faced, but also by the Japanese military authorities for the purpose of gaining a foothold in establishing a solid system to control and mobilize

the Chinese community. Within this context, we can find an aspect of continuity during the prewar period, in that the HCTH in the capital was not established from the ground up, but rather was based on the framework of the Siang Hwee with the incorporation of several existing Chinese organizations under its umbrella<sup>18</sup>. Of course, it is not too much to emphasize the discontinuous aspect of the preceding period—the fact that it was not merely a few former community leaders who were deemed anti-Japanese and thoroughly removed from the public stage throughout the period of Japanese military rule in the process of establishing the capital's HCTH.

The *Kung Yung Pao*, the only newspaper for the Chinese that continued to be published during Japanese military rule in Java, clearly had the character of a propaganda paper in that it was subject to strict censorship by the Japanese military authorities<sup>19</sup>. However, there is no doubt that the newspaper provided detailed information that allowed us to scrutinize the historical dynamism experienced by the ethnic Chinese in this harsh period in terms of continuity and discontinuity with the periods before and after it. Only through a careful re-examination of historical sources, such as this little-studied newspaper, can we arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the historical experience of the ethnic Chinese in Java, as well as in Indonesia as a whole, in the early 1940s—the period of the so-called “missing link.”

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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<sup>18</sup> The processes of organizing HCTHs differed between the capital city which had a large Chinese population, and other smaller regional cities (Tsuda, forthcoming, chap.6).

<sup>19</sup> For example, the *Kung Yung Pao* never reported the fact that in late April 1942, the leading Chinese figures in the capital were arrested en masse.

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Periodicals (language, place of publication, scope of reference in this paper)

Djawa Shinbun [ジャワ新聞] (in Japanese, Djakarta, Dec. 1942 – Sep. 1945), abbreviated as “DS.”

Hong Po [洪報] (in Malay, Batavia, Mar. – Aug. 1942), abbreviated as “HP.”

Kung Yung Pao Chinese edition [共榮報] (in Chinese, Batavia-Djakarta, Mar. 1942 – Aug. 1945), abbreviated as “KP-C.”

Kung Yung Pao Malay edition [共榮報] (in Malay, Batavia-Djakarta, Sep. 1942 – Sep. 1945), abbreviated as “KYP-M.”

Sin Sin Po [新新報] (in Chinese, Batavia, Mar. 1942), abbreviated as “SSP.”

### ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Tsuda Koji:** Professor at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, The University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan, [tsuda@anthro.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp](mailto:tsuda@anthro.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp)



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# Study of Changes in Space Functions in Thio Tjoe Teng's Shop and Residential Building in Indramayu City

Irena Vanessa Gunawan, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Yudita Royandi, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Veren Gabriella, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Melissa Natalia, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

\* irena.vgf@art.maranatha.edu

*Abstract: The building with colonial architecture is estimated to have been built in the 1900s. It is located in the city center at the corner of Jalan Jendral Ahmad Yani and Jalan Lemah Abang. According to history, it was once inhabited by a Dutch aristocrat who served as the head of finance for a rice mill factory; then, it functioned as a shop and a residence; the people called it Toko besi Cuteng, the owner of Thio Tjoe Teng or Babah Cuteng was also noted as a generous convert who was involved in the construction of the mosque. Great Indramayu. This building has been sold by the Babah Cuteng family and the current owner, who now uses it as a building material shop as well as a residence under the name Toko Lestari Jaya Keramik. This research is part of a large study that intends to study and document historical buildings in the city of Indramayu that has disappeared and are being renovated due to changes in ownership. This study was conducted to determine the extent to which preservation and alteration were carried out both architecturally and in interior design. The method used in this research is qualitative data techniques in this study. From the results of observations and interviews with the new owners, information was obtained that the architecture of the main building remained the same architecture of the main building in terms of space distribution, both in area and height. However, the room's designation has changed; for example, room spaces are now becoming material display areas and a warehouse. The new owners have shifted the living area to the back of the house with the addition of the building and renovation of the garden area.*

*Keywords: Babah Cuteng, Indramayu, Shop house*

## INTRODUCTION

Indramayu Regency, located in the northeast of West Java province, has a coastline of 114.1 km. At this coastline, Indramayu Harbour is part of the Sundanese Kingdom, besides the principal harbors, Banten and Sunda Kelapa Harbours. Despite not being the main harbor, Indramayu had been a busy pier (Cortesao, 2015: 241- 242). The development of Indramayu city has roads and facilities which spread out naturally since it was developed following trade or vice versa, which means the town was founded before the formation of an administrative center. (Kuntowijoyo, 2003: 61-62).

The bustling Cimanuk Port attracted other nations' attention, including Arab and Chinese people. William Skinner noted that the trade encouraged Chinese people to migrate from the southeastern part of mainland China using their Junk ships (Mely G. Tan, 1979). Their settlement, called Chinatown, was built east of the Cimanuk River. Typical Chinese architecture is still visible in houses, shops, and temples. (Kasim, 2013: 90).

Trade in Indramayu was also thriving with the existence of the railway system, which was part of the development of Cirebon as a port and trading city, well-known since the 16th century. Natural resources are transported until Malacca; rice is one of the most famous commodities. The colonial government railway line, built by Staatsspoorwegen (SS), namely the Dutch colonial government-owned railway company with the Jatibarang-Indramayu tram line in 1912, the Jatibarang Karangampel line in 1926, but in 1932 this line was closed, and the Haurgeulis – Arjawinangun Line which was part of the central Jakarta – Cirebon line which was built by the SS and started operating in 1912 (Purwanto, 2008)

It was around this time Babah Cuteng migrated to Indramayu. His Chinese name is Thio Tjoe Teng, and he married Kie Lian in Indonesia. From this marriage, he has eight children. His children are Thio Kam Tjiu, Thio o Nie, Thio Kwie Keng, Thio Kwie Sang, Thio Kwie Kim, Thio Kam Hay, Thio Kwie Tjoe, Thio Kwie Yong.

Little did we know of his life in Indonesia, but from sources, he gained wealth from trading rice and other commodities. He is also known to have converted from Confucius to Moslem. He is famous as a donor, both land and fund, for the renovation and development of a small praying space into the magnificent Indramayu Great Mosque located in the western part of the Cimanuk River and architectural similarities with Demak Mosque.



Picture 1. The interior of Indramayu Great Mosque

Source: Sadewo, N 2013



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He procured his house in Indramayu from Pow Tjai Wan, a residence of Indramayu who lived in Jakarta. It is unknown what was the usage of the house before the procurement. However, Babah Cuteng used it as a building material shop. After Babah Cuteng passed away, some children left to live and work in another city, even another country. Hence the house is eventually sold to Wasrap Priansyah.

He also uses the house as a building material shop but has changed the usage of the rooms and added several room functions in the garden area. This research aims to study the change in room functions and architecture or interior elements between Babah Cuteng and the current owner.

Houses that were built in this area are either colonial or Chinese architecture. The presence of the colonial building is consistent with the Dutch colonialism data in Indonesia, which was during 1600 - 1942. In general, colonial architecture adopted more of a neo-classical style, oriented towards classical Greek and Roman architectural styles.

Even though, in practice, there are varieties based on the function and location of the building, there are several prominent features that lie in the basic shape of the building. Cripedoma or stair-trap traps going up the entrance of the building. Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns with various sizes and ornamentation complexity. The pediment or triangular shape could contain a relief of Greek or Roman myths above a row of columns, although in the development pediment is simplified, and the relief may not be applied. The top of doors and windows has tympanum shapes, either triangular or semicircular wall construction, which serves as decoration.

### **The Development of Colonial Architecture in Indonesia**

Dutch colonialism in Indonesia lasted for a long time, around 350 years. Therefore, the development of colonial architecture also changed according to environmental, economic, and cultural-socio-political adaptations. Handinoto (2012) wrote the development of colonial architectural styles in Indonesia could be categorized into three periods which are Indische Empire (18-19 centuries), Transitional Architecture (1890-1915), and modern colonial architecture (1915-1940).

Indische Empire style Architectural Style (18-19th Century) was introduced by Herman Willen Daendels while serving as Governor General of the Dutch East Indies (1808-1811) (Handinoto, 2008). This architectural style emerged in the suburbs of Batavia (Jakarta) as a cultural mix of Netherlands, Indonesian, and Chinese.

Some of the Indische Empire architectural characteristics described by Handinoto (2012) are:

1. Symmetrical plan with a central room connected to voor galerij and achter galerij (front and back gallery). This room consist of main bedroom and other bedrooms.
2. the building is surrounded by terraces to protect from rain and sun. The size is usually very wide with Greek style columns.
3. Service area include kitchen, bathroom/WC and warehouse are located at the back of the building and usually have separate building.
4. Some buildings may have a pavilion located beside the main building, which was used as a guest bedroom.
5. The standard roof style was a hip roof with a tile roof covering with wood truss construction. Bricks were used as the primary building material for columns and walls.

Indische Empire Style was followed by Transitional Architectural Style, which lasted from 1890 to 1915. This style emerged due to changes in society as there was development in education, technology, and political policies of the colonial government, with the following characteristics:

1. The plan still follows the Indische Empire style, with complete symmetry, terraces surrounding the building, and eliminating the Greek-style columns in the view. However, the existing columns are made of wood and concrete. The use of glass in windows is minimal.
2. Gevels in Dutch architecture located on the banks of the river reappear, adding a romantic impression to the look and making towers at the main entrance, as found in many Calvinist churches in the Netherlands.
3. The form of a gable roof and a hip with a tiled cover is still widely used with large slope of 45-60 degrees and uses additional construction as ventilation on the roof (dormer).

Modern Colonial Architecture Style lasted from around 1915-1940 and had some drastic changes, some of them are:

1. Plans are more varied due to creativity in modern architecture.
2. Forms of symmetry are avoided, and the use of terraces around the building is eliminated. However, there is more exploration into light-retaining elements.
3. The shape of the roof is still dominated by a gable roof or shield, with a roofing material or shingles.
4. As concrete becomes popular and enables many shapes that could not be done before, it is more used in building construction. A flat concrete roof appears.

After this period and Indonesia gained independence, there was no more colonial architecture, and the buildings built with colonial style were done based on nostalgia intention. During that time, the original colonial buildings, of course, have changed in ownership to the descendant or procured by others, like in the case of the house bought by Babah Cuteng. As the ownership change, there are building adjustments and adaptations to the current owner's lifestyle,

especially all the interior design. The Interior, which consists of space planning and design based on the need for shelter and protection, also facilitates the activity and aspirations of its occupant. (Atika, J., 2016)

The method used in this research is a qualitative description with analysis of the cultural studies approach: observation, interview with Babah Cuteng's descendant, the current owner of the house, and a cultural expert. Data collection is done through a site survey through redrawing and taking pictures and documentation of the house and comparing it to existing documents.

## DISCUSSION

Babah Cuteng house is located on Jl. Ahmad Yani, no. 222 and is on the corner of Jl. Ahmad Yani and Jl. Lemah Abang. The latest documentation showed the building in green colors and has been changed to brown by the current owner. Graffiti pictures always ruined the part facing Jl. Lemah Abang. The overall building retains its original colonial architecture morphology with several modifications since its location is in the center of a bustling city, like the terrace located only in the front part of the house. Since the house function as a building material shop, a security door is installed in place, hence the building facade on Jl. Ahmad Yani shows no trace of a colonial building.



Picture 2. Left: Facade of building facing Jl. Ahmad Yani; Right: the original terrace columns has been covered

*Source: researcher's documentation, 2022*

On the contrary, the side part of the building facing Jl Lemah Abang retain its colonial architectural elements. This is shown by the double leaf wooden window with the bovenlicht, a simplified Greek column style. The uniqueness of this building shown in the picture there is part of the building which have higher ceiling/roof with ventilation which is actually the bedrooms area. Sadly, as this side is facing a more secondary street it is constantly being damaged with graffiti images by irresponsible persons.



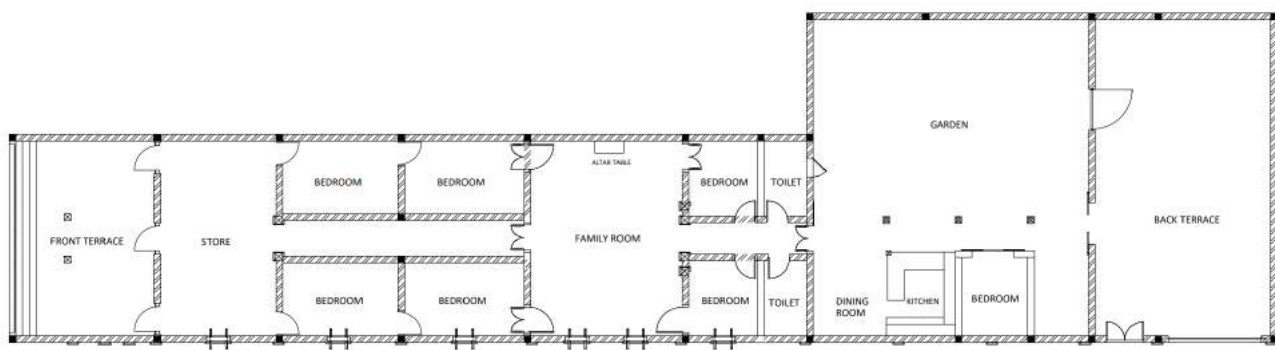
Picture 3. Left: Babah Cuteng House at 2003; Right: brown colored facade in 2022

*Source: Sadewo*

The original lay out from the ownership of Babah Cuteng was as shown below. The floor plan of the Babah Cuteng house is symmetrical, almost rectangular. The division of space is as follows: there is a front terrace (voor Galerij), back terrace (Achter Galerij), and the main room (central room). This spatial division has something in common with the typology of Indische Empire style building plans. The spatial layout is almost the same as that of the middle-class Indian community houses in Batavia as described by Stavorinus as follows: "If someone comes from the front of the house and goes inside, he will find a narrow passage with rooms on one side. If you continue to the back, people will head towards the living room which is a gallery, which is a rest room as a place for daily family meetings, and there is also one that is used as a dining room" (Soekiman, 2000: 148).

The front terrace is higher than the street level, followed by room which was used as his shop. Then there are two arrays of bedroom divided by a corridor. However, there are no doors from the corridors to the bedrooms, instead their doors connected inside the bedrooms until the family room. Although Babah Cuteng had converted into moslem religion he still retains the family altar which is located in living room. After the family room there are two arrays of

smaller bedroom and toilets which again divided in the middle by a corridor, heading to the back-garden dining area, kitchen and another bedroom probably used by servant or worker. In the back area there is a room which probably was used for goods inventory

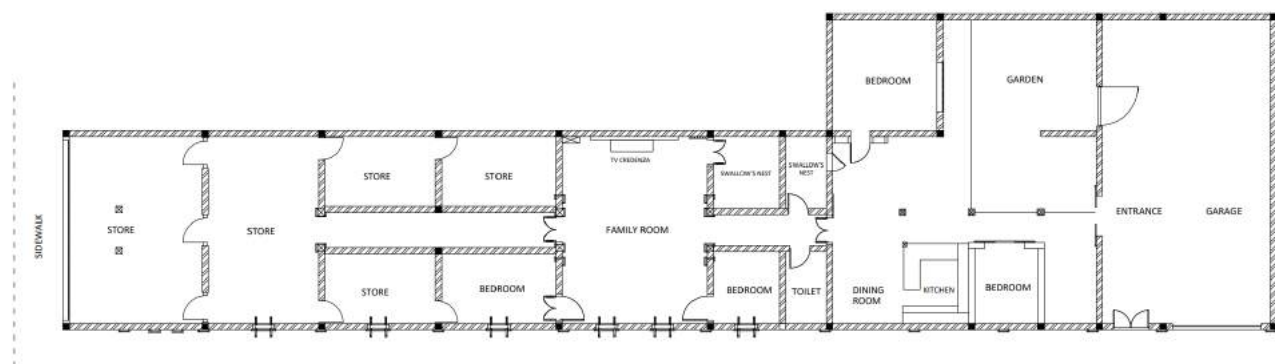


Picture 4. Original Layout of Babah Cuteng

*Source: researcher's drawings, 2022*

The changes made by the current owner is more to the functions of the rooms. As the current owner also use the house a building material shop, he used the entire front terrace as shop extension. Three of four bedrooms in the middle area is also used as shop's showroom. Only one bedroom is retained with access to the living room. As Mr. Wasrap is a moslem of Indonesian descendant the family altar was taken out and now the area is redesigned to hang television. He also took off the colonial doors in the shop area and keep it in one of the old bedrooms on the side of television wall. This bedroom has been renovated and divided into storage room and a new toilet. While the old toilet at the back is now a home to a flock of wallet birds, which go in and out through the ventilation above the toilet door. the opposite bedroom is used by his son.

Mr Wasrap build and additional room in the garden area for him and his wife and already renovate the garden into a modern landscape. The old dining room and kitchen has been newly renovated. and the back-terrace area is now used as garage and temporary place to put shop's inventory.



Picture 5. The lay out after being renovated by the current owner

*Source: researcher's drawings, 2022*

Mr Wasrap build and additional room in the garden area for him and his wife and already renovate the garden into a modern landscape. The old dining room and kitchen has been newly renovated. and the back-terrace area is now used as garage and temporary place to put shop's inventory. Despite the changes by the current owner there are some interior elements that is still being retained such as floor tile and door arc. The doors and windows are also in a good shape hence they are still being installed and maintained by refinishing using paint.

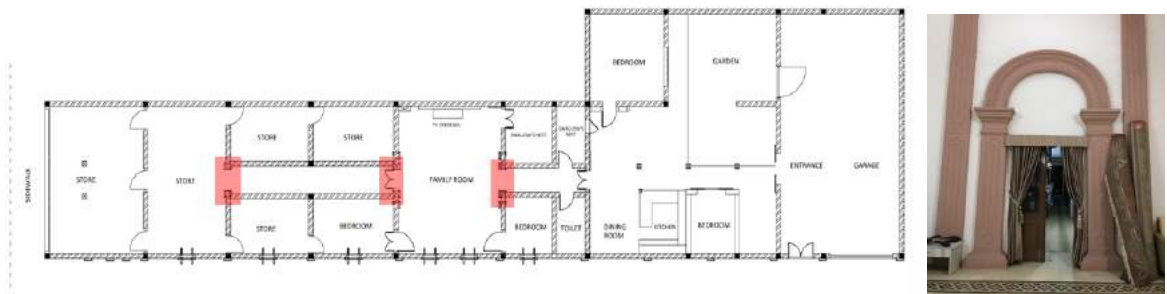
Tile floor coverings are a feature of European architecture which began to be used at the end of the XIX century (PDA Team, 2011: 98) At Babah Cuteng's house, the original tile material is maintained, namely using 20x20cm tiles equipped with geometric or floral motif borders. Seen in the picture, tiles with geometric borders are applied in the middle corridor that connects the front and back terraces. Meanwhile, in the living room area, floor materials using tiles were found with a floral border.



Picture 6. Left: Floor tile with geometrical pattern at the corridor area; Right: Floor tile with floral pattern at the living room.

*Source: researcher's documentation, 2022*

Another feature of colonial architecture in Babah Cuteng's house is seen by the application of columns that become one with openings between spaces. Roman arch openings are found at both ends of the corridor that connects the front area to the family room and the corridor that connects the family room to the back terrace.



Picture 7. Roman arch position in Babah Cuteng's House

*Source: researcher's drawings, 2022*



Picture 8. Pilasters inside the house

*Source: researcher's documentation, 2022*

This building also has several variations of the existing type of door and window openings. Generally, the doors/windows are a combination of wood panels and glass panels, while still using arch elements. These doors are being preserved and are in good conditions with complete parts include handles and hinges.





Picture 9. Existing colonial windows and doors

*Source: researcher's documentation, 2022*

## CONCLUSION

Most of colonial building still stands in the Indramayu area. Babah Cuteng's house is one of existing colonial house. There is no documentation show when the house is built. But from the architecture and interior elements could be estimated that the house is built in the Colonial Transitional Architecture era. In the case of Babah Cuteng's house which was sold to Mr Wasrap there are some changes in the use of the rooms and architecture elements. As the house is located in the main street of old Indramayu city center, both are using the house as showroom for their business also for living space. Therefore, changes in the architecture and interior are inevitable, especially the usage of room as it is being adjusted and adapted to the living style and activity of its occupants. However, since the owner is also a photographer, he understands and appreciate the beauty and value of historical colonial building, and therefore put effort in preserving the architecture and interior elements.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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### **ABOUT THE AUTHORS**

**Irena V Gunawan S.T., MCom:** Dean of Faculty of Art and Design, Interior Design Department, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Jawa Barat, Indonesia, [irena.vgf@art.maranatha.edu](mailto:irena.vgf@art.maranatha.edu)

**Yudita Royandi S.T., S.Ds., M. Ds:** Lecturer of Interior Design Department, Faculty of Arts and Design, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Jawa Barat, Indonesia, [yudita.royandi@art.maranatha.edu](mailto:yudita.royandi@art.maranatha.edu)

**Melissa Nathalia:** Student of Interior Design Department, Faculty of Arts and Design, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Jawa Barat, Indonesia, [melisanatalia128@gmail.com](mailto:melisanatalia128@gmail.com)

**Veren Gabriella:** Student of Interior Design Department, Faculty of Arts and Design, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Jawa Barat, Indonesia, [lenahidajat1@gmail.com](mailto:lenahidajat1@gmail.com)



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# The Cemetery of Lo Fangbo and Luo Clan Cohesion in Southeast Asia

LOH Kai Kwong\*, Freelance Researcher, Malaysia

\*lohkk2000@gmail.com

*Abstract: Worship of ancestors is one of the most important connotations of Chinese culture and filial piety. The ritual ceremony of ancestor worship is formed to cultivate the cultural quality and personality of the descendants of the family, and to cultivate the centripetal force of the clan. Through blood tie of the clan and incense inheritance by the descendants. Taman Lanfang, the cemetery of Lo Fangbo, was officiated on 24 March 2018 after the beautification and upgrading works were completed. More than 200 invited guests coming from China, Malaysia, Singapore, and other cities in Indonesia attended the event. This article intends to provide an overview of the history of Taman Lanfang and cohesion of Luo Clan in worship and memory of Lo Fangbo. Led by the World Luo Clans Association, Luo Clansmen in the Southeast Asia and China came together for the fundraising activities for the beautification and upgrading project of Taman Lanfang.*

*Keywords: Lo Fangbo, Taman Lanfang, Lanfang Kongs, Luo Clans*

## INTRODUCTION

24 March 2018 was the busiest, lively, and crowded day in Mandor, West Kalimantan since 1960s. More than 200 invited guests coming from China, Malaysia, Singapore, and other cities of Indonesia started their journey from Pontianak early in the morning in six buses, under the escort of the Indonesian police. The journey took them around 3 hours and they arrived at Taman Lanfang 蘭芳園 in Mandor at 11am. They were welcomed by lion dance troupe and gong-drumming honour guards formed by hundreds of the local Dayak, Malay, and Chinese. There were also a few thousands of local people lined up the street leading to newly renovated Taman Lanfang to welcome these foreign guests from afar. Large temporary shelters were built by the organizing committee to house the invited guests and local government officials who attended the event. A few thousands of local folks surrounded Taman Lanfang to witness the event and created a lively atmosphere.

This day marked the completion and official opening ceremony of the beautification and renovation project of Taman Lanfang, the cemetery of Lo Fangbo 羅芳伯, founder of Lanfang Kongs 蘭芳公司 in Mandor more than 200 years ago. Local government officials including the County Magistrate of Landak, Kepala Desa of Mandor, Chieftain of Dayak, the president of World Luo Clan Association 世界羅氏宗親聯誼總會 and president of Luo Clan Association of West Kalimantan 西加豫章羅氏公所 were amongst the honourable guests who officiated the ribbon-cutting opening ceremony. The ceremony was followed by religious rituals and prayers in accordance with Dayak, Malay, and Chinese traditions. After the ceremonies were completed, the main gate of Taman Lanfang was officially open its door to the guests and local folks. Lion dance troupe were danced vigorously accompanied with deafening gongs and drums to welcome the guests. The Dayak singing and dancing troupe performed their folk dances in the park, the guests and public gathered around to take picture and watched the performance.

The Luo clansmen from all over the places and the good believers of Lo Taipak (羅太伯, the honourable title local people called Lo Fangbo with respect) placed flowers, fruits and various offerings in front of Lo Fangbo's tombstone and held a grand worship ceremony to their ancestor for blessings and to inherit the thousands of years culture and history of Yuzhang Luo Clan 豫章羅氏.

## THE LEGEND OF LO FANGBO

Lo Fangbo was born in 1738 at his hometown, Shishanbao 石扇堡 in Jiayingzhou 嘉應州 (presently Meixian 梅縣) in Guangdong Province. According to clan chronicle of Luo Family in Shishan 《石扇羅氏家譜》, his father, Luo Qilong 羅啟隆 was married to Lady Yang and they have three sons: Fangbo 芳伯, Kuibo 葵伯, and Taibo 台伯 (Lo Hsiang-lin, 1961, pp. 65-66). In some literature articles, Lo Fangbo's appearance is described as follows:

His head was like that of a tiger, his jaw like that of a swallow, his chin was like that of a dragon and his whiskers likewise. Long were his ears and square his mouth. Although his height was less than five feet, yet he liked to study. Always did he cherish great ambitions. He was broad-minded and tolerant (Yuan Bingling, 2000, p. 49).

Lo Fangbo was a person with unusual talents, he studied classical Chinese literatures with academic and political ambitions. However, he could not pass the examination and failed to realize his dream. In 1770 when he was 35 years old, as seeing his ambitions frustrated, he left his hometown and followed his fellow countrymen to set sail to the "Gold



Mountain 金山” in Borneo. They landed at Pemangkat (A mining town near to Sambas) where he settled down as one of the gold miners and later, he took up teaching for his livelihood. After some time, he became a gold trader as his part-time business. Beside his education, intelligent and wisdom, he was also good at helping others. Very soon, Lo Fangbo distinguished himself amongst the Chinese with his ability as a leader and administration skills. As the leader of a group of 18 sworn brothers, he organised and united a few hundreds of Chinese miners under Lanfang Kongsì 蘭芳公司 and ventured into gold mining activities. A few years later, Lo Fangbo attained greater prominence by helping the Sultan of Pontianak in the battle and successfully suppressed the rebels. In appreciation of the help from Lo Fangbo, the Sultan granted a large area of land at the northern part of Kapuas River to him. In 1777 when Lo Fangbo’s prestige and power grown further, he set up an independent regime called Lanfang Presidential System 蘭芳大總制 at Mandor. Lo Fangbo was elected to the presidentship with the official title of “Da’Tang Zongzhang 大唐總長” and people commonly called him “Dage 大哥”. Under his rule, there were more than 20,000 Chinese who engaged mostly in mining and agriculture, as well as more than 200,000 Dayak people. In every town, vice-leaders called “Er-ge 二哥” were elected and, in every village a headman called “Weige 尾哥” were elected as the leaders (Lo Hsiang-lin, 1961; Yuan Bingling, 2000; Li Xinxiang, 2014).

The territory of Lanfang covered more than 50,000 sq. kilometres. There were a General Assembly Hall and a High Court in the Capital Mandor, 8 Sub-Assembly Halls and 5 tribunal courts in places like Senaman, Pontianak, Landak, Toenang, Menjoekei, Sungai Purun, Poko Klappa etc. Several checkpoints were set up to control the movement of people and tax collection at Tarap Port, Sepada, Ngapang and Koeboe Tengah etc. Beside taxation on mining, businesses and importation of goods, each family had to pay households tax and poll tax was imposed on individuals. There were also more than 6,000-armed militia for the security and protection for people living under the regime. Lanfang was practicing autonomous democratic management system, where people in the villages had the right to elect and remove their leaders. In the event the leader was dead or dereliction of duty, new leader will be elected to take over the leadership and position. In 1795, Lo Fangbo passed away at the age of 58 years old. Jiang Wubo 江戊伯 was elected to take over the leadership. In the 108 year of Lanfang Regime, other leaders being elected were Que Sibò 闕四伯, Song Chabo 宋插伯, Liu Asheng 劉阿生, and 5 others (Lo Hsiang-lin, 1961; Yuan Bingling, 2000; Li Xinxiang, 2014).

## TAMAN LANFANG, THE CEMETERY OF LO FANGBO

Many authors have recorded that Lo Fangbo passed away in 1795, however, the cause of death was never mentioned in any books or articles. Lin Shifang (2017, p. 56) suggested Lo Fangbo’s death was due to sickness, and he passed away at “Zongting 總廳” (The General Assembly Hall) in Mandor. His cemetery and monument are in Mandor and well preserved until today. According to folklore, there were eight or nine Lo Fangbo’s tombs were built after his death (Lin Shifang, 2017, p.56; Zhou B. & Zhu J., 2014, p. 130). In one of the field research trips, we were told local folklore believes that there were 36 Lo Fangbo’s tombs located at different places (Loh, K.K. 2021, p 86). However, beside the existing cemetery in Mandor, no one knows the specific location of the other tombs mentioned in the folklore legends, not to mention that which one is the cemetery where Lo Fangbo was buried. In a Chinese article cited in Lin Hsiang-lin’s book with the title of “The Overview of the Dutch East Indies, Part IV, Section Vi (4) Mandor” (荷屬東印度概覽, 第四編第六節(4)東萬律) mentioned that Lo Fangbo tomb is located at the left of Guandi Temple 關帝廟 (in Mandor), however, according to the folklore legends, many sayings that this is not his real tomb, the real tomb has been hidden and no one know where it is, the original Chinese text as follows:

... 廟(關帝廟)的左面，則為羅芳伯墓。但據外間傳說，多言此墓非真塚，真塚已隱藏，不知其所在矣...  
(cited in Lo Hsiang-lin, 1961, p.87)

The earliest record we can find about Lo Fangbo’s tomb and photo is in the book written by Lo Hsiang-lin (1961). According to Lo Hsiang-lin (1961, p 86-87), Lo Fangbo tomb was rebuilt 102 years after his death in 1897. There is a photo taken in 1931 shown that the tomb is a majestic Hakka with chair-shaped curved architecture (see Figure 1). The tombstone carved with 12 Chinese characters “皇清威明德創芳伯羅先生墓” denoted that this is Lo Fangbo’s tomb. On the inscription on right upper side of the tombstone indicated that the tomb was “rebuilt in the mid-summer of 1897 by Lanfang Kongsì”, and the inscription on the left bottom carved Chinese words “Together with all the good believers”. We are not able to find any records or drawing of the original tomb before 1897 so far.

Later in 1939, Lo Fangbo’s tomb was rebuilt into a monumental style cemetery by Li Kailiang 李開亮, He Yunhui 賀雲輝, Fang Rongtang 房榮堂 and the others (See Figure 2). The cemetery covers an area of approx. 60 square meters, with the length and width of about 8 meters, surrounded by one-meter height cement fence. The entrance is approx. 2 meters, with a stone lion seated on both right and left pillars of the entrance. In the middle of the cemetery stands a Western-style cement obelisk-shaped monumental tower with the height of approx. 4 meters. Behind the monumental

tower is a Hakka chair-style curved architecture tomb and tombstone. The wordings on the tombstone are unable to be recognised anymore. At the back of the cemetery is a small hill with a gentle slope.



Figure 1: Lo Fangbo's tomb rebuilt in 1897, taken in 1937

Source: Lo Hsiang-lin 1961



Figure 2: Lo Fangbo's tomb rebuilt in 1939

Source: Photo taken in 2013



There is an epitaph engraved around the 4 sides of the obelisk monumental tower, the original Chinese text as follow:

#### 羅公史略

羅公芳柏，廣東省梅縣石扇堡人。壬午歲誕生，即西曆一千七百三十八年。壬寅歲，即西曆一千七百五十八年，自中國南來婆羅洲之東萬律，其時邊陲不寧，蠻夷凶悍。芳柏率徵，越十載，八荒賓服，四夷來王。定鼎東萬律，創建蘭芳公司基業。在位十九年，乙卯歲即西曆一千七百九十五年，羅公逝世，享壽五十八歲。繼位者為江戊伯、關四伯、宋插伯、歷三傳，時和年豐，稱盛世焉。其後政務日非，嗣任劉台二受職甲太，歷五易，以迄劉星，於甲申之役而終。計傳十世，為時一百有八載也。李開亮、賀雲輝、房榮堂全謹志。中華民國二十八年冬月，東萬律全體華僑公建。

#### Translation:

##### The Brief History of Lo Fangbo

Lo Fangbo was born in Shishanbao, Meixian Country of Guangdong Province in 1738. He came to Mandor of Borneo in the year of 1758<sup>1</sup>. During that time, the situation in Borneo was in unrest situation and the people were fierce. Lo Fangbo led his followers in expeditions for more than 10 years and conquered the surrounding enemies. He established Lanfang Kongsì, with the capital city in Mandor. After 19 years of his leadership of Lanfang, he passed away in 1795 at the age of 58 years old. During the next 3 generations of his successors, by Jiang Wubo 江戊伯, Que Sibò 關四伯 and Song Chabo 宋插伯, the leadership and political situation of Borneo and Lanfang were very stable. Later the political situation in Borneo began to deteriorate and the government of Lanfang was started to be unstable when Liu Tai'er 劉台二 succeeded as Jiatai 甲太. The leadership again passed down for another 5 generations until Liu Xing<sup>2</sup> 劉興 who perished on a battle in 1884. Lanfang Kongsì lasted for 108 years under the leadership of a total of 10 generations. Built by Li Kailiang, He Yunhui, Fang Rongtang and all the overseas Chinese in Mandor, 1939.

Before the 1967 riot in West Kalimantan, there were many Chinese resided in Mandor. As a lot of Chinese were massacred during the riot, most of the Chinese in Mandor have fled Mandor and migrated to Pontianak, Jakarta, and other larger cities in Indonesia. Since then, the cemetery of Lo Fangbo in Mandor was left deserted for around 35 years as there was no good believers came to worship and no one taking care of the cemetery. In 2002, the president of Luo Clan Association of Bandung 萬隆羅氏宗親會, Djohan Lokanata 羅觀漢, and the reporter of Indonesia International Daily News 印尼國際日報, Herman Wongso 黃念航 led a group of people from Jakarta and Bandung to search for Lo Fangbo's tomb. They asked around the local people about the tomb and location when they were in Mandor. Finally, they managed to get the guidance of a local who knew the exact location and led them to find the tomb. At that time, Lo Fangbo's cemetery was hidden as it was completely covered by grasses that were taller than a human (Wongso, 2012).

During a ritual prayer trip organised by the Luo Clan Association of Sarawak 砂拉越豫章堂羅氏公會 and Lushan Temple of Kuching 古晉蘆山廟大霸王公 in 2013, the author visited Lo Fangbo's cemetery for the first time. After the prayer ceremony, the author noticed that the Chinese character of "He 賀" of He Yunhui's name at the base of the obelisk tomb tower was deliberately destroyed and refilled with white cements (See Figure 3B). However, when and why it was destroyed were unknown. In 2014, when the author visited the cemetery again, The "He 賀" character had been rewritten with red paint (See Figure 3C).

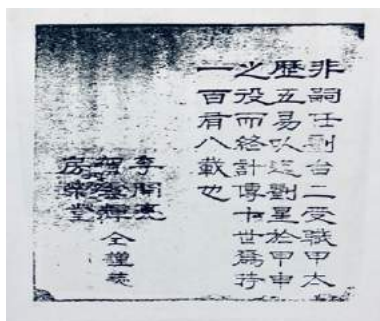


Figure 3A: The original text of epitaph in 1939



Figure 3B: Photo taken by author



Figure 3C: Photo taken by author

<sup>1</sup> According to most of the articles, Lo Fangbo arrived at West Borneo in the year of 1772, not 1758.

<sup>2</sup> The last Jiatai of Lanfang is Liu Aseng 劉阿生, he passed away in Lanfang Assembly Hall in Pontianak in 1884 due to illness, and not perished in a battle. Liu Xing should be Liu Aseng instead.

*Source: Lo Hsiang-lin 1961**Source: Photo taken in 2013**Source: Photo taken in 2014*

On 16 June 2018, the author hosted a dinner in Kuala Lumpur to welcome the famous Indonesia newspaper editor, Pak Bambang Suryono 李卓輝. During the conversation, Pak Suryono started the topic of the Lo Fangbo cemetery in Mandor. He told the author that his late wife's surname is "He 賀". He further pointed out that He Yunhui, one of the names on the epitaph who led the rebuilt of the cemetery, was his late wife's uncle. The information provided by Pak Suryono helped to solve the puzzle and doubt we had about the missing Chinese character "He" on the epitaph. According to Pak Suryono, He Yunhui was the fourth-generation Indonesian born Chinese in Mandor. He was proficient in Chinese, Dutch, and Bahasa Indonesia. He served as Chinese Kapitan 甲必丹 of Mandor for more than 20 years before he was killed during Japanese occupation. He was very concerned about the Chinese and locals' affairs, and he was actively participated in public welfare activities in West Kalimantan. He was one of the 3 gentlemen who led the Chinese community to rebuild Lo Fangbo cemetery in 1939. Before the Japanese invasion during second world war, he was actively involved in anti-Japanese movement. When the Japanese occupied West Kalimantan, he was arrested and killed in March 1943 at the age of 52 years old. Many of his family members were also arrested and killed (Suryono, 2012, p.190). From here, the author could deduced that when He Yunhui was arrested by the Japanese, someone had deliberately destroyed He Yunhui's surname "He" on the epitaph of Lo Fangbo tomb, in order not to implicate Li Kailiang, Fang Rongtang and the others. This maybe one of the reasons that Lo Fangbo cemetery was preserved without being destroyed by the Japanese army. Presently, the information about Li Kailiang and Fang Rongtang still unknown.

## THE BEAUTIFICATION AND RENOVATION OF TAMAN LANFANG

Li Xinxiang visited Lo Fangbo's tomb in 2014 during his field research trip while authoring his book titled "A Research on Lo Fang-bo and Lan-fang regime in Mandor Borneo" 《羅芳伯及東萬律蘭芳政權研究》, he sent a photo to inform the author that a large section of the soil on the slope next to the tomb was dug up by the local residents. This has affected the fengshui of the cemetery in according to Chinese customs. During the prayer celebration of the 277th birthday of Lo Fangbo in the ninth day of the second lunar month in 2015, The then president of World Luo Clan Association, Lo Ing Kiong held a meeting at Luo Clan Association of West Kalimantan in Pontianak with Luo Clansmen from Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia who attended the prayer celebration, to discuss how to protect the fengshui and the environment of Lo Fangbo's cemetery from further damages. The meeting concluded that the nearby lands surrounding the tomb should be purchased, and renovation works should be carried out to beautify the cemetery to turn it as a place for worship and tourist attraction. An organising committee was formed with members from Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore Luo Clans to undertake the project. By the early 2016, after negotiations, Luo Clan Association of West Kalimantan has successfully purchased the lands surrounding the tomb totalling to approximate 2,166 square feet from several landlords.

Later the organising committee drew up a plan and architect blueprints of the beautification project, which included building a cement fence, an archway-style main entrance with gates, a garden with pavilion for the visitors to take shelter from the sun, flowers and trees planting and other landscaping in the cemetery, a living quarter for the caretaker, and toilet and other facilities for the visitors. The project also included to reinforce and filling up the riverbank next to the cemetery to avoid soil erosions. The total project cost including the land purchase was Ringgit Malaysia five hundred thousand (RM500,000).

Under the leadership of President Lo Ing Kiong, the committee embarked a series of activities to raise the fund for the project. Beside soliciting donations, other activities such as charity sales were organised. To promote the history of Lo Fangbo, Lanfang Kongs, educating and informing the Luo Clans and the public about the beautification project, a series of seminars were also organized. In conjunction of their 30th anniversary celebration, of Luo Clan Association of Sarawak, The World Luo Clan Association organised the first Lo Fangbo Historical and Cultural Seminar 羅芳伯歷史文化研討會 with the support of Sarawak Chinese Cultural Association 砂拉越華族文化協會 in Kuching on 29 October 2016. The seminar was hosted by Choo Mun Hua, and the speakers were Prof Xing Hang from Brandies University in Boston and the author. The seminar was well responded by the Luo Clansmen and the public in Sarawak. Many people donated to the building fund of the project during the seminar. Later in 9 July 2017, The World Luo Clan Association organised the second seminar with the support of Thailand Meixian Huiguan 泰國梅縣會館. Few renown speakers were invited, and they were Prof Xing Hang from Brandies University in Boston, Prof Chang Wei-an from National Chiao Tung University in Taiwan, Prof Ong Seng Huat from Shandong University in Shandong China, Li Xinxiang and the author. Luo Clansmen and representatives from Hakka Association from Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Singapore, Hong Kong, China, and Malaysia were invited to attend the seminar. Beside donations were collected from the participants, The First-term President of World Luo Clan Association, Sumit Lo 羅豪傑 of Thailand, and the President of Thailand Meixian Huiguan, Noppadon Chawankon 古柏生 donated RM30,000 respectively in their personal capacities. The fund-raising campaign was well responded by the Luo Clan in Southeast Asia, including

Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. The Luo Clan Association of Meixian, China, The Meixian Lo Fangbo Historical Research Association and Meixian Lo Fangbo Memorial Hall, under the leadership of Li Xinxiang, also joined force to help to raise fund. The committee of Lushan Temple and other temples in Kuching also called out to the good believers to support the project. The organizing committee managed to raise the project fund in a very short period of 18 months.

The newly renovated Lo Fangbo Cemetery is named as Taman Lanfang, in memories of Lanfang Kongsì regime that established by Lo Fangbo more than 200 years ago in West Kalimantan. The pavilion was named as “The Pavilion of Family Harmony” to bless all the visitors to Taman Lanfang to have a family with harmony. The beautification project of Taman Lanfang also received strong supports from the local government of Mandor. A traditional Chinese ground-breaking ceremony was held on 5 April 2017 which was Chinese Qingming festival 清明節, and another ceremony was held two weeks later on 19 April 2017 in accordance to Dayak traditions. The construction took around a year and the project were completed in early March 2018. The opening ceremony was held on 24 March 2018.

## LUO CLAN COHESION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Clans are kinship-bound group that formed with patrilineal blood relationship with core value based on a common ancestor. In another words, clan is a group formed by individuals with same family name. The main functions of clan organisation are to preserve and affiliation to family unit, maintaining Confucianism as main value system such as justice, work ethic, filial piety, and ancestral worship (Chan, 2020, p. 54-55). On the other hands, worship of the ancestors is one of the most important connotations of Chinese culture and filial piety. The ritual and ceremony of ancestor worship is aimed to cultivate the cultural quality and personality of the descendants and cultivate the centripetal force amongst the clan. This is achieved through blood tie of the clan and incense inheritance of the descendants (Chen Zhonggeng, 2014, p. 123).

Ancestral hall is an important embodiment symbol of clan cohesion (Xi, H. & Li, Y., 2019, p.97). Construction of ancestral halls is one of the ways that the clan paying debt of gratitude to their ancestors that believed to have blessed the clans. The construction activities of the halls also help to unite and strengthen the cohesion of the clans (Jiang, 2012, p.38). In the past ancestral hall is providing social, cultural, and economic support to the members, however, today it also provides additional function as to boost tourism (Chan, 2020, p. 55). Ancestral halls also providing occasions for people to rejoice together and to interact in an ambience of acceptance and conviviality generates positive feelings and sense of belonging, thus in turn, build group cohesion to bond individuals together as a community (Tu et al., 2013, pp.4-6).

The World Luo Clan Association was found on 8 March 2008 with its registration office and headquarter in Bangkok, Thailand. The core founding members are the Luo Clans Associations in Thailand, Indonesia (Jakarta, Bandung, West Kalimantan, and Surabaya), Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Perak, Malacca, Johor, Kuching, Sibu, and Sabah), and Singapore. Later Luo Clans Associations from other countries such as Vietnam, Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, US, and others joined the World main body. One of the main objectives of the World main body is to foster close relationships and cohesion of Luo Clans around the world.

Under the leadership of The World Luo Association, the core members of the organising committee of the beatification project of Taman Lanfang were formed amongst the Luo Clan Association of Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. The Luo Clans from these four Southeast Asia countries worked together closely for construction, fund raising, seminars, and other activities. Many face to face meetings, site visits, and telephone conversations amongst the members of organising committee were conducted. During the project period, the frequent interactions of the Luo Clans Association in these four countries further foster and strengthen the cohesiveness between them.

Since 2013, members of Luo Clan Associations of Southeast Asia visiting Mandor every year to participate the Memorial Prayer ceremony to Lo Fangbo on the 9th days of second lunar calendar. Beside as a place for ancestral worship for the Luo Clans, Chinese from Indonesia, Southeast Asia, China, and Taiwan have visited Taman Lanfang as to remembrance and paying tribute to Lo Fangbo. The newly renovated Taman Lanfang has become a tourist attraction in Mandor, and it is also a hotspot for the locals to visit and take selfie (Antonius, 2018). Although the renovation of Taman Lanfang is mostly funded and built by the Luo Clans, it is belonging to the people of Mandor and West Kalimantan as part of the history and culture of West Kalimantan.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**DR LOH Kai Kwong:** Freelance Researcher, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, Malaysia, lohkk2000@gmail.com



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# Sea Goddess Mazu Ritual at Tjoe Tik Kiong (Cide Gong) Pasuruan Temple after Covid 19

Olivia (蕭翡翠) \*, Doctoral Student, Social Science Doctoral Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia, and Chinese Department Lecturer, Petra Christian University, Surabaya, Indonesia

Toetik Koesbardiati, Social Science Doctoral Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia

\*olivia@petra.ac.id

*Abstract: This study examines the Ritual of Ma Zu Goddess at the Tjoe Tik Kiong (Cide Gong) Temple in Pasuruan which was carried out again after 2 years of vacuum due to covid19. The research problem that will be investigated is whether this ritual activity has been simplified in its implementation and has the general public become less interested in participating in this ritual after it has not been carried out in the last 2 years? The research method used is descriptive qualitative, by conducting in-depth interviews with the leader who conducted the ceremony and the participants who attended it. The finding of this research is that although covid 19 has resulted in the absence of religious celebrations for the past 2 years, for local people this celebration is still an important activity and they are still enthusiastic about participating in this activity.*

*Keywords: Ma Zu, Sea Goddess, Tjoe Tik Kiong, Ci De Gong, Temple, Pasuruan*

## INTRODUCTION

Chinatown and temple are two things that cannot be separated in the life of the Chinese people in Indonesia. Chinatown (*Pecinan*) is a term for the residential area of the Chinese people with the characteristics of the culture and traditions of their country of origin. A temple is a building for worship and worship of gods in the Tri Dharma (Tao-Confucius-Buddhist) belief or religion. Apart from being a place of worship, the temple functions as a medium of expression to display the cultural existence of the Chinese community (Handinoto, 1999). Therefore, in general it can be concluded that during the formation of the Chinatown area until now, one of the identities of the Chinatown area was in the form of a temple building around the Chinatown area. Or in other words, the location of the establishment of the temple itself is usually around the settlement of the Chinese community (Chinatown) in that area.

The spatial pattern of Chinatowns in Southeast Asian cities, including Indonesia, initially had the same pattern as the urban layout pattern in Fujian province, namely the location of temples, markets, ports and the main road network, in a line perpendicular to the coastline. At first the pagodas in the Chinatown area were temple for worshipping the Goddess of Protector Sailors who was often called Dewi Ma Zu or Mak Co, which was always connected to the sea or port. (Lombard, 1996)

Mazu Festival is an important activity for modern people to worship Mazu. The occasion is a large-scale ceremony to worship Mazu, which originated from traditional Mazu sacrifice rituals and folklore activities, with a long history and far-reaching influence. Mazu Festival is an important part and essence of Mazu belief. In 2006, Mazu belief was included in "The List of National Intangible Cultural Heritage". In 2009, Mazu belief was included in "The List of Representatives of Human Intangible Cultural Heritage" by UNESCO, becoming China's first human intangible cultural heritage in belief category. It marks that Mazu culture has risen from an important part of the excellent traditional culture of the Chinese nation to the height of the world, becoming the common wealth of all mankind. (Ke, Li, & Chen, 2021)

As a port city located in the north of Java Island and its very fertile interior, Pasuruan was one of the important cities in East Java in the past. The origin of the name 'money market' which later changed to Pasuruan shows the importance of this city as an area of economic activity in the past. Because of its very strategic location since th. 1707 Pasuruan area has been controlled by the Dutch. (Handinoto, 1990)

The Chinese have been in Pasuruan since the 17th century. Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple as a place of worship for the Chinese in Pasuruan is estimated to have existed since the 17th century. Tombe, a French traveler who visited the Chinese community in Pasuruan in th. 1803, estimates that the Chinese population who lived in groups at that time constituted a third of the population of Pasuruan. During the 19th century, there was a law called the *Wijkenstelsel* in the Dutch East Indies. These colonial laws basically separated the dwellings of each ethnic groups who lived in cities during the 19th century. Previously there were many Chinese who lived in groups in cities in Java inhabiting a residential unit commonly referred to as Chinatown. (Handinoto, Pasuruan dan Arsitektur Etnis Tionghoa Akhir Abad 19 dan Awal Abad ke 20)

However, perhaps because of the location of Pasuruan which is too close to Malang and Surabaya, the existence of this temple for almost 300 years seems to have not been documented well and people more interesting to Lasem city



which has attracted many foreign researchers because Batik Lasem and its ethnic Chinese houses is more famous. That's why the author hopes through this research can study and analyze more deeply to increase knowledge about the ethnic Chinese culture that exists in the city of Pasuruan and contribute this research for more data about cultural diversity of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia.

This study aims to analyze and describe the phenomenon of Dewi Makco's ritual / carnival in the Pasuruan city community after two years vacuum because the covid-19. The author hopes to get more understanding of Dewi Makco ritual at the Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple in Pasuruan City.

From previous research journals it can be seen that the goddess MaZu research in Indonesia has not been widely published internationally. Therefore, this study focuses to analyze the MaZu ritual after covid 19 at the Tjoe Tik Kiong Pasuruan Temple.

## LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

This study discusses the function and meaning of the Ma Zu carnival ritual at the Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple in Pasuruan city by using qualitative research methods using ethnographic methods, and historical approaches. The historical approach in this study is related to the background, the process of development and change as well as the impact of the cultural activities of the Chinese community, in this case the members of the Pasuruan temple. In addition to the historical approach, this research uses a sociological approach and an ethnographic approach. The Chinatown area of Pasuruan which is inhabited by the majority of the Chinese community is an area that has a specific character, which shows the cultural activities of its people.

In analyzing the data using the theory of the function of the temple and the worship of the goddess MaZu. Therefore, to support and analyze the Ma Zu goddess carnival ritual at the Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple in Pasuruan City in this study, the authors include several previous studies published in the form of relevant journals, theses, dissertations, and textbooks. The author looks for various sources of previous research in three languages (English, Indonesian and Chinese Literature) with a focus on the two keywords "kelenteng" (temple) and sea goddess "MaZu".

Tian Chong and Huang Yungang (2021) research is about similarities and differences of between Mazu belief and Guanyin belief by comparing their development in Chinese society. The similarities are mainly manifested in the diverse duties of being a deity, and the range of this belief enlarging from several local regions to the whole world, and the development of deities' duties from single to multiple. The differences are mainly reflected in three aspects: the pagination way of the two goodness, Guanyin is a Buddha derived from Indian god, Mazu is a China's native goddess who went to the overseas later; In terms of the transformation mode, Guanyin is transformed from an official deity to a folk deity, and Mazu is a folk deity at beginning and then gradually authenticated by the government as an official deity; the various development trajectories of their duties, Guanyin's duty was first centered on salvation, and then gradually expanded to the deity of the sea, while Mazu's duty was just opposite.

Ke, Li, Chen (2021) studies and analyzes the social network in the Mazu Festival, to clarify the important significance and role of the inheritance and development of Mazu Festival in modern society. Chia Meng Tat, Jack (2007) research about religious beliefs giving an alternative narrative to Singapore's history.

Sang KeySook (2012) is analyzes the gods of the sea in China and Korea, MaZu and YeongDeung. With a focus on the similarities and differences of each other.

Chang Hsun 張珣 (2015) researched the process of standardizing the statue of the goddess MaZu, and found the results that not only the intervention of the state determined the standard, but also the influence of community organizations and even returned to the community itself.

M. Herwiratno (2007) examines the decline of culture among the Chinese community as a result of political pressure during the New Order. And finding the temple as a place of worship for the Chinese people is also a place of protection for various forms of culture, such as the teachings of philosophy of life, rituals, and arts. However, facing other challenges in this modern era because the Chinese community tends to be shuned as a result of the political, social, and religious conditions in this modern era.

## TJOE TIK KIONG (慈德宮 CI DE GONG) PASURUAN TEMPLE AND MAZU RITUAL

People who worship in temples are generally Samkauw or Tridharma, namely those who adhere to the three teachings namely Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. Temple especially in Central and East Java, Sumatra is known as the Tridharma Worship Place (TITD). The term Tridharma only exists in Indonesia, generally called baishen or worshipping shen. Tridarma school in Indonesia can be divided into two major groups, which refers to syncretism or often referred to as sanjiao heyi (三教合一) and refers to equality or sanjiao pingdeng (三教平等). (Hartati, 2020)

Temple or kelenteng in Indonesian word, is a places of worship for adherents of traditional Chinese beliefs in Indonesia. Because in Indonesia, adherents of traditional Chinese beliefs are often equated as adherents of the Confucian religion, the temple itself is often considered the same as a place of worship for the Confucian religion. (Olivia, 2021)

Each temple has its own main deity, and they place that deity on the main altar. Chinese temples in coastal areas mostly worship Goddess Guanyin or Mazu, and Dewa GuanGong, including Dewi MaZu at the Tjoe Tik Kiong (慈德宮Cide Gong) temple in Pasuruan.

The name of the temple in Pasuruan is Tjoe Tik Kiong (慈德宮), this name is quite commonly used to refer to temples that worship the goddess MaZu in China and Taiwan. Because of that, it's not surprising that in Indonesia, there is also the Tjoe Tik Kiong temple in Tulungagung.

Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple is one of the ancient temples and buildings in Pasuruan City. The location of the pagoda is located near the port and was built around the 17th century AD. This pagoda was built by local people, but the statues such as Tianhou, Guanyin, Tudi Gong, and Jialin were imported directly from China in 1857. The specialty of this pagoda is beautiful wall painting. (Pasuruan, 2012)

### Temple Building

At the top of the pagoda entrance gate there are ornaments in the form of a pair of dragons and phoenix (Hong) birds. Behind the gate there is a mini stage that can be dismantled whenever needed for the “potehi” puppet performance which is usually performed following the agenda of the pagoda's people who have certain celebrations. The plays that are played are also certain. Once a year, the Potehi puppet stage performs a play about Kwan Sing Tee Koen (Guan Gong) who is one of the main deities of the Tjoe Tik Kiong temple.



Figure 1 Main Gate of Pasuruan Temple

*Source: Author collection, taken date: 25 September 2022*

We can observe many details of Chinese architecture from the front to the inside of this nearly 300-year-old temple. Although it has undergone several renovations, most of the characteristics of the early buildings and the main building of this temple are still preserved in their original form. Including the paintings on the walls that began to fade due to incense smoke and eroded by time.



Figure 1 Tjoe Tik Kiong temple nameplate in Pasuruan  
*Source: Author collection, taken date: 25 September 2022*



Figure 2 Potchi Stage in Pasuruan Temple  
*Source: Author collection, taken date: 27 July 2008*



Figure 3 Front of Pasuruan Temple  
*Source: Author collection, taken date: 25 September 2022*





Figure 4 MaZu Main Altar

*Source: Author collection, taken date: 25 September 2022*

At the top of the gate there are ornaments of a pair of dragon statues, and in the second gate there are several pagoda rooms, namely the main altar room of the temple, the altar room of Kwan Sing Tee Koen (關聖帝君 GuanShengDiJun or GuanGong) on the right, and the office room on the left. In the front yard there are a pair of Qilin statues (麒麟) and two pagodas shaped burning stove on the right and left. The front of the main room is equipped with various worship equipment and ornaments typical of the pagoda such as incense holder (香炉, Fujian: hiolo), candles, lanterns, incense, tiger reliefs, dragon reliefs, display of replica weapons, and so on. The walls on the left and right of the room are decorated with paintings of ancient Chinese history and legends. Various altars of the god of the pagoda are in the main room, namely *MaZu* or Thian Sang Sheng Mu (天上圣母), Ho Sin (虎爷 / Tiger God), Hok Tek Cen Sin (福德正神 / FuDe ZhengShen), To Tee Kong (土地公 / God of the Land and Earth), and Kong Tik Cun Ong (廣澤尊王 / Guang Ze Zun Wang). Right side of the main room there is a Tri Dharma room for statues of Confucius (孔子), Lao Tze (老子), and Sri Buddha Gautama (释迦牟尼佛). The inner side of the main room of Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple, Pasuruan, is used as an altar for Kwan Im Goddess.

### MaZu: Sea Goddess

It has been a long time since Chinese people from Fujian and Guangdong provinces immigrated to Taiwan, said Prof. Li explained. In making a dangerous voyage on their way to Taiwan without using adequate maritime equipment. Their only effort was to bring along a statue of the Protective Goddess of the Ocean, so that they would be given protection in the midst of typhoons and fierce ocean currents in the Taiwan Strait. The statues of the holy spirits that they carry are generally Ma Zu (Tian Shang Sheng Mu) and Xuan Tian Shang Di. After arriving safely in Taiwan, the statues were then placed in the temples that were erected in the new place. That's why the pagodas that worship Ma Zu and Xuan Tian are usually the most crowded pagodas visited by people in Taiwan. The same applies to the Chinese immigrants who eventually settled in several Southeast Asian countries such as Malaya and Indonesia. Many temples in Indonesia worship these two gods, as well as in Malaya. (Hay, 1990)

We might think of gods as beings that are above human beings and as unbounded by time—the gods were always there. This is not the case in China, where it was possible for humans to become immortal and to be treated as gods. Apotheosis, or deification, is one of the distinctive features of Chinese religious practice, but it can be a challenging concept for students coming from a monotheistic tradition. The story of Mazu and how she became a god provides an example of the process of deification. Tradition holds that Mazu began her journey to divine status as a young woman born in the tenth century to a family surnamed Lin that made their living through fishing. Later, she was called Moniang, or “Silent Maiden.” Stories about her childhood emphasize that she was, from an early age, an unusual girl—she is said to have refused marriage, for example. She was not unusual, however, in the practice of weaving, which was typical female work, and weaving plays a key role in Lin Moniang’s story. She fell into a trance at her loom and in the trance could see her father and brother at sea in danger. She was able to rescue her father, but her mother interrupted her trance and she dropped her brother. When her father returned, he verified what had happened, confirming Lin Moniang’s special powers. She died young, and shortly after death, she came to be worshipped as someone who could offer protection to those at sea. (Heller, 2020)

## XunJing (巡境, Fujian:JutBio) Ritual at Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple – Pasuruan

In the Chinese language it is better known as Xun Jing (巡境). Xun Jing is one of the activities in the worship of the Confucian Religion or Tridharma. In this activity, the statue of the god (Kim Sin/金身) is paraded around the city to the accompaniment of various attributes plus the art of Lion Dance, and other art performance. The Xun Jing ritual is now more popularly known as Kirab. (PTITD/Matrisia, 2007)

There are also other terms used to describe this ritual event, such as: 圣驾巡游 (shengjia xunyou, free translation: parading the gods), 庙会活动 (miaohui huodong, free translation: temple activities), and 游神 (youshen, free translation: god goes around).

One of the traditional religious ceremonies of ancient China is to hold a palanquin for a deity called khiau (轿). Khiau is used as a medium to communicate with the spirits of the gods, usually prepared by local residents in a village. Khiau is made of large and sturdy bamboo and tied together. The preparations made may indeed be from various elements of the community in a village, but during the transportation procession it must be carried out by people who have good personalities. As in ancient China, the transportation of khiau was carried out by imperial judges and scholars. When Khiau is ready, the god or goddess who is in the temple is invited to be placed on the statue provided on the stretcher. This statue has a special name, namely kim shin (金身) which means Golden Body. (Chai, 2013)



Figure 5 Ritual Preparation

Source: Author collection, taken date: 04 October 2022

In Pasuruan this ritual is usually held on the birthday of the goddess Makco. However, on October 4, 2022, this carnival was held to commemorate the ascension of the goddess Mak Co to heaven. Because this is the first carnival after covid 19 spread, initially they held this event behind closed doors. However, it is widely spread through social media. So that there are still guests from out of town who come and take part in this event. Officially, there were two groups from Surabaya and Jember temples who participated in this activity.



Figure 6 Khiau (轿)

Source: Author collection, taken date: 04 October 2022



Figure 7 Khiau (轿)

*Source: Author collection, taken date: 04 October 2022*



Figure 8 Khiau (轿)

*Source: Author collection, taken date: 04 October 2022*

The five-coloured Wu Xing (五行) flag (green, red, yellow, white, black) is attached to the top and back of the stretcher if it is used to lift the Taoism God Statue. The flag is a different color (blue, yellow, red, white, orange) if the stretcher is used to lift the statue of a Buddhist holy creature. Installation of flags must be based on special procedures. (PTITD/Matrisia, 2007)

Before being paraded, the people of the Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple pray together. Then the head of the temple took the statue of MaZu Goddess and her two companions to be paraded. The statue is then tied on a stretcher properly using a red ribbon. Then the procession around the temple begins.





Figure 9 Pray Together

*Source: Author collection, taken date: 04 October 2022*



Figure 10 Ready to Going Out of the Temple

*Source: Author collection, taken date: 04 October 2022*



Figure 11 Tied on a Stretcher with Red Ribbom

*Source: Author collection, taken date: 04 October 2022*



Figure 12 Procession Around Temple

*Source: Author collection, taken date: 04 October 2022*

After the carnival was over, all participants were able to return to their respective homes, and the evening continued with performances and eating together. The event closed with a lion dance performance, songs and dances from the participants.

## CONCLUSION

The worship of Dewi MaZu is a form of Chinese culture that has existed since the Chinese began to enter Indonesia. After the 1998 reformation period, various Dewi Mazu carnival events began to appear in various Indonesian temples.

Even though after two years of not being able to hold any events during the covid 19 outbreak. However, this time the event was held quite lively. The only difference is that they reduce the number of participants by not distributing official invitations to other temples. Only among the people of the Tjoe Tik Kiong Temple in Pasuruan.

The carnival which was supposed to cover a wider area was also changed to be simpler, only in the temple area. Just around the main building of the Tjoe Tik Kiong temple in Pasuruan. However, they did it three times, and when they saw the enthusiasm of the participants, the committee even added two more rounds.

For the followers of the Tjoe Tik Kiong temple in Pasuruan, this event is one of the important events that involves almost all elements of the Chinese community in the city of Pasuruan. They scrambled to join in carrying the stretcher, because for them to have the opportunity to carry the stretcher was a blessing in itself. Similar to followers of other religions, when they pray, they also ask Goddess MaZu for safety, hoping for blessings in life, health, and life safety.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Olivia, S.E., M.A.:** Doctoral Student, Social Science Doctoral Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia, and Chinese Department Lecturer, Petra Christian University, Surabaya, Indonesia. Email address: [olivia@petra.ac.id](mailto:olivia@petra.ac.id)

**Dr. Phil. Toetik Koesbardiati, Dra.:** Social Science Doctoral Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Airlangga University, Surabaya, Indonesia.

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# The Phenomenon of The Chinese Culinary Centers in Jakarta

Graciella Ferrary \*, Universitas Pradita, Indonesia

Greysia Susilo, Universitas Pradita, Indonesia

Oktavianus Nangoy, Universitas Pradita, Indonesia

Alifia Wida Izzati, Universitas Pradita, Indonesia

\* graciella.ferrary@student.pradita.ac.id

*Abstract: This study examine about Chinese culinary center phenomenon spread in 3 different places in Jakarta with similar time established. In the beginning, Chinese people came to Indonesia for natural causes, they stayed and blended in with the locals. Since the Dutch suppression of Chinese Indonesian in 1740, the Dutch government issued a regulation called Wijkenstelsel that restricted Chinese-Indonesian residency into one area. The impact of the regulations made natural blended Chinese houses with Indonesian ones, becoming concentrated into one specific area with secured gates and walls. This new arrangement had negative impacts but also had its blessing in disguise with commercial facilities that made the community self-sustain, starting from the trading center to the culinary center. At the beginning of 2020 specialized culinary centers started to appear as public facilities with Chinese themes as part of the marketing strategy of the property developer for the Chinese-Indonesian target market. The success was followed by the opening of 2 similar places by other developers. This phenomenon needs to be analyzed and researched to know the social functions, needs, and expectations of visitors at culinary center to make the design of Chinese community center that has the similar aim. This study aim to know how much participation that Chinese community fulfill for the needs of social space with a special characteristics in Jakarta. This study will be done within the scope of the city of Jakarta using simple qualitative research methods, by observation and comparison method of collecting data.*

*Keywords: Chinese Culture, Community Center, Culinary Center, Public Space Interior*

## INTRODUCTION

According to historian Didi Kwartanada (Choirah, 2016) the existence of Chinese ethnic in Indonesia happened when they began journey to India on 414 then dumped off on Java Island. While they were there, they did trade with Nusantara (Indonesia name on that time), but they came in very small numbers and stayed in short time. Around 1415 more Chinese people came to Nusantara to do trading.

Community center is a city public infrastructure with buildings that has function as social and public activity center (Susilo, 2022). The type of this building is very common to find, to accommodate public social activity. Traditionally community center has similar function with village meeting hall in every city on Nusantara. In Colonial era there was resistance movement, that cause Mataram empire broke and Chinese people was prohibited to stay at random dwelling and Dutch government issued regulation Wijkenstelsel (Firdausi, 2020). It means Chinese people only can live in Chinatown and prohibited stayed inside the walled city. This regulation caused Chinatown spread all over Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke. With this regulation there were some advantages and disadvantages. The advantage of these residences' restrictions was population distribution more organized, so the division of territory were more arranged. The disadvantage of these residence restrictions was development of discrimination or social discrepancy, which causes grouping based on category so the society that not fulfill it feels discriminated against. (Kurniawati, 2016)

Because of the settlement restrictions, the Chinese also have their own trading market. These trading markets was still managed traditionally and not yet organized, such as in Jakarta, which has the Chinatown area of Glodok. The trading market was called Pasar Petak 9. In this market, there are all kinds of traders in general: vegetables, fruit, meat, cooking utensils, and others. However, in addition to traders selling daily necessities, there are several stalls selling food such as Kopitiam, traditional Chinese medicine shops, and Chinese spiritual equipment shops (Itsaini, 2022). In other cities, such as Bandung namely Pasar Baru, in Semarang there is called Kauman, and in Solo called Kampung Sudiroprajan, which witnesses between the Chinese community and the Javanese community living side by side.

Outside of Java, to be precise in Medan City, you can see at the Kesawan Square, and in West Kalimantan, at Singkawang which this place was very crowded when Chinese New Year arrives, because the Chinese people who go abroad and even leave the island, will return to their hometowns to celebrate Chinese New Year with family (CNN Indonesia, 2021). Along with the development of time and era, the trading market began to be well organized. One of the culinary centers that has emerged and built-in modern way is Pasar Petak 6. This culinary center is located in the Old Chinatown area and the building was revitalized in the Glodok trading center. Apart from Petak 6, at Northern Jakarta also has organized modern culinary centers, namely Pantjoran PIK and Old Shanghai Kelapa Gading. With 3 similar places scattered around Jakarta, the author analyzes the phenomena that occur in these three places.



## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Thus, the author will examine those 3 culinary centers (Petak Enam, Pantjoran PIK, Old Shanghai) in Jakarta. This research using descriptive research methods explaining current or ongoing problems. Observation methods, observing and describing the behavior on those places. Also, comparison, comparing the data drawn to new conclusions. This research is general, dynamic, and explorative.

### The History of Chinese in Indonesia

According to historian Didi Kwartanada (Choiriah, 2016) the existence of the Chinese ethnic in Indonesia occurred when they traded and settled in Indonesia. With the rule that a Chinese woman is prohibited from leaving China, Chinese men do not take their wives with them when sailing. Some of them choose to marry Indonesian women. While in Indonesia, the Chinese mingled in language, clothing, religion, food, and even their religion spread throughout Java along the Northern coast. The Chinese are known to be diligent and smart in trading.

In the Dutch Colonial Era, the Chinese community was given the opportunity to appoint several community leaders and were given the title Kapitan Tjina. These leaders were obliged to be loyal and become liaisons between the Dutch government and the Chinese community. At several times, ethnic Chinese became the targets of mass killings or looting, the biggest one was the massacre in Batavia in 1740, and the Java war of 1825-1830. The massacres created a resistance movement that took places in several cities in Central Java, which was also assisted by Javanese. As a result of this movement, the Mataram kingdom was broken up and the Chinese were prohibited from living in any random place when the Wijkenstelsel regulation was issued. Ethnic Chinese were only allowed to live in the Chinatown area and were prohibited from living within the city walls.

After independence, in the Orde Lama era, there were several ministers from Chinese-Indonesian. In the Orde Baru, Chinese citizens were prohibited from expressing themselves and since 1967 they have been divided into two, Indonesian citizens (WNI) and foreign citizens (WNA). The use of Mandarin was also prohibited, which in the end the Chinese Medical Community fought of Mandarin writing in medical receipts and bringing it to the Supreme Court. They were given special permission by the Indonesian Attorney General, with an agreement not to muster the power to rebel and overthrow the Indonesian government. At the end of the Orde Baru, there was also a racial riot in 1998 which caused trauma to the Chinese community.

The bright spot for the Chinese community occurred during the Reformasi era when there was a change in the government's view on the Chinese problem. On January 17, 2000, former President Abdurrahman Wahid revoked Instruksi Presiden No. 14/1967, which later issued Keputusan Presiden No. 6/2000 so that ethnic Chinese could celebrate religious events openly again.

### Distribution of Chinatowns in Jakarta

Chinatown areas that is special to Jakarta are the Glodok, Pancoran, Asemka, and Petak Sembilan areas. The name "Pancoran" comes from a water fountain made of bamboo. It was a water source that meets the drinking water needs of the people at City of Batavia. In addition, this water is also used to feed horses. The name "Glodok" itself is taken from the sound of water which reads "grojok-grojok", but since the Chinese had a bad pronunciation of the letter R, so it became "Glodok". According to another story the name "Glodok" comes from a water-carrying cart called "golodok". However, when the area no longer fit for the growing Chinese Community, the Chinatown was spread to the new areas. The Dutch government also moved the city center Kota Lama into Istana Negara. The areas given to Chinese Community were Senen, Jatinegara, Mangga Besar, and Grogol.

Along with the expansion of Jakarta, the Chinatown area began to expand to the North. Since the change in the Segitiga Senen, the Chinese moved to the Sunter and Kelapa Gading areas. The Kelapa Gading area is not only for the Chinese who move from the Segitiga Senen, there were also new couples looking for houses but cannot afford a house in the city center, so they decide to buy a house on the edge of the city then.

### Habits Chinese-Indonesian

Far away before Indonesia's independence, the Chinese-Indonesian loved to spend their time together for example in the morning while they having breakfast some went to Kopitiam and eat with their friends while chatting or some just had family breakfast at home and sat in the middle dining table with family to talk what will they do for the day. Even though Chinese-Indonesian is known as hard workers, they also like to hang out with their relatives most of the time they like to hang out in religious places (ex. Chinese temple) or some places that have good snacks. This happened since long time ago as known as "the tri pillars of Chinese culture" the sustention is Ancestor Respect, kinship system, and foods. These tri pillars indirectly connect each other, so most of the time they close each other for long time.

For example, the most well-known Chinatown is Glodok, there is some places that most used to gather on of it is Vihara Dharma Bhakti as known as "Jin De Yuan/Klenteng Jin De Yuan". Not only chatting they spend their time with cup of tea or coffee, also they gather to play Xiangqi (Chinese chess). Other than Jin De Yuan most Chinese people

loves to spend time with on food stall, one most famous area to spend time is Pancoran there is some food stalls or even shops that can stayed for chatting. Around 1980-1990s there is pretty well-known place to gathering unnamed dance hall at Harco building, mostly elderly people who enjoy their retirement or even just fulfill free time.

### **Petak Enam, Glodok**

Rex Cokrowibowo (Creative Director of Petak Enam) said that he took the initiative to revitalize the Chandra Building to meet the needs of today's society (Kompas.com, 2021). He also said that there were only three choices of places to sit for a drink or a cafe in Glodok area. Based on these three places, he realized that there was a need that had to be fulfilled and created this Petak Enam. Petak Enam was built with the aim so visitors who shop or just take a walk can rest here.

The concept used in Petak Enam is a compound complex, so this area can be called a culinary center, and shopping center. Petak Enam built at old shopping center called Chandra Building. The design based on old Chinese and Dutch-Colonial Heritage. This can be seen in the Paviljoen section using thick Dutch elements, while at the middle to the back side dominant with Oriental design.

### **Pantjoran, PIK 2**

Pantjoran PIK 2 is a place built by Agung Sedayu Group to compliment with the expansion of PIK 2. To enhance their market, Agung Sedayu built a culinary center facility to increase visitor interest and make it easier for residents to access. The complex filled with culinary center and other commercial space (ruko). The main attraction in this complex are Goddess Kwan Im and God Kwan Kong statues, both of them are Gods from Chinese religion.

### **Old Shanghai, Kelapa Gading**

After the successful opening of a culinary center at PIK, Agung Sedayu built another culinary center as a new landmark, located in Kelapa Gading. This culinary center was built as a new tourist destination with the hope of helping economic development. Kelapa Gading is one of the Chinese settlements resulting from the expansion of Pasar Senen, and was famous in the 1980s, waning in popularity due to overcrowd. Old Shanghai is expected to restore the popularity of Kelapa Gading.

## **DISCUSSION**

The habits of gathering happened since long time ago, and it made one of cultural thing for gathering. Most of them gather and stayed at religious spaces and even the religious spaces used as assemble point for meeting up. The habit of gathering is one of important needs, that have to be fulfilled and suppose the gathering place not happened on religious spaces. If the equilibrium excessively out from the limit the gathering or religious spaces will lost by the unbalance ecosystem life. The world is always evolving so do the people, by the time the people evolve to fulfill their needs, it started with very traditional culinary center then now become more modern culinary centers. The evolution from traditional to modern culinary center takes very long time to achieve and also it took very long time to move all people to the better place.

The existence of these three places in Jakarta has their own reasons. These three places exist because there is a trend of new kind gathering places and more modern Chinese culinary centers. These three places are expected to expand the target market to younger Chinese, since the older target market reside at Kopi Tiam and the older Chinese food restaurants. Culinary centers like this can be upgraded so that they are not only used as places to eat but can also be used as gathering places for community centers.

The Chinese community in Jakarta does not have their own community center. The community center could be an opening route for Chinese culture to be known by everyone. So far, social gathering activities for the Chinese are usually centered in religious buildings, which are more exclusive. It is time now that the concept of gathering in religious places transform into more secular and non-exclusive buildings. The hope is that non-Chinese people can have access to learn Chinese culture without feeling left out.

The trend of Chinese architectural culinary centers in Jakarta hopefully can continue in a more interesting direction, without exaggerating exclusively to the Chinese ethnicity as its main target market. It is time for this trend to be continued by opening a new culinary center that can accommodate other ethnic groups and ethnicities so that it can provide a clearer picture that Jakarta is a "melting pot" in Indonesia. The residents of Jakarta must also be waiting for a new culinary center with Arabic, Javanese, Sundanese, and other flavors.

## **CONCLUSION**

The Chinese culinary center indirectly occurred before Indonesia's independence, precisely after the issuance of the Wijkenstelsel policy where the distribution of residences or settlements of Chinese people was limited. The existence of restrictions on the residence resulted in them having to meet their needs independently (the market). Over time, the

Chinese began to evolve to build social activity centers, one of which was a culinary center. These culinary centers are social places with Chinese-Indonesian concept that rarely found in other places. These places emerged because the trend of more modern gathering places and Chinese culinary spots. These places are expected to compliment Kopitiam and/or the old Chinese food court. The existence of these new places can open up opportunities for non-Chinese people to access and learn about Chinese culture. On the other hand, these culinary centers happened because the habits of Chinese people to gather and stay for chatting. The needs to be fulfill done in the modern era with more exciting ways to preserve Chinese tradition to be not forgotten by younger generations.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Graciella Ferrary:** Final project student, Interior Design Department, Universitas Pradita, Tangerang, Banten, Indonesia, [graciellaferrary@gmail.com](mailto:graciellaferrary@gmail.com)

**Greysia Susilo, S.E., S.Sn., M.Hum.:** Lecturer, Interior Design Department, Universitas Pradita, Tangerang, Banten, Indonesia, [greysia.susilo@pradita.ac.id](mailto:greysia.susilo@pradita.ac.id)

**Oktavianus Nangoy. S.Sn., M.Ds.:** Lecturer, Interior Design Department, Universitas Pradita, Tangerang, Banten, Indonesia, [oktavianus.nangoy@pradita.ac.id](mailto:oktavianus.nangoy@pradita.ac.id)

**Alifia Wida Izzati, S.T., M.Ds.:** Lecturer, Interior Design Department, Universitas Pradita, Tangerang, Banten, Indonesia, [alifia.wida@pradita.ac.id](mailto:alifia.wida@pradita.ac.id)



# Authentic Chinese Culinary Dissemination Through Film “Delicacies Destiny”

Monica Hartanti\*, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

\*monica.hartanti@art.maranatha.edu

*Abstract: The typical food of a region and its activities are rich in symbolism and can be rhetorically divided into two parts, namely aesthetic cuisine, and authentic cuisine. It has deep cultural value because it can become the identity and characteristic of the area concerned. In the postmodern era, eating and its activities not only fulfill physical needs but also contain the meaning behind the food. The uniqueness of this aesthetic and authentic culinary can be attributed to the leisure industry, which is manifested in various lifestyle media, one of which is through film series. This scientific article will analyze the signs and meanings in the film Delicacies Destiny which also has the uniqueness of lifting the main character, a woman. The finding in this analysis is that through the media of serial films that local and international audiences can access, there is a dissemination of the fun Chinese eating culture in the form of food. The main female character, who is smart, intelligent, and has the determination to achieve her life goals, has formed a shift in the Confucian ideology that considers “Men High, Women Low” in this postmodern era.*

*Keywords: Chinese Culinary, Dissemination, Film, Symbolism*

## INTRODUCTION

Eating and its activities are part of human culture, which evolves with the times and technology. Eating and its activities in the postmodern era not only fulfill physical needs but also mean "eating" the meaning behind the food. Gastronomy investigates the relationship between culture and food, whereas gastronomy investigates various aspects of culture with food as the focal point. The typical food and activities of a region have deep cultural values because they can become the identity and characteristics of the area in question. Making regional food and fantastic presentation activities will create a commodity of leisure lifestyle in the postmodern era. Furthermore, the presence of media publications in the community will encourage them to try these foods.

A region's typical food and activities are rich in symbolism, which can be used as rhetoric in two ways: aesthetic culinary and authentic culinary. Aesthetic culinary manifests itself in the form of beautifully designed, luxurious, and classy culinary displays created by renowned chefs and served with media that is relevant to people's lifestyles. Authentic cuisine, on the other hand, represents the authenticity and tradition of food and its activities. Contemporary gastronomy is authentic and has a distinct local identity, which will entice tourists to travel to the origins of these traditional foods (Gyimóthy, S., Mykletun, R., 2008). This is in line with the opinion of Yasraf Amir Piliang, a socio-cultural expert in one of his writings that stated:

Postmodern capitalism, which makes culture an industry, creates a radical new cultural paradigm and forms a social space so that consumers' social life is always constructed to follow the endless stream of changes in signs, meanings, images, and identities. Consumption is done without full awareness; identity is traded for profit. In consumerism discourse, life is conditioned to move from one desire to the next, from one identity to the next, as a continuous series of changes. This is what Virilio calls in *The Aesthetics of Disappearance* as a symptom of cultural epilepsy (Piliang Y. A., 2006)

Regional cuisine is currently adapting to Postmodern culture; in the leisure industry, both aesthetic and authentic culinary are prevalent. Both take the form of various lifestyle media that can satisfy people's desires. Local identities are traded and used as content ideas to spread local culture while profiting. The media in the postmodern era has undergone a significant function shift; the media, as a medium for the delivery of information and communication tools, has evolved into a cultural function that includes lifestyle and aesthetics in design, which is also related to the economic field (Staubhaar, J & Larose.R. & Davenport.L., 2013).

The object of study in this paper is the *Delicate of Destiny* film series, a Chinese streaming television series produced by Huanyu Film and television, which tells about the life of a female chef who cooks menus in the kingdom. This article tries to analyze the symbolism of food in the film *Delicacies Destiny*, which depicts the efforts to disseminate the image of Chinese cuisine that is both aesthetic and authentic. In addition, in this film, there is a message of women's emancipation that shakes the conventions of society against the inequality of women and men in the paradigm of Chinese society.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Because the film is constructed with various signs, it is a relevant field of study for semiotic analysis. This study employs a qualitative descriptive method based on Roland Barthes' semiotic theory. This research focuses on



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interpreting verbal and nonverbal clues. The following are the analysis steps used in this study: (1) Select the film scene footage that will best represent the image of Chinese cuisine. (2) Analyze the sign's denotative meaning first, then reveal its connotative meaning.

### **Semiotics in Film**

The film is a synthesis of verbal and nonverbal signals. The film is a cinematic text that integrates dialogue, music, scenes, and roles (Faizal, 2009). Film, as a complex audiovisual medium, serves as a propaganda tool, an educational tool, a means of spreading cultural values, and an entertainment medium. A film with an exciting plot will quickly sway the audience to accept its moral message. A film is a documented representation of a group of people's lives that conveys a moral message. A film is not only intended to entertain; it also does not operate in a vacuum. A film contains a specific ideology and may even repeat the previous ideology in various ways depending on the plot (Wahab, Juliana & Mahyuddin, Ahmad. , 2009). Ideology is also important in signifying signs. Rose based his viewpoint on Williamson's (1978) and Barthes' (1973) contention that the structural separation of metaphorical signs leads to metonymic, or signs that are related to and then represent something (Faizal, 2009, p. 12). This research uses Roland Barthes' Semiotics approach. Known as the "two order of signification," including denotation and connotation, the multiple meanings born of cultural and personal experience (Fadillah, 2016).

### **Representation**

Representation is the process of producing meaning through language by constructing signs. (1) Representing something can mean describing it, calling it to mind through imagination or description, and then placing that similarity in our minds, according to the Oxford English Dictionary. (2) Representation can also mean symbolizing, as in "In Christianity, the cross symbolizes Christ's suffering and crucifixion." For the layperson, the cross is simply two wooden planks. It is a concept that can be expressed in words and pictures. The representation process is composed of two distinct but interdependent systems. The first is a mental representation system that uses concepts formed in the mind to classify and organize the world into meaningful categories (conceptual map). When we have an idea about something, we can say we understand its meaning. Nonetheless, we are unable to communicate without a second language representation. Language is made up of signs that are arranged in various ways. Sounds, text, words, and visual images all serve as symbols or signs in the language. Language can construct meaning and exchange meaning between agents in society. As a result, language becomes critical in the representation process (Hartanti, 2018). The relation between 'something', 'conceptual map', and 'language/symbol' is the heart of the production of meaning through language. So, meaning cannot be communicated without language. At the same time, representation is a process that connects 'something', 'conceptual map', 'language/symbol'. The background of the same knowledge in a particular group is important in the representation process so that the group can produce, exchange meaning, and create a similar understanding (Damayanti, 2014).

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

*Delicacies Destiny* as a study object. This is a Chinese drama series with 16-episode production, created by Yu Zheng and directed by Gu Hao. This drama series is packaged with historical themes with culinary elements. The main story tells about a young woman named Ling Xiao Xiao, who dreams of becoming a famous Royal Chef. On several web platforms, the first broadcast date is on April 7, 2022.

### **Delicacies Destiny Film Synopsis**

Crown Prince Zhu Shou Kui (Wang Xing Yue) allowed Ling Xiao Xiao (He Rui Xian) to work in the palace kitchen and cook delectable meals for the royal family, fulfilling her ambition of becoming the world's best royal chef. Even though she has to go through various obstacles that come from the King (Pan Bing Long), Queen (Liu Min), and Concubine Li (Chui Na Li Sha), Ling Xiao Xiao never gives up. The royal populace accepted his thanks for the Prince's assistance and reliance on his exceptional cooking abilities and friendliness. Additionally, Ling Xiao Xiao succeeded in making Prince fall in love with her. However, she must abandon her desire to work in a kitchen to maintain her love story and instead put her future role as the crown princess first. Ling Xiao Xiao ultimately decides to leave the palace and create a restaurant to follow her ambition of becoming a cook. Prince Zhu Shou Kui had to decide between standing by his family and his duty or standing up for his loved ones.

This drama series has a happy ending; everyone gets what they want. Ling Xiao Xiao becomes the Prince's wife and can still cook in the palace, preparing dishes for her husband.

Verbal and visual representations that will be analysed for their meaning are some snippets from film scenes that show signs and meanings that will be conveyed from the Chinese culinary side and Confucius' views on the female main character in the film *Delicacies Destiny*.

Through the footage from the film scene above, the sign and meaning to be conveyed is that Chinese cuisine has unique taste characteristics. Chinese cuisine is made wholeheartedly to produce a custom taste by every connoisseur

with special cooking techniques, special cutlery and presentation. Chinese cuisine does not only contain taste, but there are also narratives and memories that can make the taste of the food more profound. Chinese cuisine can also be made to be low in fat or cholesterol so that it becomes healthy food but still tastes delicious. Vegetarian Chinese cuisine can also have a beautiful appearance and delicious taste.

Table 1: Verbal and Visual Representations of Chinese Culinary in Film Delicacies Destiny

	
Denotation	Connotation
<p>This scene footage features images of <b>delicious-looking Chinese dishes with unique and poetic naming</b>. It shows luxurious dishes such as fish, and there are also simple dishes served lavishly, and non-luxurious dishes are served to servers but still with poetic names. There was also an expression of happy flowers when eating the dish.</p>	<p>Building an aesthetic image of Chinese cuisine, such as on the Fish menu, and also authentic, as in the wrapped rice menu and melon soup. These dishes were presented with great value to the commoners and nobles.</p>
	
Denotation	Connotation
<p>This section presents a visual of Chinese food related to <b>childhood memories</b>, namely red candied skewers that resemble satay. In addition, it also features Chinese dishes served for the royal family's banquet, which has health benefits. Also featured are <b>Chinese dishes that are the same but different in taste when tasted by different people</b> due to the unique presentation technique. A pottery bowl soaked in chili water to produce a spicy taste; In other pottery bowls, it is served without being soaked in chili water so that the resulting taste is not spicy but savory and salty.</p>	<p>Build the image that Chinese food can bring back childhood memories. Chinese cuisine uses selected ingredients and is cooked to produce nutritious foods for health. Chinese cuisine is cooked uniquely and requires significant effort to produce a taste that suits the taste buds of each connoisseur.</p>



#### Denotation

In this episode, it is told that there was a **tragedy of stealing crab egg soup** whose crabs were specially imported from Jiangnan at a very high price. It is visualized that crabs are brought directly alive and then cooked into crab egg soup. Unfortunately, it was stolen by one of the servants who envied Ling Xiao Xiao. However, Ling Xiao Xiao can overcome this problem by making similar dishes with different ingredients; she uses chicken eggs which are processed in such a way as to resemble crab eggs. That soup is eaten with noodles called silver noodles due to **the lower cholesterol ingredients** and the right partner for eating that crab egg soup. Unfortunately, one of the ministers from Jiangnan found out that this dish was not made from Jiangnan crab. However, Ling Xiao Xiao could give a good reason, so the king did not punish her.

#### Connotation

Chinese cuisine is so valuable proven that some even steal it. Imaging also how to cook Chinese dishes that are unique and reliable makes imitations that taste the same but still cannot beat the taste of the real material. It built the image that Chinese cuisine can be created into low-cholesterol dishes but still delicious.



#### Denotation

In this episode, it is told that the king is distraught with his cholesterol, so he needs to diet with only vegetarian food. It just happened that the prince served the vegetarian dishes that Ling Xiao Xiao cooked, and the king liked the taste. Featured vegetarian cuisine is presented attractively. Also featured are vegetarian dishes that use oil from tea leaves. The king asked if there was a story behind the taste of the food served

#### Connotation




Vegetarian Chinese cuisine has a very delicious taste and is low in cholesterol when cooked by a skilled and experienced chef. Each cooked menu has its own story.

Some of the symbols and meanings conveyed in the film *Delicacies of Destiny* are consistent with Tian's 2022 research on the anthropology of Chinese cuisine, which reveals that Chinese food culture has inheritance and development characteristics. Since primitive society, the history of Chinese food culture has maintained its momentum. He was unaffected by dynastic or social system changes, and the philosophy of cooking enough food for the people and making food a top priority was popular. People in China place a high value on food. Confucius once stated that the desire for food and sex was inherent in human nature. As a result, food takes precedence in Chinese culture. Chinese food is not only beautiful and nutritious, but it also has elegant and graceful names that are romantic, poetic, and luxurious. Food not only serves to satisfy one's hunger, but it has also become an integral part of one's enjoyment of life (Tian, 2022).

The main character in the film *Delicacies of Destiny* is a woman. Below will be analyzed the content of Confucius' ideology regarding his view of the existence of women in Chinese culture.



Table 2: Verbal and Visual Representations of Confucius' views on the female main character in the film *Delicacies Destiny*

	
Denotation	Connotation
The words in this snippet show the main female chef, Ling Xiao Xiao, who has the ability and money to read to create a superior and profitable positioning for herself. He beat the male chef at the time of the test to become an imperial chef.	They are building the image that Chinese women today are not dominated by men and have superiority and gender equality even among the nobility.
	
Denotation	Connotation
In this section, it is verbally stated that to be a royal chef, and one must be a male; this was said by the prince and Ling Xiao Xiao's father. However, some pictures show Ling Xiao Xiao's persistence to become an imperial chef and the prince's acknowledgment that Ling Xiao Xiao could work in the palace because he went through the selection process, not because of her beauty. It was also shown that Xiao Xiao could make the prince do the work of washing dishes that the servants were supposed to do.	She was building the image that Chinese women today are not dominated by men and have superiority and gender equality even among the nobility. This section is further strengthened by the scene where the prince washes the dishes to grant Ling Xiao Xiao's request to become his servant.
	
Denotation	Connotation
Ling Xiao Xiao replied to the prince's words with a more positive thought. He also learned how to cook from his father secretly because of the paradigm that women would not become palace chefs. Ling Xiao Xiao knew that the king needed to be given healthier food; this was used as an excuse for him to overcome the problem of losing her Jingnan crab egg soup.	Ling Xiao Xiao is open-minded and optimistic, and she is persistent in learning to cook even though the family around her is not supportive. Ling Xiao Xiao has an intelligent mind, is clever, can read the situation of replacing crab eggs with cooked chicken eggs, and produces the same taste.



#### Denotation

#### Connotation

The prince defends Ling Xiao Xiao's existence by revealing her cooking skills to the king when she accidentally spills soup into concubine Li's hands. At a banquet, Ling Xiao Xiao's dishes are served with the dishes of 2 male royal chefs. The king praised one of the royal chefs, Guan's taste, for his stable taste but praised Ling Xiao Xiao's delicate taste.

The image conveyed that the intelligence and special skills women possess can be their strengths and can be equated with the abilities of men.



#### Denotation

#### Connotation

In the last few episodes, the prince seems weaker than Ling Xiao Xiao. It also shows the strong character of Ling Xiao Xiao chooses a prince but does not want to leave her life goal to become an imperial chef. At the end of the story, Ling Xiao Xiao fulfills two of his wishes.

Showing the image of a woman with determination, love, and a clear purpose in life will have greater power than men and can achieve all goals in life.

In traditional Chinese society, the entire ethical system is family centered. The existing family system is hierarchical and authoritarian, so the status of each person's position is highly dependent on birth and marital status. A father in a family is the center of power, supervising and controlling the family's wealth and regulating the marriage of his children. The teachings of Confucius reaffirm the inferior position of women, which is a rational justification for this social system (Lan, 1990). In Confucianism, there is a philosophy of "High Men, Low Women," which is the basis for men to dominate women. Confucian teachings are run by determining the roles and positions between women and men in the family and society. The limited role of women and their low position in the teachings of Confucianism minimizes the rights and power of women, so women become a minority. Women, as a minority, are considered to have their lives determined by men and must follow their husband's and husbands' families (Kardina, 2021). Even though this is a Chinese drama series, The Confucian philosophy of "High Man, Low Woman" does not apply to Ling Xiao Xiao's role in this film. The film *Delicacies of Destiny* conveys the meaning that a Chinese woman who has the ability and determination will not be dominated by men but still has the love to plan her life with her loved ones without leaving her ideals.

## CONCLUSION

The film is a synthesis of verbal and nonverbal signals. The audience will learn about various types of aesthetic and authentic Chinese cuisine served in a royal setting through the screening of the film *Delicacies of Destiny*. The dishes are not only flavourful, but they are also made with high-quality ingredients. Food can also have an impact on one's health.

Cooking ingredients can be processed into healthier dishes with the help of an experienced chef. Chinese cuisine also has beautiful presentation and poetic names. Both local and international audiences can understand the signs and meanings of the Chinese cuisine footage in the film's scenes. This is one of the initiatives to spread Chinese eating culture. Meanwhile, one of the shifts in ideological content conveyed in the postmodern era is the breakthrough of Confucius' philosophy, which considers "High Men, Low Women."

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Monica Hartanti** is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Art and Design, Department of Visual Communication Design, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, West Java, Indonesia. She has been teaching Fashion Graphic, Typography, Packaging Design and Entrepreneurship. Her research experience is related to Indonesian culture and its media. [monica.hartanti@art.maranatha.edu](mailto:monica.hartanti@art.maranatha.edu)

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# China and ASEAN on Maritime Silk Road - Past, Present and Future

Joseph W. W. Chan \*, Huazhong University of Science & Technology, China

\* josephwingwahchan@gmail.com

*Abstract: The quick rise of Modern China in the late 40 years has given a great surprise to the world in terms of her foreign trade volume and technology advancement. In 2013, President of China, Xi Jinping announced China's plan to re-establish the Silk Road of the 21st Century which he called "One Belt, One Road". In his speech at the Indonesia Congress in October, President Xi strongly invited ASEAN involved in building the Modern Maritime Silk Road. His invitation is not a surprise if one understands Southeast Asia once was the trading hub among China, Austronesian Islands, India, Arabia, Middle East, Africa and Europe dated back to 1500 years ago. At this sea trade passage, the great prosperity of trade and cultural exchanges once sparkled. Very badly, it was destroyed in 16th Century by European Colonization in Asia. Five hundred years later, China called for the establishment of "21st Century's Maritime Silk Road" aiming at building up a common body of economic and cultural prosperity for all peoples in this region. Moreover, in the current study of International Relations, a new subject - "The Study of International Trust" has emerged. It is about the management of "Trust and Mistrust" in relations between nations. This article aims at presenting what "International Trust" attributes could be drawn from the success of Traditional Maritime Silk Road by referring to the findings of the papers and reports on artefacts discovered in the ancient buildings, remains and shipwrecks in Southeast Asia. And more importantly how these attributes be applied in accessing the achievements of the current China-ASEAN relations. Assessment result is used to forecast the future of China-ASEAN Relations under the Modern Maritime Silk Road Initiative in the next decade.*

*Keywords: Maritime Silk Road, Belt and Road, China-ASEAN Relations, International Trust Management, Artefacts of Maritime Silk Road*

## I. QUICK REVIEW ON HISTORY OF MARITIME SILK ROAD

As a continental country, China's foreign trade began at land first with nations in the Central Asia, Arabia and Eastern Europe, which is now commonly known as the Continental Silk Road. However, when the Middle Kingdom grew and reached the eastern coast of China, the sea trade began. China's sea voyage to Java Sea had started since the Dong Han Dynasty. More or less at the same time, the Spice Trade Route was working among countries in Indo-Pacific, Arabia, Africa and Europe. China opened the port at Guangzhou for import of spice, gold, gems, ivory and silverware from overseas and export of her silk and handcraft products. While the Arabian fleets engaged the trading in the Malacca Strait and Spice Trade Route to re-sell the Chinese goods. This sea trade passage was named as Maritime Silk Road afterwards. In Tang and Song Dynasty, the Maritime Silk Road was bloom when China's manufacturing was the world number one, particularly when the trade on the Continental Silk Road was blocked by wars in Northern China and Mid-Asia. In Yuan Dynasty, the sea trade dropped because the Mongolian conquered Euro-Asia which caused nations on the Maritime Silk Road panic to trade with Yuan. It was until the Ming Dynasty the Maritime Silk Road was back to its prosperity when Zheng He started his seven voyages to re-build the relations. However, after Zheng's return to China, the Emperor levied sea ban by giving no reason. Soon in the 16th Century, European Colonization took place anywhere and conquered many places at the Indo-Pacific. Trade was dominated by the Western Sea Powers and the Maritime Silk Road was abolished.

## II. WHAT WAS BEHIND THE TRADITIONAL MARITIME SILK ROAD

The above is a short briefing on the 1350-year history of the Maritime Silk Road between Year 250 to 1600 which serves as a background of discussion. This paper aims to find out what ideas or spirit behind the traditional Maritime Silk Road that Modern China has borrowed to effectively revive the Maritime Silk Road in the 21st Century. The answer could be found in the artifacts uncovered and the historical remains on this great trade route.

Firstly, the underwater archeology had discovered various important shipwrecks with their artefacts on the seabed of Maritime Silk Road in the past 50 years. General information of the important shipwrecks is listed in the table below for further discussion:

Table 1: Important shipwrecks Discovered in the Maritime Silk Road

Name	Historical Time	Discovered Year	Shipwreck Location	Ship Owner	Artefacts Salvaged
Belitung Shipwreck 黑石号	Tang 830 AD	1998	Belitung Island, Indonesia.	Arabian	98% of the discovered cargo (67,000 pieces) consists of China ceramics (Changsha ware). 2 % includes gold and silverware, glass products, bronze mirrors of Arabian style.



					Also, Chinese silver ingots were found.
Nan Hai No. 1 南海一号	Song 1160 AD	1987	South China Sea	Chinese	Porcelain products, bamboo and wooden lacquers of both Chinese and Arabian style were found. Gold, silver, copper or iron relics and Song-coins were discovered. Totally, 180,000 diverse treasures were registered.
Bakau Shipwreck 巴高岛沉船	Ming 1408 AD	1999	Bakau Island, Indonesia	Chinese	A large quantity of ceramics from China, Thailand and Vietnam was salvaged. In addition to ceramics, other artefacts include Chinese coins, mostly from the Young-Lo period of the Ming dynasty, and bronze guns.
Wanli Shipwreck 万历沉船	Ming 1624 AD	2005	Coast of Terengganu, Malaysia	Portuguese	Roughly 10 tons of broken porcelain were discovered, of which 7,000 pieces were complete and semi-complete wares. Some porcelain fragments were marked with Portuguese family badge. Also, an ivory with a carved Catholic cross was found.

The remains and artefacts uncovered in the above shipwrecks show their voyages were highly international. From structure of the ships, it was confirmed they were owned by people of different nationalities and at different times of history. The goods aboard were expensive pieces and traded for high profit. Indeed, so far a few hundred shipwrecks have been discovered on the seabed of the Maritime Silk Road. Even some experts estimate there are about 1000 shipwrecks to be discovered.

Secondly, numerous artefacts collected from ancient buildings and remains in Southern China has proved the prosperity of the Traditional Maritime Silk Road. According to the report done by Professor Joseph Ting Sun Pao, Ex-Chief Curator of the Hong Kong Museum of History, two important trading hubs of Maritime Silk Road in China are identified, namely Guangzhou and Quanzhou. In Guangzhou, famous Belt and Road (B&R) remains include Han Dynasty tombs (e.g., Tomb of Nanyue King 南越王墓, 122BC), Han Dynasty Buddhist temples (e.g., Guangxiao Temple 光孝寺, 233AD) and Tang Dynasty Islamic mosques (e.g., Huaisheng Mosque 怀圣清真寺, 622AD). In Quanzhou, historical religious spots related to B&R are many, such as Kaiyuan Buddhist Temple (开元寺, 686AD Tang), Qingjing Mosque (伊斯兰清淨寺, 1009AD Song), Jingjiao Christianity Steles (景教墓碑30多处, 1306 - 1346AD Yuan), Huabiao Hill Manichaeism Temple (摩尼教华表山草庵, 1339AD Yuan), Italian Catholic Franciscan Bishopric (天主教方济各主教城区, 1313AD Yuan), and Shiva Linga of Hinduism (印度教石筍圣物, 1270 AD Yuan). The quantity and quality of artefacts collected from these places is huge and great. They include various kinds of glassware, silverware, goldware, ivory ware pottery of different cultures of Persian, European, Euroasian, Arabian, Indian and Chinese. Thousands of treasure pieces of gold, silver, gems, frankincense, fragrances, elephant tusks and rhino horns were uncovered. Sculptures, paintings, stone carvings, tombstones attached to these ancient religious buildings are plenty, illustrating arts and legends of different nationalities.

Thirdly, artefacts of B&R were not only found in China, but also in the other two trading centres in Indo-Pacific, namely Malacca Strait and Sri Lanka. Historical remains and artefacts uncovered there well illustrated the heavy cultural encounters of different nationalities. In Indonesia, an early Hindu archeological relic of a Ganesha statue of the 1st Century was found in Panaitan Island. So the trade and cultural links between India and Indonesia dated back to 2000 years ago. Buddhism followed next to arrive. Roughly in the period of 7th to 13th Century, a Hindu-Buddhist empire called Srivijaya (室利佛逝) conquered both sides of Malacca Strait. Due to its location, the Srivijaya developed complex technology utilizing maritime resources and dominated much of Maritime Southeast Asia. In Central Java, locates Borobudur - the biggest Buddhist temple of the world. It was built in 825 AD which design follows Javanese Buddhist architecture. Not far away from Borobudur, locates the largest Hindu temple site in Indonesia, the Prambanan in Yogyakarta built in 850 AD. In the period of 14th to 16th Century, another Javanese Hindu-Buddhist empire named Majapahit (满者伯夷) replaced Srivijaya in controlling Malacca Strait. In 1527 AD, when Majapahit fell to the Islamised Demak Sultanate, spread of Islam accelerated to cover Malaysia Peninsula and Indonesia Archipelago. In fact, starting from the 12th Century Sufi travelers had already brought Islam into Indonesia either from India or Persia. Due to the Malacca Strait as the gateway between Euro-Asia, Africa and China, it became a busy international hub for merchants engaged in many forms of trade. It was the place where different peoples shared their respective cultures, one of it being the Islamic faith. Since the 16th Century, Islam has been the most popular religion in the region of Malacca Strait. The oldest surviving mosque (not in Islamic structure) in Indonesia is the Royal Mosque of Sultanate of Demak

built in the 15th Century. Chinese settlers and traders were also sharing their respective cultures in this region. Although Chinese travelers or traders had arrived Southeast Asia since Han Dynasty, not many of them stayed overseas before the Ming Dynasty. It was only after the visit of Zheng He in the 15th Century, Chinese population began to grow in Nam Yang (南洋). In the region, the most historical Chinese temple is the Sam Poo Kong Temple (三保洞) in Central Java built around 1416 AD. The big book of 1500 pages, "Tionghoa Dalam Keindonesiaan" edited by Prof. Leo Suryadinata of National University of Singapore, lists out the rich cultural exchanges between the Chinese and Indonesian in many areas, such as music, dance, opera, puppetry, cooking, architecture, medicine, arts, martial arts, handicrafts, religion and language.

Sri Lanka (Ceylon) was another trading center on the Traditional Maritime Silk Road. Several manuscripts, cartographic documents, traveler notes, maps from Greece, Italy, Arabia and China illustrate Sri Lanka and its port facilities for seafarers and trade exchanges between Indian, European, Chinese and Arabian. Arabic tombstones found in Galle (southern Sri Lanka) and Sufi inscriptions found in Colombo provide evidence of Islamic activity on the island in the 10th Century. Relics related to China including porcelain and copper coins were uncovered in Sri Lanka's royal cities of Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Yapahuwa of the 6th Century BC to 13th Century AD. Also, in the National Museum of Colombo, an important artefact - the Galle Trilingual Inscription is displayed. The Galle Trilingual Inscription is a stone tablet written in 3 languages of Chinese, Tamil and Persian erected in Galle in Year 1411 to commemorate Zheng He's second visit to the island. The text of the inscription refers to Zheng He's and others' records of offerings they made to Buddhist temples, to Allah and to the Tamil god Tenavale Nayanar.

Clearly, the voyages between these trading hubs were friendly visits and the driving force behind was trade. The great variety of relics and materials of different cultures found in the shipwrecks, ancient tombs and old religious buildings in the region has confirmed the prosperous trading on high-profit goods and its multi-lateral nature. It was operating in a "perfect market" condition, which means trading in response to the free-market mechanism and under the principle of comparative economic advantages. The finding of Song coins and silver ingots shows that Chinese money was generally used as medium of exchange to facilitate trade. Moreover, those painting, inscriptions, sculptures, stone carvings uncovered or still attached to the remains and ancient structures show various peaceful messages. One could reasonably imagine that at these popular sea trading cities were crowded with thousands of traders of different nationalities, such as Arabian, European, Persian, Indian, Austronesian and Chinese. At the moment of their trading deals and experience sharing, cultural exchanges took place, with new peoples exchanging their languages, religions, expertise, artistic, technologies and scientific skills. As Professor Ting described, "the trading centres at the Traditional Maritime Silk Road acted as melting pots for idea and information".

To conclude, the Traditional Maritime Silk Road was operating under the spirit of "peaceful cooperation, win-win relation, openness and inclusiveness, and mutual learning for mutual benefits. It was in a multilateral free trade environment with no external military and political coercion. And this "formula" made it a great success in the world history.

### III. UNDERSTAND TRADITIONAL MARITIME SILK ROAD BY INTERNATIONAL TRUST MANAGEMENT THEORY

In the current Study of International Relations, a new subject - "The Study of International Trust" has emerged. It is about the "management of trust and mistrust" in relations between nations. Christopher Andres Berzins of London School of Economics and Political Science put forth his paper, *The Puzzle of Trust in International Relations* in 2004. He emphasized overcoming the drivers of mistrust and then managing the realization of mutual trust in building relation between nation states. Later, Chinese scholars (e.g., Zhou Yezhong 周叶中) further developed the theory that "exchanges and cooperation between nations will bring about stability of their relation. On the basis of fully understanding each other's own value, intentions and capabilities, mutual trust will be enhanced and a virtuous circle of relations between the two places will be established. Also, mutual trust can have various aspects: economic mutual trust, cultural mutual trust, political mutual trust and military mutual trust. Enhancing political mutual trust is the basis for promoting all-round mutual trust. Related to development stages of international relation, it could be classified as: basic mutual trust, growth mutual trust and integration mutual trust. The enhancement of mutual trust between the two places cannot be achieved overnight but is a process of gradual strengthening of consensus and the deepening of the connection of interests.

It is meaningful to use the "International Trust Management" theory to explain the success of the Traditional Maritime Silk Road, which forms the basis for further discussion on the Modern Maritime Silk Road. Historical papers disclosed that in Han Dynasty traders had already frequently traveled between China and Southeast Asia. Panyu (Guangzhou and Greater Bay Area) was opened as the foreign trade center. Economic mutual trust between the two places first started when trade was building up, then the cultural mutual trust was slowly moving-in as Buddhism accelerated to cover Guangdong province. In Tang, Maritime Silk Road was "very international" in terms of its multi-nationalities, multi-culture, openness and inclusiveness. In addition to traders, missionaries and scholars of various nationalities moving in and out of China by land, Arabian traders quickly caught up the Indian and Chinese in sharing

the great profit of China trade at sea. At the same time Islamism accelerated to cover Southern China cities. To cope with the fast-growing foreign trade and sea-fares, China opened another Foreign Trade and Port Office (市舶司) in Quanzhou. On the basis of fully understanding each other's own value, intentions and capabilities by different nations, mutual trust between all parties on the Maritime Silk Road grew continuously and ultimately a virtuous circle of relations in the region was well established. There, mutual trust included not only economic and cultural mutual trust but also political mutual trust between emperors, kings and sultans. When Song replaced Tang in 960 AD, Maritime Silk Road resumed. Song was not as strong as Tang in terms of military and size of its territory. However, Song did achieve significant advancement in civilization, technology which made China's economic manufacturing the world number one of that time. First-class products from China kept the foreign traders maintaining high profit in importing Chinese goods. Clergies were allowed to deliver their god's messages freely and travelers enjoyed a good stay in China. Therefore, the mutual trust in the Maritime Silk Road of Tang was able to maintain in Song. In Yuan Dynasty, the great prosperity of Maritime Silk Road fell as the Mongolian conquered many places by bloody killings and the nations in Indo-Pacific hesitated to deal with Yuan. At that time, the Maritime Silk Road was much weakened as the political and cultural mutual mistrust had overcome the economic benefits of sea trade. Situation changed when Ming Emperor sent Zheng He to make his 7-Great-Seavoyages to Indo-Pacific. It was the first time that Chinese Emperor sent his representative to pay courtesy visits to the Sultans or Kings of Indo-Pacific nations. The political mutual trust between China and nations on the Maritime Silk Road was jet-up again and so the trade prosperity and the cultural exchanges. Even during the sea ban, trade on the Maritime Silk Road continued as goods were smuggled out of China and the Ming government allowed tributary trade (朝贡贸易). Tributary trade allowed foreign envoys to trade in China on the premise of paying tribute (朝贡) to the Emperor. It was until the late 15th Century, when European Sea Powers put up their colonies in Indo-Pacific and declared trade dominance on the Maritime Silk Road, the state of free trade and mutual trust in the region ended.

To conclude, the Traditional Maritime Silk Road was operating under the spirit of "peaceful cooperation, win-win relation, openness and inclusiveness, and mutual learning for mutual benefits. It was in a multilateral free trade environment with no external military and political coercion. And this "formula" made it a great success in the world history.

#### IV. CURRENT CHINA-ASEAN RELATION UNDER B&R COOPERATION (2013 - 2022)

After the World War II, many Southeast Asia countries won their independence. Since then, Southeast Asia countries have had full control of their own destinies, especially in foreign trade and international relations. In 1960-70s, "New" China set up diplomatic relations with Southeast Asia countries one after another. In 1978, China announced her "Reform and Open Policy" and then made fast and significant national development of 40 years. In 1998, China offered her financial support to ASEAN members to overcome the Asia Financial Crisis. In 2011, China replaced Japan as the second largest economy of the world. After the Belt & Road Initiative announced in 2013 and the set-up of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2015, China-ASEAN relations had further enhanced. AIIB has aimed to build infrastructure networks connecting Asia with Europe and Africa based on trade routes. Its membership was 54 in 2015 and doubled to 105 in 2021. To support AIIB, all ASEAN members joined as the founding members. In return, China set up US\$7.6 billion fund in 2017 specially to support B&R projects in ASEAN. While ASEAN has gradually become global manufacturing bases, China-ASEAN ties forged ahead for common prosperity. It is planned that by improving their interconnections of infrastructure, ASEAN bring their products closer to the China's consumer market of 1.4 billion people. Moreover, the B&R's importance for ASEAN is more prominent as it not only focuses on construction and interconnection of infrastructure, but also guides investment to the real economy. It is well-known that ASEAN is rich in resources, and it lacks funds to develop its infrastructure and industrial development. Hence, strengthening infrastructure in ASEAN countries would allow these resources to be tapped into. B&R strives to promote Chinese capital and technological investment into ports, transport routes, and other infrastructure in order to improve resource distribution, market integration, and allow for better facilitation of trade with China and among ASEAN members themselves. Table 2. below lists out the current status of the three important economic cooperation areas between China and ASEAN members, i.e., Trade Relation with China in 2021, Bilateral Investment, Hi-Speed-Rail Project:

Table 2: Current Status of Economic Cooperation Between China and ASEAN

	Trade Relation with China in 2021	Bilateral Investment	Hi-Speed Rail Project
<b>Indonesia</b>	China was the largest trading partner of Indonesia, with bilateral trade of US\$124 B	In 2021 China's investment in Indonesia was US\$3.2 B, the 3 <sup>rd</sup> largest FDI, and HK ranked the 2 <sup>nd</sup> with US\$4.3 B	In 2019, agreement signed with China-CRI to build a US\$6 B high-speed railway connecting the Capital Jakarta to Bandung. In April 2022, Indonesia announced that the project was 82% complete with plans to be operational by June 2023.

	Trade Relation with China in 2021	Bilateral Investment	Hi-Speed Rail Project
<b>Thailand</b>	China was the largest trading partner of Thailand, with bilateral trade of US\$131 B	China the largest FDI of Thailand in 2019, with US\$ 8.7 B. HK ranked the 3 <sup>rd</sup> with US\$1.2 B	(1) In 2019, agreement signed with China-CRCC to build a US\$7.4 billion high-speed railway connecting three airports, Don Mueang-Suvarnabhumi-U-Tapao.  (2) In 2021, Thailand worked with Laos on plans to build a railway linking the two countries. This is part of the Sino-Thailand-Laos Railway Project.
<b>Malaysia</b>	China was the largest trading partner of Malaysia, with bilateral trade of US\$176 B	In 2021, China's investment in Malaysia's manufacturing sector was US\$3.98 B	In 2016, initial agreement signed with China-CRCC to build East Coast Rail Link (ECRL) in Malaysia. Deal revised in 2021 and cost decreased to US\$ 10.7B. As of March 2022, it reached 30% construction completion mark.
<b>Vietnam</b>	China was the largest trading partner, with bilateral trade of US\$230 B	China's FDI ranked the 4 <sup>th</sup> in Vietnam in the first 4 months of 2022. Singapore was the largest FDI of Vietnam, followed by Korea and Denmark.	
<b>Singapore</b>	China was the largest trading partner of Singapore, with bilateral trade of US\$94 B	1994, Singapore invested in China to launch the Suzhou Industrial Park (SIP). In return, Chinese investors greatly participated in Singapore Stock Market for IPO.	In 2019, New International Land-Sea Trade Corridor (ILSTC) was inaugurated. It is a trade and logistics passage jointly built by Singapore and China to ship goods fast from Chongqing, the trade center of western China to ASEAN markets via rail, sea, and road. The trade corridor serves as a bridge between the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road.
<b>Philippines</b>	China was the largest trading partner of Philippines, with bilateral trade of US\$82 B	Between 2016 and 2022, China, HK and Taiwan totally invested US\$ 2.3 B in Philippines. And Japan was the 2 <sup>nd</sup> at US\$2.8 B, USA the 3 <sup>rd</sup> at US\$1.3 B.	(1) 2021, Philippines announced construction of Mindanao Railway Phase-1 which would be funded and built by China. Construction will begin in late 2022 which cost is US\$1.48 B.  (2) 2022, contract signed with China Railway Group to build PNR South Long-Haul Project Railway costing US\$2.8 B. It is a high-speed rail connecting Manila to Luzon provinces.
<b>Myanmar</b>	China was the largest trading partner of Myanmar, with bilateral trade of US\$19 B	Since the coup in Feb 2021, Myanmar had approved \$3.8 billion in foreign investment. China remained the top investor, followed by Japan, Singapore, Thailand and South Korea.	In 2018, Myanmar Railways signed MoU with China Railway Group to build the Muse-Mandalay Railway which costed \$8.9 B. Muse-Mandalay railway will connect Mandalay and Muse in the 1 <sup>st</sup> Phase. In the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Phase, it will link Mandalay to the Yangon of central Myanmar, and via Muse on the Sino-Myanmar border it will be connected to Dali-Ruili Railway in Ruili (China).
<b>Cambodia</b>	China was the largest trading partner of Cambodia, with bilateral trade of US\$16 B	Fixed-asset investment of US\$2.32 B from China in 2021, up 67% from 2020. China remained as the top foreign investor in Cambodia. It included the building of Sihanoukville Autonomous Port, where some 90% of Cambodia's sea trade passed through.	Jun 2022, Cambodia worked with China and Laos to explore potential routes for a railway linking Cambodia to Laos-China Speed Railway.
<b>Laos</b>	China was the 2 <sup>nd</sup> largest trading partner of Laos, with bilateral	As of July 2022, China continued to be the largest investor in Laos, with	Laos-China Speed Railway which connects Kunming (China) with Vientiane (Laos), has been

	Trade Relation with China in 2021	Bilateral Investment	Hi-Speed Rail Project
	trade of US\$4.3 B	cumulative investment of about US\$16.4 B in 833 projects.	in operation since Jan 2022.
<b>Brunei</b>	China was the 2nd largest trading partner, with bilateral trade of US\$2.8 B.	China was the largest source of foreign investment in Brunei in 2021.	
<b>ASEAN</b>	ASEAN and China are the largest trading partner to each other since 2020. Their bilateral trade reached US\$878 B in 2021.	China invested US\$14.35 B in ASEAN, ranked the 4 <sup>th</sup> largest FDI of ASEAN in 2021. In 2021, ASEAN's investment in China was US\$10.58 B. It is forecasted within 5 years; China will replace Japan as the largest FDI of ASEAN.	The plan of building the Trans-Southeast Asia Railway (TAR) proposed by Mahathir, Ex-Prime-Minister of Malaysia, which connects Kunming-China with the seven ASEAN members on land, is now under discussion between ASEAN and China. At the moment, economic benefits of the China-Laos Railway, which has been in operation since Jan 2022, are closely monitored for feasibility study of TAR.

Further to the economic cooperation between China and ASEAN, there were series of cultural activities. In November 2011, ASEAN-China Centre (ACC), the only inter-governmental organization between ASEAN and China was inaugurated. ACC has been mandated to be a one-stop information and activities center to promote ASEAN-China cooperation in trade, investment, education, news, culture and tourism. In October 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed to designate 2014 as the China-ASEAN Cultural Exchange Year which won positive response from ASEAN. A great variety of programs were held by China and the ASEAN countries throughout 2014, including conference, performance, exhibition, personnel training and exchange, news, film and television, publishing, sports, tourism, religion and youth exchange, as well as special activities focusing on the themes of Maritime Silk Road. Since the China-ASEAN Cultural Exchange Year, ASEAN-China Centre has been functioning as the key organizer or sponsor of many cultural activities. Cultural activities were held continuously under programs of ASEAN-China Children Cultural Exchanges, ASEAN-China Youth Cultural Exchanges and ASEAN-China Dialogue Relations. Through cultural exchanges, ASEAN and China have deepened mutual understanding, strengthened the friendship between peoples and helped facilitating bilateral cooperation in the fields of economy and security.

Regarding the political mutual trust between China and ASEAN, it could be reflected from their membership of international organizations in the region. These organizations are econ-political in nature. Both China and ASEAN countries are members of the RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership). RCEP is the world's largest free trade agreement encompassing 15 countries that account for 31% of global GDP. In addition to China and the 10 ASEAN countries, 4 other RCEP members are Australia, New Zealand, S. Korea and Japan. APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) is another big econ-political body that both China and ASEAN countries have joined. Besides, there are ASEAN+1 and ASEAN+3 regional economic mechanism where China is also the member. It is well-known that ASEAN is driving to invite China to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). CPTPP has been signed by 11 Asia-Pacific countries comprising Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and Brunei.

## V. UNDERSTAND MODERN MARITIME SILK ROAD BY INTERNATIONAL TRUST MANAGEMENT THEORY

Section IV. clearly shows that under the B&R Initiative, China and ASEAN had achieved good results in economic, cultural and international cooperation in the past eight years. Through economic and cultural cooperation, ASEAN and China have deepened mutual understanding and strengthened their friendly relations in the international econ-political bodies.

By applying the "International Trust Management" theory in understanding the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, one may conclude China has taken a smart move by copying the critical success factors of the Traditional Maritime Silk Road. As what the Arabian traders did on the Traditional Maritime Silk Road, China started her first step to build the economic trust in the relations with ASEAN. In 1991, China announced her open door policy loudly to the world by sending Rong Yiren (荣毅仁), the famous Red Capitalist, to represent China in the First World Chinese Entrepreneurs Convention held in Singapore. His successful talk in the Convention encouraged the influx of ASEAN investments in China and subsequently they all achieved good profits in China's fast economy growth. The Asia Financial Crisis in 1998 gave China another good opportunity to show her friendliness to ASEAN members by offering them generous

financial support to overcome the difficult time. In addition, China opened her market to ASEAN countries' commodities in exchange for China's supply of quality daily-wares and electronic goods to bloom the bilateral trade and yield mutual economic benefits. After 22 years of good economic cooperation with ASEAN, in 2013 China took the opportunity at the Indonesia Congress to invite ASEAN to join the 21st Maritime Silk Road. The economic mutual trust further strengthened by China's heavy investment in individual ASEAN countries in energy sector, infrastructure construction and industrial park joint ventures. Among all the investments, building of high-speed rail is a long-term investment which involves technological-skill transfer and the problem of late return of investment. Sign up of railway contract represents a high degree of economic mutual trust has already been achieved between China and the partner country. It is believed that the economic mutual trust between China and ASEAN will hit the peak at the completion of the entire project of Trans-Southeast Asia Railway by 2050.

In the Traditional Maritime Silk Road, the free trade environment and economic mutual trust arrived first, then the cultural mutual trust was strengthened as cultural exchanges were moving-in. With reference to this experience and the common consent, ASEAN-China Center was set-up in 2011 to drive series of cultural and people exchange activities in the region. At the moment, the slogan "Unity in Diversity" is upheld between China and ASEAN. As described by the Ex-Foreign Affairs Secretary of Philippines Albert F. del Rosario, "A general understanding between China and ASEAN members has been established. It says: each culture is unique and needs to be known by all parties; all cultural heritages are precious treasure; all countries share common belief in cultural heritage; all parties have the common pursuit for better life; all these in common serve as the solid foundation for strengthening the friendship among the peoples of different countries". This common appreciation and mutual understanding on different cultures will automatically deepen the friendship and cultural mutual trust between China and ASEAN.

In addition to the economic and cultural cooperation between China and ASEAN, the 5-Link Guidelines practiced by China in implementation of the Belt and Road shows the elements of International Trust Management. The B&R 5-Link Guidelines is setting five key areas of focus or "five areas of connectivity" for the work of the Chinese officials and enterprises. These 5-Links are: Policy Coordination (政策沟通), Facilities Connectivity (设施联通), Unimpeded Trade (贸易畅通), Financial Integration (资金融通), and People-to-People Bond (民心相通). "Policy Coordination" relates to the enhancement of political mutual trust which is the most difficult part and needs special care taken by government officials in execution. Political mutual trust is a powerful catalyst for promoting bilateral relations, but political mutual mistrust has a very toxic effect on international relations. Obviously, "Unimpeded Trade" and "Financial Integration" are for enhancement of economic mutual trust. To the general public, trade and financial benefits are highly visible and easy to understand, such that the economic mutual trust is the best alternative taken to drive basic mutual trust and growth mutual trust in the early stages of bilateral relations. As explained in the early paragraph, cultural and people exchange activities, which could be grouped under the term "People-to-People Bond", deepens the cultural mutual trust. History has showed that the building of cultural mutual trust is normally very slow and highly invisible. However, it is very important because it works as the root of the bilateral relations which must be nurtured in long-run for a strong and solid foundation. In the Traditional Maritime Silk Road, the cultural mutual trust was crystallized by market and social forces on the free-trade belt after a period of hundred years. On the other hand, in the Modern Maritime Silk Road, China has showed her strong intension of building long-term mutual trust with ASEAN by practicing well her 5-Links in one strategy. From the results of the economic and cultural cooperation in the past 10 years as listed in the Section III, one could conclude that China and ASEAN have performed well to achieve well-beings and friendship of the two places under the Initiative of Belt & Road. So far, they are pleased to work closely together in the conferences of those econ-political bodies, such as RCEP, APEC and ASEAN-Plus.

Therefore, excluding military trust, China and ASEAN have achieved a high degree of mutual trust in the past 10 years under the banner of Modern Maritime Silk Road. Military cooperation is always a very sensitive issue, ASEAN wants to remain neutral for her security is understandable. In fact, it is China's design of the 21st Maritime Silk Road that it should be a peaceful sea trade passage for economic benefits and development of all nations on the Road, which free from political and military interference from forces outside the region. The damage of European Colonization to Traditional Maritime Silk Road and the peoples in Asia in 16th to 20th Century had given a good lesson to both China and ASEAN countries.

## VI. CHINA-ASEAN ON MARITIME SILK ROAD IN NEXT DECADE

History of Maritime Silk Road is long and winding, it began 2000 years ago, stopped for 500 years in the middle and revived in 2015. China picked up its spirit and is aiming to structure a common body of economic and cultural prosperity for all peoples and nations in this region under the banner of Modern Maritime Silk Road. By applying the "International Trust Management" theory in studying the past and present of China-ASEAN on Maritime Silk Road, similarities and differences of the two are visualized. With reference to the experience of the Traditional Maritime Silk Road, China has done a lot correctly in order to consolidate the mutual benefits and win-win relation with ASEAN, hence the mutual trust. Recently, followed the successful inauguration of the China-Laos Rail, several ASEAN countries



signed contracts with China for construction and interconnection of hi-speed rails crossing their borders into China. These sign-ups illustrate well the achievement of Modern Maritime Silk Road in Southeast Asia is generally recognized. In the coming 10 years, very likely China and ASEAN will agree to expand their cooperation in economic and cultural sectors under the B&R initiatives in view of long-term mutual benefits and relations. As well said in the theory of International Trust Management, "the enhancement of mutual trust between the two places cannot be achieved overnight but is a process of gradual strengthening of consensus and the deepening of the connection of interests.

Despite the early success of China-ASEAN relation on the Modern Maritime Silk Road, there are still risks needed to be managed, such the political mistrust between China and Vietnam and US-Japan's unfriendly interference in the region. These two uncontrollable factors drive China to take a bottom-line thinking. In 2018 China built the "GHM-Greater Bay Area" Special Economic Zone which includes Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Macau, Shenzhen and seven other cities in the Pearl River Delta. The Greater Bay Area had been mandated to give its full support in the implementation of Maritime Silk Road in order to cancel out any ill-effect of the unpredictable. Moreover, given the fast-growing economy in Fujian in connection with Taiwan, it is possible that "Greater Strait Area" will soon be established in addition to Greater Bay Area in supporting this long-run project, the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. .

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## Day 2

### Keynote Speakers

**Prof. Dr. Azizi Bahauddin**

*School of Housing, Building and Planning, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia*  
The Heritage Prevails -The Architecture of Baba-Nyonya (China Peranakan – Straits Chinese)

**Prof. Esther Harijanti Kuntjara, M.A., Ph.D.**

*Universitas Kristen Petra, Indonesia*  
Chinese Indonesian Women: The ‘Silent Mediators’ in The Making of Chinese Indonesian Hybrid Culture

**Didi Kwartanada**

*Tionghoa Diaspora Researcher, Indonesia*  
Biography of the Chinese "totok", a preliminary study. (1998 - present)

**Nurni W. Wuryandari Ph.D.**

*Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia*  
The Chinese Diaspora in Indonesia Through a Literary Perspective: A Study of Three Works

### Research Papers

Li Gen, Ayesah Uy Abubakar Marja Azlima Bt.Omar

A study on the Influence of Malaysian Language Policy on Chinese National Identity after Independence

Christine Claudia Lukman Christianna Sekarkinanti Hertadimas

“Representation of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia in Toni Masdiono’s Comics

Nuning Y. Damayanti Poppy Rahayu

Reflections of Chinese Diaspora Artists Social Life on Lee Man Fong Painting 1950-1965 Period

Christopher Dhanika, Avelina Garcia Paulus, Violetta Patricia, Ariesa Pandanwangi  
Chinese Mythology in Lasem Batik Motifs

Anna Melia Kamil, Joyce Clara Via, Ariesa Pandanwangi, Cecep Apandi  
The Influence at Food from Chinese Culture of Culinary Noodles of Indonesia

Rahmat Hidayat Maulana, Cikal Amelia, Diana Angelina Crisia, Ariesa Pandanwangi  
*Wayang Potehi: Keberagaman Wayang Di Indonesia*

Mona Trifosa, Laura Angela, Caroline Suriaaji, Ariesa Pandanwangi  
“Bakpao’ as Indonesian Well-Known Taste

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*Keynote Speaker's Paper*

## The Heritage Prevails - The Architecture of Baba-Nyonya (China Peranakan - Straits Chinese)

Azizi Bahauddin\*, School of Housing, Building & Planning, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia

\*azizigt@gmail.com

*Abstract: The Straits Chinese, fondly known as the Baba-Nyonya or China Peranakan, have their unique cultural heritage. Enclaves that are steeped in history can be found mainly in the cities of Georgetown, Penang, and Melaka of Malaysia. They become the iconic figures of these cities which recently were incorporated in the UNESCO world heritage listings. This paper studies one aspect of the cultural heritage of Baba-Nyonya of its rich art and design elements found in its style of architecture, a hint of the Chinese diaspora in Malaysia. Embedded with the long history of the blend of Chinese and Malay cultures, the architecture reflects designs that inherit past styles. The architecture constructed portrays eclectic formal Chinese shophouses, Malay traditional houses and British Colonial grandeur styles. The art and design found embellished in this architecture presents an avenue for revealing one element of the cultural heritage of the China Peranakan. This paper also investigates the philosophy, customs and rituals that are attached to the architecture. Popularly known as the courtyard house, the Baba-Nyonya architecture stands proud as a unique tourist attraction residing mainly in the urban areas of Georgetown and Melaka. Its architectural splendours and cultural heritage, unveils the Chinese diaspora in a new setting blending in with the local cultures prevailing a unique culture of the Baba-Nyonya and its cultural heritage.*

*Keywords: Baba-Nyonya, cultural heritage, architecture, art, and design, shophouses*

### 1.0 BABA-NYONYA – CHINA PERANAKAN (STRAITS CHINESE)

This paper delves into the cultural and architectural heritage of the Baba-Nyonya of the Peninsular Malaysia. Historically, the terms Straits Chinese, Straits-born Chinese, Baba Chinese or fondly known as Baba-Nyonya (Baba - males and Nyonya - females) and China Peranakan are terms which have been used interchangeably by the people themselves and by people describing them (Khoo, 1998) and found in the Straits Settlements of Penang, Melaka, and Singapore (figure 1).



Figure 1 – Map of Malaysia



Figure 2 - Portrait of a Nyonya  
(Source: Khoo, 1998)

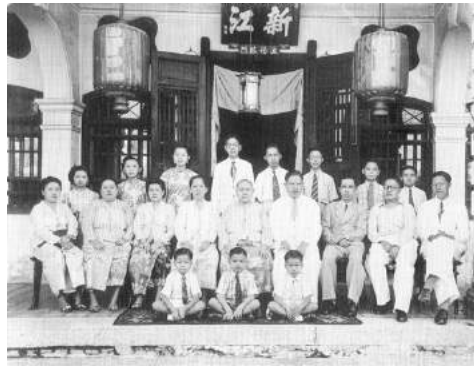


Figure 3 – Baba-Nyonya Family  
(Source: Khoo, 1998)

The terms coined are strictly for those Chinese descendants who were born in these states and the Chinese people who were not born in Malaysia were known as the ‘Singkeh’ or newcomers, the people who rejected the Manchu oppression to make their fortunes abroad (Khoo, 1993). The Chinese men intermarried with the local Malay women (figure 2) who bore descendants that were later known as the China Peranakan/Straits Chinese or fondly known as the Baba-Nyonya. China Peranakan or Baba-Nyonya has been interpreted in many definitions but mainly only referring to the current socio-political contexts where these people are residing. According to Lee that the most exciting thing about the Baba-Nyonya culture is that it is dealing with are the vestiges of the great trade and commerce from Japan to Africa in the thousand years before the present, when every trading post or harbour was filled with Indians, Arabs, Persians, Chinese, Japanese, Javanese, Siamese, Portuguese, Dutch, and English. Peranakan culture preserves a lot of this lost heritage and memory (Lee, 2006). In the Malay language, the term Peranakan (from the word anak or child) means those who are descendants of an inter-marriage between Malay and any other ethnic groups. However, most of them are either Buddhists or Christians. The Baba-Nyonya in Penang speaks a distinctive Hokkien dialect incorporating Malay words just like their counterpart communities in Medan, Phuket, and Yangon. While the Baba-Nyonya of Melaka and Singapore speaks a Malay dialect with Hokkien words. During the Dutch and British colonisation, the Baba-Nyonya began to embrace the European style and allied themselves with the foreigners. They came to be identified as an urban white-collar community with high social class, noble lifestyle and living in colonial bungalows or verandah/covered walkway Anglo-Indian villas; and they also sent their children to English-speaking schools. Those who are into business live in highly decorated shophouses of the Straits Eclectic style of architecture.

## 2.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Babas (figure 3) are descendants of an early Chinese community that settled in the Malay Archipelago at least since the 17th century. Many members of the early community were seafarers who traded between the ports of southern China and those of Southeast Asia. The oldest Chinese communities can be found in Melaka. As Chinese women were by law not allowed to leave their native country until the middle of the 19th century, many of these early traders married non-Muslim natives of the Malay Archipelago, such as Balinese or Batak slaves (peranakan.org.sg). In the 18th and 19th centuries the Babas were involved in opium, sreh (betel leaf), nutmeg and liquor farming, pepper and gambier cultivation, tin mining, commodity trading and property. In the early 20th century, many Babas invested in rubber. They also worked as compradores (Chinese middlemen) for big Western companies and banks. As a Chinese community that always considered Malaya home, many Peranakans were involved in civic projects and local government and numbered among the key players in Malaysia and Singapore's road to independence. Many Nyonyas also led the way in female emancipation (Khoo, 1998). In the 21st century, the Babas face the same dilemmas and problems as other Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia - the decline of traditions, the inability to speak the dialect, the growing number of mixed marriages. Most Southeast Asian ethnic Chinese today are at least settlers of the 2nd generation if not more, thus undeniably ‘local born’ (the ‘anak’ in ‘Peranakan’). Currently, aspects of the material culture such as attire and food are the popular markers of the Peranakan, also called the Baba and Nyonya.

## 3.0 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RESEARCH APPROACHES

The distinct Baba-Nyonya culture was rapidly being diluted in the 1930s and had almost disappeared by the 1940s, becoming further undermined by post-war Chinese nationalism (Khoo, 1998). Nowadays, this minority Chinese community faces the same dilemmas and problems, such as the decline of traditions, the inability to speak the dialect and the growing number of mixed marriages. All these factors lead to great changes in the culture and uncertainty about the future. However, the increasing numbers of Baba cultural activities as well as growth in memberships of Baba organisations indicate an improved awareness toward the Baba heritage. Further closer inspection on the architectural heritage can be exploited for the purpose of educating people. The unique style of this architecture brings forward the

difference between the local architecture and the architecture that influenced by multiple parties namely the formal traditional Chinese architecture, English colonial, and traditional Malay architecture. Most of the buildings studied are over fifty (50) years of age and were built at the turn of the 20th century.

#### 4.0 THE BABA-NYONYA ARCHITECTURE

The Baba-Nyonya architecture depicts a statement of a new style of construction and the introduction of a hybrid of architecture into the Malaysian scene. One example of one of the case studies is the Pinang Peranakan Museum in Penang (figure 4). It portrays a distinctive taste of the Penang's wealthy towkays (Chinese traders). This style of architecture illustrates the blend of formal Chinese and British Colonial Victorian architecture (Zwain & Bahauddin, 2017; 2019; Loh, 2008). Elements and details that are considered of the Baba-Nyonya architecture style present a lavish outlook where the cast iron for the pillars and balcony balustrades came from Scotland while the floor tiles came from England. On the other hand, the construction of the architecture took notice of the traditional Malay architecture as tropical climate dictated the introduction of airy spaces as well as big overhangs to provide shades.



Figure 4 – Pinang Peranakan Museum



Figure 5 – Facade of Penang shophouse



Figure 6 - 2-storeys shophouse



Figure 7 – Big entrance and embellishments

The Straits Eclectic style of architecture began to develop in the 19th and early 20th century. The style combines Eastern and Western elements which in the early 20th Century introduced ceramic artwork and elaborate plaster renderings. This is primarily because these types of buildings reflect more significantly on the social life of the Baba-Nyonya in Malaysia thus will be an important element in studying architectural heritage in Georgetown, Penang, and Melaka. This paper discusses further the Baba-Nyonya architecture that appears in the form of shophouses (figure 5). A shophouse or row house has two or more storeys and is a commercial and private structure. The tenants usually use the first floor for commercial purposes such as sundry shop, light industry, or warehouses; and reside in the upper floors (figure 6). The building is not free standing; rather it is connected to several other shophouses to form a shophouse

block. This shophouse is repeated to create streets and town squares found in many urban areas in Malaysia. Sometimes, the tenants use both the ground and upper floors for residential purposes. This type of shophouse is normally referred to as terrace house. In such a case, the building has a big entrance (figure 7) with a timber bar locked into the door head, metal-bar and louvered-panel windows on the ground floor and a few openings at upper floors. Shophouses usually have a narrow frontage between 12' to 18' and their length varies greatly from 60' to 140', topped with a pitch roof of not more than 30°. They are often designed in a symmetrical organisation in which the entrance is in the middle with windows on both sides. A shophouse characteristically features a five-foot way (kaki lima) or verandah/covered walkway. This covered five-foot way, typically an arched opening, joins one house with the rest on the street front. Thus, it creates a continuous walkway on the front facade of the shophouse block.

One may realize that there are several different architectural styles of shophouses (figure 8) on the street of Penang and Melaka or other towns in Malaysia. Some have stylistic trends of the different periods on the front facade while others have undergone renovation or used modern materials to increase their property values. Generally, there are a few architectural styles of shophouses in Malaysia, which are shophouse of the 18th century, the shophouse of the 19th century, Straits eclectic shophouse and Art Deco shophouse among them (Ahmad, 1994).

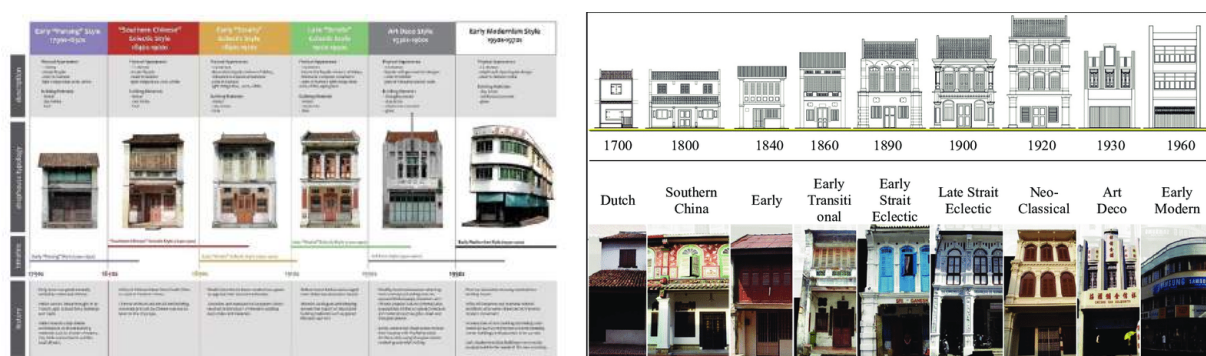


Figure 8 – Shophouses typologies in Penang and Melaka

Ahmad further states that the front facade of the early shophouse in the 18th century appears to have a continuous row of panelled or louvered shutters, timber walls and plain masonry pilasters on the upper floor (Ahmad, 1994). Attap was used in the early shophouses but was banned due to fire regulations and later replaced by Chinese clay tiles. The profile of these tiles has changed slightly over time from a V shape to a more rounded shape which is lighter and smaller in size. In the traditional shophouse in the 19th century, the front walls were made of masonry which became more decorative with either plaster figures or ceramic renderings. A frieze decoration right below the eaves was added displaying paintings or ceramic shard work. Louvered shutters are remained but either iron or timber grilles were inserted in the windows. The top parts of the pilasters were often enlarged to support a purlin at the end of the eaves. In the late 19th Century, the pilasters were much taller and often decorated with plaster renderings. Most of the shophouses built in 1940s began to adopt the European style of Art Deco (1940-1960's) by having long and thin rectangles, circles, or continuous horizontal bands on the front facade. Decoration was restrained on the front walls. Reinforced concrete is widely used to create more cantilevered plans; some were placed over windows serving as shading devices. The Baba-Nyonya style is usually associated with the Straits Eclectic style.

In the early 20th Century, shophouses in the Straits Settlements began to adopt Western architectural styles with an emphasis on full-length French windows with a pair of full-length timber shutters, an arched or rectangular transom over the window opening, pilasters of classical orders; and plaster renderings (Chen, 2005). In the early 1900, reinforced concrete was used to allow wider roof overhangs and more elaborate cantilevered brackets which sprung from above the pilasters. Unlike the early and traditional shophouses which have a continuous row of windows, the Straits Eclectic style developed with the breaking of the facade into two or three moulded openings. Such style became popular among the Baba-Nyonya community in Melaka and Penang. In some shophouses, the pilasters placed between openings, the spaces above the arched transom and below the openings were decorated with plaster renderings such as bouquets of flowers, fruits, mythical figures, and geometrical shapes. In addition, some of the window or door panels were beautifully carved. These decorations among other things reflect not only the wealth of the owners or tenants but also their status or position in the local community. One of the main differences between a Baba-Nyonya shophouse and a pure Chinese shophouse is the presence of these highly intricate ornaments and carvings (figure 9) (Ahmad, 1994). Coloured ceramic tiles (figure 10) are not only popular in the Baba-Nyonya shophouses of the Straits Eclectic style, but they are also used by the Malays to decorate their main stairs (Lim, 1987). In the shophouses, the ceramic tiles are usually placed on walls below the front windows on the ground floor facing the street. Flowers and geometrical designs are usually painted on the tiles. Furthermore, coloured floor tiles made of terra-cotta are commonly seen in the Straits Eclectic style, particularly in the roofed walkway and inside the shophouses.





Figure 9 – Ornamental grand staircase



Figure 10 – Corridor with coloured tiles



Figure 11 – Air well with cast iron balustrades courtyard

Most of the shophouses throughout all stylistic periods were built with a series of gable and pitch roofs (figure 11), except for courtyards or air wells and balcony. Some have a jack roof which is a raised mini roof locating at the peak of the main roof. The space between the two roofs is filled with patterned grilles or timber louvres (figure 11). It provides both cross and stack ventilation which reduces the internal heat build-up especially during daytime. Load-bearing walls at both sides of the shophouse support the roof load through timber purlins which span horizontally across the width of the building. The walls are at least 15" thick from ground to first floor and 9" onwards. After attap was banned, Chinese clay tiles of a V shape were widely used. The tiles are similar in origin to those used in the Mediterranean roofs, being introduced to Melaka by the Portuguese. In the early 1900's, the inter-locking French Marseilles tiles were introduced to the shophouses in the Straits Settlements. However, these terra-cotta tiles were later replaced with modern roofing materials including metal and asbestos sheets (Zwain & Bahauddin, 2017; 2019; Chen, 2005).

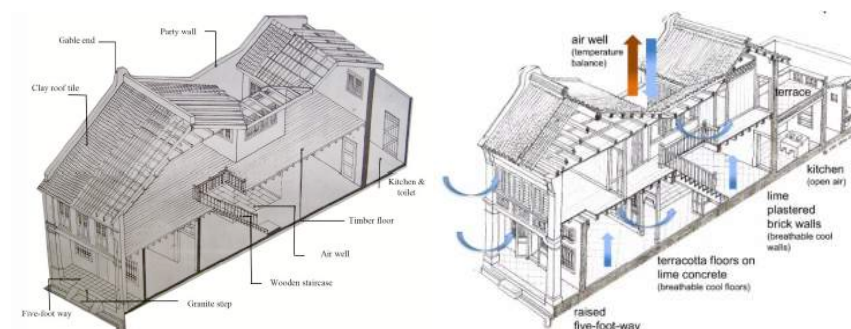


Figure 12 – Shophouse interior and gable roof

A typical Baba-Nyonya shophouse usually has the first hall (*ruang tamu*), second hall (*tiah gelap*), one or two courtyards (figure 12) or air wells (*chim chae*), ancestral hall, bedrooms, bridal chamber and kitchen. These were all designed according to the Feng Shui philosophy (Teh & Bahauddin, 2017). In those days, visitors to the house were normally allowed to the first hall. The second hall or *tiah gelap* was usually used by the unmarried Nyonyas to peep through small openings dividing the first and second halls. Now, as the social life changes, the younger generation of Nyonyas no longer hide in the *tiah gelap*. Besides the presence of intricate plaster ornaments, carving and coloured tiles, the Baba-Nyonya shophouses are usually filled with antique furniture (Zwain & Bahauddin, 2017; 2019; Khoo, 1998). During the colonial periods, the interior of the Baba-Nyonya house was decorated with Chinese blackwood furniture

including the family altar, chairs, and side tables as well as ornately carved teak cupboards with intricate mother-of-pearl inlay frames. Porcelain figurines, Nyonya crockery and coloured ceramic wares were finely displayed in these cupboards. This elegantly decorated interior is a portrayal of higher social, economic, and political status of the Baba-Nyonya in those days. This can be seen from the introduction of verandah, front porch, internal courtyard, ventilation grilles, big openings, and high ceilings. The Baba-Nyonya architecture has illustrated the deep history of the journey of this people and Chinese diaspora in the region.

## 5.0 CONCLUSION

The paper has highlighted the intricacies of the Baba-Nyonya architecture of Georgetown, Penang and Melaka, Malaysia, and the angle that this cultural heritage is known and expressing the Chinese influence in the creation of this hybrid culture. The truly unique characters about this Baba-Nyonya architecture are the richness and wide range of architectural vocabulary derived from the hybrid of western and eastern styles and traditions. The future generations of this country, particularly the descendents of the Baba-Nyonya may not only learn the architectural and historical values of the shophouses and colonial bungalows which were of importance to such community but also the cultural aspects and social customs. Based on the discussion, it is important that the Baba-Nyonya are associated with and recognised by their architectural significance in addition to their food, crafts, antique furniture, and social customs. Even though they no longer enjoy the high social and economic status of the golden age, the Baba-Nyonya architecture is already a part of the architectural heritage of Malaysia. Efforts made so far to conserve their unique architecture including the shophouses, association buildings and colonial bungalows have shown some fruitful results determined by the listing of Georgetown, Penang and Melaka under the UNESCO heritage sites in 2008.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Azizi Bahauddin:** obtained his Bachelor of Architecture at Texas Tech University, Texas, USA; his Master of Art in Interior Design (with Commendation) at De Montfort University, UK and his PhD in Design and culture from Sheffield Hallam University, UK. He started working as an architect and had worked in the architectural field for 7 years before embarking into the academic world 22 years ago. He was the Director of the Creative Design House of USM (2014 – 2018) and currently a professor/lecturer in Interior Architecture at the School of Housing, Building & Planning, USM since 1999. He has served as the Head of the Interior Design Programme (2003 – 2009), the Deputy Dean (Academic) (2013) for the School of the Housing, Building and Planning. His main research areas are focusing on Design and Culture specifically in Exhibition Design/Interior Design; Art and Design in Cultural Issues, Ethnography and Phenomenology; and in Architectural and Cultural Heritage. He investigates cultural values that influence the built environment in the embellishments, details, space planning, and customs, rituals and philosophy that are associated with architecture. He has published over two hundred publications with over 110 indexed journals revolving around design and culture related to architecture. He is now researching traditional architecture of the Southeast Asia region by looking into cultural and religious influences that govern the architecture. The current areas of research are looking into the 'sense of place' and 'sacred places.' Other achievements include, he has able to graduate 11 PhD with 6 GOT Students and 19 Master's students.

# A Study on the Influence of Malaysian Language Policy on Chinese National Identity after Independence

Li Gen \*, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, University Malaysia Sabah, Malaysia  
Ayesah Uy Abubakar, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, University Malaysia Sabah, Malaysia  
Marja Azlima Bt. Omar, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, University Malaysia Sabah, Malaysia

\* ligen80@sina.com

*Abstract: Malaysia is a multi-ethnic country with many languages coexisting in the country, and the linguistic status of each ethnic group in the country has always been one of the issues of concern to all ethnic groups. After independence, the government, with the Malays as its core in politics and under the domination of Malay nationalism with "Zionism" as its core content, implemented the concept of localization of education, strengthened the monolingual policy of Malaysia, and achieved the purpose of integrating national consciousness. As a symbol of national culture, language is closely related to national identity. As the second largest ethnic group in Malaysia, the status of Chinese has always been a focus of language policy formulation in Malaysia. Due to the cognitive bias of the Malaysian government on Chinese education, it is believed that the maintenance of Chinese education by Chinese people will affect the national identity of Malaysia, so there is a dynamic change in the formulation of language policy. Throughout the development of Malaysia's language policy, it can be divided into three stages: the formation and strengthening of monolingual policy from the eve of independence to the 1970s, the consolidation of language policy during the New Economic Policy, and the transition of language policy from the 1990s to the present. This paper argues that although language policy is an important factor in national identity, the influence of political identity is greater in modern countries. In general, the national identity of Chinese in Malaysia is relatively stable and in the process of continuous strengthening. In the context of multiculturalism, the Malaysian government should adopt a more open and inclusive language policy, respect the inheritance and maintenance of different ethnic cultures, and form a more stable national identity.*

*Keywords: Malaysian, language policy, Chinese national identity*

## INTRODUCTION

Multi-ethnic groups and multi-cultures are a prominent feature of Malaysia, and ethnic relations are the key issues that Malaysia needs to deal with in the process of building a modern nation-state. Language is the carrier of ethnic identity, so the language status of ethnic groups has become the focus of attention and controversy among ethnic groups. Chinese are one of the three main ethnic groups in Malaysia. According to the Malaysian Bureau of Statistics, as of 2021, Malays accounted for 69.8% of Malaysia's population, Chinese accounted for 22.4%, and Indians accounted for 6.8%. As the Chinese are the second largest ethnic group in Malaysia, the status of Chinese has always been the focus of attention in the formulation of language policy in Malaysia. The academic community has not yet reached a consensus on national identity, which is a multi-dimensional concept, showing the intersection of political identity, cultural identity, religious identity and ethnic identity. Stephen Shulman, a scholar, divides the connotation of national identity into three types: civic, culture and ethnic. Based on the concept of national identity, this paper examines the impact of language policy on the national identity of Chinese in Malaysia from the perspective of the change of language policy in Malaysia.

In the construction of national identity in Malaysia, Malay nationalism first came into being, which was mainly influenced by two aspects: on the one hand, it came from the rule of colonists. Similar to the establishment of other nation-states in the world, the Malayan Federation Plan launched by the British colonists after World War II stimulated the awakening of Malay national consciousness, especially the political demands of the elites, thus constructing an exclusive "Malay" nationalism. On the other hand, in view of the "divide and rule" strategy adopted by the British colonists during their rule of Malaysia, the Malay group was at a long-term economic disadvantage compared with the Chinese, which stimulated the formation of ethnic consciousness. Ultimately, the Malay cultural identity of "speaking Malay, believing in Islam and following Malay customs" constructs the basis of Malay nationalism, in which speaking Malay becomes an important criterion for defining the Malay ethnic group.

It can be said that language has played an important role in Malaysian national identity and national integration from the very beginning, which fully reflects the close relationship between language and power, and then mainly appears in Malaysian language policy. Throughout the development of Malaysian language policy, it can be divided into three stages: the formation and strengthening of monolingual policy from the eve of independence to the 1970s, the consolidation of language policy during the New Economic Policy, and the transition of language policy from the 1990s to the present. The policy changes in the three stages are accompanied by the adjustment of Malaysia's ethnic political structure in the same period, and then affect the dimension of national identity: from the early ethnic identity to the medium-term cultural identity and then to the current political identity.

## 1. CONCEPT DEFINITION AND RESEARCH BACKGROUND

### 1.1 Concept definition



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The academic circle has not yet formed a unified view on language policy. Hangen (1959) States that language policy "aims to guide the use of written and spoken language in non-homogeneous speech communities". According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), language policy is an entity that guides or reflects changes in language in a social group or system and embodies social ideals and legal regulations. Ronald Wardhaugh(1970) holds that language policy is a kind of national status planning to realize the construction of a modern country, reflects the need to strengthen national consciousness and national feelings, and becomes an important means to strengthen national unity. Fishman (1975) views language policy as "organized action to address sociolinguistic problems.". Jemudd and Das Gupta (1971) argue that language policy is a political and administrative activity to address sociolinguistic problems. According to Chinese linguist Chen Zhanhai (2005), "Language policy is an administrative regulation formulated by the government on the status, development and use of language and characters." In his book *Language Policy*, Spolsky (2004) constructs a three-dimensional language planning study from macro to meso and then to micro, and discusses the role of language policy in serving the national macro-ideology. According to the definition of the above scholars, it can be seen that language policy is mainly the government's interference in language from the policy aspect. In short, language policy is the relevant policies and decrees issued by modern countries to regulate the use of national language.

## **1.2 Research background**

In recent years, the research on Malaysian language policy has mainly focused on the following aspects:

### **1.2.1 Chinese education**

As one of the three major ethnic groups in Malaysia, the establishment of the legal status of Chinese education is a history of struggle for the rights of ethnic Chinese. Zheng Shuliang (2001)'s *History of Chinese Education in Malaysia* focuses on the impact of a series of educational decrees issued by the Malaysian government after independence on Chinese education. Cui Guiqiang (1989)'s *The Shift of National Identity of Singaporean and Malaysian Chinese from 1945 to 1959* not only mentions the problems of language policy and Chinese education, but also sees the appeal of Malay nationalism for the development of Malay language, pointing out that language status and education problems have led to ethnic estrangement. Sirisaranya Paknirrat (2006) focuses on the role of Chinese language in promoting unity within the Chinese community and building Chinese identity. Generally speaking, the study of Chinese education tends to explore the practical significance of the existence of Chinese in Malaysia from the relationship between language and rights.

### **1.2.2 Research on the Relationship between Language Education Policy and National Construction**

Language education policy in Malaysia involves identity issues, ethnic rights issues, nation-state construction and so on. According to Asmah Haji Omar (1985), language policy has played a very important role in the development of national politics. The language policy of Malaysia is a multi-balanced scheme formulated by the government to balance the complex relationship between Chinese and Malays, Malay, Chinese and English. Saran Kaur Gill (2013) reviews the relationship among language, identity and nationalism, analyzes the state's efforts to promote the development of Malay and the role of Malay in national construction, and argues that the problem facing Malaysian language policy is how to balance ethnic, national and international identity. Tan Yao Sua (2013) systematically examined the language policies during the colonial rule and the coalition government. The government emphasized the importance of Malay and English and suppressed the education of other languages. By exploring the impact of Malaysian language policy changes on the development of Chinese secondary schools, Wong Vivien. (2017) argues that language is not the core element of nation-state construction, and that there is no need for compulsory assimilation of languages, and that the weakening of mother-tongue education for other ethnic groups has affected the process of nation-state construction to some extent. The Michael S. H. Heng (2017) also argues that Malaysia's language policy once led to the estrangement between ethnic groups. Bin Jamil Hazri (2007) studied the education policies formulated by Malaysia since 1970 to achieve cross-ethnic integration and believed that changes in international background and domestic politics would affect people's different demands for education policies.

### **1.2.3 Planning Study of the Malay Language**

Paolo Coluzzi (2017) focuses on the language planning of the Malay language and mentions that attention should be paid to ensuring the development of other minority languages in order to gain recognition from non-Malay groups. The Sharifah Darmia Binti Sharif Adam (2014) pointed out that the Malay language has its own vocabulary and grammar defects, which led to the ineffective implementation of the Education Act. In general, the research on Malay mainly focuses on its status as a national language and how to plan it.

### 1.2.4 Research on the Language Status of English

Saran Kaur Gill (2008, 2014) pointed out that due to the development of globalization, the language value of English has been enhanced. He believed that the language policy of Malaysia was influenced by the language nationalism of Malaysia. The period from 1970 to 1990 was the stage of strengthening nationalism. After 1990, the internationalization and economic development made the language policy more pragmatic. Brian Ridge (2004) argued that the Malaysian government changed the teaching language to English to conform to the trend of globalization. The pursuit of "Malaysian nation" should jump out of the restrictions of language and religion, so as to truly realize the development and national identity of the country. On the whole, the study focuses on the change of English policy, which reflects that the formulation of language policy reflects the requirements of internationalization and integration and will not affect the identity of a unified nation-state.

All the above studies have noticed the close relationship between the formulation of language policy and ethnic politics and its impact on national identity. This paper continues the discussion of this topic, starting from the motivation of language policy formulation, to explore the reasons that affect the adjustment of language policy in Malaysia at all stages, and whether it affects the national identity of Malaysian Chinese.

## 2.THREE STAGES OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN MALAYSIA

### 2.1 From the eve of independence to the 1970s: the establishment of Malay as a national language

After World War II, Malay nationalism has initially developed a concept of power with ethnic dominance as the core, and language education is the catalyst to promote the formation of ethnic cultural power consciousness. Because before World War II, the British colonists adopted the laissez-faire education policy of "divide and rule", which led to the establishment of their own education system within different ethnic groups in order to continue their traditional culture. Under this model, ethnic groups are not only full of contradictions, but also do not agree with each other.

The Commonwealth Plan of Malaya launched by Britain in 1946 aroused opposition from all Malayan parties, especially the strong dissatisfaction of the Malay ethnic group representing the traditional elite. The UMNO party was established to strive for "Malays first", which gave birth to the exclusive concept of Malay nationalism. It can be said that the establishment of UMNO means the formal formation of Malay nationalism. Later, in 1948, the Constitution of the Union of Malaya identified the special status of Malays, which further stimulated Malays' demand for improving the status of Malay culture and Malay language.

In 1951, *Laporan Barns* (1951) of the Federal Government of Malaya officially came out, advocating "Malayanization of Education", aiming at cultivating a common national consciousness among multi-ethnic groups, making Malaya a permanent homeland and object of loyalty for all ethnic groups, and establishing a new "national school" in primary schools, with English and Malay as the main teaching media. Other languages will not be accepted, while Chinese and Tamil schools will gradually be transformed into national schools. The biggest problem with this policy is that it simply equates Malaysian national identity with Malay cultural identity, trying to achieve the goal of national identity by eliminating other cultures.

Because of the obvious exclusiveness of this report, it was strongly resisted by non-Malays, especially Chinese. In the same year, *Laporan Fenn Wu* (1951) released a positive attitude towards Chinese education, stressed the importance of Chinese education, and suggested that the government support the development of Chinese education, so that Chinese education can become a part of national education.

However, *Ordinan Pelajaran* (1952) eventually adopted the *Laporan Barnes*' proposal, but for various objective reasons, including strong opposition from non-Malays, the Ordinance was not implemented. Later, Amiduddin Baki, known as "the father of modern Malay education", put forward the "Melting Pot Theory", realizing the important role of national schools in the construction of national consciousness, devoting himself to turning national schools into a melting pot of Malaya's multi-ethnic society, and advocating Malay as a single medium of instruction. But his biggest problem is that he still ignores the right of other ethnic groups to use their mother tongue and the advantages of mother tongue as a medium of instruction in young education.

In 1957, Malaysia finally broke away from British colonial rule and became an independent nation-state. In order to promote the establishment of a unified national identity, the government established the status of Malay as the national and official language through the Constitution of the Associated States, and granted English a 10-year period of use in the conduct of official affairs. Later, *Ordinan Pelajaran* (1957) was introduced, which continued the spirit of *Penyata Razak* (1956), gave Malay the privilege of school education and social public affairs in a more moderate way, constantly highlighted the core position of Malay in education, and then implemented the monolingual policy of Malaysia. To achieve the goal of eliminating other dialect education.

After entering the 1960s, the *Laporan Rahman Talib* (1960) further strengthened the construction of the national education system and promoted the status of Malay. However, *Akta Pelajaran* (1961) only allowed the existence of two types of schools, namely, *Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan* type schools with Malay as the main medium of instruction and English as the compulsory subject. And *Sekolah Menengah Jenis Kebangsaan* type schools with English as the

medium of instruction and Malay as a compulsory subject. *Akta Bahasa Kebangsaan* (1967) declared the end of the transitional period of English as the official language and established Malay as the only official language.

On the whole, from the eve of independence to the 1960s, Malaysia's language education policy was formed and strengthened, and finally the monolingual education policy with Malay as the core was established. Through a series of language policies and decrees, Malay, as a medium of instruction, runs through all periods of school education, while Chinese and Tamil only exist in primary education as the function of cultural heritage of ethnic minorities.

## 2.2 The Period of the New Economic Policy — — The Consolidation Period of the Malay Language

In 1969, due to the inequality of economic status between Chinese and Malays and the game of political and educational rights, the "May 13" ethnic conflict finally broke out. After the incident, the government accelerated the process of "Malayanization" in all aspects. On the one hand, it promoted the new economic policy to ensure the economic interests of Malays, and on the other hand, it accelerated the implementation of *Akta Bahasa Kebangsaan* (1967). In addition to ensuring the status of Malay as the teaching medium of all schools in the national education system, it also introduced Malay into higher education.

According to the Cabinet Committee Report on Education issued by Mahathir in 1979, by 1975, all English primary schools in the Malay Peninsula and Sabah had been converted to Malay primary schools, and by 1977, all English primary schools in Sarawak had been converted to Malay as the medium of instruction. Since 1975, only Malay conversion classes have been offered from national primary schools to junior high schools, and no English classes have been offered. According to the data of Chinese Education in Malaysia compiled by United Chinese School Committees Association of Malaysia (UCSCAM), the proportion of Malay college students accounted for 53.7% in 1970, 71.3% in 1975 and 75.5% in 1985.

At the same time, the Report of the Cabinet Committee on Education also stipulates that Malay is a compulsory subject for all examinations, and Malay is applied in various fields, which further consolidates the status of Malay as the medium of education in national schools. The government achieved the cultural leadership of the Malay ethnic group through the compulsory implementation of the change of educational language.

## 2.3 The Period of National Modernization: The Change of Pluralistic Language Policy

Since the 1990s, great changes have taken place in the world pattern, and multi-polarization and globalization are irresistible. After the implementation of the "New Economic Policy" in Malaysia for 20 years, a group of Malay middle class has been created, and the economic gap between Malays and Chinese has been narrowing day by day, while the political development has also shown the characteristics of pluralism across ethnic cooperation, and the society has entered a relatively stable period.

Since 1990, the Malay government has been determined to build a modern industrial country by 2020, put forward the *Dasar Pembangunan Negara and Wawasan* (2020), and put forward the concept of *Bangsa Malaysia* politically to attract multi-ethnic participation in governance. From a deeper perspective, political pluralism is closely related to the division within the Malay ethnic group. In this case, the pluralism of the opposition coalition can attract more support from non-Malays.

Based on the above complex and changeable domestic and international environment, in terms of language education policy, the Malaysian government has relaxed the restrictions on the mother tongue education of ethnic minorities such as Chinese and Tamil, while seeing the importance of English in the wave of globalization. There are two trends in the adjustment of its language policy: First, in order to deal with ethnic relations and reconcile ethnic conflicts, the language policy has moved from unit to pluralism. According to *Wawasan 2020*, to establish a "Malaysia for Malaysians" regardless of race, this requires the government to relax restrictions on dialect education—the landmark law is *Akta Pendidikan* (1996). Although the 1996 Act largely continued the 1961 Act, it removed the concerns of non-Malays, especially the Chinese community, by abolishing the right of the Minister of Education to convert Chinese schools into *Sekolah Menengah Kebangsaan* (SMK) at an appropriate time. At the same time, space was given to the development of the mother tongue in national-type schools, allowing the use of non-Malayan languages as the medium of instruction. The most important thing is to retain the status of 60 Chinese independent schools and adopt an open policy towards higher education in the Chinese community. Secondly, in order to build a modern country and cope with globalization, Malaysia began to revive English education. The Malaysian government is aware of the important role of English in the internationalization of economy, business, education and other fields. In the 1996 Act, it promotes the development of English education by taking measures such as making English a compulsory subject, incorporating private schools into the national education system and setting up language centers in universities.

In short, after the 1990s, in order to integrate with the international community, become a modern country and achieve a strong country, Malaysia's language policy has also moved from single to a pluralistic one.

### 3. THE IMPACT OF MALAYSIA'S LANGUAGE POLICY ADJUSTMENT ON NATIONAL IDENTITY

Although the language policies of the above three stages are different, the overall change is nothing more than the game between Malay and English, Malay and Chinese, Tamil and other ethnic minorities, the former reflects the demand for the establishment of an independent nation-state, while the latter presents the ethnic political contest within the nation-state. In short, the adjustment of language policy is driven by the motivation of policy makers.

#### 3.1 The Motivation of Language Policy Adjustment

Dennis Ager, in his *Motivation in Language Planning and Language Policy* (2001), summed up seven types of motivations for people to intervene in language, namely identity, ideology and image, insecurity, inequality, integration and instrumental, two factors should be added, namely, the attitude of decision makers or policy makers towards a certain language and the specific goals they want to achieve through these activities.

National identity is the fundamental attribute that distinguishes a nation or country from other nations or countries, and language and religion are often the symbols of a nation, so when a nation or country wants to determine its own characteristics, language identity is the first step.

Firstly, Malaysia's attitude towards English is characterized by the alternation of identity motivation and instrumental motivation. Before independence, Malaysia experienced more than 100 years of British colonial rule, and the colonial government's strong praise of English led to the decline of Malay language use and its decline in economy, culture, education and other fields. The Malay language, as a symbol of the Malay nation and Malaysian culture, plays an important role in the independence and unity of the nation-state. However, due to the natural advantages of English in modern science and technology, culture and education, especially in the era of globalization, it is an important communication tool for international exchanges and cooperation among countries in the world, so its status should not be underestimated. Based on this, in order to establish a new nation-state and achieve the purpose of building Malaysian national identity with Malay, from independence to the end of the 1980s, Malaysia's attitude towards English has undergone a change from allowing its existence as a transition to suppressing and abolition. At the same time, in the 10 years after independence and after the 1990s, because of the shortcomings of Malay itself and the trend of globalization, English has been re-emphasized as a tool for economic development and international communication.

Secondly, Malaysia's attitude toward the Chinese language is driven by three motivations: insecurity, inequality, and integration. Generally speaking, "insecurity" and "inequality" are mainly aimed at disadvantaged groups. Compared with the Malay indigenous groups, the Chinese are not only a foreign population, but also have a different culture from the Malays, and have absolute economic advantages, which deeply troubled the Malays. As a result, as early as the eve of independence, the Malays fought for the privileges of the Malays, mainly the priority of the Malay language, from the colonists. In view of the unequal economic status and the cultural superiority of the Chinese, from independence to the New Economic Policy period, in order to protect the interests of Malays and solve the problem of unequal economic status of ethnic groups, the Chinese were suppressed economically. In order to promote national integration and enhance national identity, the Malaysian government, motivated by integration, fully promotes Malay as the medium of instruction in language policy, and suppresses the development of Chinese schools by formulating Malay priority education policy. Since the 1990s, with the narrowing of the economic gap between Malays and Chinese, the improvement of Malays' economic status has eliminated their sense of insecurity, enabling language policy makers to face up to the demands of different ethnic groups for cultural diversity, thus relaxing the management of minority languages and showing the characteristics of language diversity.

#### 3.2 The Influence of Language Policy on Chinese National Identity

As for national identity, Stephen Shulman (2002), a scholar mentioned earlier, divides its connotation into three types: civic, culture and ethnic. Hans Kohn (2002) adopted the distinction between citizenship and race in the study of nationalism, which led to such a mainstream perception that the national identity in the East is more racial and cultural, while that in the West is civic identity. There is some truth in this cognition, but it is not very comprehensive. With the acceleration of the modernization process of countries around the world, civic identity occupies an increasingly important position in national identity.

Firstly, the recovery of English more points to an economic choice. Although many countries around the world worry that the popularity of English will impact the purity of their own culture, in the era of globalization, English is more used as a tool for international communication and economic returns. As the Malays had formed a relatively strong cultural identity long before the British colonization, after independence, the government made great efforts to popularize the Malay language and enhance the core position of the Malay language. On the whole, the national identity of the Malays was based on a solid Malay cultural identity. During the development of Malaysia, English was used as a tool to promote the economic and social development and progress of the nation state, although it has destroyed the traditional culture to some extent, it cannot fundamentally shake the national identity of Malaysians.



Secondly, the adjustment of Chinese policy points to the continuous construction of citizen identity. Because of the deep foundation of Chinese culture, the Malaysian Chinese have always adhered to the Chinese culture. After Malaysia's independence in 1957, the Chinese gradually changed Malaysia from a temporary residence to a loyal object and began to fight for citizenship. At the beginning of its establishment, the Chinese School Teachers' Association issued a statement, "Malaysia will become a new country. It is more necessary for all ethnic groups to work together and respect each other's culture. Our loyalty to building Malaysia has been, is and will be like this." (Cui Guiqiang,) The statement indicates that the identification of the Chinese with Malaysia is the identification of the modern country Malaysia. From the beginning, it is mainly a political identification based on citizenship. Therefore, before and after Malaysia's independence, the Chinese have participated in political and economic activities in Malaysia. However, in view of the superiority of the Chinese culture, the national identity of the Chinese people is more inclined to citizen identity than cultural identity. From independence to the 1990s, the Malaysian government's series of policies on the inequality of ethnic language status threatened the reproduction of Chinese culture, undermined the harmony of ethnic relations, and to some extent affected the national identity of Chinese. Since the 1990s, Malaysia has relaxed restrictions on the Chinese language, and the national identity of Chinese people has gradually become stable.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Language is the identity and symbol of a nation, and it is an important aspect of national identity. Language policy has an important influence on national identity, but in the construction of modern country, political or civic identity is more important. Based on the motivation of language policy making, this paper analyzes the reasons for the three stages of language policy changes in Malaysia and concludes that economic factors are an important factor affecting the language policy making in a multi-ethnic society. In addition, the national identity of modern society is composed of two dimensions: multicultural identity and political identity, so the unitary language policy will inevitably promote cultural unilateralism, thus affecting political identity. On the whole, the national identity of Chinese towards Malaysia is in a relatively stable state and in a process of constant change, development and debugging. Identity has always been the mainstream, and the game is just a folk strategy under a specific period of time and policy.

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# Representation of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia in Toni Masdiono's Comics

Christine Claudia Lukman \*, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia  
Christianna Sekarkinanti Hertadimas, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

\* christine.cl@art.maranatha.edu

*Abstract: Toni Masdiono is a comic creator with excellent illustration quality and has been active in the Southeast Asia region through seminars and workshops. Initially, his comics featured western super heroes, but in recent years, also feature Chinese characters, namely in "Karimata 1890" (already published in 2019), and "Laosam 1892" (to be published soon). The two comics show the interaction between Chinese Diaspora with the Nusantara (Indonesia) local people in a historical context. Through his perception as a Peranakan Chinese who is very familiar with Javanese culture, Masdiono constructs and represents the Chinese Diaspora in both comics. This is interesting to study because the representation of the Chinese Diaspora figures will shape the perception of the readers who are the younger generation from various ethnic groups in Indonesia. The data collection method was carried out by conducting in-depth interviews with Masdiono to find out his perception of the existence of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia, and a focus group discussion is conducted with young participants to know their perception of the representation of the Chinese Diaspora figures in Masdiono's comics. Visual data is obtained from comic books that have been published, and will be published. The theory that supports this research is Stuart Hall's theory of representation which is the ability to describe or imagine. Representation is important because culture is always shaped through meaning and language (verbal and visual), so language is a symbolic or representation form. The analysis is carried out using a semiotic method that involves the encoding process by Masdiono and decoding by the comic readers. The result shows that Masdiono and his readers share the same perception of the representation of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia in the past.*

*Keywords: Chinese Diaspora, representation, comic*

## INTRODUCTION

Toni Masdiono was born in Malang on March 25, 1961 to Peranakan Chinese parents. His father is of Chinese and Javanese descent, while his mother is Peranakan Chinese who has a Dutch grandmother. Masdiono said that as a child he and his family lived in the Chinatown area of Malang, but they felt uncomfortable because they could not speak Mandarin. Feeling alienated, they moved to Jalan Merbabu Malang, which is not a Chinatown area. Masdiono studied at Catholic elementary, junior high, and high school, whose students from various ethnicities. Masdiono said that the New Order's (Orde Baru) repressive policies towards Chinese culture and ethnicity in Indonesia from 1966 to 1998 caused him to become alienated from Chinese culture. What is more serious for Masdiono is the fading of his ethnic identity as a Chinese person (interview with Toni Masdiono on July 19, 2022).

Since childhood, Masdiono has been familiar with various ethnic groups and has an interest in Javanese culture, especially wayang kulit. On the other hand, Masdiono is also very fond of comics, so he collects various comics from within and outside Indonesia. From 1980 to 1987 Masdiono studied at the Faculty of Fine Art and Design, Bandung Institute of Technology, undergraduate level with a major in Graphic Art. After graduating Masdiono did not work in the field of Graphic Art, but in Graphic Design by creating logos, brochures, illustrations for magazines and novel covers, as well as comics.

Initially Masdiono made Western-style superhero comics. Sometimes he creates comics in which the characters were Westerners and Indonesian natives, but since 2018 Masdiono has begun to include Chinese characters in comics along with the emergence of awareness of his ethnicity as Indonesian-Chinese since 2010. Masdiono said that since that year he has begun to study various Chinatowns and their culture which was once 'forbidden' in the New Order Era (email letter dated October 31, 2022).

The first comic is "Karimata 1890" which tells the story of the conflict between pirates in the Karimata Strait led by a woman named Malla, and a group of mercenaries led by a woman named Inang. Malla's followers are Anta, Rati, Tampu, and Karta who are all residents of the Karimata Strait area; while the followers of Inang are Ghita (from Java), Wang (from China), Seruni (from Persia), Tian Loong (from China), and Basri (from Java). Inang is the 'mistress' of Janssens (an admiral whose office is in Batavia). She was assigned by his lover to find Malla and destroy his pirate group. In this comic, Masdiono only shows 2 figures of the Chinese Diaspora as supporters of Inang (the antagonist). In the second comic, "Laosam 1892" Masdiono tells the story of a friction between two groups of opium traders in Lasem. The first group was led by Babah Auwyang who was also a spice trader, while the second group was led by Babah Lim. Babah Auwyang has lived in Lasem since he was born, even his ancestor was one of the heroes in the Yellow War in Lasem (1750). Babah Lim is a newcomer who inherited the house from his grandmother in Lasem. In this comic, Masdiono features more Chinese characters, both as protagonists and antagonists, along with their supporters. One Chinese character from "Karimata 1890", namely Wang, also appears in "Laosam 1892", but with an



even greater name, Wang the Tiger. Masdiono admitted that through the comic “Laosam 1892” he gives a more significant and comprehensive portion to his Chinese characters. Laosam is the Chinese term for Lasem in the past.

Masdiono tried to construct the representation of the Chinese in the two comics through narratives in the form of visual and verbal texts. The representation of Chinese ethnicity that Masdiono wants to convey to his readers is constructed through an encoding process that uses visual and verbal signs. Chinese characters are visually depicted through dots, lines, shapes, forms, and tones of black and white; as well as verbal descriptions through words in English. According to Masdiono, the use of English is because these two comics are intended for the younger generation in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, who come from the middle and upper middle class. This study aims to reveal the Chinese representation in the two comics, as well as to compare the encoding used by Masdiono to construct the Chinese representation with the decoding performed by the younger generation as their perception of the Chinese representation constructed by Masdiono.

## METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative research method. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with Masdiono to reveal his perception of the existence of the Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia. Focus group discussion of 12 participants who are students from Class D Final Project Research Methods (odd semester 2022-2023) Visual Communication Design, Faculty of Art and Design, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung aged between 22 to 25 years who come from ethnic groups Chinese, Sundanese and Menado. Focus group discussions were conducted to find out their perceptions of the representation of the Chinese Diaspora in Toni Masdiono's two comics, namely “Karimata 1890” (already published) and “Laosam 1892” (to be published soon). The visual data comes from the two comics.

Since it involves the perception of the representation of the Chinese Diaspora, the theoretical basis is the representation theory of Stuart Hall which is defined as the ability to describe or imagine. Representation is significant because culture is always shaped through meaning and language (verbal and visual language), thus language becomes a symbolic form or representation. Regarding the analytical method, the semiotic theory is used in conducting textual analysis of the encoding process through visual and verbal signs by Masdiono and decoding of visual and verbal signs by comic readers (discussion participants). The process of encoding meaning is carried out by Masdiono through the use of signs and their combination, while on the other hand, in the process of encoding, which is the interpretation of the reader in reconstructing meaning.

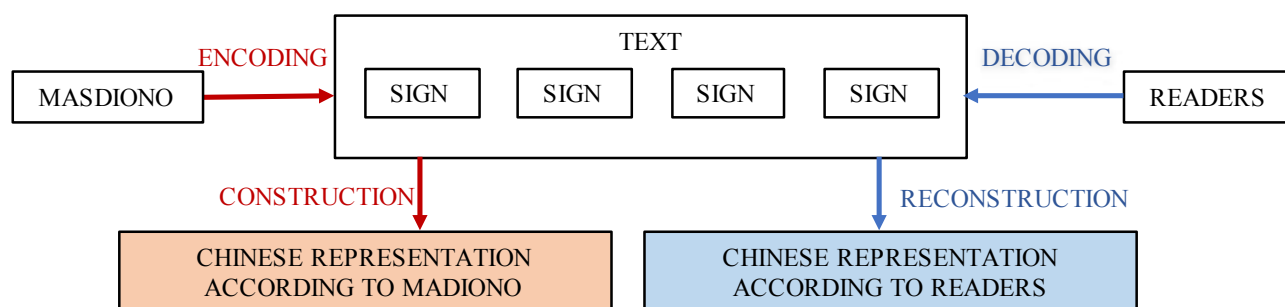


Figure 1: Schematic of encoding and decoding process in presenting Chinese people

(source: Christine Claudia Lukman)

## Representation and Textual Semiotics

Representation, according to Adiprabowo (2014: 106) citing Barker (2004: 9), is the way the world is socially constructed and represented to members of a cultural group and by the cultural group itself. Representation and meaning are attached to various media such as sounds, inscriptions, objects, images, and so on. Stuart Hall (2005: 18-20) as quoted by Aprinta (2011: 16) describes representation as the ability to describe or imagine. There are two concepts of representation, namely mental representation and language representation. Mental representation is a conceptual map, which is the concept of something in our minds that is abstract. Language representation plays a role in the construction of meaning because it translates (encoding) abstract concepts from mental representations into language so that humans can connect concepts and ideas with certain signs and symbols (decoding). The relationship between an object with mental concepts and language is the essence of the production of meaning through language. Thus, representation is the result of a relation of (1) something, (2) mental concepts, and (3) language.

In cultural studies, representation as a product of the relation of these three things becomes a significant concept because culture is always formed through meaning, and language is a symbolic form (form of representation). That's why culture is always mediated by language that is shared with members of a cultural group. From this point of view, Hall shows the importance of representation as a means of communication and social interaction, even Hall considers

representation as a basic communication need that is necessary for humans to interact. Furthermore, Hall (1997: 15) suggests three forms of approach to representation of meaning through language, namely (1) reflective, (2) intentional, and (3) constructionist. Reflective representation is the use of language or various symbols that reflect meaning. Intentional representation is the use of language or symbols to express what you want to convey with a specific purpose. Constructionist representation is meaning in and through language. Especially for constructionist representation, Hall makes two approaches to study it, namely through a semiotic approach and a discourse approach. This thinking stems from the encoding and decoding concepts used by Hall in media studies. Encoding is the way information is packaged by the speaker (producing information), while decoding is how information is consumed or reconstructed (Storey, 2006: 11-12).

Hall (1997: 20-21) states that representation is often related to politics, but we need to remember that representation politics is different from 'identity politics'. Identity politics is part of representation politics, but representation politics need not be part of identity politics. Identity politics often exploits racial issues in the context of practical politics used by the majority group to intimidate minorities, on the other hand, representation politics is used by minority groups to provide space for their culture. Therefore, the difference is based on its purpose: identity politics is to gain political power while representation politics is to give space to the culture of minority groups.

In connection to the media, representation which means the 're-presentation' of an event that occurred previously serves to mediate, and to replay it. The concept of representation is often used to describe the relationship between media texts and reality because it is an important practice in shaping meaning. Thus, although media production can be fictitious, incomplete and narrow, the representation has the potential to give viewers a picture of a particular society (Anwar, Situmorang, Sabiruddin, 2018: 366). Textual semiotics studies texts in various forms and levels. Text is seen as a 'product of language use' which consists of a collection and combination of signs (in the form of verbal and visual signs) that can convey a message. Through social conventions, signs have social meanings and values, therefore Saussure states that signs are an inseparable unity from the signifier side to explain 'form' or 'expression', and the signified side to explain the concept or meaning. On the other hand, Peirce classified signs into three types, namely index, icon, and symbol. The index is a sign whose relationship between the signifier and the signified is causal, for example people crying is an index of their sad feelings. An icon is a sign whose relationship between the signifier and the signified has a resemblance or resemblance. A symbol is a sign whose relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary (Herliyani, Rediasa, 2013: 288).

Text analysis operates on two levels. At the first level, an individual sign analysis is carried out that includes the type of sign, as well as the meaning of the sign individually. At the second level, an analysis of a collection of signs is carried out which is combined to form a text that has denotative and connotative meanings (Utoyo, Setawan, 2018: 2). The text consists of various combinations of signs used by the communicator (encoding) to construct a representation, on the other hand the text is interpreted by the communicant (decoding) in reconstructing the representation. The representation constructed by the communicator may be different from that constructed by the communicant. According to Eco (1985) as quoted by Utoyo and Setawan (2018: 3), this occurs because a text is often interpreted by readers with different code backgrounds from the author.

### **The Arrival of the Chinese Diaspora in Indonesia**

In order for the discussion of the Chinese Diaspora in these two comics to be more specific, it is necessary to know about the period of arrival, and the pattern of migration. Lukman (2016: 89) citing Purcell (1997) states that the migration of the Chinese Diaspora occurred in 3 periods, namely (1) the kingdom period, (2) the early arrival of Europeans in Southeast Asia, and (3) the Dutch colonial period. The migration pattern written by Lukman (ibid), refers to Wang Gungwu (1995), consisting of huashang (the trade pattern), huagong (the coolie pattern), hoaqiau (the sojourner pattern), and huayi (the re-migrant pattern).

Huashang is the oldest pattern in the history of Chinese Diaspora migration motivated by the desire to trade which initially took place in various regions of China, and then continued in Southeast Asia around the 5th to 18th centuries AD. Huagong is the second pattern that occurs in Southeast Asia which has been controlled by Western colonialists who need labor in mining and plantations. These laborers or coolies come from poor families who migrate to improve economic conditions. Hoaqiau is a temporary stopover pattern based on the desire to spread the spirit of Chinese nationalism that wants to turn the empire into a republic by teachers, journalists, and other intellectuals, while the last pattern is huayi, which is the movement of Chinese Diaspora migrants from overseas countries to other overseas countries (Lukman 2016: 89; Hapsari, 2016: 256).

The period from 1800 to 1860 was marked by an increase in the number of Chinese in Indonesia due to migration in large numbers to Southeast Asia due to political chaos, famine, and the Taiping rebellion (1850) in Southern China against the Qing rulers (Coppel as quoted by Lukman, 2016: 90). Another mass migration occurred in the period 1860 to 1890 which reached 318 thousand people who later settled in Java (128,000 people); and on the east coast of Sumatra, Bangka and Belitung (190 thousand people).


## DISCUSSION


In his two comics, namely “Karimata 1890” and “Laosam 1892”, Masdiono represents the Chinese Diaspora, but there are some differences in quantity and socio-cultural context. In “Karimata 1890” only two Chinese Diaspora are shown who are hua yi (Chinese diaspora who wander from place to place outside China) who work as mercenaries. His names are Wang and Tian Loong. They can be categorized as Chinese Totok or Singkeh.

In “Laosam 1892”, with the setting of the city of Lasem in Central Java, many Chinese Peranakan figures (a community group resulting from marriages between Chinese men and Javanese women) are shown who have settled in Indonesia. It is estimated that their ancestors had settled in Java in the 18th century with the migration pattern of huashang from the middle class to trade. The terms Babah Auwayang, Babah Lim, and Babah Hen Lanng are commonly used to address Peranakan Chinese men. Apart from these three Chinese, there are also other Chinese, namely Wang the Tiger (who is also in the comic “Karimata 1890”) who is a Totok Chinese with a huayi pattern; Bhan Teng is a Peranakan Chinese from the Benteng area in Tangerang, and Siau Peng or Gepeng is a Peranakan Chinese from Lasem. In this comic, Masdiono uses the term Babah for a Chinese Peranakan man from the upper middle social class, therefore Bhan Teng and Siau Peng are not called Babah because they are from a lower social class.

Table 1. will show the construction carried out by Masdiono to compose the text through visual and verbal signs on the one hand, and the reconstruction carried out by 13 focus group discussion participants to interpret the text. The representations prepared by Masdiono for the Chinese, represented by two figures, namely Wang and Tian Loong in Karimata “1890”, were interpreted by the discussion participants.

Table 1. Encoding and Decoding of Chinese Characters in “Karimata 1890”

ENCODING by Toni Masdiono	Chinese characters in “Karimata 1890” as the text	DECODING by Focus Group Discussion Participants
<p><b>Visual signs:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- slanted eyes (index of Chinese ethnicity),</li> <li>- lips never smile (index of seriousness),</li> <li>- unshaven beard, matted hair (index of careless, and lower class),</li> <li>- headband (index of warrior).</li> </ul> <p><b>Verbal signs:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- come from Asia (index of origin country),</li> <li>- have fighting skills (index of lifeskill),</li> <li>- mercenary (index of profession),</li> <li>- at the end of the story he and Tian Loong lost in the fight against Malla and her army, and realized that the pirates actually, a fisherman who trying to defend the Karimata Strait from Dutch domination (index of consciousness).</li> </ul> <p><b>Overall meaning:</b> An overseas man from China who works as a low-class mercenary in Karimata, who after a defeat realizes that his enemy is not a ruthless pirate but a fisherman who defends his territory from the Dutch.</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Wang (source: Masdiono, 2018)</p> <p>There is no specific description for Wang. Masdiono describes all of Inang's mercenaries as follows: “... <i>she formed a band of adventures to aid her in the mission. The men in her team came from all around Asia, and were not warriors or assassins, but still many of them did possess outstanding fighting skills and had been known to work as mercenaries in the past.</i>”</p>	<p><b>Interpretation of Wang's visual text:</b> serious, messy, shabby, has determination, actually has character and has charisma.</p> <p><b>Interpretation of Tian Loong visual text:</b> He was old, his eyes were cruel, angry and cold.</p> <p><b>Interpretation of verbal texts:</b> Wang and Tian Loong are supporters of the antagonist because they are mercenaries from the antagonist (Inang) who works for the Netherlands. Participants sympathized with Wang and Tian Loong because at the end of the story (with Inang and other followers) they realized that actually Malla (the protagonist) and his followers were fishermen that forced to become pirates to defend the Karimata Strait from Dutch domination. Participants stated that they could not give much assessment to these two figures because they were</p>

ENCODING by Toni Masdiono	Chinese characters in “Karimata 1890” as the text	DECODING by Focus Group Discussion Participants
<p><b>Visual sign:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- slanted eyes (index of Chinese ethnicity),</li> <li>- lips never smile (index of seriousness),</li> <li>- long mustache and beard, wrinkled face (index of old age),</li> <li>- long hair (index of free man),</li> <li>- headband (index of warrior).</li> </ul> <p><b>Verbal Signs:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- identic with Wang because it is used for all Inang troops.</li> </ul> <p><b>Overall meaning:</b> Identic with Wang.</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Tian Loong (source: Masdiono, 2018)</p> <p>There is no specific description for Tian Loong. Masdiono describes all of Inang's mercenaries as mentioned in Wang's section.</p>	<p>only extras who did not show prominent actions, nor did they have a complete explanation of their background.</p>
	<p><b>The representation of the Chinese Diaspora constructed by Masdiono through Wang and Tian Loong and reconstructed by the discussion participants</b></p>	
	<p>The representation of the Chinese Diaspora through the characters of Wang and Tian Loong which was constructed by Masdiono and reconstructed by the discussion participants has similarities based on the verbal and visual texts. These two people are considered as negative characters (supporting antagonists) because they are mercenaries from Inang (antagonists who work for the Netherlands).</p>	

From the table, it can be seen that the text construction to represent the Chinese Diaspora carried out by Masdiono and interpreted by the FGD participants has similarities, namely as adventurers and mercenaries. Most of the participants interpreted the representation of the Chinese Diaspora as formidable, cruel, and opportunist mercenaries. However, some of the other participants interpreted the two Chinese Diaspora as just ordinary people trying to survive by becoming mercenaries.

In Table 2. there are more Chinese Diaspora figures from the comic “Laosam 1892”. Similar to the previous table, this table also shows the construction that Masdiono did to compose the text through visual and verbal signs on the one hand, and the reconstruction carried out by 13 focus group discussion participants to interpret the text on the other. The





representations made by Masdiono for the Chinese Diaspora were represented by Babah Auwyang, Babah Lim, Wang the Tiger, Bhan Teng, Siauw Peng, and Babah Hen Lang.


Tabel 2. *Encoding dan Decoding terhadap Tokoh Tionghoa dalam “Laosam 1892”*

Encoding by Masdiono	Chinese Characters in “Laosam 1892” as the text	Decoding by FGD Participants
<p>Visual sign:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- white hair above the ears (index of old age),</li> <li>- serious gaze to the side (index of mindfulness),</li> <li>- neat appearance (index of self-care, high class).</li> </ul> <p>Verbal signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Babah (index of Peranakan Chinese men),</li> <li>- 61 years old (index of old age),</li> <li>- spice traders in Lasem (index of profession),</li> <li>- his grandfather was one of the fighters in the Yellow War in Lasem (index of his ancestor’s heroism),</li> <li>- his wife has died (index of marital status i.e. widower),</li> <li>- his only son studied in the Netherlands (index of concern for his son education, and index of wealth),</li> <li>- opium business (at that time legal but detrimental to the user) in Central Java (an index of excessive business area).</li> </ul> <p>Overall meaning: A Peranakan Chinese who is a successful senior businessman from Lasem, comes from the descendants of a prominent person in Lasem, namely the Yellow War hero. He can concentrate on expanding his business because he doesn't have a wife anymore, and he doesn't have to take care of his only son because he is studying in the Netherlands.</p>	 <p>Babah Auwyang or Oyang, age 61 years, a spice tycoon in the city of Lasem. His grandfather was one of the most notable Yellow War combatant ever seen in that small town. His wife has passed away and his only son is pursuing further education in the Netherlands. Beside spices, actually he is also the main player in opium business for the Central Java Region.</p> <p>Figure 4: Babah Auwyang (source: Masdiono, 2022)</p> <p>The representation of the Chinese Diaspora constructed by Masdiono through Babah Auwyang and reconstructed by the discussion participants</p> <p>The representations constructed by Masdiono and reconstructed by the participants were similar. Babah Auwyang is a representation of a Chinese person who has a background as a descendant of the Yellow War hero that is interpreted as a very positive thing by the participants. Therefore, all participants stated that Auwyang was the protagonist even though he was still in a gray area (not entirely good because he still runs the opium business).</p>	<p>Interpretation of Babah Auwyang's visual text: A mature man who has a strong character, experienced, wise, and quite handsome.</p> <p>Interpretation of Babah Auwyang's verbal text: Babah Auwyang is categorized as a protagonist because he is a descendant of a hero who fought against the Dutch. In addition, he sold commodities (spices and opium) which were legal in his time. Some participants stated that Babah Auwyang is a figure in the gray area because he does anything that has a good impact (including selling opium) for himself, especially in the financial sector, without considering the negative impact on society</p>

Encoding by Masdiono	Chinese Characters in "Laosam 1892" as the text	Decoding by FGD Participants
<p>Visual signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- broad forehead due to balding (index of getting old)</li> <li>- slanted eyes (index of Chinese ethnicity),</li> <li>- looking down, while smoking cigarettes (index of looking down on others),</li> <li>- Neat appearance (index of self-care, and high class)</li> </ul> <p>Verbal signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Babah (index of Peranakan Chinese men),</li> <li>- 47 years old (index of younger than Auwyang),</li> <li>- a young businessman who just recently live in Lasem (index of newcomer)</li> <li>- driven by ambition to dominate opium trade in Central Java (index of greed and competitive),</li> <li>- got support from Dutch Colonial Government in Batavia (index of colonial henchmen),</li> <li>- his father is a sugar tycoon from Pasuruan (index of rich family),</li> <li>- His grandmother from Lasem (index of ancestor origin),</li> <li>- Lim inherited the house in Lasem from his grandmother (index of house ownership in Lasem)</li> </ul> <p>Overall meaning: Ambitious Peranakan Chinese who conspired with the Dutch to dominate the opium business in Central Java.</p>	<div data-bbox="667 315 967 589" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="671 600 948 871" data-label="Caption"> <p>Babah Lim, 47 years, a young businessman who had recently lived in Lasem and was driven by ambition to control the opium trade in Central Java, of course with the support of the Dutch in Batavia. Lim's father was a sugarcane tycoon in the Pasuruan region, but Lim's grandma was from Lasem, so when she passed away, she left Lim the family house in the peaceful city of Lasem.</p> </div> <div data-bbox="699 882 932 931" data-label="Caption"> <p>Figure 5: Babah Lim (sumber: Masdiono, 2022)</p> </div> <p>The representation of the Chinese Diaspora constructed by Masdiono through the figure of Babah Lim and reconstructed by the discussion participants</p> <p>The representations constructed by Masdiono and reconstructed by the participants were similar. Babah Lim is a representation of the bad Chinese who were Dutch accomplices that wanted to get rid of Babah Auwyang. This was interpreted in such a negative way that all participants stated that Babah Lim was the antagonist.</p>	<p>Interpretation of Babah Lim's visual text: From the expression on his face it was obvious that he is a cunning, and arrogant rich man.</p> <p>Interpretation of Babah Lim's verbal text: An antagonist who is a newcomer to Lasem, but because he has economic support from his rich father, and political support from the Dutch Colonial Government, he feels he can control the Lasem people, and monopolize the opium trade in Central Java. Babah Lim was also considered by the participants as an antagonist because he had evil thoughts towards Babah Auwyang (the protagonist) and intended to control opium in Central Java by getting rid of Babah Auwyang.</p>
<p>Visual signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- slanted eyes (index of Chinese ethnicity),</li> <li>- lips never smile (index of seriousness),</li> <li>- unshaven beard, matted hair (index of careless,</li> </ul>		<p>Interpretation of Wang the Tiger's visual text: Fierce, realizing that he is strong, confident (because of the bottom-up point of view).</p> <p>Interpretation of Wang the</p>

Encoding by Masdiono	Chinese Characters in “Laosam 1892” as the text	Decoding by FGD Participants
<p>and lower class),</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- headband (index of warrior).</li> </ul> <p>Verbal signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- mercenary (index of professions),</li> <li>- 35 years old (index of young age),</li> <li>- comes from Hu Nan, China (index of country of origin),</li> <li>- nickname 'the Tiger' (index of courage),</li> <li>- wander to Southeast Asia because ordered by teacher to look for brother biological (index of motivation),</li> <li>- traveling from Champa, Malacca, Karimata, Java (index of long journey in Southeast Asia as a <i>huayi</i>),</li> <li>- in Lasem he sided with Babah Auwyang for being bullied by Babah Lim (index of partisanship).</li> </ul> <p>Overall meaning: A brave Chinese man who is willing to suffer in order to find his brother and obey his teacher's order.</p>	 <p>Wang the Tiger, 35 years, a warrior from Hunan-China, who traveled on the orders of his teacher for his elder brother who reportedly went to a country in the south. So Wang traveled to Champa, Malacca, then took a ship to Andalus before arriving in Java. He had stayed in Karimata for more than one year before continuing his voyage to Java with his 'sweetheart'.</p> <p>Figure 6: Wang the Tiger (source: Masdiono, 2022)</p> <p>The representation of the Chinese Diaspora constructed by Masdiono through the character of Wang the Tiger and reconstructed by the discussion participants</p> <p>The representations constructed by Masdiono and reconstructed by the participants were similar. They considered Wang to be a Chinese person who was quite sympathetic, knowing that his motivation for going to Indonesia was to find his older brother on the orders of his teacher. Participants can better understand the reason for being a mercenary is to survive on a mission to find his brother.</p>	<p>Tiger's verbal text: Wang is a hard worker but has not been able to find his brother yet, he still obeys his teacher's orders despite facing various challenges, defeats, and violence. He does anything to keep his life (including being a mercenary of the antagonist Inang in Karimata, and a follower of protagonist Auwyang in Laosam). Wang made the right decision in Lasem because he wanted to save his own life. A true adventurer, a person who has the determination to achieve his goal of finding his brother, so he doesn't want to give up.</p>
<p>Visual signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- hat-covered face (index of hiding identity),</li> <li>- piercing eyes</li> </ul>		<p>Interpretation of Bhan Teng's visual text: Fierce, cruel, mysterious and ruthless.</p>

Encoding by Masdiono	Chinese Characters in "Laosam 1892" as the text	Decoding by FGD Participants
<p>(index of alert and serious),</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- lips curved to bottom (index of serious, angry, violent).</li> </ul> <p>Verbal signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 47 years old (index of middle age),</li> <li>- guards sent from Batavia (index of the 'thugs' of the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government),</li> <li>- comes from a small town to the west of Batavia, namely in Tangerang (an index of the origin of an area that is mostly inhabited by Peranakan Chinese).</li> </ul> <p>Overall meaning:</p> <p>Peranakan Chinese who worked as assassins who were very dangerous, worked in secret, and were Dutch accomplices in Batavia.</p>	 <p>Bhan Teng, 47 years, a bodyguard sent from Batavia after Lim reported that his assassins sent to kill Auwyang failed their job, even they got murdered. Bhan Teng himself came from the small city on the western side of Batavia called Tangerang. The Dutch had ambitions to seize the opium business from Auwyang and handed over it to the 'greedy' Lim, the Dutch doll.</p> <p>Figure 7: Bhan Teng (source: Masdiono, 2022)</p> <p>The representation of the Chinese Diaspora constructed by Masdiono through the figure of Bhan Teng and reconstructed by the discussion participants</p> <p>The representations constructed by Masdiono and reconstructed by the participants were similar. They saw Bhan Teng as a frightening Chinese, an antagonistic supporter assigned by the Dutch to help Babah Lim achieve his ambition to dominate the opium trade in Central Java.</p>	<p>Interpretation of Bhan Teng's verbal text:</p> <p>Bhan Teng is an evil character and cunning due to circumstances. If not alert, Auwyang could be harmed by him. He would do whatever the Dutch ordered in his mission to make Babah Lim the ruler of the opium trade in Central Java. He works clandestinely (secret, mysterious).</p>
<p>Visual signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- glaring eyes (index of alertness),</li> <li>- the corners of the lips are curved downwards (index of seriousness, anger, cruelty),</li> <li>- headband (index of the warrior).</li> </ul> <p>Verbal signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Siau Peng (an index of a Chinese name meaning Little Peng),</li> <li>- commonly called Gepeng (an index of</li> </ul>	 <p>Siau Peng usually called Gepeng, 57 years, the right-hand of Babah Lim, who is cunning and ruthless.</p> <p>Figure 8: Siau Peng (source: Masdiono, 2022)</p>	<p>Interpretation of Siau Peng's visual text:</p> <p>Sneaky, ruthless, rundown, dirty, messy, low class.</p> <p>Interpretation of Siau Peng's verbal text:</p> <p>Siau Peng is Lim's confidant who is cunning and cruel to the protagonist and the rest of Lasem's community.</p>

Encoding by Masdiono	Chinese Characters in "Laosam 1892" as the text	Decoding by FGD Participants
<p>Peranakan Chinese nicknames, a skinny body),</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 57 years old (index of old age)</li> <li>- Lim's right hand (the index of his position is quite high)</li> <li>- cunning and cruel (index of his nature).</li> </ul> <p>Overall meaning: The cunning and ruthless Peranakan Chinese from Lasem are the guardians of the antagonist. Even though his body is small and thin, he is shrewd in carrying out his crimes.</p>	<p>The representation of the Chinese Diaspora constructed by Masdiono through the character of Siau Peng and reconstructed by the discussion participants</p> <p>The representations constructed by Masdiono and reconstructed by the participants were similar. They saw Siau Peng as a cruel, fearsome Chinese, supporting Babah Lim's antagonist to take control of Lasem and seize the opium business from Babah Auwyang.</p>	
<p>Visual signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- bald head (index of old age),</li> <li>- fat (index of prosperous at that time),</li> <li>- facial expressions (index of fear race).</li> </ul> <p>Verbal signs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Hen Lang (index of Chinese names),</li> <li>- Babah (index of Peranakan Chinese),</li> <li>- 60 years old (index of old age),</li> <li>- Sin Lang stall owner (index of business ownership),</li> <li>- has a wife who is a batik entrepreneur (index from Lasem as the center of batik production at that time)</li> <li>- has lodging behind his shop (index of side business).</li> </ul> <p>Overall meaning: Peranakan Chinese from Lasem who want to live in peace, run various businesses on a small scale, do not want to get involved in conflicts, but are often the objects of extortion by criminals. Stereotype depiction of the Chinese as economic actors, but weak and always afraid of facing extortionists.</p>	 <p>Babah Heng Lang, 60 years, the owner and chef of warung Sin Lang and has a wife who also runs a batik business, also has a motel in the backyard of his warung.</p> <p>Figure 9: Babah Hen Lang (source: Masdiono, 2022)</p> <p>The representation of the Chinese Diaspora constructed by Masdiono through the figure of Babah Hen Lang and reconstructed by the discussion participants</p> <p>The representations constructed by Masdiono and reconstructed by the participants were similar. They see Babah Hen Lang as a diligent Chinese person, and good at doing business on a small scale. He is neutral because he does not side with Auwyang or Lim.</p>	<p>Interpretation of Hen Lang's visual text: He looks like a nice person, but with a weak character. He is rich but always afraid because he is often forced to give money to criminals.</p> <p>Interpretation of Hen Lang's verbal text: Hen Lang is a small businessman in Lasem who works to make ends meet. Economically he is also assisted by his wife's batik business. They enjoy old age and spend their free time with productive things. He was an ordinary and simple person who lived his life peacefully and was not involved in any crime.</p>

From the analysis in Table 1. and Table 2, there are various representation of Chinese Diaspora typologies. In "Karimata 1890" there is only 1 typology of the Chinese Diaspora represented through the characters Wang and Tian Loong, namely Chinese people who migrate from one place to another in search of a better life by doing various jobs to make a living, although sometimes not decent job.

In "Laosam 1892" there are several typologies of Diaspora representation, namely: (1) Peranakan Chinese who are diligent and good at doing business on a large scale, have a family background that upholds heroism and nationalism. However, he cannot be one hundred percent called a good person because he expanded his business to the opium trade which, although legal, is detrimental to society; (2) the Chinese Peranakans who were diligent and good at doing business on a large scale but cunning and cruel, were also puppets of the Dutch colonialists; (3) Totok Chinese who wander from one place to another with a specific purpose (to find a sibling) so that they do various jobs to make a living, without considering whether the work is good or bad; (4) Peranakan Chinese who work as paid thugs; and (5) Chinese Peranakans who are diligent and good at doing business on a small scale who do not want to be involved in conflict, but are often used as objects of extortion and violence.

The discussion participants stated that although in the comics there were Chinese people who were represented as negative characters such as the 'opium mafia' (Babah Auwyang, and Babah Lim) but they stated that it did not give a negative impression on Chinese people in Indonesia today, because the readers must have realized that the characters were fiction. They also say that the Chinese have always been represented as traders and not as 'mafia'. According to them, the more dominant representation of Chinese is perceived as coming from the stereotype as people who like to do business.

## RESULT

From the results of the discussion in the previous section, it can be seen that Masdiono represents several typologies of the Chinese Diaspora in the Dutch East Indies (currently Indonesia). Toni simply distinguishes between the Totok Chinese who wander from one area to another in the Southeast Asian region who can be referred to as *huayin*, and the Peranakan Chinese who live in Lasem (Laosam), Pasuruan, Tangerang who are descendants of the Chinese Diaspora who can serve as *huasangs* (traders) who had arrived in the Dutch East Indies before the mid-19th century. Masdiono explained that all the characters in the two comics (including the Chinese characters) were depicted in a gray area because in real life no one was extremely good, or bad. The Chinese representations constructed by Masdiono through visual and verbal texts consisting of various visual, verbal signs, and their combinations were interpreted almost the same by the discussion participants. Although their interpretation of the Chinese representation is almost the same as Masdiono's, the participants stated that they do not perceive it as a representation of the Chinese in Indonesia today, since most of whom work as businessmen. They argue that the representation of the Chinese as antagonists and his supporters will not cause negative perceptions if the reader realizes that it is only a story made for entertainment purposes only; in reality bad people can be of any ethnicity.

In the making of his comics, it appears that Masdiono did quite good historical research. The Karimata Strait is used as a setting in the story of pirate disputes because it is an area that is busy with trade and shipping activities so that it attracts pirate groups to commit piracy in the waters around Sumatra in the 18th century to the 19th century (Angga, 2022: 14). He also did historical research when he created the comic "Laosam 1892". This can be seen from the mention of the Yellow War hero to explain Babah Auwyang's ancestor. Daradjadi (2017: IX-X) stated that Lasem was one of the places where the Perang Sepanjang or Yellow War (1740-1743) was triggered by the massacre of 10,000 Chinese people in Batavia by the VOC in October 1740. The Yellow War was a coalition war between Chinese and Javanese troops against the VOC. Through his historical research, Masdiono also learned that in the 19th century in Lasem the Chinese traded opium (because it was forbidden to own agricultural land), and then batik (Lestari, Wiratama, 2018: 255). Masdiono explained in a conversation on October 31, 2022 that in his works, he always creates characters of different backgrounds and ethnicities, even though they are depicted as friends. The difference in status was deliberately not raised because Masdiono wanted to present a picture of a unified nation of Indonesia.

Although Masdiono has done quite a deep historical research, he does not describe a Chinese man whose forehead is bald and has a pigtail as a sign of the Qing Dynasty citizen. The representation of the Chinese Diaspora he wants to construct is the free and courageous men, not being the Han Chinese dominated by the Qing Dynasty. Thus, the representation is not an actual reality, but something that is imagined and influenced by the ideology of the maker.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Christine Claudia Lukman:** Lecturer at the Visual Communication Design Undergraduate Program, Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Maranahta Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia. Email: [christine.cl@art.maranatha.edu](mailto:christine.cl@art.maranatha.edu).

**Christianna Sekarkinanti Hertadimas:** Student at the Visual Communication Design Undergraduate Program, Faculty of Fine Arts and Design, Maranahta Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia.



# Reflections of Chinese Diaspora Artists Social Life on Lee Man Fong Painting 1950-1965 Period

Nuning Y. Damayanti\*, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia  
Poppy Rahayu\*, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia

\* nydamayanti10@gmail.com; poppyrahayu0709@gmail.com

*Abstract: Lee Man Fong is an artist who migrated to Indonesia in the 1930s. Like most other diasporas, he has the urge to assimilate into local social and cultural structures. This can be seen in his efforts to build his career as an artist while maintaining the understanding and values he previously brought, which is to present the aesthetics of Chinese Painting in his works. The research formulates the issues of Lee Man Fong's diaspora activities viewed from its sociological explanations in terms of the aesthetic values contained in his paintings. This research used qualitative methodology in its literature study, and also collected data as support. Using interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks, this writing involves the explanation and implementation of the concept of Chinese Diaspora theory, Chinese Painting aesthetics, mimetic tendencies in work, and the method of Art Criticism. The limitations of the problems specified in the sampling are Lee Man Fong's paintings in the 1950-1965 Presidential Palace. The artworks chosen consisted of collection pieces, which are also documented in "Lukisan-lukisan dan Patung-patung Koleksi Presiden Soekarno" published in 1964. In the final result, the conclusion obtained is an explanation between the relations of aesthetic values to his paintings and the identity of diaspora Chinese held by Lee Man Fong, which he manifested into the visual quality that appeared in his paintings. The visual distinction he created is adapted from the concept of Chinese Painting aesthetic applied to the themes of Indonesian Painting using Western Painting techniques.*

*Keywords: Chinese diaspora, Lee Man Fong, Indonesia painting, Western painting Presidential Palace 1950-1965.*

## INTRODUCTION

One of the early findings regarding the existence of Chinese artists in Java was a watercolor painting of a horned rhino object by an unknown artist in the mid-17th century (Kraus, 2005). The arrival of many Chinese artists to Indonesia was mentioned in a research journal note written by Werner Krauss entitled Chinese Influence on Early Modern Indonesian Art? Hou Qua: A Chinese Painter in 19th Century Java which is published in Archipel journal edition 69 of 2005. In the explanatory paragraph, the Chinese artists who came to Indonesia mostly came from Singapore in the mid-19th century. Some of them created art to make a living by worked as an artisan and assistant to famous Indonesian artists at that time. Krauss also directly quoted a sentence contained in a newspaper documentation published at that time which mentioned the fame of "drawing masters" from China. According to several other historical records, this was the beginning of the arrival of Chinese artists in the archipelago. The assimilation that grows between immigrants and natives gives rise to a plurality discourse. When society finally became heterogeneous during the industrialization period, newcomers could place themselves in various sectors that were currently running in the archipelago. It was during this period that many institutions and companies managed by immigrants emerged. Yogyakarta, and Cipanas Palace. These works of art have a high historical value judging by the relative artists who created them, such as Raden Saleh, Basuki Abdullah, Affandi, Trubus, Dullah, Lee Man Fong, Lim Wasim, and others. Around 1937, Soekarno at that time had not yet become president but had started his activities to personally collect works of art from various local and foreign artists. When he became president, some of them were moved to his house on Jalan Pegangsaan Timur during his exile by the Japanese. It is said that there are thousands of works of art recorded in the collection list of the State Palace. Some of them were archived and placed in four different palaces, namely the State Palace of the Republic of Indonesia, Bogor Presidential Palace, Tampaksiring Palace in Bali, Gedung Agung.

Lee Man Fong is said to be one of the important figures in the development of Chinese style painting in Indonesia. Born in 1913 into the family of a Chinese independence fighter, Lee Man Fong had learned to paint from a teacher named Lingnan. In 1932, Lee Man Fong moved to Batavia from Singapore. For his extraordinary painting talent, Lee Man Fong received an exhibition invitation from the Dutch East Indies association in 1936 in the Netherlands. In 1940, he received a scholarship from Governor General Van Mook to study fine arts in the Netherlands. There he stayed for a while before finally returning to Indonesia in late 1952. At that time he was working for an illustrated magazine in Jakarta called Nanyang Post, it was then that President Soekarno visited his studio and paid attention to his works which he thought were calm with pictures of nature, animals and social activities. According to President Soekarno, this statement was a breath of fresh air amid the busy atmosphere of the Revolution. Some of his paintings entitled "Buffalo", "Three Horses", "Merpati", "Balinese Girl", and "A Pair of Horses" are a small part of his well-known works. In this study, there were limited to ten paintings as samples, including works by Lee Man Fong which are found in the Bogor Presidential Palace. Lee Man Fong, one of the Chinese diasporas moved to Indonesia in 1932, like other immigrants, he started his luck working at the advertising agency and publisher Kolff & Co owned by the Netherlands. In the process of becoming an artist, Lee Man Fong studied his drawing technique in several places, until he finally got the chance to have an exhibition. After returning to seek artistic experience for six years, he formed an association



based on art. In 1955, Lee Man Fong founded the Yin Hua organization which was aimed at inspiring the Chinese diaspora in Jakarta. Lee Man Fong was also appointed by President Soekarno as one of those whose role was to determine the collection of presidential paintings in 1961. The results of the research were by analyzing the aesthetic elements present in the works of Lee Man Fong as a Chinese breeder artist made during his productive period in 1955 until 1965, Lee Man Fong's diaspora was reflected in the visual distinction created in his works showing an adaptation of the aesthetic concept of Chinese Painting applied to the theme of Indonesian Painting using Western idioms and Painting techniques.

## RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, the process of observing visual representations of works that have been documented, literature studies, interviews with informants, as well as archival studies of mass media writings that are considered relevant are carried out. A number of Lee Man Fong's paintings used as sample analysis were selected based on the criteria and limitations of the problem focus on works produced in the 1950-1965 range, especially the State Palace collection which is cataloged in the book "President Soekarno's Paintings and Sculptures Collection", published in 1964. The interdisciplinary approach used is Rainer Baubock and Thomas Faist's Theory of Diaspora in their book entitled *Diaspora and Transnationalism*, which explains the terminological limitations of understanding diaspora. Furthermore, the Chinese Painting Aesthetics approach is used to complete interpretation explanations related to analysis of characteristics, philosophical principles, and symbolization to the technique and medium used. Explanations regarding the tendency of representation of natural objects, flora and fauna are explained using a mimesis theory approach while aesthetic discussion by breaking down visual elements in a number of samples of this work will be used by Feldman's Art Criticism method. E.B. from his book *Art as Image and Idea* (Feldman, 1967).

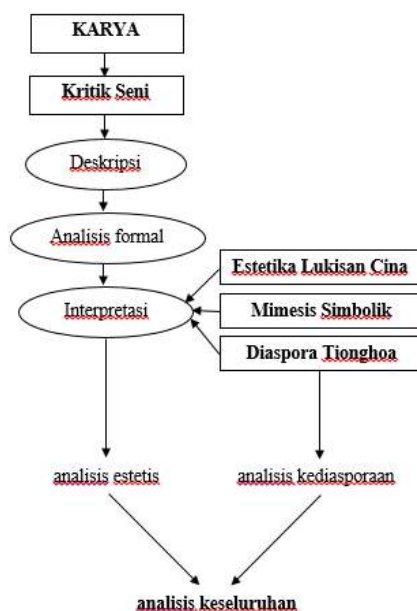


Figure I. Methodologist's flowchart of the stages of analysis of sample works

Source: Poppy Rahayu, 2015

## Characteristics of Lee Man Fong's Painting

Lee Man Fong is a Chinese diaspora who moved from the Guangdong region to Indonesia, this made him identified as the Teochiu diaspora. In Indonesia, the Chinese diaspora with the Teochiu dialect in its development has mostly spread back to the Kalimantan Island region. The 1950s to 1960s were historically recorded as a time when citizens of foreign descent as well as those of Chinese origin in Indonesia were faced with questions about loyalty. This situation then makes a further identification of social role groups in the Chinese diaspora. Broadly speaking, among them, 1) those who are pro-China, 2) those who are loyal to the country where they live but still identify as Chinese for economic reasons; 3) those who are pro-bumiputera; 4) those who are pro-bumiputera because they have been thoroughly assimilated.

Just like the existence and role of immigrants in Indonesia, especially those of Chinese descent, Lee Man Fong's existence is inseparable from issues of politics and identity. Although initially their goal of moving to a new land was mostly to expand their trading area and play a role in the economic sphere, gradually, especially in Indonesia, their movements were limited by government regulations stipulated during the colonial period and later in the post-colonial

decades. independence. Most of those who later decided to enter the world of fine arts, one of them was Lee Man Fong, political issues were something that was unavoidable even though he privately and openly stated that he was not motivated by political awareness.

The direction of Lee Man Fong's movement as an artist is based on Lee Man Fong's collective experience as a Chinese diaspora making him always try to see the opportunities that exist in the land of his arrival, in this case, to become an artist. Especially at that time, he was dissatisfied with what he was doing in the advertising industry. At that time, his paintings, which were exhibited together with Dutch artists at the Kolff Building where he worked, were bought by a Dutch governor who at that time was a well-known art patron. From here on, he was known as an artist. Further questions arise when he tries to show what kind of art he wants to bring. From there, he tried to guess the tastes of the art scene at that time. It was proven that during his studies in the Netherlands, he held an exhibition with the theme of combining Western techniques with traditional Chinese painting techniques, the response that emerged was positive.

From the sociological conditions and context of Lee Man Fong's life reflected in his works, several hypotheses can be drawn up. The first hypothesis in this study shows that Lee Man Fong's paintings, especially those of 1950-1965, are an aesthetic manifestation of an understanding of art conventions that he has understood throughout his life. Collective knowledge as a Chinese diaspora, Lee Man Fong has his own way of mapping himself as an artist, as well as a recognized figure in Indonesia. This can be seen from his contribution to the field of modern Indonesian art and the trust given by President Soekarno as a Palace Painter in 1961. The second hypothesis of Lee Man Fong's works shows that there are traces of four aesthetic characteristics appearing in paintings in Chinese culture and civilization.

The four aesthetic characteristics of Chinese painting that can be seen in Lee Man Fong's works in outline, include: 1) the poetic content of his work, 2) the dynamism that reveals the essence of the work, 3) the balance created by the concept of binary opposition (yin-yang), and 4) the visible nature that shows the regularity of mastery of the technique (Sullivan, 2009).

The third hypothesis in a number of visualizations of Lee Man Fong's paintings is a reflection of personal understanding of the conventions of Chinese painting. This is mentioned in his biographical notes, when he first drew in a school environment, most of his teachers instructed him that he must first understand the essence of the object to be transferred to the field which refers to the teachings of Tao and Buddhism that developed in Mainland Chinese culture, that every entity that exists in nature must have its own energy, therefore the task of the artist must be able to convey this in each of his works.




The fourth hypothesis is that visualization with effective composition is also one of the qualities that exist in his paintings. This is possible because of the influence of Lee Man Fong's work before becoming an artist, making a variety of commodities publication media, for example, billboards and advertising posters and others. This can be seen in the process of visualizing effective and appropriate composition designs in his works. So that aesthetic decisions and visual elements in his work can be appreciated easily. For example, a top-down vertical composition, or a center horizon spreading across the entire field.





One of the visualization tendencies of Lee Man Fong's works that will be examined specifically is by using an aesthetic study using the aesthetics of Chinese painting, namely the basic technical principles implied in each of his works. Thematically, Lee Man Fong touched on all aspects of Chinese painting including landscape painting, figure and portrait painting, animal world painting, impressionist painting with Chinese painting visuals, and many others. Judging from the development of his work history, in the early half there were many paintings with Indonesian naturalist themes which were more or less influenced by the visualization of Mooi Indie at that time. However, as his development progressed, paintings with visualizations of Chinese themes and techniques were widely seen towards the end of his life. This is the result of the consistent transition he went through in the mid-1950s-1960s in which he began to re-establish aesthetic decisions in Chinese painting techniques and themes. The Republic of Indonesia, which was newly independent at that time, was greatly influenced by the heterogeneity brought by immigrants, especially those from around the Asian continent. Indonesian painting in that period was flooded by artists from China, one of which was Lee Man Fong, then experienced the expansion of themes and exploration techniques caused by the superpower of the Indonesian government against Chinese figures in Indonesia. The Chinese characters figures, although they are artists, mostly also have a mode of trading, they are also considered to bring cultural potential that must be explored. The process of cultural transformation experienced by Lee Man Fong can be traced and began with his life experiences as a child when he was still living in Guang Dong, China and received direct art education from teachers who adhered to the philosophy of Chinese painting in the practice of his visual arts. Over time, he moved to Singapore still carrying the tendencies of the previous teachings while in China when he explored his art. Something similar can be seen during the transition when he moved from Singapore to Indonesia. In Indonesia, in particular, where he spent most of his life and work, in the very dynamic sequence of conditions at that time, many social, political and cultural events were recorded. Meanwhile, the tendency of Western influence on Lee Man Fong was experienced when he tried to bring up something new by bringing Eastern tendencies as the main visual highlight that was offered at that time and when he had a solo exhibition in the Netherlands.

## Representation of Visual Diversity by Lee Man Fong



Analysis of samples of Lee Man Fong's paintings from the period 1955-1965 is presented through sample tabulations that contain visual representations. Described in the table as follows: The works selected for analysis were based on specified criteria, namely, made in the period 1955-1965, paintings that represented themes that were often the object of his paintings, paintings that showed a variety of painting themes and showed visual elements and objects that were not from Indonesia. Ten paintings of Lee Man Fong were selected from the period 1955-1965. Among the paintings are entitled "Two Black Goldfish", "White Rose Flower", "After Bathing", "Guang Dong Girl", "Balinese Woman Carrying Basket", "Javanese Woman, Waiting", "Burning Satay", "View of Pagoda", and "Japanese House".

Table 1 Analysis of Lee Man Fong's paintings 1955-1965 period

No	Work's Painting	Analyses
1		<p>The painting "A Pair of Goldfish", 1955-1958</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The idiom of the influence of Western painting techniques and aesthetics in the cultivation of lindap, an attempt to represent a realistic impression that is different from the abstraction of Chinese and Indonesian aesthetics.</li> <li>2. Realist tendencies through details on painting objects, such as fish scales, aquatic plants, and others.</li> <li>3. The visualization of the vertical aesthetic composition of Chinese paintings is still dominant.</li> <li>4. How to mimetic follow the example of nature, directly observing the object of the painting.</li> <li>5. Lee Man Fong's distinctive character, seen from the proportions, color representation and effective composition, there is a tendency to adapt to market share.</li> </ol>
2		<p>The painting "The Poetic Dahlia Flower", 1958</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Still life works with floral themes were created in the 1958's.</li> <li>2. The influence of western aesthetics with the composition of the center of the object seen from one point of view and realistic.</li> <li>3. Many floral objects in Lee Man Fong's still life paintings were created during this period, the same object was often painted from different perspectives.</li> </ol>
3		<p>Painting: "After Bathing", 1964</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The female figure, always shows a full representation of the figure from head to toe, which is and compositionally placed in the center of the plane.</li> <li>2. Following the aesthetic influence of other Chinese paintings, namely the identity of the figure is not the main narrative, so that the facial expressions and identity are not shown clearly.</li> <li>3. This painting, especially according to and referring to the inventory catalog of the State Palace art objects, was the largest percentage in the Palace collection in the 1965s.</li> </ol>

No	Work's Painting	Analyses
4		<p>The painting "Guang Dong Girl", 1960-1961</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The work of this female figure clearly shows the identity of the object being painted showing the attributes of the clothes worn.</li> <li>2. Western aesthetic realist technique with the composition of the center of the object viewed from one point of view.</li> <li>3. The composition shows a full representation of the figure from head to toe, placed in the center of the plane.</li> </ol>
5		<p>Painting Works: "Burning Sate", 1964</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Chinese painting, the theme of everyday life especially appears in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), a combination of landscape objects and calligraphy shaped poetry,</li> <li>2. A period with a daily theme with a light narrative explored the use of color with a wide palette and empty fields.</li> <li>3. The proportions of objects are depicted in a representative manner, the figures of "Sate Sellers" and other human figures are depicted as limited to representational needs and not fully proportional</li> </ol>
6		<p>Painting "Javanese Girl, Waiting", 1964</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A Chinese aesthetic vertical composition featuring flowers as a background and figures of Javanese ethnic girls.</li> <li>2. The application of symbolic visual elements, in terms of morphology, is a type of hibiscus flower, in Chinese artifacts as a hope for happiness.</li> <li>3. This builds an interpretation of this painting, the depiction of a Javanese girl, although it is simple, it contains a narrative of happiness.</li> </ol>
7		<p>"Balinese Woman Carrying Basket", 1965</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. This painting is a recording of Lee Manfong's journey while living in Bali and shows the influence of Balinese aesthetics in his work.</li> <li>2. An overview of Lee Man Fong's observations on the theme of Balinese life. This female figure is described as carrying an object called "baku".</li> <li>3. Paintings with this theme have consistently appeared during Lee Manfong's productive period. That is the daily picture of people in Bali. In this work, a woman is depicted with attributes suspected of being traditional Balinese clothing.</li> <li>4. Identification of traditional Balinese people is recognized from the headband and typical daily</li> </ol>



No	Work's Painting	Analyses
		clothing of Balinese people, namely sleeveless cloth tops and long sarongs that cover the length of the bottom.
8		Painting "Pagoda View" 1. The cultivation of the outline of this painting fully adapts the use of existing outlines in the visual concepts of Chinese Painting, 2. Strict outlines on objects that look closely, as well as the use of vague lines typical of Chinese painting. 3. But the object of the pagoda tower is located in the distance. Use a fairly firm outline. This indicates the pagoda tower is an important part of the overall visual in this painting, 4. The nuances of monotonous colors appear strong, an awareness of color cultivation that looks neat in detail showing a contrasting balance between the background and the main object.
9		Painting "Japanese House", 1964 1. This painting may be a trace of Lee Man Fong's experience of visiting Japan in 1964. 2. The technique of painting objects in detail that shows light narrations realistically depicting a garden in a typical Japanese house from a Western aesthetic perspective.

The diversity of visual objects and painting themes as well as the techniques displayed in Lee Manfong's works were deliberately chosen as samples of research analysis to be the strengths and characteristics of Lee Man Fong as a successful diaspora artist in Indonesia at that time. Lee Man Fong's artistic productivity shows Lee Man Fong's social life as a Chinese diaspora who has managed to adapt and be flexible as a Chinese who wants to be recognized. This is certainly an assimilation effort that has been well calculated for a diaspora like himself. However, in the aesthetic decisions and themes of his paintings, it is shown that Lee Man Fong is very careful and consciously determines the visual elements in his works, so that not all aspects of the aesthetic themes he visualizes in his works. Lee Man Fong seems to choose to move in a corridor that he created himself by offering a visual understanding of traditional China, in most of his works, with themes that can be realized with the lives of the local people where he is assimilated, for example the depiction of Female Figures, Flora and Fauna Human characters such as satay, rujak, and others.

This can be observed from the stage of classifying the theme of the work and the data of the work that has been successfully documented, not finding any of his paintings that carry the theme of nationalism and the struggle of the people like a number of other Chinese Peranakan artists. The contextual content presented in these paintings does not reach the attempts to show romanticism or expressiveness. He does not involve certain objects into certain visual elements, but by showing the tendency of narratives that are displayed with representative figures. However, even though this is a challenge in his life as a diaspora trying to assimilate, it does not merely follow existing trends, but also brings understandings of the path of choice, as well as its own social interactions. Lee Man Fong strives to be a versatile artist who explores various styles that demand technical perfection and broad insight.

## CONCLUSION

Lee Man Fong's works show that there is still an aesthetic influence of Chinese painting which can give rise to a poetic quality of its own character, confirming Lee Man Fong as a diaspora of the Chinese people who have become Indonesian artists. Some of his works also show traces of experiences while visiting or living outside China and Indonesia. Typical Chinese themes and visualizations with the theme of animal symbolism, as well as Indonesian themes with visualizations of the daily life of Balinese people in some of his paintings and works. The technique applied is using traditional Chinese painting techniques.

Lee Man Fong as an artist who decided to live in Indonesia. The character of the Chinese people, who live with an economic cultural orientation, can be seen in their works of high quality and commodity quality in accordance with the share in the 1955-1965 period. This shows that Lee Man Fong as an artist certainly has his own idealism in producing quality works, at that time if art/artists had a commodity nuance, it was considered something that was not positive.

However, even though this is a challenge in his life as a diaspora trying to assimilate, it does not merely follow existing trends, but also brings understandings of the path of choice, as well as its own social interactions. Lee Man Fong strives to be a versatile artist who explores various styles that demand technical perfection and broad insight.

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## **ABOUT THE AUTHORS**

**Nuning Y. Damayanti:** Academicians, Visual Arts and Design, Institut Teknologi Bandung, nydamayanti10@gmail.com

**Poppy Rahayu:** Student, Visual Arts and Design, Institut Teknologi Bandung, poppyrahayu0709@gmail.com



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# Chinese Mythology in Lasem Batik Motifs

Christopher Dhanika Suwandi\*, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Avelina Garcia Paulus, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Violetta Patricia, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Ariesa Pandanwangi, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

\* christopherdhanika@gmail.com

*Abstract: Since 2009, Indonesian Batik has been recognized by UNESCO as a world heritage because batik has become increasingly famous on the international stage. Many foreigners come to Indonesia to see and enjoy the beauty of batik, one of which is Batik Lasem. The Lasem Batik motif is a blend of Chinese and Indonesian cultures. Batik Lasem comes from Lasem District, Rembang Regency, Central Java. In general, Batik Lasem consists of two motifs, Chinese and non-Chinese motifs. The purpose of writing this article is to reveal the meaning of the motifs contained in Lasem batik motif. Researchers used a qualitative descriptive method through data collection techniques with literature and documentation studies. The results of this study indicate that the koi fish motif has the meaning of longevity, and it is believed that fish can live for a long time, the butterfly motif has the meaning of teenage love and true love, the phoenix motif has the meaning of good nature and purity because in the legend there is the belief that this bird is ridden by the bride in Chinese culture. This motif is then acculturated with the local culture, so that it becomes a characteristic of the Batik Lasem motif.*

*Keywords: Acculturation; Batik Lasem; Indonesian culture; Chinese culture; fish motif; bird motif; butterfly motif.*

## BACKGROUND

Batik is one of Indonesia's cultural heritages which has been passed down from generation to generation. Batik is a painting art that uses mori cloth, canting, batik wax, and dyes as basic materials. Many people like this art because batik art depicts the beauty of nature and the outlook on life and the purpose of the works. To this day, there are still many batik enthusiasts from Indonesia and from abroad because they can enjoy the values of beauty, traditional customs, and religious values from batik (Rahayu & Alrianingrum, 2014).

Batik is one of the cultural assets inherited from the ancestors of Indonesia that developed from the Majapahit Empire. Since batik was recognized as a cultural heritage by UNESCO on October 2, 2009, the potential of batik has been explored in several fields, demonstrating the characteristics of each region and opening up new business opportunities in each region. The process of pioneering batik in Indonesia itself is quite long. The next stage was the UNESCO Closed Test which was held in Paris on 11-14 May 2009. The Malaysian delegation itself became a witness for 114 countries. Indonesian batik competes with patterned fabrics from Malaysia, Japan, China, India, Africa, Germany and the Netherlands, which authoritatively declare batik as one of the human heritages brought by Indonesia. (Putri, 2013, pp. 2–3)

Batik Lasem, is a type of batik originating from the city of Lasem district, Rembang regency, Central Java. This city is the second largest city in Rembang regency after the city of Rembang. The city of Lasem is also referred to as "little China" because it was the city when the Chinese landed at Java. Lasem batik motifs that are influenced by Chinese culture such as butterfly motifs, *Feng Huang* bird motifs, and fish motifs. This Lasem style batik is influenced by elements of art and culture from China and Campa (Cambodia), this is because many Chinese people live and become local residents, resulting in cultural acculturation, namely Lasem Batik. Batik Lasem is batik with a coastal batik style. According to Suminto in a journal entitled *Melirik Ciri Khas Batik Lasem* (2015:23), he explained that Batik is classified into 2 groups, namely *Batik Pedalaman* and *Batik Pesisiran*. *Batik pedalaman* are types of batik produced from areas far from the sea. Batik with this pedalaman batik model can be found in Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Indramayu, Semarang, and some other areas. The colors of *batik pedalaman* are generally earth colors such as brown, dark blue, brownish white, or bluish white. Meanwhile, *pesisiran batik* is a type of batik produced in areas close to the coast such as Pekalongan, Cirebon, Lasem, Tuban and Madura. The colors of this type of *batik pesisiran* are generally bright colors, such as green, yellow, bright red, bright blue, orange, and pink (R. S. Suminto, 2015).

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method which is a type design, or research design that is commonly used to examine natural research objects or in real conditions and is not regulated as in experiments. This type of research refers to problems that are formulated and produces descriptive data in the form of written words derived from literature studies (Creswell, 2014; De Vaus, 2002; Pandanwangi et al., 2021)

In relation to the theme of this research, the selection of a qualitative descriptive research form aims to be able to describe in detail about Chinese Mythology on the Diversity of Lasem Batik Motifs. The strategy used in this research



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is that researchers collect data from literature studies, journals, and from websites that are perused and selected appropriately and in accordance with the research title.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### History of Lasem Batik

Before the Japanese army arrived in 1912, Lasem was a reliable with prime quality batik producer. Since the end of the 18th century, Chinese and Arab traders have traded home-made batik collected from various villages in northern Java Island. After that, batik makers appeared who were paid for by batik makers who made batik according to the tastes of the batik business owners or according to the market tastes (Purwanto & Titiek S., 2017; Putra, 2016; Sudardi & Rizali, 2017).

*Batik Lasem*, called *Laseman*, is heavily influenced by Chinese culture. According to Putra in the journal entitled *Batik Lasem Sebagai Simbol Akulturasi Nilai-Nilai Budaya Cina-Jawa*, the city of Lasem was the first city visited when Chinese traders came to Indonesia. According to many historians, Admiral Cheng Ho arrived in Lasem in the 13th century. Starting from Lasem City, Chinese traders spread to Kudus City, Demak and other Javanese areas. Some of the Chinese traders then settled in Lasem City. Therefore, until now in Lasem there are still old houses with high walls with a typical Chinese style of building. Because there are many relics of houses with typical Chinese development arrangements, Lasem City is called "Little China". Chinese society in the 400 AD century has sailed and anchored all over the country. The purpose of the migration of Chinese in ancient times many of the Chinese sailed to India to study Buddhism. At that time India was one of the centers and origins of teaching Buddhism. (Putra, 2016)

In 1413, Admiral Cheng Ho stopped by the Lasem area to repair ships and treat his sick crew. After the admiral's ship was repaired, some of the admiral's crews asked permission to stay in Lasem because they liked the hospitality of the Javanese people, one of whom was captain Bi Nang Un. After much deliberation, Admiral Cheng Ho agreed to the will of the crew who wanted to stay and sailed back to mainland China with the remaining crew members. (S. Suminto, 2015; Putra, 2016).

The Duke of Lasem at that time, namely Prince Wijayabadra, allowed the captain to stay in Kemandung (Lasem Kidul), after which he moved to the area which is now called Binangunan (Bonang Beach area). Captain Bi Nang Un brought his wife, Na Li Ni with their first son Bi Nang Na (5 years), and youngest daughter Bi Nang Ti (3 years). Apart from that, he also brought Campa residents who were experts in making batik, gold jewelry, gamelan craftsmen, and Bi Nang Un also brought black sticky rice seeds, blungko mangoes, sugar cane, pomegranate, cempo chicken, blue peacock, and klewer rice (Rahayu & Alrianingrum, 2014; Unjiya, 2014).

At first Bi Nang Un lived in Kemandung (Lasem kidul), not long after moved to the Binangun area which is now the Bonang Beach area. When he lived in Kemandung, Na Li Ni taught the people of Kemandung how to make tobacco wallets from peacock feathers, dance, and how to make batik. Growing up, Bi Nang Ti's daughter was proficient in batik, embroidery, weaving, and making herbal medicine, with this being the beginning of batik making in Lasem. Bi Nang Ti finally married Prabu Badranala, who was later appointed as Adipati Lasem. The name Bi Nang Ti was finally changed to Winarti Kumudawarni. The Chronicle of Lasem written by Mpu Santri Badra in 1401 also tells that Na Li Ni began to learn batik and was active in making batik with motifs, *hong* birds, dragons, chrysanthemums, banji, coins with blood-red colors. These motifs are one of the characteristics of Lasem batik. Even at the early of the 19th century lasem batik already exported to Thailand and Suriname (S. Suminto, 2015; Putra, 2016).

### Characteristics of Lasem Batik

Batik Lasem has a characteristic in its color visualization, this is influenced by geographical factors. Namely the local natural water in Lasem, has the characteristic of producing a red color which cannot be produced in other batik centers. As for the colors of Lasem, they will be described below:

#### Color

Color is an important element for batik to make it look more beautiful and more attractive. The color scheme for *Laseman* is *kelengan* (motif with a milky white base color), *bang bangan* (red motif with a milky white base color), *bang biron* (red and blue motifs with a milky white base color), *bang ijo* (red, green and blue motifs), on a milky white background), *bang ungon* (purple or purple and red motifs on a milky white background), *irengan* (black motifs on a milky white background), *tiga negeri* (patterns with red, blue and brown colors) and *empat negeri* (batik with red, blue, brown and purple) (Suminto, 2015: 25).

The colors above are greatly influenced by China and have special meanings, namely: Red: Symbol of joy and wealth. Blue: Symbol of hope for a higher position. White: Symbol of old age and purity. Green: A symbol of life, therefore it must always be combined with red. Purple: Symbol of calm and loyalty. Yellow: Symbol of fame and progress. Black: Symbol of darkness and death.

The hallmark of Lasem batik is its red color, which is different with batik from other regions, which is called red chicken blod (*getih pitik*). In ancient times, Lasem was known as red lasem or '*abang getih pitik*' (a color of red that resembles chicken blood) because of its red color. Originally, red color was made specifically with natural dyes, namely the root of the noni tree (*Morinda citrifolia* L). The bright red color in Lasem batik is caused by the water in Lasem which contains minerals.

According to Suminto, in the journal entitled *Melirik Ciri Khas Batik Lasem*, he explained that around the 20th century, there were three countries batik cloths, which were long cloths with red and blue sarongs on a toga (brown) background. In the beginning of this type of cloth is called the cloth of the three countries because it is dyed in three different places, each of which is famous for its distinctive color. The red color is from Lasem, the blue color is from Pekalongan, and toga (brown) is from Solo or Kudus. Lasem and Pekalongan also made batik cloth from their own three countries, with red and blue motifs with a toga background (Suminto, 2015:26).

## Motif

The arrival of Chinese people in Java, especially in Lasem, created a new culture that was accepted by the people, called Lasem batik. Initially, Lasem batik was known as '*batik encim*', a batik worn by elderly women of Chinese descent. Through the influence of Chinese culture, Lasem batik has very distinctive colors, patterns, motifs and varieties.

### 1. Lasem Batik with Butterfly Motif



Figure 1. Lasem batik with butterfly motif.

This Lasem batik motif has been influenced by Chinese culture. For Chinese people, the butterfly has a symbol of teenage love and true love that cannot be separated. The philosophical meaning of the Lasem Batik motif of the butterfly is interpreted in the legend of *Liangshan bo yu Zhu Yingtai* (梁山伯与祝英台) or known as San Pek and Eng Tay. The Lasem butterfly batik is also inspired by the metamorphosis of a butterfly which teaches wisdom and the authenticity of life. The life of a butterfly that starts from an egg, then becomes a caterpillar until finally a butterfly can fly is a reflection of a path of helplessness, growth and ending in the implementation of beauty to be of benefit to others.

According to Restiyati in the journal *Makna Motif dan Warna Kain Batik Peranakan Tionghoa Jawa di Banyumas* (2020: 71), she stated that in the results of her interview the butterfly symbol symbolizes women. The legend of San Pek and Eng Tay tells of a girl named Eng Tay who loves a young man named San Pek. However, San Pek was rejected by the Eng Tay family due to differences in social status. Apart from that, Eng Tay had also been arranged by his family with another young man named Ma Tjun. After knowing this, San Pek died of a broken heart. On her wedding day with Ma Tjun, Eng Tay asked her family to pass by San Pek's grave, so she could pray at the tomb. Eng Tay prayed to the gods to open San Pek's tomb and when the tomb door opened, he entered the tomb and did not come out again. Ma Tjun was angry knowing this and ordered to open the tomb of San Pek so he could find Eng Tay. However, only a pair of butterflies that he found in the tomb, it is believed that San Pek and Eng Tay had turned into a pair of butterflies.

### 2. Lasem Batik with The Phoenix Bird Motif (*Fenghuang*)



Figure 2. Lasem batik with Fenghuang motif

This Lasem batik motif has been influenced by Chinese culture, usually the main ornament of the Lasem Batik motif is the Bird symbolized by a phoenix, peacock and a bird on a comb. The phoenix bird has a symbol of good nature and purity because in legend, this bird is ridden by gods. Lasem batik with this motif is usually worn by Chinese brides. There are also those who say that this bird has other symbols such as "feng" which means male phoenix and "huang" which means female phoenix, and there are legends that argue that "feng" means wind which indicates that phoenix was known as the god of wind. The phoenix for the Chinese people is one of the supernatural beings (*si ling*) along with dragons (*long*), kilin (*qilin*), and turtles (*gui*). The phoenix motif was popularized by batik makers from the palace or royal circles in Java (Restiyati, 2020:70).

The phoenix bird first began to be used as an ornamental motif during the reign of Emperor Huang Ti (2698 BC - 2598 BC) and then reappeared during the reign of the Han Dynasty (206 AD - 220 AD). At that time, the phoenix began to become an instrument of offerings and a symbol of praise for rulers who succeeded in leading the country peacefully. Since the Han Dynasty, phoenixes and dragons have always been a decoration in every palace built at that time.

In subsequent developments, the phoenix bird became a regal symbol that could only be worn by the empress of the Chinese emperor and became the only official royal motif used for embroidering the empress's robes, crowns, hair jewellery, hairpins, and other luxury accessories that could only be used by the empress.

As the times changed, the phoenix motif became more accessible to the public. Because the phoenix in the eyes of the public is the most beautiful bird, it is often known as the symbol of a beautiful woman who seduces with a twinkling of an eye and is nicknamed the 'phoenix glance'. Not a few phoenix motifs are used in traditional Chinese wedding dresses as a symbol of 'queen for a day' and if you happen to find a painting of a pair of black or red phoenixes dancing, it is a symbol of one of the positions of lovemaking in Chinese 'kamasutra'.

### 3. Lasem Batik with The Koi Fish Motif



Figure 3. Lasem batik with koi fish motif

One specific fish that is believed to be a symbol of good luck in life is the koi fish (double fishes). Koi fish are believed to be able to bring Chinese people into a successful life space because koi fish are also called gold fish. Koi fish is also symbolized by longevity because it is believed that fish can last a long time. The double fish has a rich history in Chinese culture and symbolism. A pair of fishes symbolizes goodness that is brought to life by science (Khumairoh, 2021).

According to Kumairoh, in the article *Makna di Balik Lukisan Simbol Ganda Menurut Feng Shui* (Kumairoh, 2021) it is explained that in Taoism, practitioners often refer to images of two koi fishes spinning as a union of yin and yang, representing the taichi symbol. One example is the wedding event, the double fishes symbol symbolizes the meaning of a harmonious union between the couple which carries the meaning of fertility, marital happiness, and the pleasure of intimacy. This motif is usually found on embroidered sheets, pillowcases, and newlywed clothes. The koi fish symbol is widely used in home decor in the form of two fishes hanging from a stone bell. Hanging these two koi fishes express happiness.

In a journal entitled *Pemahaman Tabib Etnis Tionghoa di Surabaya Mengenai Yīnyáng*. This yinyang symbol consists of two colors, namely black and white, with a little white dot on the black part and a little black dot on the white part. There is a yin element within the element, and in the yin element also contains a yang element, which shows that there is no eternal perfection in this cosmos. Yinyang symbolizes balanced harmony, is also a unity that supports and opposes each other. The black yin symbol is always placed on the left and the white yang symbol is always placed on the right. If the position is reversed, then the symbol is incorrect. The concept of Yinyang, even in the era of the Han Dynasty, there was a man named Dong Zhongshu who made teachings that classify wife and children as yin whereas father and husband as yang. (2013:3)

## CONCLUSSION

Batik is a cultural heritage owned by Indonesia which has been passed down from generation to generation. Batik is much-loved by the public because batik is a painting that depicts the beauty of nature, outlook on life, and the goals of the work. Batik itself has developed since the Majapahit kingdom period.

Lasem batik is a type of batik produced in the town of Lasem sub-district, Rembang district, Central Java. Batik Lasem is the result of cultural acculturation from the Chinese community who live with local residents in the Lasem area. Batik Lasem is batik with a pesisiran batik style, namely batik that is produced in areas close to the coast. The colors of this type of coastal batik are generally bright colors, such as green, yellow, bright red, bright blue, and also orange and pink.

Batik Lasem, known as Laseman, is heavily influenced by Chinese culture. The city of Lasem has long held trade with merchants and had relations with Chinese merchants since the 14th century. Batik Lasem is also closely related to the arrival of Admiral Cheng Ho in 1413. Admiral Cheng Ho originally came to Lasem to treat his sick crew members and carry out ship repairs. One of Admiral Cheng Ho's crew members, captain Bi Nang Un, saw Lasem as a nice area to live in. Not long after, he asked permission from Admiral Cheng Ho not to accompany him in continuing his voyage and settled in Lasem. Bi Nang Un brought his wife Na Li Ni and their two children, son Bi Nang Na and daughter Bi Nang Ti. Na Li Ni and also her daughter Bi Nang Ti first taught Lasem residents how to make batik.

The characteristics of Lasem batik are the colors and motifs that have been influenced by Chinese culture. For example, the red color is different from batik in other regions, which resembles chicken blood (getih putih). Initially, Lasem batik was known as "encim batik", which is the batik worn by women of Chinese descent. Through the influence of Chinese culture, Lasem batik has very distinctive colors, patterns, motifs and varieties. For example, Lasem batik with a butterfly motif means teenage love and true love that cannot be separated. There is also a Lasem batik motif with a phoenix (fenghuang) motif which means good nature and purity and Lasem batik with a koi fish motif which means good luck. Koi fish is also symbolized by longevity because it is believed that fish can last a long time.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Christopher Dhanika Suwandi:** Student at Maranatha Christian University, Faculty of Language and Culture, Bandung, Indonesia, christopherdhanika@gmail.com, first author and correspondence author, collecting data related to batik in general and the history of Lasem batik, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia

**Avelina Garcia Paulus:** Student at Maranatha Christian University, Faculty of Language and Culture, Bandung, Indonesia, 2146012@lang.maranatha.edu, second author, collecting data related to the characteristics of Lasem batik, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia

**Violetta Patricia:** Student at Maranatha Christian University, Faculty of Language and Culture, Bandung, Indonesia, 2146009@lang.maranatha.edu, third author, assists the first and second authors in describing batik in general, the history of Lasem batik, and the characteristics of Lasem batik, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia.

**Ariesa Pandanwangi:** Lecturer at Maranatha Christian University, Faculty of Arts and Designs, Bandung, Indonesia, ariesa.pandanwangi@maranatha.edu, fourth author, helps in completing data, look for references, and inspect the article, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia.



# The Influence of Food from Chinese Culture at Culinary Noodles of Indonesia

Anna Melia Kamil\*, Maranatha Christian University, Indonesia  
Joyce Clara Via, Maranatha Christian University, Indonesia  
Ariesa Pandanwangi, Maranatha Christian University, Indonesia  
Cecep Apandi, Maranatha Christian University, Indonesia

\* annameliakamil03@gmail.com

*Abstract: Based on history, the oldest noodles were found in China around 4000 years ago, predating noodles produced in Italy. Recorded in the Ancient Inscriptions, the existence of noodles in China grew during the Eastern Han Dynasty, known as tang bing. In accordance with the literal meaning, tang bing has the appearance of a flour cake with gravy. During the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, the appearance of noodles changed to what it is today, which is flat and long. Thus, noodles became the staple food of the Chinese people. The Chinese ethnic group is thought to have entered and settled in Indonesia hundreds of years ago. The arrival of ethnic Chinese to Indonesia has had a major influence on cultural life in Indonesia, one of which is on the development of culinary culture in Indonesia, for example noodles. In this paper, the authors will explain the reasons why noodles are easily accepted by Indonesian people and how noodles are developing in Indonesia. This research was conducted using qualitative methods. With the emergence of the Chinese diaspora, noodles can eventually reach Indonesia. The taste of noodles is also acceptable and is increasingly being developed by Indonesian people. This also happened because during cooking the noodles were combined using local Indonesian ingredients and at the same time adapted to the tastes of the Indonesian people's tongue.*

*Keywords: Noodles, Culinary, China, Indonesia*

## INTRODUCTION

Until now, typical ethnic Chinese food is directly related to Indonesian cuisine (Wiratri, 2017). Chinese recipes are a clear example of the occurrence of diaspora in the world, a large population and fierce competition for life make Chinese people think more about moving outward to traveling abroad (Wijaya, 2019). This resulted in Chinese people being found everywhere. History says that the spread of ethnic Chinese to foreign countries occurred in the 18th to 20th centuries. Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the United States, Singapore, Canada, Peru, Vietnam, the Philippines and Myanmar are the ten countries with the largest ethnic Chinese diaspora in the world (Goodkind, 2019). The first position is occupied by Thailand with a total of 9.3 million ethnic Chinese and the second position is occupied by Indonesia with a total of 7.6 million ethnic Chinese (Hanggari, 2010).

Based on historical records, the Chinese are thought to have come to Indonesia during the Han Dynasty (206 BC-220 BC). At that time, it was known that China had opened trade routes to Southeast Asia, including Indonesia (Khasanah, 2018; Pandanwangi et al., 2018; Pitoyo & Triwahyudi, 2018). Until now, based on 2010 census data, it was stated that the ethnic Chinese population reached 2,832,510 people, or around 1.2% of the Indonesian population and are spread throughout Indonesia. In line with the large number of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, Chinese culture, which includes art, language, celebrations, culinary arts, and so on, slowly entered and then acculturated with Indonesian culture.

Just like society in general, ethnic Chinese also have primary needs, clothing, food, boards. In Chinese ethnic culture, food plays a very important role. This happens because food is seen as a unified social structure that influences the economic unit. In addition, the religious life of ethnic Chinese is often expressed through food as offerings for ancestors, offerings for traditional events, even in welcoming festivals and cultural events.

Since the beginning of the migration of Chinese people to Indonesia, the influence of Chinese cuisine coupled with the entry of various new food ingredients such as spring onions, garlic to soybeans, can already be seen (Wijaya, 2019). The culinary variety brought by the Chinese ethnic, which at first was only popular in big cities or areas of the Chinese ethnic community, slowly began to spread and be accepted by the natives and ancestors, which was passed down and then processed continuously to become a special recipe, even to the point of creating new variation (Kusuma & Octastefani, 2022; Rahman, 2018; Wiratri, 2017).

Noodles, which is one of the staple foods of the Chinese population, at first were exclusively food served specifically for the nobility. Gradually, noodles developed into food that could be consumed by all Chinese people regardless of existing social class. Almost similar conditions occurred in Indonesia. When noodles first arrived in Indonesia, only ethnic Chinese consumed noodles. However, over time, noodles that have entered Indonesia are not only food consumed by ethnic Chinese but are also slowly being introduced to and got the interest of the local Indonesian community.



## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The type of research is research qualitative research, namely a method that utilizes descriptive data, in the form of written words from the observed object and emphasizes observing phenomena and researching more about the substance of the meaning of the phenomenon (Rianingrum & Pandanwangi, 2021; Taylor et al., 2016; Yusuf, 2017). Through qualitative methods, a phenomenon can be explained in depth by means of collecting data as deeply as possible (F Hamid, 2015; Farid Hamid, 2018). The strategy used in this study was that researchers collected data from literature studies, journals, and websites that were studied and selected appropriately and in accordance with the research title (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018).

## DISCUSSION

### The History of Noodle

Professor Houyuan Lu, a researcher from the Institute of Geology and Geophysics, Chinese Academy of Sciences, said that the oldest noodles found in Qinghai, China, are estimated to be 4,000 years old (Tiong, 2013; Wiratri, 2017). This is based on the discovery of a notebook in the Eastern Han Dynasty, which wrote about the earliest ways of making noodles. The Eastern Han dynasty, which triumphed from 206 BC to 220 AD, made noodles the main dish at various events at the palace. At that time, noodle was referred as Tang Bing (汤饼), which is a soupy flour cake.

During the Han Dynasty, dough-making techniques came from the Middle East combined with fermentation techniques. At that time, there was a food called Bing (饼) which refers to a round, flat and thin food or cake. In Mandarin, the biscuit is called Binggan (饼干) which literally means dry cake. The character Bing (饼) in Chinese characters consists of the radicals shi (饣) meaning 'food' and bing (并) meaning 'to combine'. The manufacturing process is called he bing (合并) which means 'to mix/mix' flour and water. In general, bing is made from wheat, but some are made from rice which can be eaten through the process of boiling, roasting or steaming. Through this explanation, noodle belongs to a food group called Bing. Tang Bing, which is made from millet flour dough and steamed, is often served at summer events. At that time, the shape of the noodles in the form of small cubes. The steamed Tang Bing is then put into chicken soup, added with chopped vegetables to enhance the taste.

During the Wei Dynasty to the today, noodles were called Shuiyin Bing (水引饼) which meant boiled noodles and were similar to the, namely long, flat and thin. They use wheat flour as the main dough, which is soaked in water, then formed into long rolls, and cooked in hot water. For this discovery, the noodle-making process was enshrined in the Qimin Yaoshu (齐民要术), which is a history book of Chinese agriculture. During the Southern and Northern Dynasties up to the Tang Dynasty, noodle varieties became more numerous. It was during this period that the custom of eating Longevity Noodles (寿面) was formed. This Longevity Noodle (寿面) is eaten on birthdays and has the meaning that the person gets the blessing of longevity. During the Yuan Dynasty, the manufacture of dry noodles started and flourished.

During the Song dynasty, noodle varieties developed more rapidly, with as many as 30 to 40 varieties of noodles recorded. Noodles began to be known among the people at that time and became staple food that was liked by the Chinese people. Because of this, shops and restaurants began to appear selling noodle soup as the main menu. The basic ingredients for noodles vary, such as flour, rice, and mung bean flour. At that time, it was agreed that the formal designation for noodles in China would be mian (面). During the Yuan Dynasty, the Mian Cave (挂面) appeared which could be preserved and stored for a long time. During the Ming Dynasty, appeared Chen Mian (抻面) who was created with extraordinary skills. The emergence of noodle manufacturing techniques has contributed significantly to the development of noodles. During the Qing Dynasty, more meaningful varieties of noodle appeared, one of which was Ifumie (伊府面). Along with its development, noodle spread to Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, Laos, Vietnam, Indonesia and other Asian regions.

The entry of the Chinese Ethnicity into Indonesia began when Java and Sumatera were still in the form of a Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, the Chinese Ethnic had established trade relations with the kingdoms in Indonesia (Kusuma & Octastefani, 2022; Suryadinata, 2020). In the mid-19th century, most of the Hokkien ethnic Chinese lived on the island of Java and introduced their special food, namely "noodles". The word "noodle" in Indonesia is said to have come from the word in Mandarin, namely "Mian (面)" which indicates the basic ingredient for making it is flour. Chinese ethnic who migrated to countries in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, also brought noodle recipes with them and introduced them to the local community (Khasanah, 2018; Pitoyo & Triwahyudi, 2018).

Denys Lombard in his book titled *Nusa Jawa Silang Budaya* has been quoted by National Geographic Indonesia, that noodles as food have existed since the time of the Majapahit Empire (Lombard, 1996). The existence of noodles is recorded in the Biluluk Inscription which was written in 1391 as "laksa" from Sanskrit. Prof. Dr. Ir Mardijati Gardjito Professor of Food Science and Technology UGM said that the noodles are processed with local spices by the people of the Archipelago. As time goes by, the types of noodles in Indonesia are increasingly diverse and have become a substitute for rice that is popular with the public.

The Chinese ethnic group has succeeded in acculturating their special food with several traditional spices that are adapted to the tongue of the Indonesian people. The addition of these traditional spices makes the food acceptable to the people of Indonesia. Like meatballs which are typical Indonesian food, it turns out to be the dish of ethnic Chinese culture. In Indonesia, noodles received positive reactions from various groups in each region and were developed with a mixture of various kinds of spices (Rahman, 2018; Setiawan, 2017). The noodles that are often found are Javanese noodles, Acehnese noodles, titi noodles, Bangka Belitung noodles and noodles from various other regions. Noodles are preferred because they are practical, easy to obtain, and suitable as a side dish or main dish. The people's passion for consuming noodles is increasing. Nowadays, the use of noodles in daily food is easy to find, whether using wet noodles, dry noodles, or instant noodles. This shows that noodles have become part of Indonesian culinary culture.

### Ingredients in Noodle Making Process

The main ingredients used for making noodles are as follows;

#### 1. Wheat Flour

Indonesia's high dependence on rice and imported food products such as flour makes national food security very fragile. From the aspect of macro-development policy, this condition contains risks (vulnerable), which are also related to economic, social and political stability. One of the food development policies in achieving food security is through food diversification, which is intended to provide alternative food ingredients so as to reduce dependence on rice and wheat. One of the food products that is highly dependent on wheat flour is noodle products. The development of noodle consumption is quite rapid and noodles are a type of food that suits the needs or preferences of consumers in Indonesia. Noodles that are commonly found in the market are usually made from milling wheat flour (which is obtained from wheat seeds milled) so that they are elastic and do not break easily during the molding and cooking processes because they contain gluten (Abidin et al., 2013). In addition to the gluten formed, the proportion of amylose and amylopectin, as well as the composition and process of the dough will affect the elasticity of the noodles that are formed (Hong et al., 2020).

President Director of PT. Sriboga Raturaya Alwin Arifin stated that the productivity of wheat in Indonesia is still very low, so that imported wheat is still needed as the main ingredient for making wheat flour. According to data obtained from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), in 2021, Indonesia will import more than 11 million tons of wheat from Australia, Ukraine, Canada, Argentina, the United States, India, Bulgaria, Moldova, Russia and others. The minimum supply of wheat that can be produced in Indonesia occurs because wheat plants usually grow in fields only with a subtropical climate with temperatures ranging from 10-25 °C. While Indonesia itself has a tropical climate and Indonesia's hilly geographical conditions are not suitable for planting wheat. Because the production of wheat flour was considered unreliable, noodle producers began to use substitution in the form of using tuber flour, soredia, and MOCAF (Modified Cassava Flour) made from cassava as a basic ingredient for making noodles.

#### 2. Water

Water plays a role in dissolving salt, as a reaction medium between carbohydrates and gluten, as well as forming gluten's chewy properties. Because of the presence of water, starch and gluten will expand. In the process of making noodles, water with a pH between 6-9 is needed to increase water absorption. The high water content will make the noodles stronger and not break easily.

#### 3. Salt

Apart from acting as a flavor enhancer, adding salt to the dough will strengthen the texture of the noodles, increase the elasticity of the noodles, strengthen the noodles, and also bind water. Salt is also added to prevent the noodles from sticking and swelling excessively because salt can inhibit the activity of amylase and protease enzymes.

#### 4. Eggs

Eggs have two parts, namely egg white and yolk. In the process of making noodles, egg whites will produce a thin and strong layer on the surface of the noodles which can prevent the absorption of oil when the noodles go through the frying process. Egg yolk has a role as a good emulsifier due to the presence of lecithin which can accelerate the hydration of water in flour. In addition, egg yolks also play a role as a dough developer.

### Types of Noodles

Based on processing techniques and water content, noodles can be divided into four groups as follows;

#### 1. Raw or fresh noodles

Raw or fresh noodles are noodles that after going through the cutting or molding process do not go through the heating process. The water content of these noodles is quite high, around 35%. The combination of high water content and raw conditions causes the noodles to spoil quickly. Refrigerator storage keeps noodles fresh for up to 50-60 hours. After exceeding this time limit, the color of the noodles will turn dark (Abidin et al., 2013).

## 2. Wet noodles

Wet noodles are fresh noodles that have been cooked and usually a little oil is added to prevent the noodles from sticking together. The water content of these noodles reaches 52%, so their shelf life is relatively short, around 40 hours at room temperature (Nurhayati et al., 2022). Wet noodles do not need to be boiled before use, but simply rinsed using hot water to remove any remaining flour or oil.

## 3. Dry noodles

Dry noodles are noodles that after going through the steaming process are then dried until the remaining water content is only around 8-10%. The drying technique used is to dry the noodles in the sun or by using an oven (Hasanah et al., 2021). The lower water content makes the noodles can be stored for a longer period of time.

## 4. Instant noodles

Instant noodles are dry noodles that are ready to serve after being cooked or boiled in boiling water for 3-4 minutes. The process of making this noodle goes through the stages of making fresh noodles followed by steaming, forming and drying. Instant noodles only have a water content of around 5-8%, so they have a long shelf life. One way to dry noodles is by frying in oil or using hot dry air (Hasanah et al., 2021). Instant noodles sold in the market are usually packaged per portion, complete with vegetable oil, seasonings, dried chilies, with or without dried vegetables.

## Noodle Making Process

The process of making noodles consists of six stages as follows;

### 1. The first stage: mixing

The mixing stage aims to make the water evenly hydrate the flour and attract the gluten fibers. In order to produce a good dough, the amount of water added is 28-38%, stirred for 15-25 minutes, with the dough temperature ranging from 24-40°C.

### 2. The second stage: roll press

The roll press stage is the process of forming the dough into sheets with a thickness of 1.2-2 mm which is achieved by smoothing the gluten fibers. The pressed dough should not be less than 25°C. This will cause the noodle dough sheets to become cracked and rough. The quality of these noodle dough sheets is considered to be poor because they are brittle and break easily.

### 3. The third stage: the formation of noodles

The flat noodle dough will then be cut lengthwise 1-2 mm wide with a noodle cutter, then cut crosswise with a certain length so that later in dry conditions the noodles are obtained according to the desired weight.

### 4. The fourth stage: steaming

Before the noodles are steamed, the bonds in the noodles are soft and flexible, but after steaming, the noodles become hard and strong. This happens because during the steaming stage, water dehydrates from gluten through the process of starch gelatinization and gluten coagulation which makes the noodles chewy. Chemically, this is caused by the breaking of hydrogen bonds, so that the bond chains of the starch and gluten complexes become tighter.

### 5. Fifth stage: frying

The purpose of the frying stage is to dehydrate the water content in the noodles to 3-5%. Noodles should be fried in hot oil at 140-150 °C for one to two minutes. The high oil temperature causes the water to evaporate quickly and creates fine pores on the surface of the noodles, so that the rehydration time becomes shorter. This frying stage is usually done in the instant noodle production process.

### 6. Sixth stage: cooling

After frying, the noodles are drained using a fan at 40 °C with the aim of making the oil stick to the surface of the noodles and also to make the noodle structure hard. This cooling technique must be done to perfection in order to prevent mold growth as a result of moisture condensation. The stages of frying and cooling the noodles can be replaced by using an oven with a temperature of 60 °C.

## Types of Authentic Noodles in Indonesia

At present, noodles have become a food that is loved by Indonesian people. In some areas, noodle dishes are dishes that are characteristic of that area. Some examples include

### 1. Mi Celor Palembang

Mi celor is a noodle dish originating from the city of Palembang, South Sumatra, Indonesia. Celor noodles are served with a thick and tasty mixture of coconut milk and shrimp broth and served with accompaniments such as boiled eggs, bean sprouts, green onions, fried onions and chives. The size of the noodles used is larger than the noodles in general.



Figure 1. Mie Celor

Source: Photo Repro

Mi celor is a fusion of Malay and Chinese dishes. The word celor in the Malay dialect of Palembang means to dip. This refers to the way the noodles are dipped in hot water before serving. Generally, Palembang people consume Mi Celor in the morning for breakfast.

## 2. Mi Aceh

Mi Aceh is one of the typical foods in Indonesia originating from the city of Aceh. Mi Aceh consists of two types, namely Aceh noodle soup and Acehnese fried noodles. In addition, the serving of Acehnese noodles is also sprinkled with fried onions and served with chips, chopped shallots, cucumber and lime. It can be seen from its historical perspective,



Figure 2. Mie Aceh

Source: Photo Repro

Acehnese noodles are inseparable from the culture of the local community and the influence of foreign cultures that entered Aceh in ancient times. The thick soup is an influence from Indian cuisine, while the noodles themselves are a Chinese influence. Serving Acehnese noodles with pieces of mutton or beef can show that Islamic values in Aceh are very strong.

## 3. Mi Kocok Bandung

Mi Kocok are legendary noodles originating from Bandung, West Java. The term shake in this culinary name refers to the cooking process, namely shaking the noodles in a perforated container with a handle, occasionally dipping the noodles into hot water.



Figure 3. Mie Kocok

Source: Photo Repro

Shake noodles use a type of flattened yellow noodles that have a soft texture. This dish consists of yellow noodles served in thick beef broth, sliced gravel, bean sprouts, meatballs, lime, and sprinkled with sliced celery, green onions, and fried onions.

#### 4. Mi Bangka

Mi Bangka or known by the people of Bangka with the name mian which originated from tin mining. The Chinese came to Indonesia because they were attracted by the tin wealth in Belitung.



Figure 4. Mie Bangka

*Source: Photo Repro*

Interactions between Chinese people and local residents in Belitung influence cooking methods and culinary elements from China and from Belitung. One of them is culinary noodles cooked by sautéing. Bangka noodles are a blend of Chinese, Dutch and Indonesian cultures.

#### 5. Mi Titi Makassar

Makassar has a variety of culinary delights such as Makassar coto and konro soup. But Makassar does not only have coto or konro soup. There is a savory and warm "Titi" noodle.



Figure 5. Mie Titi Makasar

*Source: Photo Repro*

Mi titi are dry fried noodles doused with thick gravy made from eggs and cornstarch. In the titi noodle soup there are various mixtures such as chicken, beef liver, cabbage, mustard greens, celery leaves, and shrimp. Mi titi originated from a hawker cart selling Chinese food in the city of Makassar around the 60-70s.

#### 6. Mi Tiaw Apollo Pontianak

Mi tiaw Apollo is a noodle originating from Pontianak, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Mi tiaw Apollo is one of the legendary culinary delights since the 1968s. Mi tiaw can be said to have become a culinary icon of Pontianak which is thick with Peranakan Chinese culture.



Figure 5. Mie Tiaw

*Source: Photo Repro*

Mi tiaw uses a type of flat and wide noodles. Mi tiaw has a savory taste and beef flavor which tends to be thick with toppings of tripe, bean sprouts and green vegetables.



## CONCLUSION

Noodle are thought to have existed and been consumed by the Chinese for 4000 years ago. Recorded in historical notebooks during the Eastern Han Dynasty, noodles became the main dish at various events in the palace. Noodles continue to develop into many varieties and spread to Asian countries such as Japan, Korea, Laos, Vietnam, Indonesia and other Asian regions.

Based on history, noodles are believed to have existed in the archipelago since the Majapahit Kingdom. This is recorded in the Biluluk Inscription which was written in 1391 as "laksa" from Sanskrit. Chinese ethnic who migrated to countries in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, took part in bringing noodle recipes and introducing them to the local community.

In line with the many ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, Chinese culture slowly began to enter. Among other things, such as art, language, celebration, culinary, and so on. Indirectly this diversity acculturates with Indonesian culture. One of the diversities that is most affected is the culinary field, one of which is noodle culinary. At first, the culinary variety of noodles brought by the Chinese was only popular in big cities or areas where the ethnic Chinese community lived. But then, this culinary slowly began to merge with local culinary delights and attracted the interest of the local Indonesian community.

The Chinese ethnic communities succeeded in acculturating their special food with traditional spices adapted to the tongue of the Indonesian people. In Indonesia, noodles are favored by various groups, from children to adults. With the diversity of spices in Indonesia, this has caused each region to start developing its own noodles taste with a mixture of various spices. There are various types of noodles that are well known and are characteristic of regions in Indonesia, namely, Javanese noodles, Acehnese noodles, titi noodles, and Bangka Belitung noodles, all types of noodles are often found in every region in Indonesia. The people's passion for consuming noodles is increasing. Currently, noodles are a daily food that is easy to find. Until now, the types of noodles have been innovated into wet noodles, dry noodles, or instant noodles. This shows that noodles have become part of the diversity of culinary culture in Indonesia.

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# Wayang Potehi: Keberagaman Wayang di Indonesia

Rahmat Hidayat Maulana\*, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Cikal Amelia, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Diana Angelina Crisia, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

Ariesa Pandanwangi, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

\* rahmathidayatmz29@gmail.com

*Abstract: This article aims to examine the existence of wayang potehi originating from Chinese culture which later developed in Indonesia. The method used is descriptive qualitative. This article explains that the Chinese community uses potehi puppets as a tool or means to convey their existence. Wayang Potehi has symbols that function to convey messages to the public. Wayang is a traditional art performance that has been forgotten by the times, wayang potehi has a religious ritual function. Until now, the existence of Wayang Potehi is still maintained through various performances.*

*Keywords: Chinese Culture, Indonesian Culture, Wayang Potehi*

## PRELIMINARY

Wayang potehi is a type of acculturation of Chinese and Javanese culture (Kuardhani, 2018). Wayang Potehi is also a type of puppet originating from southern China. Wayang potehi, according to the activities of Rumah Cinta Wayang Dwi Woro Retno, is one of Indonesia's traditional cultural heritages which is almost extinct. This art was brought by ethnic Chinese immigrants to various parts of Indonesia (Lombard, 1996). Wayang potehi is a puppet that is shaped like a doll made of cloth and some parts of it are made of wood. The way to play it is by the maid putting her hand into the cloth bag. According to legend, the potehi puppet was found by five prisoners in a prison who were sentenced to death. The fourth person is sad, but the fifth person has an interesting idea. He said that instead of mourning death, it is better to be comforted. In the end, the five people took utensils that were in the prison, such as pots and plates. They started banging to get sound as an accompaniment to their game. The beautiful melodies that were produced were finally heard by the emperor, who finally granted them forgiveness. However, as time progresses, culture is less attractive to modern society, due to the lack of socialization, the potehi puppet is not well known by the public. Finally, "Wayang Potehi" events are often held which are expected to become educational tours to reintroduce potehi puppets. Wayang Potehi is one of the puppet shows which is still interesting to be watched by the general public and must be maintained. Not only interesting, but Wayang Potehi is also often shown for sacred rituals.

As time went by, wayang potehi began to be known by many people. During the wayang potehi show, two languages are used, namely Hokkien and Indonesian. The use of the Indonesian language is carried out as a form of socialization of the Chinese ethnicity towards Indonesian society. Indonesian is also used as a means of communication so that wayang potehi performances can also be accepted by Indonesian people. Wayang potehi is seen as a traditional performance by maintaining its standard. A wayang potehi performance as a public spectacle essentially has a purpose. The puppeteer involved in the performance plays a role in achieving this goal. Not infrequently the wayang potehi show is held for a sacred event, so the role of the puppeteer becomes risky (high risk).

Usually, wayang potehi shows regularly in a pagoda every day, wayang potehi shows are held every day at certain hours. Usually, life around the pagoda is dominated by ethnic Chinese, so other ethnic groups living there interact with ethnic Chinese directly or indirectly. Potehi puppets can be watched by all people, from small children to the elderly. The form of direct interaction is usually through daily conversations. This form of interaction indirectly begins with the existence of an inter-ethnic culture that is presented and used to exist between the lives of the two ethnicities. The puppeteer always holds wayang potehi events as a show for the public so that they know extensively about wayang potehi. The puppeteer always tries to make the performances he holds not just for viewing but to give deeper knowledge about potehi puppets.

Much research on wayang in Indonesia usually leads to traditional puppets such as shadow puppets, Purwa puppets, and so on. Researchers are interested in describing how the existence of wayang potehi shows in Indonesia.

Stenberg said that communication and culture cannot be separated. Edward T. Hall added that communication is culture and culture is communication. The function of communication is to pass on inheritance to the next generation so that communication has a function to maintain existence (Stenberg, 2015). According to Kurniawan existence is existence, form (which appears), the existence of something that distinguishes one object from another (Kurniawan, 2017). Mangunsong also says that existence is not rigid and stagnant, but flexible and experiences development or vice versa, depending on the ability of individuals to actualize their potential (Mangunsong & Djatiprambudi, 2021). That is, the existence of something that is recognized if there is communication to maintain its existence or communication that shows that something still exists. This description also explains that the puppeteer of wayang potehi as a communicator has an important role in maintaining the existence of this potehi puppet.



## METHOD

Methods In this study, researchers used qualitative research methods with descriptive analysis techniques to answer research problems (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018; Wijaya et al., 2021). According to Bogdan and Taylor in a book entitled "State and Corruption", Qualitative Research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data, speech or writing, and behavior that can be observed from the subject itself (Taylor et al., 2016).

## DISCUSSION

Changes that occurred in China in the 13th century made some ethnic Chinese go to Indonesia (Pitoyo & Triwahyudi, 2018; Suryadinata, 2020). The arrival of the Chinese brought new things in the field of trade. One of those sent to Indonesia was Admiral Cheng Ho who made a voyage and wrote about his journey (Rizky, 2019). In this note there is a record of ethnic Chinese who are Muslims along the banks of the Brantas river. Relations between ethnic Chinese and Indonesians at that time were going well. These immigrants came from the province of Hokkien, which means that these immigrants brought the potehi puppet art performance to Indonesia (Halim, 2021; Kuardhani, 2018).

During the Dutch colonial period, there was the Apartheid system implemented by the Dutch Government which led to discrimination against ethnic Chinese and Indonesian people (Pitoyo & Triwahyudi, 2018). The Dutch colonial government placed the Chinese ethnicity above Indonesian society. This changed the mindset of the Indonesian people towards ethnic Chinese. So, that it gave rise to a negative stigma against the Chinese ethnicity and began to emerge as a result of the different rights granted by the Dutch Government. And this stigma lasts long enough. After the colonial period ended, after Indonesia's independence, the life of the Chinese ethnic group was limited. And during the New Order era under the leadership of President Soeharto issued a regulation regarding the absence of celebrations up to the attributes worn that were related to the Chinese ethnicity. This regulation prevented ethnic Chinese from moving freely. During the New Order era, the ban on everything related to ethnic Chinese made them protect themselves and their culture (Suparno, 2017; Suparno & Hadirman, 2022). And so that currently, the Potehi puppet show which is in the temples is very sacred because it is intended for the gods.

Wiratri (2017) explains that there is one thing that is maintained by ethnic Chinese regarding their culture and their ancestral country (Aryani et al., 2021; Wiratri, 2017). The majority of these Chinese people take good care of their original culture so that in every corner of the world where there are Chinese people, there will certainly be China Town. Sugiri Sutedja (2013) in the sociotechnology journal adds that the concentration of ethnic communities in China Town creates a sense of togetherness among Chinese ethnics and becomes more solid solidarity and awareness of an exclusive group (Kustedja et al., 2013). The condition of concentration of the Chinese ethnic group in urban space is limited, making it only possible for activities in the trade sector.

The first time it appeared in Indonesia, wayang potehi was played using the Hokkien language. Potehi dolls are made of wood and are carved based on different wayang characters. The puppets, which are in the form of dolls with a height of about 30cm, only perform in certain pagodas. After the new order, the regulation was revoked by the Government of Indonesia on the grounds of nationalism and multicultural life (Mekarsari & Jatmiko, 2020; Pradhana et al., 2020). The Chinese ethnic group, which was limited because of this regulation, began to develop itself by entering other fields, such as politics and social affairs. The end of the New Order era became an opportunity for ethnic Chinese to reduce the negative stigma in society. The socialization process within the community became easier so ethnic Chinese culture began to be accepted and developed.

According to (Stenberg, 2015) in his research potehi comes from 3 syllables of Mandarin, namely poo, tay, and hie. Poo means cloth, tay means bag, hie means wayang.

The first time was the potehi puppet show which was shown at the Hong Tiek Hian Temple by the encik. Encik is the name for the puppeteer of wayang potehi who was originally Chinese and could not speak Indonesian at that time (Nuratri, 2022; Yoswara et al., 2015). The ladies speak the Hokkien language, which comes from the Fujian area on the Chinese plains.

The potehi puppet show at the pagoda is never absent. The Hong Tiek Hian Temple, which is located in the Dukuh Customs area of Kupang, is still staging potehi puppet shows. The Chinese who worship or live around the pagoda can be seen from the response of the ethnic Chinese to requests for a potehi puppet show. This can be seen from the hours of performances that are held every day which are still heard even though they are not seen directly. Then at the Hong Tiek Hian Temple, it is considered a learning center for wayang potehi puppeteers before becoming a puppeteer with tight hours of performances.

The presence of wayang potehi in Indonesia adds to the richness of Indonesian culture. The cultural acculturation that occurs in wayang potehi adds to the list of versions of wayang potehi performances (Kuardhani, 2018). There are currently two versions of the potehi puppet show, namely the classic and the contemporary version. The similarities between the two shows are the use of the potehi puppets and the same stage for the performances. The difference between wayang potehi and other puppets can be seen in the shape of the puppets.

The clothes used by wayang potehi are different from other puppets in general. Potehi puppet clothing is typical of China with embroidered symbols with plant and animal patterns. The facial expressions in potehi puppets from the

shape of the eyes tend to be slanted and the skin of the potehi puppets has a different color according to the character. In addition, the music used also uses music that comes from China.

In the classic version, the duration of the potehi puppet show is two hours or even more. The story told by the dalang for the classic version is the legend of the Chinese kingdom. Chinese royal legends are told in serial form or series from episode to episode to day to day. The hours of playing the classical version of wayang potehi differ depending on the pagoda as the venue for the performance. In one day, wayang potehi shows can be performed two to three times with a fairly long duration of two hours. The story is serialized so that it takes two weeks to a month. The classic version of Wayang Potehi is held when there are Chinese celebrations or because of requests from foundations. The classical version of the potehi wayang performance is held in pagodas. The function of this performance is as a ritual function to honor the spirits of the ancestors or as a form of gratitude or a request by the Chinese people. The function of the ritual is considered sacred so the potehi puppet show at the pagoda will continue even if there are no spectators.

In the contemporary version, the duration of the wayang potehi performance is between one and two hours shorter. The puppeteer wayang potehi who performs the contemporary version will improvise to tell the legend of the Chinese kingdom briefly but without reducing the important points in the story. Locations used for performances are entertainment venues such as malls or art buildings. The purpose of this contemporary version of wayang potehi is as an entertainment function as well as to introduce the public to wayang potehi.

In the contemporary version, the puppeteer wayang potehi will insert Javanese hums or insert regional words according to the area where they are being performed to attract the attention of the audience. The musical instrument that accompanies the contemporary potehi puppet show still uses traditional Chinese musical instruments in collaboration with modern musical instruments such as the guitar.

The difference between these two versions will be played according to the request of the foundation that oversees the potehi puppet. Sometimes there is also a temple with a request to give a contemporary version of wayang potehi. The puppeteer of the potehi puppet is obliged to perform a ritual for the potehi puppet stage which is being used for the first time for staging. The ritual is in the form of a supply of fresh chicken blood which will be smeared on each pillar of the potehi puppet big stage. The blood of the chicken is obtained by way of the puppeteer biting a chicken that has a black or white color. The site is only to take fresh blood from the chicken without having the chicken die. After the big stage is used, it will be dismantled and stored. This ritual is useful to ward off evil spirits. When rearranged, the ritual is no longer performed. The potehi puppet show at the mall has a simpler ritual, only preparing fruits as offerings and ci-swak paper. According to the puppeteer of wayang potehi, playing the wayang tends to lead to supernatural objects so wayang potehi also needs to be ritualized as well. So this ritual will apply at the opening and closing of the show.

The big stage for the potehi puppet has name Bu Tai, the small stage is named Tay Lau, and the smaller stage for the puppets is called Pay Lau. The puppeteers of wayang potehi who adhere to the Islamic religion carry out their obligations as Muslims. However, if in one team there are all Muslims, the puppeteer will perform the ritual according to his role.

Potehi wayang performances in the contemporary era not only include elements of songs that are popular with the public, but also the language of the performing area. Now a few puppeteers of wayang potehi learn the local language of the performance to complement the performance. The puppeteer wayang potehi thinks that this makes it easier for the puppeteer to interact with the audience so that messages can be conveyed more easily.

Chinese culture becomes a new culture that coexists with Javanese ethnicity in the Chinatown area. The puppeteer of wayang potehi of Javanese ethnicity is accustomed to Indonesian and Javanese adapts to another new language, namely Hokkien and Mandarin. The language used when performing the potehi puppet is Hokkien with a subtle level like krama inggil in Javanese. Sukar Mudjiono the puppeteer of wayang potehi thinks that culture or art is a universal thing. If foreigners can learn Indonesian culture, Indonesians should also be able to learn the foreign culture.

The art of wayang potehi has entered the district in Jombang which is estimated to have been since 1920 which was centered on the Hong San Kiong Gudo Temple. In 1920 there was a grandfather from Cwancu who happened to be a puppeteer who came to Indonesia. According to research, wayang potehi has existed in Indonesia since 1600 (Salmon, 2014). Wayang potehi used to be called wayang titi. This puppet potehi activist said that since he was a child his life has been united with several temples, one of which is the Hong San Kiong temple, which eventually made him fall in love with potehi puppets, and he also wants to help the players or puppeteers of the potehi puppets.

In 1967 the potehi puppet became extinct due to Presidential Instruction number 14 which conflicted with Chinese religious beliefs and customs. The potehi puppet in Gudo is still active because the community supports the show, one might even say because of good relations between the communities (Mangunsong & Djatiprambudi, 2021). There is also a reason why the potehi puppets became extinct due to technological advances in that society. It once happened that when the potehi puppet was shown in the pagoda, no one paid attention at all, because at that time the people thought it was a monotonous show, in the end, the people did not pay attention.

As for the beginning of the creation of wayang potehi from 5 people who were on death row, initially one of the 5 people was very bored because they were waiting for their death. In the end one of the people created a doll made of makeshift cloth, then they thought that the game would be memorable and finally they created beautiful music or tones from makeshift tools such as pots, etc. Then a prison guard heard the beautiful music and the guard appreciated being so

entertained by the performance. In the end, the 5 prisoners were released by law. And the show is now called Wayang Potehi.

Wayang Potehi has finally entered into an international go which has been invited by several countries, namely Japan, Taiwan, and Malaysia. Now wayang potehi is played by 5 players, 2 players who act as puppeteers and 3 players who act as musical accompaniment. The government pays little attention to wayang potehi because the government thinks that wayang potehi is from China. The puppeteers hope that the potehi puppet can be preserved and recognized by the government so that it can be played again.

In the past, this potehi puppet was only held for the gods and goddesses in terms of commemorating the day of their birth. In the end, this potehi puppet art has started to be played in malls. Wayang Potehi is also now often played during Chinese New Year celebrations. The puppeteers in wayang potehi are struggling so that this potehi puppet does not become extinct.

Because it is already around 3,000 years old, wayang potehi continues to experience changes, especially when it enters Indonesia and now wayang potehi is a special spectacle for art lovers. When entering the country of Indonesia, the puppeteers change the Hokkien language to Indonesian with the aim that the Indonesian people know what the puppeteer is telling.

From September 1<sup>st</sup> up to 11<sup>th</sup> 2022, the Potehi puppet team from Jombang will perform at the TongTong Fair (TTF) in The Hague, Netherlands. There are 9 people from the Potehi Gudo puppet team from Jombang who will perform. They said that they would bring the names of Jombang and Seni Potehi to the arena. It was the first time that the puppet Potehi Gudo, Jombang was able to attend the TTF performance, because previously they had failed to go due to funding problems. To be able to leave this time they are raising funds from the public. They do fundraise because they know that there is a lack of support from the central government. In the end, many people supported them, starting from Islam, Christian, Buddhism, Confucianism, Javanese, Chinese, Madurese, etc. they donate from 50K to millions.

After the reform era of President Gus Dur's government, of course, the removal of the ban on performing for Wayang Potehi seemed to bring fresh air to arts from southern China. However, with the start of Wayang Potehi's life in the Gus Dur era, the actors have begun to age and are not supported by good regeneration. Oedy Susanto explained about the old Potehi Wayang, this art from China is around 15 centuries old.

Currently, wayang potehi has very good social and ritual functions. Not only performed for ethnic Chinese, but also the general public or non-Chinese. Several plays are often played which are taken from classical Chinese stories, such as the novels by Sam Pek Eng Tay and Se Yu with the magical monkey character Sun Go Kong. The characters played during the show have been adapted from figures in the local ketoprak art. For example, the character Si Jin Kui was adopted to become the character Joko Sudiro, then there is the character Prabu Lisan Puro who was taken from the character Li Si Bin who was the second emperor of the Tong Dynasty (618-907M) (Kurniawan, 2017).

## CONCLUSION

Wayang Potehi is ethnic Chinese culture which is performed by the puppeteers of the potehi puppets puppets traditionally shows for religious purposes. The mastermind in wayang potehi has a very important role in continuing to introduce this show to the public. The puppeteers have also succeeded in making the potehi puppet known to many people even abroad. The research found due to environmental factors made the puppeteer choose to be the puppeteer of wayang potehi. Currently many potehi puppet shows have been carried out that aim to continue preserving wayang potehi as part of Chinese culture. Pagodas and even malls have started active to schedule potehi puppet shows with two hours' time slot. The wayang potehi show is now broadcast in Indonesian so that the audience can enjoy and understand what the puppeteer is telling. The puppeteer in wayang potehi has trained through several stages, such as having to get used to holding puppets and playing typical Chinese musical instruments. The role of the dalang in wayang potehi is very important because they have to convey the story well to the audience. Nowadays it is very difficult to find replacements for these puppeteers because lack of interest in becoming a puppeteer.

There is also research that that shows the wayang potehi currently developing quite well. Wayang Potehi has developed into two versions, namely the classic version and the modern version. The main purpose of the classic potehi puppet performance religious show for the sake of gratitude which is considered to shared happiness with other people. Meanwhile, modern potehi puppet shows are a development of classic potehi puppets. A flexible culture has kept up with the times. The modern potehi puppet show as a medium of entertainment for the wider community. Now potehi puppets are presented in society as a form of existence for the puppeteers. Wayang potehi show in the modernization era at the Hong Tiek Hian Temple in Surabaya is still very well maintained. The existence of wayang potehi is supported because there are many enthusiasts believer of wayang potehi as religious rituals.

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# "Bakpao" as Indonesian Well-known Taste

Mona Trifosa, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia  
Laura Angela\*, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia  
Caroline Suriaaji, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia  
Ariesa Pandanwangi, Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Indonesia

\* 2241011@lang.maranatha.edu

*Abstract: One of the typical foods of China, known as bakpao in Indonesia, has the name Roubao (Hanzi: 肉包) in Chinese language. The word "Roubao" is taken from the Hokkien language spoken by most Chinese people in Indonesia. "Pao" can be interpreted as a package, and "bak" means meat. Bakpao can be interpreted as a package filled with meat. In general, dumplings contain pork because we know that most Chinese people eat pork. But the meaning of "Bak" does not mean pork, but meat. The term pork if interpreted in Mandarin is "Tie Bak". However, pork buns are known as "Tie Bakpao." such pork, dumplings, in China also makes dumplings with chicken filling called "Koi Pao" or "Kehpao" and also dumplings with beef filling called "Gu Pao." Similarly with culinary in Indonesia. The method used to trace for bakpao uses a qualitative descriptive method. The result is that the food from China is fused with local wisdom in Indonesia, and becoming typical Indonesian traditional snacks that were initiated from bakpao.*

*Keywords: Bakpao, China, Roubao, Meat, Pork*

## THE BACKGROUND OF BAKPAO

Bakpao is one of the typical Chinese food in the form of bread that has white outer skin which made with wheat flour and yeast as the main ingredients and stuffed with meat. Bakpao are made by steaming, they are also known as Chinese steamed buns. This food is quite popular in various countries, including Indonesia. It is very easy to make and has a delicious taste, so it is loved by many people. Not just meat stuffing, but over time the buns through innovations with various kinds of stuffing, such as vegetables, fruit jams, chocolate, salted eggs, and nuts (Romandon & Ratnaningsih, 2013).

According to legend, Bakpao was first discovered by Zhuge Liang, one of the heroes and historians from China. This is told in a legend the Three Kingdoms era in the era 3rd century AD which around 220-280 AD. It is said there was a military strategist of the Shu Han state, Zhuge Liang (227-234 AD). He was defeated in a battle together with some of his troops in his expansion to the north. This five times defeats against Wei in the north. After the last defeat, Zhuge Liang with some of the remaining Shu Han army was released from detention, then they could return to their kingdom. However, on the way, they were blocked by a river which had very strong flow of water, and they couldn't cross. According to locals, it is believed to cross the river, Zhuge Liang and his troops must make offerings with human heads. He did not agree to this, but they had an idea to find substitute for the offering which was by making a flour dough shaped like a human head filled with the meat of the animal they hunted. From this, the idea of recipe for a food known as Mantou was found. However, during the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD.), Mantou was more referred as Bao or Baozi, because it is flour wrapping meat. That's what differentiate it from the Mantou which just a dough without meat in it.

Currently due to the influence of acculturation, Bakpao has become a daily consumption food, especially in Indonesia. These can be easily found in any Chinese restaurants, or in nearby taverns and bakeries. Bakpao has gives ideas to change the shape of bread into various different shapes, and using fillings from Indonesian organic food sources which makes bakpao as one of the foods that are consumed daily by the Indonesians. Bakpao, which is known as a Chinese food, with a taste of Indonesian.

## RESEARCH METHOD

Creswell stated that the most appropriate strategy when studying data derived from images using research methods qualitative descriptive (Creswell, 2014). In this case, it was emphasized by Sumartono that the use of this method is to describe objects obtained from the field; which were collected based on data in the form of photos, pictures, recordings, etc. (Sumartono, 2017). Based on these two opinions, a qualitative descriptive research methods can achieve the research objectives and answer the problems. The stages carried out in this research are stage 1, search information from literature studies related to the types of Bakpao; stage 2, map and identify the distribution of Bakpao in Indonesia; stage 3, describe the types of Bakpao; stage 4, interpret the meaning of bakpao behind its visual appearance.



## Study Literature for Various Types of Bakpao

In China, there are seven types of Bakpao are classified by their inside content. These buns still have the same shape, which is round with a white crust and putting dots with different colors depending on its filling, so that both the seller and the buyer know the filling of the Bakpao. The first type of bakpao is called “Shaobao”, the Bakpao are filled with chicken, shrimp, and salted egg. The second type is called “Naihuangbao”, which filled with yellow custard. The third type is called “Kaya-baozi” Bakpao with Srikaya jam. The fourth type is called “Yacaibao” which are stuffed with meat, vegetables seasoned with Chinese spices. The fifth type is called “Doushabao” with red bean paste filling. The sixth type is known as “Shengjian Mantao” with smaller of buns filled with minced meat then fried. The seventh type of Bakpao called “Xiaolongbao” is a bun with a meat filling that is very juicy.

With this, we can see that the stuffing of the buns has undergone various innovations from time to time. In the early days people were using pork as the stuffing, but now the Chinese has modified stuffing by using a variety of fillings, such as vegetables, salted eggs, red beans, custard, Srikaya jam, and many more. The existence of innovations by altering the stuffing of the buns has inspired the Indonesian to participate in modifying the stuffing of the buns. Bakpao originated from China spread and acculturation between Chinese and Indonesian cultures, Bakpao in Indonesia has a special taste distinct from China. Not only that, Indonesians also use its existing food sources for the filling and also the outer skin of the buns. Indonesia buns have a distinctive and unique taste and generally consumed by the Indonesian people.

## Spreading of Bakpao in Archipelago

The migration of the Chinese descent to Indonesia began with the spread of the Hindu-Buddhist Kingdom in Indonesia, the Chinese at that time was doing trading in the Kingdom area in Indonesia. Most of the Chinese people lived on the Java Island in the 19th century as the area became a trading center, especially on the north coast of Java. Based on the exploration records of the Chinese descent ancestry, it was revealed that most Chinese first lived in the western part of Indonesia, especially the Java Island area, namely Central Java, West Java, East Java, Special Region of Yogyakarta, Sumatra Island, Tanjung Jepara, Lasem, Demak, Buyaran, and Rembang. This has led to the spread of Chinese foods such as Bakpao to most areas in the western part of Indonesia, especially Java Island. However, the distribution of Bakpao limited to eastern part of Indonesia. Because not many Chinese people live in the eastern part in this area. Therefore, not many Chinese foods in the eastern Indonesia area. With this, we also know that Bakpao is widely consumed in the western part of Indonesia, especially on the Java Island and only slightly in the eastern Indonesia. Bakpao that spread in Indonesia not the same as the one from China, because the Bakpao in Indonesia has adapted to the tastes of the Indonesian people.



<https://tinyurl.com/yvjcp59n>

## Various Types of Bakpao

In Indonesia, there are 2 types of bakpao which are distinguished by their size. They are known as “Dabao” and “Xiao Bao”. Dabao is a bun with a diameter of 10 cm and is served individually, while Xiao bao is a bun with a smaller size than Dabao, which is 5 cm and is generally served in the form of one dish placed in a special dumpling case made of woven brown bamboo strips. This type of bakpao is generally sold in Chinese food restaurants. The existence of bakpao innovations by modifying the stuffing of the buns made Indonesian people to participate in modifying the filling. They modify by using chicken or beef meat instead of using pork meat. Since the majority of Indonesian people are Muslim and can't eat pork.

Indonesian people also modify the bun by using a variety of unique fillings utilizing Indonesian agricultural products such as green beans, black beans, coconut, barley, and palm sugar which from Indonesian agricultural sources (Bujung et al., 2019).

Indonesian people also use fruit jam, chocolate sauce, peanut, vegetables, or salted eggs (also known as Brebes City commodity in Central Java) (Anggriawan, 2022). These types of Bakpao are usually distinguished by putting dots with different colors so that we can know the contents of the buns.



<https://tinyurl.com/bdmvnpwm>

Not only modifying the filling, but Indonesian people also modify the basic ingredients of making buns with flour into potatoes and also pumpkin (Fadhilah Nur, 2022), Purple Sweet Potato (Fitriyanti, 2019) it is an Indonesian agricultural commodity. In addition, the community also uses tolu nut and brown rice flour which has high iron as a substitute for flour in making buns (Ramadhani Dessy Cahya, 2021). This shows the creativity of the Indonesian people in modifying buns into foods that have a typical Indonesian taste making buns become one of the cuisines that have good nutrients for health. This makes Indonesian food sources as ingredients can be used not only in traditional foods or Indonesian specialties food, but also in the Chinese and Indonesian cultural acculturation, named Bakpao.

Bakpao that sold in Indonesia not only in the form similar shapes with buns made in China, but Indonesian people also selling character buns made with various characters in films cartoons and sold as birthday cakes or special occasion, so it is not uncommon if we find bakpao as a special food in the celebration of formal and informal events in Indonesia as a substitute for cakes or breads. Buns with character shapes have an attractive visual appearance and are made by decorating buns using various colors. Although buns are usually found in restaurants that sell Chinese cuisine, but this food has become a common snack that is sold in various areas such as in markets, supermarkets, and bakery and cakes in many regions in Indonesia. There are many shops or outlets that sell buns using the recipes of their ancestors, Chinese people, so the taste of the buns has a typical Chinese oriental taste. But do not doubt the taste of the buns made by is no less tasty from the taste of the typical-Chinese buns.

In Indonesia there are also buns in the form of frozen food sold in supermarkets in mini sizes or can be called minipao or "Mantao". To eat the buns practically by steaming or frying if the bun is "Mantao". But, of course the flavor produced is also far different from the taste of the buns that are freshly made. It is not uncommon to find door-to-door buns sellers in the housing complex area where they sell buns by going around using motorbikes or pickup trucks. With this bun have become food consumed in general by people of Indonesia. This Chinese food is indeed one of the foods that is made quite practical and still has a delicious taste so that Indonesian people also like to consume it.



<https://tinyurl.com/2svf7cjt>

As a result of the influence of Chinese cultural acculturation, we can find one of the culinary dishes of Minahasa where that dish has a shape similar to bakpao buns. The Minahasa bread is called Biapong bread or often referred to as Minahasa Bread where the bread has a round bread with white bun skin and has 2 kinds of fillings that are with pork filling that has a savory taste and bread with unti filling which is a coconut dough mixed with brown sugar that has sweet taste and liked by the community, especially the local community of Minahasa regions. The Minahasan uses pork filling because the majority of the Minahasa are dominated by Christians, so they can also consume pork.

“Biapong” bread itself is made from a mixture of flour and yeast and the filling of pork strengthen the taste of this Minahasa bread, then “Biapong” bread is steamed in a fire furnace with wood fire. This traditional process will produce a distinctive aroma and add a plus points for the taste of “Biapong” bread.



<https://tinyurl.com/bdcwan54>

### The Meaning of “Bakpao”

Foods in the world have different shapes. Each has its own uniqueness. If you look further into it, there are meanings contained behind the shape of each food. Likewise bakpao. Moreover, the buns originally come from China which is rich in culture, history and beliefs.

It turns out that the shape of the buns that are round and bulging is not a coincidence or created only for the aesthetic only. If you look at its history, buns are deliberately made to resemble human heads. In its history, Zhuge Liang and his troops were about to cross a river, but they were faced with obstruction. To be able to cross the river safely, he must present 50 human heads. Zhuge Liang did not want bloodshed anymore and at the same time he also did not want to sacrifice his soldiers. Therefore, Zhuge Liang ordered his soldiers to look for animal meat. Then the animal meat caught by the soldiers were processed and then wrapped in flour and shaped like a round human head. Consequently, they could pass it by presenting the buns instead of human heads. Although today the form of buns is not always perfectly round, some people still consider buns as symbolic forms of offering to God and ancestors so that they are given protection.

In addition to the meaning related to its history, in the beliefs of the Chinese, the round form of buns are interpreted as a symbol of perfection. This is why Chinese people make buns as one of the common menus found at celebrations of big days such as Chinese New Year, birthdays, and other sacred days. They believe that eating buns can make life more perfect.

### CONCLUSION

Bakpao is originated from China experiencing adaptation to the Indonesian tongue. One of the causes is the majority of Indonesian people are Muslim so they make variants with chicken or beef filling, as well as other innovations such as filling from mung beans, black beans, coconuts. Also palm sugar and various kinds of vegetables, fruit jams such as Srikaya, Pineapple, and Strawberry jam as the filling of the buns.

This meaning of acculturation indicates that the population of Chinese people who had spread during the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom era made them participate in spreading this culture, such as consuming Bakpao, which is one of the typical Chinese food. Biapong as a result of the acculturation of Chinese and Indonesian cultures indicates that the food was inspired by bakpao but modified the filling by using black sticky rice so that it can also be consumed by the Muslim community, which is known as the majority of Indonesian society. This food is one of the popular foods and is also consumed by the majority of Indonesian people, especially Minahasa people.

Until now, bakpao have become a daily food in Indonesia and we can find them easily because this food is sold in various regions and also can be found in the nearest area of the house, market, or supermarket. This food is also often eaten during formal and informal events by modifying buns into character buns that are intended to add visuals so that the buns look more attractive and pleasing to see. Hereby, bakpao has become a common consumption for Indonesian people even though they are not Chinese and also become one of the foods that have a special taste made by Indonesian people.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Mona Trifosa:** The first author who collects relevant data on “study literature for various types of bakpao” and “Minahasa Bread (Biapong)” and makes the table of contents for the paper, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia.

**Laura Angela:** The second author who collects relevant data on” the meaning of bakpao”and also assists the others for researching trusted data, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia.

Caroline Suriaaji: The third author who collects and identifies relevant data on Deployment of Bakpao in Archipelago and checks the overall structure of the paper, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia.

Ariesa Pandanwangi: The fourth author who establishes the research method, searches for the references, and examines the overall articles and paper, Maranatha Christian University, Bandung, Indonesia.

## Day 3

### Keynote Speakers

**Prof. Nie Dening, Ph.D.**

*Xiamen University, People Republic of China*

The Chinese Archives of the Kong Koan in Batavia and its Academic Value

**Prof. Satoshi Masutani Ph.D.**

*Rikkyo University, Japan*

Chinese Diaspora and National Identity in Southeast Asia Studies: Malaysian Cultural Identity in Travel Writing

**Dr. Ganewati Wuryandari, M.A.**

*BRIN, Indonesia*

Chinese Diaspora in Enhancing Economic Relations Between Indonesia-China

### Research Papers

Markus Dominggus

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# “Everyone May Come, but Don’t Look for Goat Satay”: Identity Search in a Chinese Church after the New Order’s Fall in 1998

Markus Domingus \*, Sekolah tinggi Teologi Aletheia, Indonesia

\* [minggus02@yahoo.com](mailto:minggus02@yahoo.com)

*Abstract: The regime changes in 1998 provided a large space for the Chinese to reconstruct their Chinese identity. Some see the effort as futile because the identity has disappeared, while others do various ways to re-attach themselves to the characteristics that used to define a Chinese. Recent studies generally agree that Chinese identity is hybrid. If so, this study intends to describe the dynamic processes and factors involved in constructing this identity in a Chinese religious group called the Church of Christ the Lord. With a qualitative approach and historical research method, this study finds that after 1998, two types of identities live within the group. To redefine group identity, both are in tension and conflict. The two main factors that play a role here are the ambiguous implementation of the assimilation policy at the group level and the religious ideas that develop within the group. Group leadership, which plays a role in increasing conflict, also plays a role in mitigating it by accommodating the two kinds of identities as inseparable components of group identity.*

*Keywords: Chinese Christians, Identity, Assimilation Policy, Homogeneous Unit, Conflict.*

## INTRODUCTION

The fall of the New Order regime in 1998 opened up new possibilities for the lives of Indonesian Chinese. It begins with the cessation of using “pribumi” (indigenous) and “non-pribumi” (non-indigenous) in all public policies and the non-discriminatory provision of public services to all citizens (Presidential Instruction No. 26/1998). Furthermore, the government revisited the ban on Chinese language courses, which opened the most expansive possible space for teaching the language later in the day (Presidential Instruction No. 4/1999). The New Order policy of discriminatory and restrictive nature towards the religion, beliefs, and culture of the Chinese people was revoked and declared no longer valid (Presidential Decree No. 6/2000). The Indonesian Chinese can resume religious activities, thoughts, and customs without special permission. Chinese New Year, which was once forbidden, can now be celebrated and become one of the national holidays (Presidential Decree No. 19/2002). The Chinese language and press can also rapidly grow and develop (Hoon, 2006). From a policy of assimilation that forced the Chinese to abandon their cultural characteristics, the state is now turning to a new approach that embraces pluralism and multiculturalism (Suryadinata, 2003; Wasino et al.). In this unique atmosphere, Indonesian Chinese can reaffirm their identity as Chinese.

This change received mixed responses from Chinese people. The most pessimistic response sees that these changes have no meaning anymore because the so-called Chinese identity is gone and meaningless. New Order assimilation policies and programs have “successfully” made the issue of Chinese identity irrelevant (Nathaniel, 2019). But other studies have shown the opposite. The Chinese identity has not disappeared. Even amid the torrent of New Order assimilation policies, the Chinese people can find ways to nurture that identity (Dawis, 2010; Dawa, 2016). The new social atmosphere now gives birth to various attempts at “Sinification” everywhere and in multiple forms (Setiadi, 2016; Hoon, 2004, pp. 13-14). Among them are celebrating Chinese cultural festivals, specifically the Chinese New Year, and learning Chinese (Tanjung, 2019). Another notable thing is the publication of Chinese-language newspapers and magazines (Hoon, 2006, pp. 91-118).

With all these new dynamics, what sort of identity then emerged? In this work, I understand identity as characteristics that distinguish and define who a person or a group is. Those features, such as social role and position, language, dialect, place of origin, residence, family name, etc., are meaningful to each of them (Burke & Stets, 2009; Ninawati, Setiawan & Suparman, 2020). Regarding Indonesian Chinese identity, shortly before the New Order regime’s end, Mely G.Tan (2008, pp. 156-192) already raised the issue of its multiformity. Each generation was not the same. Yet compared to the old, the younger generation experienced confusion. But even in the older generation, it is not entirely uniform. Among the contributing factors is the duration of stay in Indonesia, the religion adopted, and the previous education – whether in Chinese-speaking schools or not. Another group of Indonesian Chinese took a different route. They constructed their identity according to the government’s attitude and the majority of society’s perception of the Chinese.

Thung Ju Lan’s research (2000, 2012), conducted after 1998, raised the issue of identity diversities. Rejecting essentialism in defining identity, she viewed Chinese identity as a social construct. She emphasized each Chinese’s attitude and choice to the identity choices which are available. Factors influencing perspectives and choices included education, globalization, profession, domicile location, and generational change. Because of this, nothing could be called a singular and eternal Chinese identity or things that essentially identify a Chinese.

Those dynamics reflect two opposite poles in how people define their identity. The first pole ultimately emphasizes human beings’ role, while the second emphasizes the deterministic influence of human habitus. The tension between the



two subsequently leads to a new search for an identity that equally attends to those two poles. The concept of hybrid identity thus comes to the fore (Boland, 2020, p. 5). It begins with the globalization process that creates inequalities in human life and the emergence of migration and diaspora (Smith, 2008, pp. 3-4). The diasporic community in different countries lives in the tension between the culture of the place of origin and the culture of the new location (Rattansi, 2003). Parents and families represent the culture of origin, while the broader community in the new site represents the new culture (Lin, 2008, pp. 130-131). The interaction of the two produces hybridity, a mixture of two or more ethnic or cultural categories (Smith, 2008). It is syncretic, resulting in vigorous mixing that combines various cultural elements.

Recent studies on the identity of Chinese Indonesian in the era of multiculturalism after the New Order seem to agree that it is better to understand Chinese identity as a hybrid. It is a product that emerges in the third cultural space out of a tension between attempts to maintain one's own culture and the compulsion to embrace the culture of others (Hoon, 2006). Concerning Indonesian Chinese Christians, Darmawan (2014) says three leading agencies play a role in shaping this hybrid identity: Chinese, Indonesian, and Christian. In the process of self-identification, those three interact in such a way according to Indonesia's developing socio-political situation and produce two kinds of relationships: tense or negotiated. Whatever the relationship, the goal remains to acquire an identity that will help them survive.

Amid the lack of research on the issue of identity among Chinese Indonesian Christians, Darmawan's research (2014) and other studies certainly provide much valuable input. If the hybrid or syncretic identity is a more appropriate definition to describe the pattern of the identity of Indonesian Chinese, how Chinese Christian religious groups constructed it after the collapse of the New Order? What dynamics took place within the group during the process? What factors play a role in it?

Here I intend to describe the dynamics of identity search within a group of Indonesian Chinese Christians in a new socio-political climate from 1998 to the present. First, I will provide a context to understand the problem by briefly presenting the identity of the Church of Christ the Lord before 1968 and from 1968 to 1998. Next, I will explain how identity until 1998 was questioned and wanted to be replaced with the old identity before 1968. Conflicts and tensions are resolved by accommodating both. The next section examines the two important factors involved in the emergence of tension between two types of identity. I end this paper with a conclusion.

## METHOD

To answer those two problems above, the author uses a qualitative approach, which researchers commonly use to understand the inner side of human behavior. The author gathers the information and data, classifies, analyzes, and interprets the data using a historical research method (Lundy, 2008). Primary data are from church documents in the form of voice recordings of conversations in synod sessions, letters of the central governing body of the Church, newsletters, and magazines published by the church-owned theological school, as well as presentations and reports discussed in ministerial meetings. Supporting data was collected from books and writings about Chinese people and Chinese churches in Indonesia.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Identity of Christ the Lord's Church until 1998

The Church of Christ the Lord (CCL) is a new name since 1968 for a previously named Tiong Hwa Ki Tok Kau Khoe Hwee Oost-Java (THKTKKH East Java). This Church was the result of merging two East Java Christian Chinese groups in the colonial era. Both were the totok Chinese Christians group (or the Chinese-speaking Chinese) and the Peranakan Christian Chinese group<sup>1</sup>

The first group served the Chinese newcomers from different places and dialects in China since the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The second served the Chinese who had settled in the Dutch East Indies for a long time and spoke Malay. On December 7, 1939, the colonial government in the Dutch East Indies granted the Church a legal status as a church entity (Kiveron, 1939).

Compared to the relatively culturally similar group of the Peranakan Christian Chinese, the totok Chinese group was not. It consisted of several subgroups according to their dialects, places of origin, customs, and religious traditions. They organized themselves and carried out their religious activities within these groups. Until 1939, they consisted of four major groups according to their dialect and religious background, namely the Hokkien (Presbyterian), Cantonese (Christian and Missionary Alliance, and Baptist), Fuzhou (Methodist), and Hinghwa (Methodist) groups. Over time, Mandarin or Kuoyu, usually called, was also spoken by each group (Dawa, 2014).

In the mid-50s, the Peranakan group seceded and formed a separate church named the Indonesian Christian Church in East Java (ICC East Java). The totok Chinese Christians remained in the THKTKKH East Java. This separation accentuated the social characteristics of this group as a church of and for Chinese Christians. It was clear from the name, the members and people targeted to be members, and the language used (Dawa, 2016, pp. 122-131).

<sup>1</sup> In "Soerat Antjasan Tiong Hwa Ki Tok Kauw Hwe Oost-Java," published and circulated in 1934, it is mentioned that there existed two Chinese Christian groups at that time. Those were "goeioepan of Tiong Hwa totok" and "goeioepan of Tiong Hwa peranakan." See *Buku Kenang-kenangan 50 Tahun Gereja Kristen Indonesia Jawa Timur, 22-2-1934 – 22-2-1984* (Malang: Panitia HUT 50 Tahun, 1984).

In response to the bad socio-political conditions that developed in the late 50s, the leadership of the Church substituted the foreign-sounding name of THKTKKH East Java with an Indonesian-translated name called the Chinese Christian Church (CCC). After the events of September 1965, the situation deteriorated again, even worsened than before. Further steps are needed to address the problem. In the last annual meeting of THKTKKH East Java, which took place in Surabaya in January 1968, the group agreed to build a new church with a completely different identity than before. Its name was no longer the Chinese Christian Church (CCC) but the Church of Christ the Lord (CCL). The annual meeting assigned a group to write a new church order reflecting the changes. Three months later, in the first annual session of the Synod of CCL in April 1968, the new Church ratified its new Church Order and bylaws.

The new identity contained two crucial components. The first was to expand the dimension of the Church's ministry. It no longer just served the Chinese. The Church now directed her ministry to the natives (Tanaja, 1979, p. 9). If the THKTKKH East Java only preached the gospel to the Chinese, then the CCL also preached the gospel to other ethnicities (Letter of the Synod Board, 1987). The second was to become an inclusive church and integrate into the nation's life (Letter of the Synod Board, 2008). The CCL was no longer a Chinese Christian church but an Indonesian church that accepted and reached all ethnicities. Since 1968, the CCL tried to present this identity in multiple ways until the end of the New Order regime in 1998.

### Identity After 1998: Tension and Accommodation

A year after the passing of the New Order regime, the CCL held her first biennial synod session within the new era. This session was when the Board of the Synod and the administrators of the synodic departments, elected two years earlier, provided progress reports on their respective work. Another plan is to discuss proposals from the Churches for improving performance and ministry achievements in the next two years and in the following times.

This synodic meeting was vital because it discussed two issues linked to the identity of CCL. The first issue was the proposal to reinsert the Chinese text in the revised edition of the Church's hymnal book, published and disseminated in 1997. The second issue contains an appeal for CCL to make Chinese people a target group for CCL outreach and services.

The first proposal came from a congregation with bilingual worship: Indonesian translated into Chinese until then. There were two reasons argued for the suggestion. In addition to being practical regarding Chinese speakers' difficulty in praising God in Chinese, they related it to the identity of CCL as a Chinese church. The Chinese text must be in the Church's hymn book because, first, from the beginning of its existence, CCL was the "Ki Tok Kau Hwee Church," which used Chinese; and secondly, because in the town, people have known the Church as the only Church that speaks Chinese (Tape Recording 5 of Plenary V).

The motion contrasted with the unanimous position the CCL had taken in the 1981 and 1985 synodic sessions. Those two sessions had decided to revise the old edition of the hymnal book, which CCL first published in July 1966. In the recently revised edition, the Chinese text is no longer available. It only updated the Indonesian text<sup>2</sup>. A participant rejected the proposal with two considerations. Firstly, in line with the considerations raised in 1981, he said that the number of Chinese speakers is currently small and will soon run out. Therefore, reinserting Chinese text is useless. Secondly, the CCL is no longer a church that serves only the Chinese people but other ethnicities. Reinserting Chinese script, in addition to being irrelevant to the kind of identity built so far, will also set up a barrier for non-Chinese people to join the CCL (Tape Recording 5 of Plenary V).

But this reasoning was dismissed by opinions in favor of the proposal. A delegation from the church theological school called the pre-revision hymnal book, which contains Indonesian and Chinese texts, as monumental works in the history of Chinese Christianity in Indonesia. It was the first hymnal book produced by Chinese Christians in Indonesia. A pastor from a former Fuzhou-Kuoyu-speaking congregation chimed in that the old book was a Chinese marker of the CCL. Therefore, re-entering the Chinese text was a must, regardless of the cost. An elder from a previously known Cantonese-speaking congregation said that Chinese speakers had not yet run out. They are increasing, even among the younger generation as well. Therefore, he encouraged the session to continue using of Chinese language in the Church even though they have become Indonesians.

After listening to the pros and cons arguments, with a majority vote – 78 of the 98 delegates – the Synod decided to reprint the church hymn by inserting Chinese text (Tape Recording 5 of Plenary V).

The second issue related to the Chineseness of the CCL appeared in the final plenary on the third day. This plenary was usually for discussing matters not included in the prepared agenda. Delegates put thoughts and ideas on the floor that arose during the previous plenaries, but they could not adequately address them due to tight schedules. A delegate reiterated the issue of church members declining nationally from year to year, as was reported by the Head of the Board of the Synod on the first day. He argued that among the contributing factors was the unclearness of the people the Church wanted to reach out to in evangelism. For the founders and church members in the past, this issue had never been a problem because everything was crystal clear. Their vision was to reach out and serve the Chinese-

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<sup>2</sup> See *Minutes of the 10<sup>th</sup> Synod Session of the Church of Christ the Lord*. Lawang, November 3-5, 1981: 20, and *Minutes of the 12<sup>th</sup> Synod Session of the Church of Christ the Lord*. Lawang, November 5-7, 1985: 8.

speaking Chinese. This key factor distinguished and separated the CCL and the East Java ICC. If the CCL was willing to grow and develop rapidly, she must return to that original vision (Tape Recording 5 of Plenary IX).

He further explained that going back to that vision needed not the CCL to be exclusive. He utilized Chinese food restaurants as a metaphor to make his point. Like a Chinese food restaurant, the CCL was open to people from any ethnicity. However, since this “restaurant” only sells Chinese food, they targeted and expected those who wanted the food to come. They were, of course, first of all, the Chinese people. The restaurant welcomed the non-Chinese, but they should not look for other types of food: ‘Everyone may come in but don’t look for goat satay!’ (Tape Recording 5 of Plenary IX). As a Chinese church, non-Chinese people could still enter. But the Church did not reach non-Chinese people. It reached out to Chinese people. His idea immediately drew boisterous applause from most delegates.

His opinion received affirmation from the Head of the Synod Board when he introduced and explained the new Church’s mission statement. One of the lines stated that “congregations of the CCL are constantly seeking to bring the Gospel of the Salvation of Jesus Christ as God declared to the pioneers.” The ‘pioneers’ meant founding fathers and mothers of the Church in the past within the THKTKKH East Java. Their mission was to preach the gospel to their fellow Chinese. He referred to this as the ‘soul and the spirit of the CCL.’ (Tape Recording 5 of Plenary IX).

However, due to the current situation of CCL at that time, which was already diverse – no longer just Chinese people – he seemed aware that this issue could feel unpleasant for some people. Therefore, he encouraged all church leaders who attended this session to study the history of the CCL and to have a proper missiological understanding of which group to go to preach the gospel.

For the next two years, CCL was busy attempting to delve deeper into that identity. In the preparatory conference of the 2001 Synodic Session, the Board of the Synod invited the participants to discuss making Chinese people the target group of church missions and ministry. The reason was a missiological one. As a church with predominantly Chinese members, the Church and the Chinese community surrounding the CCL Churches were a homogenous unit (The Synod Board, 2001). Both had many commonalities. Thus, it was easier for Church members to go to the non-Christian Chinese than other ethnicities. It was easy for the non-Christian Chinese to come into the Church, too.

The idea was responded to by the Research and Development Working Group of the Synod by proposing a multicultural church of various ethnicities and targeting people of all races and languages in Indonesia. In addition to biblical reasons, two other reasons supported it. The first reason explained that the colonial administrative policy of the Dutch East Indies was a historical factor that played an essential role in creating the Church that reached only the Chinese-speaking Chinese. The policy separated the Chinese from the Europeans and the natives, legally, spatially, and socially (Ong, 2008, p. 20). Each group ended up interacting more with the people within its group. Thus, focusing on reaching out to the Chinese was no more than continuing the type of life under colonial rule in the past. The second was a political and sociological reason. It said that targeting only Chinese people was not wise when Indonesia was in danger of disintegration due to ethnic-race-religion-nuanced conflicts. The CCL would miss the opportunity to be a platform on top where people from different cultures, races, and ethnicities could meet and embrace each other as brothers and sisters (The Synod Research and Development Working Group, 2001). After the conference, the Synod Board commissioned the R&D Working Group to investigate the position the congregations took towards the target group’s issue and its relation to the church background. The Working Group distributed a questionnaire to the entire leadership of the Church. Earlier responses agreed CCL was a Chinese church in the beginning. Her original purpose was to missionize among the Chinese-speaking Chinese. Though the Chinese were still the majority in today’s church membership, CCL was no longer as it was. CCL had been culturally mixed for quite a long time. Thus, it would be good if CCL did not limit her mission to the Chinese only but enlarged it to other ethnicities, at least to the existing ones within the Church.

In the middle of the research, the Synod Board interrupted its continuation. It received critical concerns from different directions regarding the effect of this issue on the Church’s life. Some were anxious that this issue would divide the Church. Since then, this issue seems to have sunk into the deep water. In all synodic forums, it was never again appointed. However, at the congregational level, the scene was different. Some congregations that still worship in Chinese found the affirmations voiced in the 1999 Synod Session to be a compelling reason to, in various ways, maintain the ministry’s existence for the sake of reaching out to the Chinese. A congregation in Surabaya even moved quite far. About three months after the New Order collapsed, they introduced a new vision and mission statement. They used religious and cultural components to define themselves: Reformed and Chinese. They declared that the people they would reach were mainly the Chinese<sup>3</sup>.

Along with removing the ban on celebrating Chinese New Year, there arose in many congregations’ lively discussions of doing a particular church service for the Imlek celebration. They saw it as an excellent opportunity to preach the gospel. Then there was the trend of holding Chinese New Year services, accompanied by efforts to educate church members about the relationship between the Christian faith and Chinese culture through lectures or sermons. In many Churches, the process went smoothly. But in one congregation, there was a conflict, which led to the exodus of some members from the Church.

Another effort to form the awareness of congregations that the CCL was a Chinese church was to engage in a network of Chinese churches, both nationally and internationally. Since the 80s, some members have participated in

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<sup>3</sup> Mr King, personal communication, June 12, 2014.

various international activities coordinated by a Chinese Christian organization based in Hong Kong. The Chinese Coordination Centre of World Evangelism (CCCOWE) is the name of that organization (Nagata, 2006; Tam, 2018, pp. 6-10). The work of this institution inspired Chinese churches in Indonesia to generate parallel connections in Indonesia. In the 80s and early 90s, they worked under one umbrella called Persekutuan Gereja-gereja Injili (PERGI) or Fellowship of Evangelical Churches (FEC). At the end of 1997, several Indonesian Chinese Christian ministry institutions in Jakarta connected to CCCOWE agreed to merge into a new one called the Indonesian Evangelical Churches Service Center (PPGII). The foundation got inaugurated in August 1998. In 2007 its institutional status changed from a foundation to an ecclesiastical legal entity. Her name became the Communion of Chinese Churches in Indonesia (CCCI)<sup>4</sup>. The CCL was one of ten Chinese churches supporting the change (Letter of the Synod Board, 2007). Many members participated, both at the central and regional levels. Through the web, they connected with people who spoke the same language and had the same goal of evangelizing the Chinese.

But in 2008, the Synod Board decided to leave the CCCI (Letter of the Synod Board, 2008). The reason was, firstly, historical. Since 1968 CCL has agreed to become a national, inclusive church willing to integrate into Indonesian society. Membership in CCCI was seen as inconsistent and will reverse the direction she had taken so far, from inclusive to exclusive Church. Secondly was an existential reason. The CCL was already a member of the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (CCI), an ecclesiastical institution at the national level consisting of churches from various ethnicities, groups, and sects. The CCL put forward her identity as an Indonesian church in CCI, while within the CCCI, her ethnic identity would stand out and grow stronger. Thus, being a member of the CCCI would cause a clash between national-Indonesian identity and so-called Chinese ethnocentrism. The Synod Board chose to avoid it. The CCL had to remain known as Indonesia's national Church.

Another reason for refusing to join the CCCI in 2008 was revealed a few years later. It is related to the term "Chinese" in the name of the CCCI (Letter of the Synod Board, 2015). Although there have been changes in various policies towards Chinese people, the 2008 Board of the Synod viewed that the time was still not conducive for the Chinese. Until 2008, the Indonesian government had never rescinded its policy of using the term "Tjina/China/China" in all civil and military administrations, both at the central and regional levels (The Ampera Cabinet Presidium Circular Letter, 1967). Therefore, using the word "Chinese" in the name of the institution where the CCL joined could hurt the CCL. Anyone would view the CCL as an exclusively Chinese church, not genuinely inclusive.

A 2014 presidential decision canceled the New Order's regulation on using "Tjina" or "China" in military and civil administration (Presidential Decree No. 12/2014). Now the government views "Tionghoa" as the correct term to be used for Chinese. The Synodic Board looked at it as a good sign. Thus, in 2015, the Board annulled the 2008 position and voted to become a member of CCCI. Another reason for joining CCCI was the benefits gained by congregations and church members who secretly continued to participate in CCCI activities. If, in 2008, joining the CCCI would create conflicts between national and ethnic identity, seven years later, the Board resolved the tension by embracing both. The Church affirmed its national identity through membership in the CCI, while its membership in the CCCI wanted to establish its ethnic and cultural background (Letter of the Board Synod, 2015).

### Assimilation Policy in the Religious Group

The desire to reaffirm the identity of CCL as a Chinese church certainly raises the question of how the identity claimed to have changed in 1968 can survive and continue to live during the New Order period. Of course, there are many factors behind it. One of them is related to the assimilation policy itself. Rather than being allowed to be a sociological process that naturally occurs in encountering people of different cultures, in the hands of the New Order rulers, assimilation is government policy and coercion, colored by violence (Heidhouse, 2017). Assimilation turned into assimilationism, an operation of the dominant group's power to establish its power over other groups (Callan, 2005). Thus, it invites a counter-response that creates the opposite (Dawa, 2016). Others see the cause in the psychological state that the Chinese feel from the policy. No matter how far the Chinese assimilate themselves, getting full recognition as Indonesians is still difficult (Xi & Ingketría, 2016; Azaria, 2022). Hence, assimilating oneself is not pursued.

In addition to these factors, applying assimilation policies to Chinese Christians in their religious group instead creates opportunities to produce different identities. From the very beginning, Christian Chinese in CCL have realized that even outside the religious context, the Chinese language is prohibited, but in the religious context, it is still allowed (Circular Letter of the Attorney General's Office, 1969). From several civilian officials in the Ministry of Religious Affairs of East Java Province and military clergy in the East Java Military Regional Command, the CCL leader learned that the language was still allowed<sup>5</sup>. In the course of the 1981 session's conversation about revising the Church's hymnal book, that knowledge was conveyed by the then Head of the Board of the Synod. But whether permission is easy to obtain is another matter, as is finding a printing house that dares to print<sup>6</sup>. This consideration prompted the 1981 assembly delegates to take a pragmatic stance: printing books in Indonesian alone.

<sup>4</sup> See "Sejarah Singkat" in <http://pgti.co.id/page/12/sejarah>.

<sup>5</sup> Mr Stone, personal conversation, July 28, 2009 and August 9, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> See *Minutes of the 10<sup>th</sup> Synod Session of the Church of Christ the Lord*, Lawang, 3-5 November 1981: 20.

In 1985, the issue of government policy toward the Chinese was again raised when the synodic session discussed the continuation of revising the hymnal book<sup>7</sup>. One delegate said the removal of Chinese from the church hymnal book was following the “recommendations/instructions” of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. But another person noted that the “advice/instruction” was contrary to the attitude of the Director-General of Christian Community Guidance of the Ministry of Religion, whom he had met in person. The Director-General said that the government allowed the use of Chinese as long as it was translated. As long as the Chinese and Indonesian texts are in the hymnal book, it should not be a problem for CCL. So it created confusion among participants. Another delegate argued that this problem only occurred in East Java while elsewhere, it did not<sup>8</sup>. Later, the decision was to keep printing the praise book with the updated Indonesian, while the old hymnal book with Chinese texts continued to be used.

In these episodes, the Chinese Christians in the CCL found the implementation of the assimilation policy ambiguous. In one room, the government prohibits but in the other allows it. For specific interests, it is not permissible, but for religious purposes, it is permitted. Although confusing, this ambiguity creates a loophole that allows the continuing use of the language. Furthermore, no law enforcement on using Chinese in the Church made some church members and congregations see other possibilities. In various ways, they secretly taught the language to their younger generation<sup>9</sup>. And as time goes on, the old identity that rested, one of them, on the language component remains preserved and lives well within the CCL. The socio-political situation that has changed since 1998 makes the color of identity that has been hidden present itself.

## Religious Thought in Groups

The rise of a new identity narrative in 1999 was also reinforced by religious thought that developed within the CCL. The idea was based on the view of Donald A. McGavran and was popularized by his disciple C. Peter Wagner (McGavran, 1994; Wagner, 1995). The belief has been popular in Indonesia since the late 80s through evangelical theological schools, journals, and Christian publishing houses. McGavran (1994) argues that rapid church growth will occur when there is something in common among the members of the outreaching group and the group reached. He calls it a “homogeneous unit,” defined as a section of society in which all the members have some common characteristics. Two of those same characteristics are language and culture. The others are nations, castes, clans, dialects, and geographical units. In addition to homogeneity, he encouraged churches to focus on one group of people only in outreach programs. The effort was much more effective and efficient in producing growth.

It's not very clear when McGavran's thinking came in and influenced. However, in 1985 the Church intensified efforts to plant new churches in various locations. In the 1989 Synod, CCL launched an ambitious gospel program known as Program 1.3.1. Each member of the Church is expected to bring one new person to Church within three years. Meanwhile, at the congregational level, the application became one congregation in three years to establish a new faith-building post (Dawa, 2014). It could be that it was in these years that McGavran's ideas came in and influenced some people in the CCL. But historically, McGavran's opinion only endorsed what had colored the CCL's life from the beginning. In the days of the THKTKKH East Java, its congregations were homogeneous units with the people it targeted. Thus it was easier for members of each group to get connected with the same people as them. The Church thrived well with that strategy.

Both camps, those that wanted a pre-1968 and post-1968 identity, agree that the Church needs to construct a group identity that will facilitate growth. But those wishing to return to their pre-1968 identity view the post-1968 imposed identity as unsuitable and a failure. Trying to serve and reach other ethnicities is not only inconsistent with the vision of the founders of the Church in the past but also incompatible with the internal conditions of the present group, in which the majority are still Chinese. The CCL will grow in number if it focuses on one group of people who are homogeneous with themselves. The heterogeneity arising since 1968 is a condition that does not favor growth. Now the Church and the people she wants to reach are no longer homogeneous. Therefore, the CCL must again become a church that reaches the Chinese. It not only fits into his historical heritage but also fits into a particular missiological view of the vision and mission of the Church.

## CONCLUSION

This research shows that conflict and tension between two kinds of identities live in groups coloring the process of forming group identities after the collapse of the New Order in 1998. In this case, group leadership plays a role in escalating conflicts and easing tensions between the two views.

The existence of a new type receives strong support from state operations through assimilation policies at the individual level. The old kind can continue to exist due to the ambiguous implementation of the policy at the religious group level. In Christian religious groups with strong Chinese characteristics in the period, before the New Order came to power, the assimilation policy did not have firm guidelines. Officials in authority give ambiguous messages about an

<sup>7</sup> See *Minutes of the 12<sup>th</sup> Synod Session of the Church of Christ the Lord*, Lawang, 5-7 November 1985: 8.

<sup>8</sup> This was caused by bans from the late General Soemitro. See Ramadhan K.H. *Soemitro: Dari Pangdam Mulawarman sampai Pangkopkamtib* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1994), 119

<sup>9</sup> Mrs Pin, personal conversations, July 20 and 22, 2009.

issue. Furthermore, the presence of religious thought that views the need for homogeneity between the Church and the target group for church growth helps strengthen the reasons why many members keep the old identity alive.

This study confirms previous studies on the influence of attitudes and government policies on identity construction. Identity patterns will take forms that help Chinese people overcome the challenges of their time. It also confirms previous research on the hybrid nature of Chinese Christian identity.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Markus Dominggus:** Sekolah tinggi Teologi Aletheia, Indonesia, [minggus02@yahoo.com](mailto:minggus02@yahoo.com)

# Reintroducing and Preserving *Wayang Cina Jawa* Using Kho Ping Hoo's *Wu Xia* Narration in New Media

Dimas Krisna Aditya<sup>1</sup>, Telkom University, Indonesia  
Siti Desintha<sup>2</sup>, Telkom University, Indonesia  
I Gusti Agung Rangga Lawe<sup>3</sup>, Telkom University, Indonesia  
Angelia Lionardi<sup>4</sup>, Telkom University, Indonesia  
Ima Normalia Kusumawati<sup>5</sup>, Telkom University, Indonesia

\* deedeecaditya@telkomuniversity.ac.id

*Abstract: Wayang Cina Jawa or Wacinwa is unique Javanese-Chinese acculturation cultural artefact, that once existed in Yogyakarta in the 1930's. The spirits of acculturation, assimilation and diffusion of the Chinese culture and Javanese culture in Wacinwa can be seen clearly in the forms of the puppet's design and the performance that dominated by Chinese visual language, and its performed using Javanese ways to deliver the narration, just like common shadow puppets shows. Unfortunately, since 1967, this shadow play performance has been lost its tracks, and also extinct without any successor to continuing it for decades. Luckily, they're some historian and academics do care and try to preserve it nowadays. This research will take part to preserve Wacinwa by uses the qualitative research methods, uses literature studies and observation in order to get Wacinwa visual data. Due to the assets system that used to create in Wacinwa's puppets similar to create animation's characters, this research finds that modern 2D animation technology could be an alternative way to reintroduce Wacinwa to younger generations. generations. This paper is reporting the progress of an ongoing experiment to match by animation Wacinwa with a wuxia novel: Dendam Membara wrote by Kho Ping Hoo. The writer is popular among generations in Indonesia.*

*Keywords: Wacinwa, wayang, acculturation, kho ping hoo, peranakan*

## INTRODUCTION

*Wacinwa* term is taken from the acronym from *Wayang Cina Jawa*, or Chinese Javanese shadow play, one of the *Peranakan* cultural artefacts that diffused elements of Chinese and Javanese culture, as an acculturation artefact. This arts performance was born in Yogyakarta. The local people also call this shadow puppet *as wayang thithi*, because it was said that this name comes from the sound “*Thik-thik-thik*” from the music that accompanies this performance. *Wacinwa* itself was first introduced to the public by **Gan Thwan Seng**, (Figure 1) a puppeteer and also a shadow play master (which known as *dalang*). Born in Jatianom, Klaten, Central Java in 1885. Gan Thwan Seng, grew up among the Javanese community, fell in love with shadow play performance and he also studied crafting the puppets and *karawitan* music performance. The idea of making this *Wacinwa* arose because of his expertise in performing the shadow play, His association with Javanese people and also the Chinese culture and literature he got from his grandfather (Mastuti, 2014).

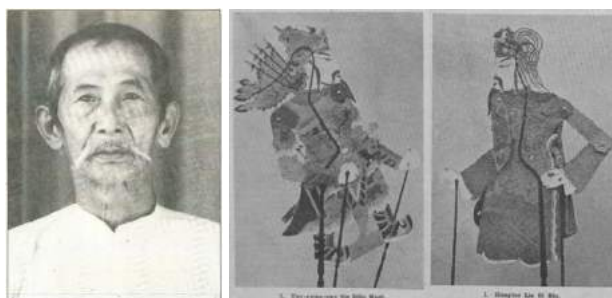


Figure 1: Gan Thang Seng and Wacinwa Puppets

Source: <https://www.ayaindonesia.com/khazanah/pr-012090194/wayang-kulit-tionghoa-atau-wayang-kulit-cina-jawa-tinggal-kenangan?page=3>

*Wacinwa* has many uniqueness than a usual Javanese *Wayang Kulit*'s puppet. The material that used to make the puppets were different. *Wacinwa* puppets made use the cardboard as the base material, instead of animal skins that usually used in Javanese puppets (and also Chinese's shadow play puppets). One of the uniqueness from *Wacinwa* puppet are most of the heads and the bodies of the characters are made separately, so the *dalang* could make several characters by changing the heads and bodies of the characters to perform different roles according to the narration of the storyline (Chc.ft, 2020). In Figure 2, shown some of *Wacinwa* puppets which has *lemahan* and without it.



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Figure 2: Wacinwa Puppet and Its Head Variations

Source: <https://chc.ft.ugm.ac.id/mengenal-sejarah-seni-Wacinwa-wayang-kulit-cina-jawa/>

The similarity of this kind of wayang with other wayang performances were the music instruments. Wacinwa used gamelan sets just like the common Javanese shadow play. The Wacinwa other function beside to entertainment were used as a medium of information and education to the public. Wacinwa performance is also held in people's homes, especially those who hold thanksgiving, birthday parties and weddings. Performances are also carried out at temples on big day celebrations such as Chinese New Year and Cap Go Meh (Lantern Festival). Another unique function is a means of ritual to worship gods and ancestral spirits, just like in Tao or Confucianism traditions.

Gan Thwan Seng wrote many of his shadow play performances' scripts in Javanese language, for example the story of King Thig Jing's Marriage (京王的婚禮) was written as "Rabenipun King Thig Jing". In the performance, like Javanese wayang performances, rituals/activities such as *janturan*, *suluk* and *kandha* are carried out and continue to use Javanese language and idioms. The names of the characters, where the stories is written and pronounced in the Hokkien dialect, while terms such as rank, title, use Javanese terms such as *pangeran*, *tumenggung*, and *pendopo*.

Unfortunately, the historical traces of Wacinwa cannot be traced any further since 1967, after Gan Thwan Seng passed away in the same year. It said there were Gan's students that could be his successor, but they had deceased before Gan Than Seng. Meanwhile, Gan's family used to keep Gan's scriptures for some performances, and they're written in Javanese, but those scriptures were demolished by his family, because they said they didn't know how to do the performances (some experts said Gan's Family afraid of the authorities in 1970's that watched any Chinese cultural performance due to total assimilations policy).

### ASMARAMAN S. (KHO PING HOO)

**Kho Ping Hoo (KPH)** or also known as **Asmaraman Sukowati** is a *wu xia* (武俠)<sup>1</sup> novel author who born as Indonesian-Chinese mixed blood. In almost 30 years, KPH has published about 140 titles of *wu xia* novels. As a Chinese Descents, KPH, who grew up in Chinese culture and studied Chinese martial arts, actually couldn't read Chinese's *Han Yi* characters at all and never visited his ancestral country. The *Bu Kek Sian Su* anthology are very popular among his works. KPH established the *Gema* publisher in Solo with the help of several illustrators including **Yanes (Yohanes Hoo Thwan Yen)**. The design and format of his books are noticeable. The KPH books mostly printed in pocket book format and has distinctive cover design using three primary colors make KPH's works easy to recognizable (Sawega, 2012). One of KPH's works, *Suling Emas (The Golden Flute)*, was translated into Chinese language and marketed in the People's Republic of China with the consideration that this story is full with the heroism values of the *kung fu* warriors in the *wu xia* story (Utomo, 2015).

The narratives that appear in KPH's *wu xia* novels are full of strong moral values. In some ways KPH was consistent in several moral messages, especially when it strongly opposes corruptions and the corrupt authorities who like to oppress people. In addition, the nature of KPH's solidarity and empathy for the weak and the oppressed is also often described in his stories. This may be influenced by the grief that KPH experienced when facing the racial riots in Tasikmalaya around 1963 when he had to lose everything he owned and return to his hometown in Solo. Even, his works always tell a story about a hero who fight against injustice caused by authorities, KPH works were survived from the publications banned as the authorities in 1970-1980 did with Indonesian Chinese literatures.

<sup>1</sup> *Wu Xia* is referring to Chinese martial heroes' fiction stories, usually tells about heroes' fantasy (Chan, 2004), see also (Jenner, 1996)



Figure 2: Asmaraman S. (Kho Ping Hoo) and His Wu Xia Novels

Source: : <https://www.jawapos.com/features/17/08/2019/mengenang-penulis-cerita-silat-legendaris-asmaraman-kho-ping-hoo-1/>

<http://www.majalah-holiday.com/2021/03/kho-ping-hoo-penulis-cersil-yang-tak.html>

## THE WACINWA ANIMATION PROJECTS

The research goals were doing experiments to revive Wacinwa in a new media using Kho Ping Hoo *wu xia* narratives, that more popular than classic mythologies such as *Sie Djin Koei*. Due to the assets' systems that used in *Wacinwa*, which similar to the modern two dimensional animation, the research wants to describing how modern animations' technologies could preserve *Wacinwa* digitally and perform popular stories and narration, in order to reintroduced this kind of wayang to the youngest generations. The primary targets of the projects are youngsters from 16 - 20 years old, which not only to the Chinese-Indonesian community segmentation as the primary target but also to the young people who like *wu xia* stories. The Chinese Indonesian communities' youngsters choose as primary target, because these generations are lost from their cultural roots, because of the New Order Regimes policy to their parents and their grandparents.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The research uses the qualitative methods, since it relies to the observation on cultural phenomena that tend to change as the times goes by. Considering that the results of this research will target the younger generation, who disconnected from their culture roots. Because this research studies and examines the data related to objects, shapes and forms of *Wacinwa*'s puppets, the visual research method approach is also used in this study. Visual research methods are closely related to understanding 1). Visual Culture, 2) Designs thinking, and 3) Reference data that used. (Soewardikoen, 2019)

According to M. Jazuli, in qualitative methods, data can be obtained by conducting in-depth observations and interviews, and measuring the object of research based on understanding and observations based on thoughts and perceptions of the phenomena that occur (Jazuli, 2001).

The initial work stage includes data collection, data processing and analysis and the final work stage which is the preparation of the thesis divided into **1.) Approach**. In this stage the research examines how *Wacinwa* puppets were designed and build to understand how their anatomy that made them different from other *wayang* puppet's forms, in addition, to understand the philosophy described by the characters. After obtaining the philosophical value of each process, then the synergy is sought in the process of making the work in the process of digitizing the work and also in the process of making more contemporary design works, such as games and animation. **2.) Research Object**. The objects in this study are the *Wacinwa* puppets design and forms, and the wuxia novel *Dendam Membara* by Kho Ping Hoo. **3.) Data Collection Techniques and Data Types and Sources**. a) Primary data sources: During a pandemic like nowadays, to do an interview to some experts or coming to a location are limited depend on the situation in the field. Therefore, the alternative in obtaining primary data is by joining some webinar events that related into, asking people and communities who also observe Chinese culture and also the members from Indonesian *wu xia* literatures reader groups on social media. b) Secondary data sources; literature studies in the form of various reference books, articles, theories about Peranakan culture, Chinese Javanese puppets and the process of making short animations.

## DATA ANALYSIS

The data that has been collected so far from Wacinwa artefacts are the documentation from presentations and from previous research on it. Some of the previous researches described the many forms of the Wacinwa, and the characters that made for the narration of *Sie Jin Koei*'s saga. But there are many patterns and treatment that similar to common Javanese wayang puppet, like colors, the eyes' shapes and the gestures of the characters.

Since the research's purpose is to make a new interpretation of Wacinwa in modern look of 2D animation. The data above will be use to bring many information's about Wacinwa, the history, the forms, the narrations and how they



performed, what kind of music they use in shadow play performance. These data can provide the research to reconstructs *Wacinwa* before it will deconstruct to new concept and materials for make a new model and prototype for the show. The models of the data analysis, can be seen in this graphic below:

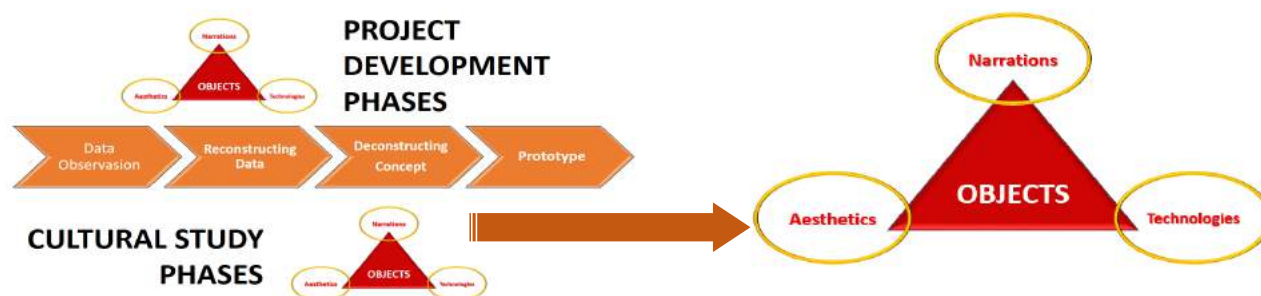


Figure 3: Data Analysis Used in This Research

Source: Dimas Krisna Aditya, 2022

The Research uses the analysis models after observing some modern Chinese mythologies that had reinterpreted in new (popular) media such as, films, games, anime, manga and manhwa and also toys. For examples, the story about Monkey King or Journey to the West legends or The Three Kingdoms, has retold in many popular media. The same methods are used to reimagining and rebooting some classics wu xia novels in China, for examples *The Legend of Condor Heroes* (*Sin Tiau Eng Hiong*) has many versions of television dramas and also games. The research finds that to recreate and redesign a character based on classics narrations we must deconstruct the narrations first, who is the character, when and where the character lives in the story, what the history behind the character. In the second phase of the analysis, we will describe the character images, and compare it with another version from various translations through times and finally we describe with what tools and trade that created the images of the character. After we have all the aspects break down, we put them together again to recreate the character, in other words, we do the reversal process but with put the modern aspects and some modification to the character narratives.

## DISCUSSIONS AND RESULTS

As the research describes in passages above, the research wants to make an animation based on *Wacinwa* shadow play performance using one of Kho Ping Hoo *wu xia* novel adaptation. It will be different from the *Wacinwa* shadow play that used to be performed. The story that often performed in *Wacinwa* is *Sie Djin Koei/ Si Jin Kwi* (spelled in Hokkian's dialect) (學人貴) which is an epic heroic story, that written during the Tang Dynasty. This story also performed in Chinese opera. The story of *Sie Jin Koei* itself was quite popular among Indonesian *wu xia* comic readers in the 1950s which was published through Star Weekly magazine, and the story were written and illustrated by **Siauw Tik Kwie**, another Javanese-Chinese comic artist (Dermawan T., 2016).

The shapes, appearances and mechanism of the puppets of *Wacinwa* and other Wayang puppets, are different. The visible aspects from the depiction of the character's attributes (clothes, weapons and ornaments) resembles the Chinese ornaments and Javanese values. *Wacinwa* puppet's heads of the characters can be separated and combined with different bodies to display different characters. In addition, there are also several puppets made of cardboard and the use of bamboo as a *gapit* or *Wayang* holder. Unlike the Chinese traditional shadow play puppets, *Wacinwa* puppets' legs can't be moved, and its proportions were the same with Javanese wayang puppets. The Javanese influences were so strong in Gwan Than Seng. From the previous information, the research studied that *Wacinwa* itself created as a modified artefact. The creation that Gan Thwan Seng made, shown the emerged and blended two dominant cultures, the Chinese 's narrations and visuals merged with the Javanese's *kejawan*.

The research study found that many other academics in art and culture try to reconstruct and recreate *Wacinwa* puppet like what it used to be. Some of previous research that the research team found are willing to recreate *Wacinwa* puppet, because of the rarity and exclusiveness. The only museum in Indonesia that still keep *Wacinwa* puppets as their collection is Sonobudoyo, Yogyakarta. (Kiswanto, 2019) This research also sees many possibilities to reintroduced *Wacinwa* as a heritage artefact to teach the unity in diversity values to younger generations. For decades *Wacinwa* had proven to us that a culture can be blend and merged with the society's popular culture through the times. By the time Gan Than Seng created *Wacinwa*, wayang shadow play show could be considered as popular show that enjoyed by people in Yogyakarta. His innovation could be success as a heritage performing arts. Unfortunately, due to New Order regime that banned everything related to Chinese culture and their identity, and also after Gan Than Seng passed away, *Wacinwa* begin to extinct. What will we discuss here are how the acculturations between two cultures, and how they

blended, taught us that we can preserve our cultural artefact, like *Wacinwa* in the same way that what Gan Thwan Seng started his innovation in wayang performance through it. With the same methods, this research will use the popular media that enjoyable by the young generations. So, the research chooses short animation as the media to preserve *Wacinwa*. Also, animation will accommodate the concept and the physic form of *Wacinwa puppet*, because of the asset systems create by Gan Than Seng similar with assets systems that use in animations in many ways.

## THE KHO PING HOO WU XIA NARRATIVES

For the narrative of the animation, this research will develop a narration based from popular local *Wu Xia* story written by Asmaraman Sukowati or Kho Ping Hoo (KPH). For decades KPH 's *wu xia* novels have been reprinted and still read by his fans, all around Indonesia and lately, just like described above, one of his works, *Suling Emas* (The Golden Flute) translated and printed in China. With the huge numbers of his fan base, this research could collect more data about Koo Ping Hoo's works, and choose which story can be performing with this new incarnation of *Wacinwa*.

*Dendam Membara* was written by the KPH in 1982, which is one of the his *wu xia* novels that took the background of the story in China. *Dendam Membara* only has four volumes of books and is one of the short serials written by KPH. The Illustrations of the books were drawn by Yanes. After read and observe the story, *Dendam Membara* has different narration, while the other *wu xia* novel premis is 'young hero is seeking justice by avenge his family death caused by the bad guys', *Dendam Membara* premise is 'young hero forgives the bad guys in his journey to seeking justice'. The synopsis of the story itself focuses on a young lad named Cin Han who learns martial arts from a Shaolin monk to take revenge on a corrupt official and his employees who caused the death of his mother. However, when he grew up and was highly mastered his skills, Cin Han became devastated to know the truth, that his mother was the one who was most responsible for his father's death and all the suffer and pains of their lives. At the end of the story, Cin Han finally quit his vengeance agenda and lives with the daughter of the official who is his target. This story contains positive vibes and the spirits of forgiveness, that teach good moral values. So, that's why the research take this title as the projects, not just only the story was not so complicated and long enough.






Figure 4: Kho Ping Hoo's Dendam Membara Wu Xia Novels

Source: Dimas Krisna Aditya, 2022

## EARLY MODELS

The Research at this paper written, still develop the early design of the 'recreation' of the *Wacinwa*'s media. The research has do several models test. The first thing that the research has did is comparing the puppets model of Chinese's shadow play puppets, Javanese shadow play puppets and *Wacinwa* puppets, so we could study the anatomy of the puppets, shape and proportions (table 1). After the comparing them, we know that both of Javanese wayang puppets and *Wacinwa* puppets feet are cannot be moved, so it's will be noted if we are going to make an animation, especially if we want make the characters moves since we're adapting *Wu Xia* novels for the narrations.

Table 1: Comparison of Puppets

	Chinese Shadow Play Puppet	Javanese Shadow Play Puppet	Wacinwa Puppet
<i>Forms</i>			
<i>Materials</i>	Paper, animal skins, parchment	Animal Skins such as goats or cows.	Cardboard
<i>Proportions</i>	Distortions, Deformations	Distortions, Deformations	Distortions, Deformations
<i>Points of Articulations</i>	Head, hands, legs, torso	Hands only	Hands only
<i>Detachable parts</i>	None	-	Head
<i>Special Distinctive</i>	All body parts can be moved	The Feet connect to <i>lemahan</i>	Head can be removed and replaced with another head to create new character

Source: Dimas Krisna Aditya

The data above then used to make two first character's designs. The research had made two characters based on the narrations, they are Cin Han as male lead protagonists and Lian Hwa as female protagonist. It's quite difficult to describes the character images, because KPH's novels only contains maximal 3 illustrations in his book, luckily, he always put the character's profile in every character's appearances inside the story. The characters' designs still in developing progress, the research and the research use the early black and white mockups to recreate a scene.

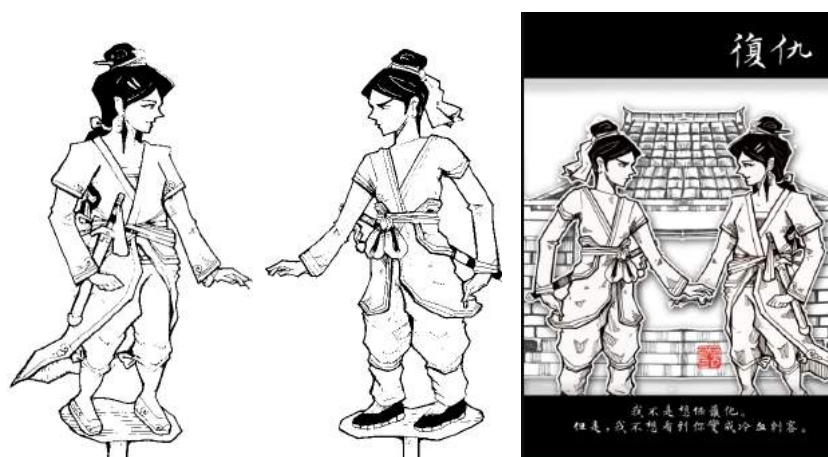


Figure 5: First Character Models Development for the Animation Project

Source: Dimas Krisna Aditya, 2022

## CONCLUSIONS

Although this research still developing the early models and still collects more data. This research optimizes that, we can find any innovation ways to preserve and reintroducing *Wacinwa* as cultural heritage artifacts. This so important, because the research finds that *Wacinwa* has teach us about respect to diversity and blend together as one identity. The technology nowadays can be exploring as new medias that we can imagine. The traditional culture could blend with the technologies, in order to reincarnate itself to prevent the values behind the artefacts for being extinct in future



generations. Like what Gan Than Seng innovated, to merge Chinese culture with Javanese popular culture in the past; the research hopes, this modern *Wacinwa* innovation should bring the same spirits, not only to preserve the artefact but spreading the values to younger generations

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Dimas Krisna Aditya, S.I.P., M.Sn.:** Lecturer, Visual Communications Program, School of Creative Industries, Telkom University, Bandung, Indonesia, [deedeeaditya@telkomuniversity.ac.id](mailto:deedeeaditya@telkomuniversity.ac.id)

**Siti Desintha, S.Sn., M.Sn.:** Lecturer, Visual Communications Program, School of Creative Industries, Telkom University, Bandung, Indonesia

**I Gusti Agung Ranga Lawe, S.Ds., M.Ds.:** Lecturer, Visual Communications Program, School of Creative Industries, Telkom University, Bandung, Indonesia

**Angelia Lionardi, S.Sn., M.Ds.:** Lecturer, Visual Communications Program, School of Creative Industries, Telkom University, Bandung, Indonesia

**Ima Normalia Kusumayanti, S.S., M.Pd.:** Lecturer, School of Industrial Engineering and Information System, Telkom University, Bandung, Indonesia

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# Chinese New Migrant in Indonesia: Patterns and Tendencies

Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto\*, Research Center for Area Studies, National Research and Innovation Agency

\* rudolfyuniarto@gmail.com

*Abstract: Chinese new migration (xinyimin) in Indonesia is entangled in search of employment, business opportunities, educational improvement, and marriage. This migration brings social-cultural exchange between people and provide an interesting chapter on the interactions between Indonesians and new immigrants from mainland China. Although most Indonesians familiar with Chinese, the continuous inflows of migrants from China have resulted in intensified conflicts between Indonesians and mainland Chinese, who are seen as threats to local ways of life and the fine-tuned social set-up. Such host-guest tensions have ignited a local-national politics. Interactions tensions have occurred some place between incoming mainland Chinese and local people, and such a phenomenon has drawn increasing public as well as scholarly attention. On the basis of literature review and field observation there is a gap relationship in terms of practice and idea. Typically, local workers are paid US\$8 to US\$15 per day while Chinese workers can earn several hundred dollars per month. Here, local workers resent the higher salaries of Chinese workers and need to fight constantly just to get well paid, regardless of nationality. New Chinese migrant communities emerging in Indonesia may come into conflict with Indonesians who consider these new migrants as competitors. Xinyimin may also become an issue for the indigenous population who see them as exploiters and foreigners. Indonesians' view of outsider was one of constraints for Chinese new migrants' interactions and acculturation in Indonesia.*

*Keywords: xinyimin, interactions, ethno-nationalism, conflict*

## INTRODUCTION

China's economic reforms in the early 1980s, which led to its opening up to the outside world, started a new trend of immigration from China to all parts of the world. Although a majority of migrants opted to go to developed countries, quite a number also made their way to underdeveloped country like Indonesia. With the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) by Xi Jinping in 2013, the number of Chinese new migrants to Indonesia increased dramatically in tandem with the great numbers of state-linked and private Chinese companies arriving in the country. According to data from China's Ministry of Commerce, in 2021, there were 592,000 Chinese workers overseas. This number is lower than before the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, the official statistics exclude Chinese workers who do not possess a valid work visa. However, based on China Labor Watch survey of 333 Chinese workers in Indonesia in 2022, only 27.6 percent held valid work visas to work in that country. Thus, millions of Chinese are potentially employed by BRI projects. These people, hired via convoluted chains of subcontracting, isolated in their host societies with or without a legal status, and unfamiliar with local legal resources, experience exploitative and dangerous working conditions.

Prior to the economic reforms in 1978, Chinese migrants were basically driven by push factors; many of them were regarded as victims of social conflicts or poverty which prompted some to seek asylum in other countries. Nowadays, Chinese migrants are more diverse. Many are migrating as part of the increasing flows of investments, economic aid, trade and culture, which, in turn, have been propelled by the government's "go-out strategy" (Zǒuchūqū Zhànlüè/走出去战略). They are, different from the earlier immigrants from 1970s and 1980s period who had kinship and other relationship with the ethnic Chinese community in Indonesia. Some of them, came from provinces like Liaoning, Shandong, Jiangsu, and other places outside of Fujian and Guangdong, the southern coastal areas where most Indonesian-Chinese hailed from.

Most of recent Chinese new migrants in Indonesia engage in self-styled small-to-medium scale business enterprises, are employed in the teaching sector, work for governmental organizations or private company, study at one of the universities. As private entrepreneurs, they concentrate on the production and export of textile, gadget, furniture and handicrafts, or run tourism-related venues such as guesthouses, bars or restaurants. In the 'cultural' sector, Mandarin teaching is most prominent, next to English and Japan, and the local branches of cultural institutes also employ several foreign nationals. The main types of immigrants have been petty traders and service entrepreneurs; skilled garment workers; and white-collar workers in the sectors of construction, engineering, finance, accounting, law, media, journalism, and education.

However, this situation raises some questions, such as, can Chinese new migrants in Indonesia blend to local culture and social life? Because despite its closeness relationship both politically and international relations, Indonesian and Chinese have different social and cultural perceptions, systems and values as well as different languages. This paper explores the issue of the new Chinese immigrants in two sections. The first section gives an overview of the general situation and discusses the problems and challenges the new immigrants pose for Indonesian society in general. While earlier immigrants to the Indonesia came mainly in order to improve their lives due to reasons of poverty as well as to join their families, the influx of new immigrants into Indonesia, which are much poorer than in China. In the second section, the chapter explores the ethnicity factor in the issue. The section argues that the problems situation and prospects of the new Chinese immigrants to developing countries like Indonesian.



## WHO ARE THEY?

By definition the Chinese 'new migrant' in this paper refers to the Chinese Mainland / Islander who migrated abroad after the reform and openness era 1978 onwards. They reside, both permanently and non-permanently, in the destination country with or without giving up citizenship of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Suryadinata describes new migrants from mainland China (including Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau) who have lived in other countries for more than one year. They change their place of residence, either within a country or across international borders, for various reasons. In terms of the Chinese migration, hereinafter, it is often referred to as xinyimin (新移民 which means migrant/ immigrant from China).

This characteristic of new Chinese migrants is marked by differences in character with migrants in the previous era (before 1978). While the old Chinese migrants generally migrated because they fled hardships in their hometowns, most of them were men, less educated, able to integrate culturally with local residents, forming associations based on their hometowns. However, this is not the case with new migrants who are looking for economic opportunities with a better formal work orientation, as many women and men workers, educated (although not all), are still economically and emotionally tied to the country where they live, while they form associations based on work or location. In addition, new migrants have a combination of culture of origin and destination, meaning that there is a process of cultural hybridization by exploring any cultural characteristics that are different from the country of origin or even not the original of the destination country so that sometimes these new migrants cannot determine the color of their origin culture.

As mentioned above Chinese new migrants in the past two decades and today are largely driven and stimulated by increased flows of investment, economic assistance, trade and socio-cultural exchanges between China and Indonesia. Most of the foreign direct investment from mainland China to Indonesia, which developed around the 2000s, created various business economic activities, including infrastructure project activities (roads, bridges, and railways), processing of raw materials (nickel, natural gas, and electricity), factories, property development, and e-commerce in various regions (such as Sulawesi, Jakarta and Banten province). The main types of migrant work are service entrepreneurs; skilled garment workers; office workers in the sectors of construction, engineering, finance, accounting, business law, media and journalism. Not only working on a project run by a company, becoming an employee, or studying at a university too.

According to an estimate of a Chinese new migrant's observer, there are over 1,000 Chinese companies in Indonesia, 260 of which are members of the China Chamber of Commerce in Indonesia (CCCI). Chinese workers in Indonesia accounted for 30% – about 32,000 people – of the foreign workers in the country in 2018. That's an increase of about 8,000 workers from the previous year, making them the largest group of foreign workers in Indonesia. Many of these jobs are mid-level, professional positions that Indonesia would struggle to fill using its local workforce, but some are low-skilled laborers.

Under the Indonesia-China strategic partnership scheme, the relation between Indonesia and China has witnessed a smooth development also in the sphere of education. For instance, significant number of Chinese have been studying in Indonesia in recent decades. In 2001 a Chinese Indonesian banker, Li Moming of the Pan-Indonesia Bank, established President University (Universitas Presiden) in the suburb of Jakarta. It offered 100 scholarships annually to Mainland Chinese students to enroll at that university. Also, since 2010, the Zhongguo Gangwan foundation (中国港湾) China Hong Kong and Bay Areas Enterprise has offered 15-20 annual scholarships to the President University. According to a study on Chinese businesses in Indonesia, these graduates from President University, more than 1,000 of them, have served as the backbone for China's businesses and companies in Indonesia. These graduates are well versed in both Mandarin and Indonesian.

According to online survey Big Brother Du's WeChat blog in Indonesia 2018 to the fifty Chinese workers in Jakarta, it shows that most of the companies they work are still newly established and their employees under 35 years. Most of Chinese migrants are young, the length of stay in Indonesia is shorter than previous migrants. The same survey revealed that not all Chinese migrants are KITAS (residence or work permit cards) holders. Others enter Indonesia on a non-renewable thirty-day tourist visa, a thirty-day extendable landing visa, or a sixty-day extendable business visa. Most enter Indonesia with various types of visas, stay in Indonesia for several months, then leave Indonesia for several days, weeks or months before re-entering Indonesia. This type of "on-and-off" residence is very common among Chinese migrants. This finding confirms that migrants from China have a pattern of entering, leaving and re-entering Indonesia. The real number of Chinese migrants in Indonesia may be much higher than the number of registered migrants.

In general, Chinese migrant education has completed twelve (or more) years of compulsory education. There are also those from higher education (three to five years) or a university master's level. Some of the participants in the WeChat Indonesian Perspectives group are people who have majored in Indonesian in China or have studied in Indonesia as full-time students before starting their careers. For participants on other blogs or We-Chat groups, it was seen that some had access to local mass media (TV or newspapers in Indonesian). This level of language proficiency in Indonesian is rare among migrants from other countries.

There is no information on the location of origin of the Chinese migrants in the country. Most Chinese citizens come from cities in inner provinces (for example, Henan or Hunan) or lesser-known counties in coastal provinces (for example Fuzhou, not Fuzhou, in Fujian province, or Weifang, not Jinan, in Shandong province). Few originate from large cities (such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou) or coastal provincial capitals. They describe migration to Indonesia in terms of *fanshen le* (翻身了, to free oneself from poverty / hardship of life). Although China is economically better than Indonesia, in terms of social life and self-independence Jakarta (Indonesia) is still better. In general, it can be said that the migration of Chinese people to seize career opportunities and improve the comfortable life that they hope to get in Indonesia, which in China itself may not be able to increase a decent standard of living. Most of them form a “working relationship” group following a project or business company where they work in Indonesia.

Positively, Chinese new migrants in Indonesia can bring skilled and quality laborers to Indonesia which help decreasing skills scarcity. Economic role of the new Chinese migrants fostered community and local development by bringing in technologies, bringing about material development and urbanization. Some of Chinese investments, businesses, and entrepreneurship bring employment opportunities and income to local residents. Investments and entrepreneurship lead to the growth of the local economy.

However, there are also negative impact, for instance, many Chinese migrant workers are an undocumented worker. Some do illegal entries, overstaying, or holding the wrong type of visa. Some of the new Chinese migrants unethically make their living, for instance, conducting illegal businesses, illegally possessing the land and real estate, using an Indonesia national as a nominee in conducting business, leading to an act of seeking benefits from the loophole in law. Exploitation in the areas due to a lack of consciousness in environmental protection, to illustrate, pollution, overuse of chemical substances, noise pollution. Cultural and economic conflict with local residents. For instance, (1) Chinese retailers conducting businesses in Indonesia caused local retailers being at a major disadvantage in competing against the Chinese one. (2) Some see that the influx of the new Chinese migrants led to a job replacement, especially Chinese language-related jobs. (3) Some of the new Chinese migrants’ behaviors are against local custom, causing behavioral conflict, e.g., talking loudly, putting their feet up in public areas.

## LOCAL (SOCIETY) PERCEPTIONS

Chinese investment in Indonesia emphasizes the weakness of Chinese company in terms of understanding local culture and vice versa. For instance, many Chinese companies investing overseas lack knowledge of how labor unions work and often do not respond adequately to demands of employees. Worse, some Chinese firms bypass the laws and regulations without offering contracts or insurance. Such Chinese companies are simply accustomed to their domestic approach of relying on a variety of connections and resources to settle various problems. In China, due to the fierce competition for jobs and insufficient legal protection, employees are generally accepting of the demands of the employers. Some Chinese investors mistakenly believe this is also the case overseas, resulting in an increasing number of workers’ strikes by labor unions in countries such as Indonesia.

At working space, different ways of working and standards sometimes make Chinese frustrated. For example, when a Chinese procurement manager instructs his staff to purchase an item. The manager already has a purchase schedule, includes what to buy and when his department should buy the goods, but sometimes his staff from Indonesia often doesn’t do his instruction right away, the staff thinks the purchase can be done later because the stock of needed goods is still enough.

From the situation described above, can be seen numerous numbers of employees involved in the enterprise’s activities and have many layers of hierarchy. Besides, the complex structures, communication problems that occurred in this enterprise also because the existence of cultural differences. According to interviewee, mentioned that a problem in corporate activities is not a matter of language barrier but a cultural difference. Cultural differences seem like not a big problem for this enterprise, because China and Indonesia are both Asian countries. However, small things can be a problem. The way a person does a task, according to one interviewee can be a problem for others. Chinese culture is a monochronic culture, so Chinese people are accustomed to doing everything in a tightly planned time, in other words they organize everything according to the time set. While Indonesia, has a polychronic culture in which the opposite of monochronic, so time becomes more flexible. From the monochronic and polychronic terms can be seen that, the way Chinese people work and Indonesians are different.

At other side, there are rumors were spread in Indonesian social media that there were about 10 to 20 million Chinese migrant workers in Indonesia. Political motivation was suspected behind the rumors that fed on the fear that the Chinese would take over local jobs. Later, the Minister of Manpower refuted that figure, explaining that the number of Chinese workers in Indonesia they mostly worked in Chinese construction projects. Since then, it has become more difficult for Chinese-Indonesian joint venture companies to employ mainland Chinese workers. The difficulty in hiring mainland Chinese workers may affect the implementation of some of the China projects. Lack of knowledge about China was one of the causes of these largely unfounded fears. Chinese workers may live and even settle in Indonesia, but the impact of the Chinese labor force upon Indonesia’s labor market is minimal.

In social and political context, Chinese investing (including in the belt road initiative projects) in Indonesia is not at all straightforward, some major obstacle blocking the progress are public opinion or perception about China, i.e.: the treat of Communism and Religion diffusion; Migration of Chinese Laborer. Meanwhile for Chinese they also concern about: History of Indonesian Communist Party that makes Indonesia and China frozen their bilateral relationship; Islamic extremism; Problems Natives and non-Natives; Anti-Chinese Movement is often expressed as a subject matter that hamper relations between countries. The anti-Chinese sentiment still lingers in parts of Indonesian society and become most concern. A legacy from an attempted coup in 1965 that is not likely to go away any time soon. That event – blamed on the Indonesian Communist Party, which was allegedly backed by the Chinese Communist Party – sparked a communist witch-hunt in Indonesia that left an estimated 500,000 people dead in 1965-66. This makes the present President Jokowi administration's decision to assign North Sumatra, North Kalimantan, North Sulawesi and Bali as the economic corridors for Indonesia's "Global Maritime Fulcrum" – a project that overlaps with belt and road interests. A Clever strategy to "protect" Chinese investments and make sure that these are not in sensitive areas where they may trigger strong dissent.

The negative perceptions of Indonesian about China also characterized by sentiment among the Indonesian society related to the ethnic Chinese diaspora. This was a remnant of the Suharto 'New Regime' era toward Indonesian Chinese. The role of a small group of rich, ethnic-Chinese Indonesians associated with Suharto could be undermined when observing the Indonesia–China relations. President Suharto had close relations with those privileged Indonesian Chinese whose business networks reached southern China where the great grandparents of Indonesian overseas Chinese had come from.

## **LIVING IN THE GAP**

Actually, there are some advantages being foreigner in Indonesia. The easiest to recognize are probably the economic ones: the greater economic power of foreigners compared to most Indonesian citizens provides them with a lifestyle often unavailable to them at home. Other advantages arise from what is perceived as 'difference' or 'otherness', or what is called the bonus of the 'exotic'. These 'social differences' are a complex set of features that get played out in various ways. An important aspect that constitutes these social differences is the idea that 'yellow' Chinese, almost irrespective of nationality, are in certain ways considered superior to Indonesians.

The idea of superiority seems to be based on several aspects: greater political and economic power; belonging to highly industrialized countries with 'high technology', a high standard of education, high standard of living, countries marked by effectivity, 'hard work' and success. This often seems the basis for the admiration of foreigners, it endows them with a certain prestige, and a great deal of attention, which invariably influences their everyday lives.

At the same time, it is important to point out that foreigners are also considered inferior in many ways. For example, they lack Javanese (or other Indonesian ethnic) social and cultural competence, spiritual awareness and morality; they lack restraint and politeness. They are sometimes regarded as 'alien from other planet', who behave inappropriately but can't be expected to know any better. Obviously, there are a multitude of attitudes towards Chinese new migrants among Indonesian, in the 'superiority' as well as in the 'inferiority', and various other social-political discourses.

Considering all this, it seemed that Chinese new migrants' lives could best be captured in the metaphor of 'living in the gap' (borrowing terminology from Anne-Meike Fechter). They were living 'in' the gap geographically and socially: moving back and forth between countries, but being neither completely part of one or the other society, or maybe a bit of both. Alternatively, one could describe the gap as a 'third space', one that is neither wholly home country nor Indonesian, but instead is constructed through the foreigner's particular situation in Indonesia. This 'gap' or third space is inhabited and continuously re-created both by Indonesian and the Chinese migrants. Living in the gap is made possible through differences between Chinese and Indonesians. The 'gap' is a space opened up by these differences and providing a habitat because of the gains arising from them. Live in the 'gap' influences how they relate to Indonesia and its people, to their 'home' country and how it in turn produces a diverse set of affiliations.

Due to strong ethnicity, nationalism and protectionist policies in support of the Indonesians "(indigenous)" economic welfare who (still) live below the poverty line, migration — internal and international — often raises suspicion and prejudice against migrants (foreigners). Especially for Chinese migrants, who are now the largest migrant migrants in Indonesia? Since ancient times from colonial times until now, the complex relationship between these groups of migrants has been described by Indonesian anthropologists (such as John S. Furnival) or Indonesian migration experts (such as Riwanto Tirtosudarmo) about the concept of plural society, namely "a society consisting of two or more elements or a living social order side by side, but without mixing, in one political unity". One of the important things in migration in Indonesia's pluralistic society is the form of social relations based on the demographic categories of the indigenous population and new arrivals, such as ethnic and economic based relationships (including religion as well).

According to Effendi, there are factors that emerge that change the picture of Indonesia's plurality in the context of the global world. On the one hand, plurality based on ethnicity or religion is no longer sufficient to become the main element of the content. On the other hand, economic inequality, educational development, and inequality in prosperity are several factors that fill the plurality fact. In other words, although inter-ethnic relations seem to have become the social basis of Indonesian society, the pluralistic picture is mixed, even intertwined among many factors. The social problems that arise in society show the true diversity of Indonesian society. The social problems of migrants as described above are side by side with national issues ranging from issues of integration to conflicts between ethnic groups, from traditional religions to secular life, and from national / international economic interests to the economic interests of local residents / ethnicities.

The migration of Chinese citizens in Indonesia is closely related to job search, obtaining business opportunities, efforts to improve education, establishing marriages and some are trying to reunify (family reunification). This migration process of course brings socio-economic consequences such as the issue of labor liberalization, efforts to create cultural exposure and other human relationships that vary between groups. However, prejudice remains against the new Chinese migrants. There is still a huge gap in the "dislike" of Chinese migrants in the minds of Indonesians. It is not only about differences in political ideology, race, religion and ethnicity, but also about the 'daily behavior' that is caused by them. This becomes an obstacle in the struggle for the assimilation of migrant migrants from China. The presence in the community often creates tension between the existence of Chinese migrants (workers) and local residents.

How can we observe the phenomenon of tensions in relations due to migration, especially regarding immigrants from China? Several stories can be filed, i.e., the presence of Chinese migrants accompanied by inappropriate documents, making illegal entries, engaging in criminal acts, and holding the wrong type of visa; the influx of Chinese newcomers led to job changes, especially jobs related to teaching Mandarin; local retailers were at a very disadvantage in competing with direct traders from China — plus no business license; due to different cultures causing conflicts between migrants and local residents.

The entry of Chinese migrant workers in Indonesia, especially in infrastructure and factories sector, is seriously considered to be detrimental to many Indonesian local workers including Indonesian migrant workers who work abroad (Malaysia, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, and others). This is because Indonesia is still facing an unemployment rate amidst limited employment opportunities provided by the Indonesian government, even in the manual labor sector (3D, dirty, dangerous, and difficult) in Indonesia. In fact, workers who are categorized as 'unskilled' from China are paid higher than local Indonesian workers.

This problem is not only detrimental, but it is felt to "hurt the heart" of local workers who need permanent jobs and migrant workers who work abroad on debt even with the bad risks that may be faced in the destination country. Meanwhile, they have been working freely in Indonesia. Economically, the presence of migrant workers is clearly considered to be detrimental and even a threat to the domestic labor market. Such as the neo-mercantilist view which views that interdependence between countries is not always symmetrical. The free flow of labor worries some people because it will make the domestic labor market, especially Indonesia, be flooded and dependent on the supply of foreign labor. So, the policy of obtaining outside investment coupled with the entry of foreign workers (labor market liberalization) could be a threat to the domestic labor market. Based on this view, the position of Chinese migrants in Indonesia is a group of migrants who are both a competition and a threat to local labor.

The presence of migrants from China has added to the "complexity" of social life in society. An increase in criminal cases, namely cases of drug trafficking and prostitution. China ranks second after Nigeria (15 cases) with 8 cases in 2015. Meanwhile, during 2016, the Director General of Immigration carried out prosecution proceedings with Pro Justisia, namely China 126, Nigeria 134, Bangladesh 27, India 19, Indonesia 18, Thailand 17, Morocco 11, South Korea 11, Malaysia 10, Myanmar 9. The government took firm steps against citizens from China and Taiwan who were arrested by the Task Force for the Indonesian National Police and the Chinese Police in three different locations, namely Bali, Surabaya and Jakarta. Chinese migrants who abuse tourist visas into criminal activity are arrested for cyber-crimes and are subsequently deported. The above example shows a pattern of violations committed by migrants from China so that they are identified as "criminals".

In the trader group, apart from being considered a threat, the term 'visa barrier' is also attached, which is a residence visa used for businesses that do not have a permit with the local government. The case that occurred on the island of Bali is one example. In November 2018, the Governor of Bali instructed to close 16 shops, art shops, and business units owned by Chinese people who have shop licenses but are running a tour and travel tourism business as well as bringing products from Bali to be sold to China without going through customs. This condition damages the image of tourism in Bali as a whole for the local residents (entrepreneurs) and the tourists who come. So that the Bali government does prevent things that result in a bad image of tourism that must be dealt with firmly. The presence of Chinese migrants in the trade and tourism sector does not have a positive effect on society, especially Balinese people. The investment, business and entrepreneurship of China's new migrants simply do not bring employment and income opportunities to local residents. The economic role of the new Chinese migrants also does not foster the relationship



between the community and local economic development by bringing in technology and material changes to local traders. What happened was that China was destroying business competition in the tourism sector in Bali and there was no mutual aid in trade.

Migrants from China are increasingly adding to the length of the struggle for assimilation (towards integration) of ethnic Chinese, both old and new, in Indonesia. In the social relations between Indonesian citizens and ethnic Chinese, psychosocial discrimination and racism still exist. The discriminatory attitudes that have occurred since the colonial period until now that have confined the ethnic Chinese in carrying out various aspects of life such as economy, culture, religion, politics and education will continue with the behavior displayed by this new Chinese migrant. Their presence seems to be limited to economic fighters in foreign countries with all their problems. However, in the practice of living together, instead of building a “productive assimilation” towards a harmonious and mutually beneficial relationship, it is trapped into the problem of “China as threat” as a product of globalization that has become a disturbance and threat. The stigma that Chinese people are exclusive and closed to live and associate with their own community continues to the new Chinese migrant group.

According to Leo Suryadinata the relationship between Chinese new migrants and Chinese Indonesians is not close, and the group is divided by different life experiences and by language barriers. However, cooperation with local Chinese entrepreneurs is seen as important because they have many advantages that new Chinese migrants do not have, including: 1. They are relatively familiar with local laws and regulations and understand market operations; 2. They have certain official relationships with administrative officers who can assist with business matters; 3. Has certain economic strengths to make an initial investment; 4. They have more experience in dealing with “local thugs or thugs”; 5. Most importantly, Chinese and Chinese Indonesian migrants have the same cultural roots and origins.

With the arrival of Chinese new migrants, Indonesia may experience a full-blooded and *peranakan* situation again. These Chinese (*totok*) newcomers may come into conflict with Chinese Indonesians (*peranakan*) who also perceive newcomers as competitors and threats. Relations between Chinese new migrants and Chinese Indonesians who do not speak Mandarin have not been well established. Chinese new migrant’s image looks arrogant and belittles local Chinese Indonesians, on the other hand Chinese Indonesians often don’t trust Chinese new migrants’ entrepreneurs. Large Chinese new migrants’ companies collaborate more with local entrepreneurs who are fluent in Mandarin. Therefore, contact with local people is very helpful for Chinese new migrants to develop his business in Indonesia. This is especially true outside Java where many Chinese Indonesians can still speak Mandarin. In addition, there are tensions - and conflicts - between Chinese new migrants and indigenous people, who see them as exploiters of resources.

## CONCLUSION

Based on this situation, every individual and enterprise might be having communication problems moreover an individual and enterprise whose members have different cultural background. In the enterprise and social life, it is seen that everyone brings their own cultures into the enterprise, and unconsciously often has a damaging effect for the enterprise and social relation sustainability. To harmonize these differences, every individual in the enterprise and their social environment must have good level of trust, cultural empathy, cultural awareness and mindfulness. Corporate and social culture must also be formed and adapted to the needs of the individual and organization, so that when harmony is achieved will bring a positive effect for the enterprise and social life in all aspects of the Chinese new migrants’ activities.

Therefore, in addition to have the good level of trust and cultural empathy, cultural awareness must also be owned by every individual within the enterprise. So that mindfulness can grow by itself and can facilitate communication interaction within the enterprise. Enterprise and leaders must recognize that cultural differences have a direct impact on the sustainability of the enterprise, so the role of organizational culture will play very important role. Corporate culture is formed by the continuity of interaction between individuals within the enterprise either formally or non-formally. Hence, the enterprise must apply corporate culture to mediate cultural differences. By doing these things, the sustainability of the enterprise will continue.

Here, intercultural learning and understanding can be used as a new strategy to approach the two-way exchange. Intercultural learning considerate—both takes and gives—as an important strategy for handling cultural discrepancies and formulating appropriate acculturation among different culture has introduced in several ways. As noted by Dai and Cai in their study on Cross-Cultural Management in the relation between China and BRI countries partner, state that the intercultural strategy consists of three tentative ways, that is: (1) Investigating the local markets and identifying the culture differences [between the host country and the target country]; (2) Cultivating intercultural communication competence of the cross-culture employees; (3) Acculturating to the local society and making innovations based on cultural fusion. By cross-cultural understanding and cognition of Chinese and Indonesian different culture, hence Chinese new migrants or staff enterprises and the local people in the host country will be continuously improved, and hopefully people to people relation between China and Indonesia shall be enhanced.

The development in international business, tourism, labor movement, and education prompts ‘holistic intercultural learning’ among people, especially for the actors apart of the China and Indonesia cooperation projects. As recent global connections, state relationship and its project require moral ethic that encourages people to do good and ethical

things. Every practical business has 'a culture' (values, norms, abstract ideas about what a group believes to be good, right and desirable). Besides, understanding other nation perspectives and their culture can help people to appreciate more about other social-cultural conditions. Therefore, holistic intercultural learning, it is strategy to strengthen people to people transnational relation because culture is the continuously evolving products of people interacting with each other. Culture understanding is a tool to bridge people to communicate with others in the era of globalization, and intercultural learning is the link between the people in a pluralistic era

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

***Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto:*** Senior Researcher, Head of Asia and Pacific Studies, PRW BRIN. Widya Graha Lt. 8. Jl. Gator Subroto 10. Jakarta 12170, Indonesia [rudolfyuniarto@gmail.com]

# Self-identification for the Young Generation of Ethnic Chinese-Indonesians in the Flow of Globalization

Asvi Warman Adam, Pusat Riset Politik - BRIN, Indonesia  
Atika Nur Kusumaningtyas, Pusat Riset Politik - BRIN, Indonesia  
Hayati Nufus, Pusat Riset Politik - BRIN, Indonesia  
Lidya Christin Sinaga, Pusat Riset Politik - BRIN, Indonesia  
Syafuan Rozi, Pusat Riset Politik - BRIN, Indonesia  
Nina Andriana\*, Pusat Riset Politik-BRIN, Indonesia

\* andriana1183@yahoo.com

*Abstract: Democracy and globalization climate has provided new interaction spaces for the young generation of ethnic Chinese-Indonesians to construct their ethnic identity. The exposure of new media in the midst of globalization to the Chinese-Indonesians young generation often creates a more complicated self-defining process. Addressing such realm, this paper focuses on the question of how the young generation of Chinese-Indonesians identifies themselves in the era of globalization. Alike the younger generation in general, the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians also tends to interact with new media and global citizens due to advances in communication technology related to their identity as Chinese. As a generation that has not directly experienced political trauma, discrimination, and "scapegoating" as experienced by the older generation, giving birth to its own style of values and attitudes toward the younger generation of ethnic Chinese-Indonesians, such as being globally oriented and not having mental blocking. In addressing the aforementioned question, this paper implements survey methods and in-depth interviews with the young generation of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. This research demonstrates that a tendency for change is apparent in the preference for mentioning ethnic identity among the younger generation of ethnic Chinese-Indonesians. This study navigates the three main things, which include: 1) the use of the word "Cina" which refers to the most perceived term, 2) the word "Tionghoa" which becomes the most widely used term among them to refer to their own identity, and 3) several preferable terms, such as "Tionghoa", "Chinese", and "Chindo".*

*Keywords: Chinese-Indonesians Young Generation, Globalisation, Identity*

## BACKGROUND

It has been more than two decades since the Reformation period marking the abolition of the discriminatory rules experienced by ethnic Chinese-Indonesians. The democratic climate has guaranteed freedom and protection for all ethnic groups in Indonesia in creating harmony and diversity in the public sphere, including ethnic Chinese-Indonesians. If during the New Order period this ethnic group lost the identity that allowed them to identify and identified their ethnic identity, due to forced assimilation policies related to the use of Chinese names and Chinese language culture, then the post-New Order period marked the celebration of Chinese-Indonesians identity openly in the public sphere. The three pillars of Chinese culture, including organizations, the press, and schools, which were banned during the New Order era, have been restored and thrived.

Among the attracting spheres from various studies on ethnic Chinese-Indonesians in post-Reformation Indonesia is how the younger generation of this ethnic group interprets this change. Though the younger generations do not directly experience stigmatization, discrimination, and "scapegoating" as experienced by the older generation, they generally feel the impact of the discrimination in the context of trauma and stories passed down in the family. Factors of family and social environment, especially school and place of residence, generate their own style of values and attitudes for the younger generation of ethnic Chinese, such as being globally oriented and not having mental blocking.

Within a similar time frame, globalization has provided new interaction spaces for the young generation of ethnic Chinese-Indonesians to construct their ethnic identity. The pace of globalization has not only resulted in a world without borders, where distances between countries have become meaningless but have also advanced in information communication technology generating abundant information and meeting spaces so diverse. Globalization is recognized as having the potential to encourage the emergence of a new awareness for a primordial group regarding the nature of its existence (Noor, 2007). On the one hand, this new awareness presents a serious challenge as it fosters an a priori spirit of nationalism. In a cosmopolitan context, such new awareness leads to the birth of an idea that perceives national boundaries to be irrelevant (Noor, 2007).

On the other hand, digitalization along with massive advances in information and communication technology in the era of globalization has become a new arena for the reconstruction and reproduction of ethnic Chinese-Indonesian identity. In the context of the young generation, the presence of various creative but very substantive new media channels creates various ways to contest their identity as Chinese who have roots in Indonesia, no longer overshadowed by the "ancestral country" as the currently attached stigma. In fact, the research results of the Ethnic Chinese-Indonesian Studies Team of the Research Center for Politics-BRIN in 2021 found that the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesian admitted that they felt to be more influenced by American or Western culture than by Chinese culture. Through new media too, they obtain abundant information, related to matters concerning their identity as Chinese-



Indonesian. In fact, they did not get much information from their families or at school as a result of the restrictions on information related to ethnic Chinese-Indonesian during the New Order era which remains apparent until recently. Thus, new media serves as a vehicle to discuss identity itself, including how they want to be called. Further, discussions of the younger generation in digital media generate the term "Chindo/Cindo" expecting to escape from the Chinese and Chinese dichotomy.

The difference between the older and younger generations of Chinese-Indonesia in viewing the words "Tionghoa" and "Cina" has been studied by Asim Gunarwan (1999). By using a sociological approach to language, Gunarwan reports that among the older generation of Chinese-Indonesian, the term "Tionghoa" is perceived as pejorative, while the younger generation does not feel this pejorative meaning. In his conclusion, Gunarwan prefers the use of the "Cina" word considering that the "Tionghoa" word is interpreted as a foreign citizen, a Tiongkok citizen and that the "Cina" word is more economical because it only has two syllables. For Gunarwan, intergenerational dislocation might eliminate the pejorative meaning of the "Tionghoa" word as long as one generation does not teach the pejorative to the next generation (as cited in Gunarwan, 1999). However, this study whether the younger generation does not feel the pejorative meaning of the "Tionghoa" word then they immediately use this term, or if there is another term that is preferred or even raised by the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians as a representation of their identity. This is important considering that the Chinese-Indonesian young generation currently lives in the midst of a complex climate of democracy and globalization. The study of Dyahapsari and Nugraha (2020) states that the current Chinese-Indonesian young generation, on the one hand, lives in an atmosphere where anti-Chinese sentiments are reproduced as a tool of political segregation. On the other hand, they also live in the midst of massive social media as a means of expressing their identity and political preferences in the public sphere (Dyahapsari & Nugraha, 2020).

Referring to the aforementioned background, this paper focuses on how the young generation of Chinese-Indonesian identifies themselves in the era of globalization. Instead of highlighting how the Chinese-Indonesian young generation articulates through various social media, this paper aims to observe how the dynamic exchange of information in the era of globalization allows the Chinese-Indonesian young generations to have a more open space in expressing their desire for Chinese-Indonesian identity. The main focus of this paper lies in the tendency of changing preferences for mentioning ethnic identity among the Chinese-Indonesian young generation. This paper is divided into four main sections. After the introductory section, the article is progressed with a methodology that explains the framework of the online survey and in-depth interviews as the methods of data collection. Using the concept of globalization and identity, this paper will elaborate on ethnic identity naming in the Chinese-Indonesian young generation and will be ended with a conclusion.

## RESEARCH METHODS

In order to navigate the self-identification of the Chinese-Indonesian young generation in the era of globalization, the research in this paper collects data through online surveys from a number of the Chinese-Indonesian young generation in Indonesia. Respondents or survey samples were selected by using a purposive technique based on considerations of the author (as a researcher) to have certain characteristics that were relevant to answering research questions. According to Bernard (2011), if implemented properly, purposive sampling is more effective than random sampling because the sample is selected based on the consideration of the researcher who is more likely to understand the issue to be studied.

Purposive sampling is widely applied in cases where the population is difficult to find and limited (Bernard, 2011 & Patton, 2015). In the context of this study, complete and factual sampling frame data regarding ethnicity in Indonesia is difficult to obtain. In this study, the ethnic Chinese-Indonesian community in Indonesia only refers to a group of people with a relatively small proportion, which focuses on the young Chinese-Indonesian generation, serving as the basis for implementing purposive techniques in determining the selected sample.

The Chinese-Indonesian young generation in this paper refers to the ethnic Chinese-Indonesian community who was born between 1981 to 2005 or aged between 17 to 41 years. The determination of the year of birth was based on the consideration that ethnic Chinese-Indonesian, born in that year, did not fully understand the political situation that occurred during the 1998 incident or were not even born at the time of the incident. In addition, they also live near the end of the New Order regime, from which they do not experience periods of various discriminatory policies by the government against ethnic Chinese-Indonesian, such as the policy of using the term "Chinese" to replace the term "Tionghoa" as an ethnic name.

The purposive survey, conducted online in this study, succeeded in capturing 43 young ethnic Chinese-Indonesian respondents across several regions in Indonesia, including West Indonesia, Central Indonesia, and East Indonesia. Survey respondents were tasked to fill out a questionnaire consisting of a number of questions regarding the naming of Chinese ethnic identity.

To complement and support the analysis, apart from online surveys, this research uses data obtained through literature studies and in-depth interviews from a number of sources from various backgrounds. Through the data collected from various sources and methods, a number of relevant information was obtained to answer the research questions in this paper.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Globalization and Identity

Identity refers to the acknowledgment of an individual or a particular group, which becomes a unified whole, marked by entering or being involved in a particular group or group. Merging into certain groups or groups is certainly inseparable from a sense of togetherness and equality based on a certain identity. Self-identity based on this one identity will further form an identity group (Suparlan, 2004). Identity is deemed important in human life (the state and society) because identity embodies an idea of who a person is or who the collective self of a group of people is, as well as being a marker for oneself and their community when interacting with other parties. Identity is derived from various aspects, such as culture, ethnicity, social class, religion, and gender. According to Toety Heraty Noerhadi (2013), identity becomes an introduction through a regressio ad infinitum, or an activity that has no end. Every identity, whether self-identity or group identity (including ethnicity, race, gender, and religion) will develop through a space of encounter and healthy competition, not through isolating oneself (Noerhadi, 2013).

The aforementioned process of how identity is embodied in Noerhadi's understanding is in accordance with the understanding that identity within the framework of deliberative democracy, is constantly changing as a result of the ongoing interaction process. Furthermore, Hardiman (2021) said that within the framework of deliberative democracy, identity is perceived as dynamic and fluid, changing through communication. The concept of identity is not comprehended substantially (not objects) but in relational terms (constructed together through democratic praxis). Ethnic identity (including Chinese-Indonesian) changed through time and regime change. The regime's stance is decisive, which is an authoritarian regime that "gives that identity; whereas in democracy, identity is found together (Hardiman, 2021).

Referring to the process of identity construction, this paper discusses how a person perceives her/himself individually, then expresses her/himself in the space of "us" and "them". In a theoretical and practical understanding, the process of forming a certain identity can be elaborated and related to the process of the hierarchy of human needs. According to Abraham Maslow (1943), human needs are arranged in a hierarchy as humans meet their needs in stages. Humans will try to fulfill one level of need first, then they will try to meet the needs at the next level. In addition, Maslow stated that human behavior is strongly influenced by motivation, encouraging Maslow to advocate a theory of motivation to direct human behavior in order to achieve goals.

Abraham Maslow stated the five human needs based on the lowest level of importance, which are: physiological needs such as air, marriage, water, and food; security needs, such as security and protection, including physical and psychological security; social needs in the form of friendships and social networks; ego self-esteem needs in the form of self-confidence and self-worth; and the highest need is for self-actualization. The process of fulfilling human needs in Maslow's theory refers to a process of identifying an individual self-identity, which emerges if an individual interacts with his or her social environment.

Individual interactions with social structures outside of themselves do not only take place in physical encounters, but the development of communication and information technology has made it possible for these interactions to occur in the realm of cyberspace. The era of information globalization has given birth to spaces of interaction between individuals and groups from various cultural backgrounds, which complicate national boundaries. Various local cultural identities interact with each other, thereby depicting uniqueness. However, the interactions between these cultures undergo a process of assimilation from one another. Some academics believe that in the process of intercultural interaction, there will be domination and unification of one main culture, which in this case is often referred to as the phenomenon of westernization.

In relation to the relationship between globalization and identity, Giddens (1997) argues that globalization should not only be seen on a large-scale and global level. However, this process must also be seen as a problem that is local and directly related to individualism, including our individual identity. Robertson (1992) asserted that globalization refers to the institutionalization of two things at a similar time, localizing the universal sphere. These values are considered global and universal holding the spirit of "one big village". The globalization of information and communication has created space for the spread of various values, in particular the recognition of cultural uniqueness, potential as a driving force for the emergence of a new awareness of the nature of the existence of a primordial group, embodying a sense of pride and comfort to identity and primordial identity. In the framework of the relationship between globalization and identity, the phenomenon of reconstruction among the Chinese-Indonesian young generation becomes the focus of analysis in this study.

The discussion regarding the reconstruction of mentioning a new ethnic Chinese-Indonesian identity that appears in public spaces on social media is not only seen as a phenomenon of self-existence that appears suddenly. The cultural, historical, and socio-political background and the need for self-actualization among the Chinese-Indonesian young generation are an inseparable part of the construction process of calling out a new identity for them. Factor such as globalization plays an important role which has created a space for the Chinese young generation to express their identity freely, despite adopting universal values related to identity into themselves.

## The View of the Chinese-Indonesian Young Generation on Chinese Identity Naming

The naming of the Chinese-Indonesian ethnic community identity has varied throughout Indonesian history. The shift in identity naming was even confirmed in state policy. Several policy shifts illustrate how the politicization of Chinese-Indonesian ethnic identity has been integrated into the political dynamics of Indonesia during the Old Order, New Order, and Reformasi 1998, until the post-Reformation era.

Since Indonesia's independence in 1945, the drafters of the 1945 Constitution have decided to apply the phrase "Tionghoa Peranakan", rather than "Cina". In the interpretation of article 26 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution, it is stated that "People of other nations, for example, Dutch peranakan, Tionghoa peranakan residing in Indonesia, recognize Indonesia as their homeland and are loyal to the Republic of Indonesia, can become citizens." President Soekarno even mentioned the term "Tionghoa" ethnic in his speech on the 9th anniversary of Baperki on March 14, 1963 (Siauw Tiong Djin dan Oey Hay Djoen, 2012). However, the fall of Soekarno after the September 30th Movement in 1965 brought the ethnic Chinese back to the vortex of conflict.

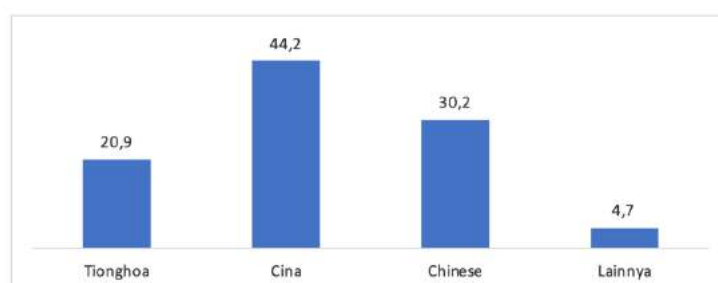
The New Order regime then built its legitimacy on its ability to dispel the triangle of threats –China, ethnic Chinese, and communism– made ethnic Chinese positioned as a common enemy. According to Suryadinata, among the military who seized power following the fall of the Old Order, their distrust to the local Chinese was intense (Suryadinata, 1984). This led in the adoption and formalization of the term "Cina" to replace the long-established term "Tionghoa." Unsurprisingly, the use of the term "Cina" was essentially initiated by a seminar held by the Army on August 25-31 1966 in Bandung. Unfortunately, the deteriorating bilateral relations between Indonesia and China have exacerbated the position of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. The Ampera Cabinet Presidium Circular on China Issues ("Masalah Cina") dated on June 28, 1967 (SE-06/Pres.Kab/6/1967), reaffirmed the mention of the term "Cina" replacing the term "Tionghoa/Tiongkok". Further, the term "Cina" for the first time appeared formally in President Suharto's state speech on the anniversary of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1967. Since then, the term "Cina" has emerged and is used in a number of state policies related to this ethnicity, including Presidential Instruction 14/1967 on "Religion, Belief, and Customs of Cina". In fact, in 1973 the government established the Cina Affairs Coordinating Board (BKMC) under the State Intelligence Coordinating Board (BAKIN). Overall, when perceiving the regulations issued regarding the mention of "Cina" during the New Order era, it is obvious that this ethnic group is seen as foreigners and their national loyalty is doubted.

As the Reform era conceded, President Yudhoyono eventually enacted the Presidential Decree No.12 of 2014 which revoked the 1967 Ampera Cabinet Presidium Circular, stipulating the use of the word "Tionghoa" to replace the word "Tjina/China/Cina" to refer to people or community, and the use of the word "People's Republic of Tiongkok" to replace "People's Republic of China". The Presidential Decree mentions two main things behind this change, including the previously defined use of the word "Tjina" which contained a psychosocial-discriminatory impact and "in connection with the restoration of good relations and the strengthening of bilateral relations with Tiongkok."

The dynamics of this term change is interesting as it indicates the vulnerability of the ethnic Chinese position in the Indonesian nationality. Ethnic Chinese are often seen as mere objects that "need to be regulated" through policies that specifically target them. However, the Reformation brought openness and wider space for ethnic Chinese to express themselves and their identity, especially for the younger generation. Globalization and technological advances make it easier for the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians to interact with new media and global citizens. They tend to be more up-to-date and connected to online news portals, communication groups such as Whatsapp, Telegram, and various social media, such as Youtube, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and others. The development of technology and information media has made it easier for them to obtain a lot of information, especially regarding all matters relating to their identity as Chinese. As a generation that has not directly experienced political trauma, as experienced by the older generation related to the events of 1965 and 1998 in Indonesia, they have their own style of values and attitudes, including in expressing their Chinese identity.

According to the online survey conducted by the research team, there are three intriguing findings on the naming of ethnic identity among young Chinese-Indonesians.

Chart 1. The Ethnic Identity that the Young Chinese-Indonesian Generation more often referred to as from others

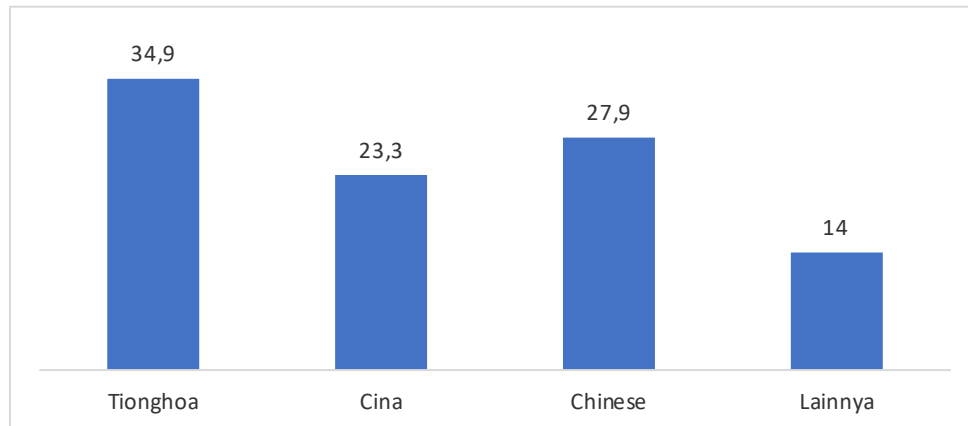


Source: Online Survey Results of the Researcher Team, 2022



First, it is evident from the survey that 44.2% of the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians are still frequently referred to as "Cina." In particular, the word "Chinese" (English pronunciation) is mentioned more frequently (30.2%) than "Tionghoa" (20.9%). This finding is interesting because it demonstrates that the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians is increasingly exposed to terms that feel more global. The mention of "Chinese" is considered more neutral for younger people, not "Cina" which sounds harsh and not "Tionghoa" which is considered unfamiliar.

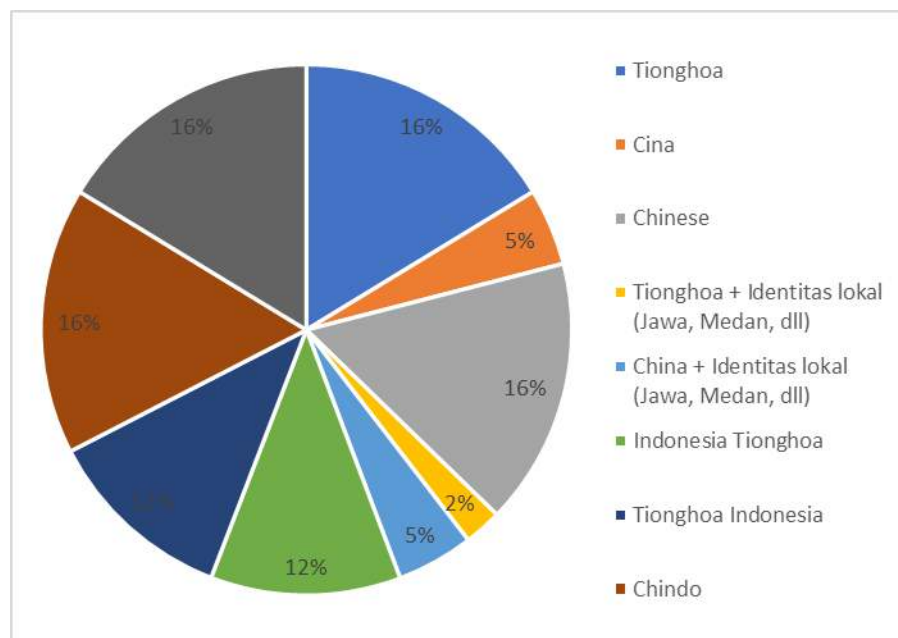
Chart 2. The Chinese Identity that the Chinese Young Generation Call Themselves more often



Source: Online Survey Results of the Researcher Team, 2022

Second, among the younger generation, there are still more who refer to themselves as "Tionghoa" (34.9%). The use of "Tionghoa" is certainly closely related to how parents, or the environment around them who have a more positive collective memory towards the use of "Tionghoa" rather than "Cina", because "Cina" is more closely related to discriminatory treatment. Similar to the first finding, the use of "Chinese" which is more globally associated, is also used more often than "Cina". The first and second results indicate a stark difference between ethnic identity naming that young Chinese generation more often referred to and what they call themselves more often. Despite the regulations regarding the use of "Tionghoa" terms, they are still often acknowledged as "Cina" by the wider community. So, for the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians, what term is actually the most comfortable to use and is expected to be the term used to describe their ethnic identity?

Chart 3. Preference for the Younger Generation of Chinese-Indonesians to describe their identity



Source: Online Survey Results of the Researcher Team, 2022

Third, there are several terms that are preferred by the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians to describe their identity, namely: "Tionghoa", "Chinese", "Chindo". In addition, there are also those who use mother tongue designations such as "tenglang", local identities such as "Minahasa" and "Manadonese", the mention of "peranakan

(descendants)" before the word "Cina/Tionghoa/Chinese", and more people refer to themselves as "Indonesian" without any ethnic identity. The preference for the terms "Tionghoa", "Chinese", and "Chindo" are equal, which is 16 % each compared to the term "Cina" or other terms such as "Indonesia Tionghoa", "Tionghoa Indonesia", and the addition of the local identity where they were born after the word "China" and "Tionghoa". If the term "Tionghoa" is considered more respectful and stigma-free, the use of "Chinese" is preferred because respondents consider this term "have more positive connotation", "more polite", "no derogatory emphasis", and "not offensive". Likewise, the term "Chindo" is preferred by the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians because it contains elements of Indonesia and "China/Chinese" which are both inherent in their identity and can accurately describe their existence as descendants of "Cina" and as citizens of Indonesia.

Both "Chinese" and "Chindo" are basically foreign words or a hyphenated identity rooted in the term "Cina". However, these two words are considered more subtle and do not contain a certain stigma against ethnic Chinese. "Chinese" is more associated with a term used globally to refer to ethnic Chinese, while "Chindo/Cindo" was born from recent discussions on social media which stands for "Chinese-Indonesia/Cina-Indonesia." "Chindo/Cindo" is a relatively new identity, getting stronger with the proliferation of various social media platforms, especially Twitter and Tiktok. The rise of the terms "Chindo/Cindo" is a sign of how the interaction of the younger generation of ethnic Chinese with the openness of information and existing social media encourages the emergence of new variants in the designation of identities that are considered more "friendly" to ethnic Chinese. In addition, the recent emergence of various social media platform serves as an important development providing a place for them to openly express themselves. If we look at some social media contents such as Tiktok, many of them show the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians and their preference for using the word "Chindo/Cindo". In these contents, the unique thing about them is that as a younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians, they are fluent in local languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, Minahasa, Batak, and other local languages. Some of them cannot fluently use Hokkien, Hakka, and Mandarin dialects. This mention of "Chindo/Cindo", is now commonly found in various Tiktok or Reels content on Instagram. Among of them are "Tiktok: Mau Ke Cina Tapi Gak Bisa Ngomong Cina (Tiktok: Wanna To China but Can't Speak Chinese)"; "Tiktok: Chindo Pride Versi Muslim (Tiktok: Muslim Version of Chindo Pride)"; or Instagram @edricjtandra reels: "Bahasa Chindo Surabaya itu simple (Surabaya Chindo language is simple)."

The younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians as a generation that is no longer influenced solely by the need for security (safety needs), is growing more receptive to numerous options to establish their identity. They are attempting to negotiate the usage of terms that they consider more comfortable and less stigmatizing through social media platforms. From the perspective of Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs (1943), the younger generation of Chinese-Indonesians regards the mention of their ethnic identity as a form of self-esteem and self-actualization. Thus, it becomes necessary to create a new, more comfortable identity for them. In this case, their motivation is acknowledgment and recognition of other parties so that they can be accepted as part of "us" (as an out-group), after the notion of "we" (as an in-group) can be passed successfully, given that ethnic Chinese have historically been regarded as "others." The use of terms "Chindo" appears to be a manifestation of their self-actualization requirements, which are driven by motivation and the need to develop, evolve, and undergo transformation in order to become more significant in a broader process of interaction (Alwisol, 2004). Moreover, it is in accordance with the real development of globalization which influences on how they construct their identity, which is not only rooted in as Indonesians, but also remembers their roots as "Chinese" which is a global term to describe their ethnic identity.

## CONCLUSION

Democratization should be perceived as an opportunity for all elements of the nation to get equal space in actualizing their identity both individually and in groups. The freedom that came after the fall of the New Order had given rise to a primordial spirit in the form of strengthening identity (ethnic, religious, racial, etc) and in varying degrees. This study demonstrates that the Chinese-Indonesian young generation as an ethnic group has begun to show they take part to strengthen this (ethnic) identity. The mention of Chinese-Indonesian ethnic identities such as "Cindo" or "Chindo" is commonly used by the Chinese-Indonesian young generation, especially in the realm of social media as an attempt to reconstruct identities that appear in democratic public spaces.

Globalization of the information age in this regard plays an important role in the formation of a new identity among the Chinese-Indonesian young generation. Globalization, getting stronger along with the presence of the information technology era, is able to change the quality of communication, which in turn will form a new identity both individually and socially (Babran, 2008). The emergence of social media as a tool and a result of the globalization of the information age, creates conversational spaces that are free from state pressure, allowing any group to freely discuss and express their identity. The spread of global values in the spirit of "One Big Village" has influenced the Chinese-Indonesian young generation to adopt this global nuance.

Hence, the results of this study highlight the awareness of the young Chinese generation to keep their identity as part of the Indonesian nation. The spirit of Indonesian-ness appears along with the emergence of the word "Indonesia" after the mention of the word "Chinese". Regardless the fact whether this mention simply distinguishes them from Chinese-Indonesian or Chinese who come from other countries, the awareness to choose the word Indonesia in the combination of the words "Chindo" or "Cindo", exhibits that they have affirmed their identity as part of the Indonesian

nation. This attitude is only possible when they have arrived at the actualization of identity at the level of self-esteem and self-actualization. In a broader conclusion, the phenomenon of the Chinese young generation in the reconstruction of mentioning this identity indicates that their efforts are capable of sustaining their Chinese-Indonesian identity within the Indonesian and global framework.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Prof. Dr. Asvi Warman Adam:** Researcher, Research Center for Politics, National Research and Innovation Agency, South Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia, adamaw234@yahoo.com

**Atika Nur Kusumaningtyas, M.Stat:** Researcher, Research Center for Politics, National Research and Innovation Agency, South Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia, atika.nur.k@gmail.com

**Hayati Nufus, LL.M:** Researcher, Research Center for Politics, National Research and Innovation Agency, South Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia, hayati.nufus@gmail.com

**Lidya Christin Sinaga, MA:** Researcher, Research Center for Politics, National Research and Innovation Agency, South Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia, lchristinsinaga@gmail.com

**Syafuan Rozi, M.Si:** Researcher, Research Center for Politics, National Research and Innovation Agency, South Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia, syafuanrozi@yahoo.com.sg

**Nina Andriana, S.IP, M.Si:** Researcher, Research Center for Politics, National Research and Innovation Agency, South Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia, andriana1183@yahoo.com

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# Chinese Indonesian Youth National Identity: Description and Construction

Sally Azaria\*, Petra Christian University, Indonesia

\* sallyazaria@petra.ac.id

*Abstract: This study shows the national identity of Chinese Indonesian youth and in ways, it was constructed. The significance of this research was to minimize the stigma that Chinese Indonesian youth do not love Indonesia and do not feel as a part of Indonesia because they are considered immigrants. While Chinese Indonesian youth is actually a generation born and raised in Indonesia, by parents who were also born and raised in Indonesia, however, there is still a negative view that they are not part of Indonesia. The approach used a qualitative method using thematic analysis to analyze the data. This study used 20 participants from Chinese Indonesian youth, aged 19 to 22 years old, who are studying at Petra Christian University, Surabaya, Indonesia. The outcomes exhibited that all participants had a national identity; none of them had a transnational identity. Their national identity came mainly from their schools and parents. Meanwhile, social media did not bring good influence, indeed it made them embarrassed to see the behavior of Indonesian netizens on social media. Additionally, friends, and religious communities did not significantly affect their national identity. This study concludes the importance of socializing national insight in a way that is appropriate for generations of Chinese Indonesian youth. In addition, it is also necessary to socialize Chinese Indonesian who have a strong national identity in order to provide positive perspectives for non-Chinese ethnicities.*

*Keywords: Chinese Indonesian Youth, National identity, Identity Construction*

## INTRODUCTION

National identity in psychology can be defined as a feeling and recognition of 'we' and 'they' (Lee, 2012). This differentiating reference between who is considered as "we" or "they" will determine a person's national identity. If this distinction is ethnic, then the national identity will be less than the ethnic identity. Unfortunately, in countries that have multiple ethnic groups, ethnic identity and national identity may be in conflict. (Woods, Robert & Kaufman, 2011). Therefore, national identity must be shared by all people regardless of their ethnicity in order to form a unified society. Chinese Indonesian are often considered to lack a national identity because they are still assumed immigrants even though they were born in Indonesia and have never lived in China. Consequently, if there is a conflict with other ethnic groups, Chinese Indonesian are often accused of being like guests who do not respect their hosts.

Many conflicts involving ethnic Chinese Indonesian occur related to economic competition. Pelu & Purwanta (2020) conducted a study on the conflict in Solo between Javanese and Chinese Indonesian stating that most of the conflicts were caused by economic competition which resulted in social disillusionment and jealousy of the Javanese against Chinese Indonesian. Accordingly, one of the common stereotypes about Chinese Indonesian is that they just want to do business and make a profit, so they do not think of loving Indonesia. Furthermore, Chinese Indonesian were assumed to put their ethnic identities much higher than their national identity. Accordingly, Chinese Indonesian can come into conflict with other ethnic groups in Indonesia who are equally defending their ethnicity firmly. Lubis & Buana (2020) who examined the prejudice between the Chinese Indonesian and Muslims in Medan found that conflicts occur because each party still retains its ethnic identity and does not want to understand the culture of other ethnic groups.

This study shows the national identity of Chinese Indonesian youth and in ways, it was constructed. The significance of this research was to minimize the stigma that Chinese Indonesian youth do not love Indonesia and do not feel as a part of Indonesia because they are considered as immigrants. While Chinese Indonesian youth is actually a generation born and raised in Indonesia, from parents who were also born and raised in Indonesia. However, there is still a negative view that they are not part of Indonesia. Therefore, the study had two research questions: (1) What is the condition of the national identity of the Chinese Indonesian youth who are Christian and Catholic? (2) How was their national identity constructed?

## RESEARCH METHODS

This study used a qualitative research approach where a set of open questions was presented to all participants in face-to-face meetings, in oral and written form, all questions and answers were in Indonesian. The given questions consist of two sets: national identity and how to construct it. Initially, questions gave in the written form. However, the participants stated that they could not express their opinion at length if it was in written form, so they wanted the answer to be given orally. Questions were first sent to the participants for the study. Then according to the agreed schedule, they answered verbally via face-to-face. All answers given by participants were recorded as archives.



The approach used a qualitative method using thematic analysis to analyze the data. This study involved 20 Chinese Indonesian participants with religion Christian and Catholic, aged 19 to 22 years old, who were studying at Petra Christian University, Surabaya, Indonesia. During high school, they attended Christian and Catholic-based schools. The participants could be categorized as gender-balanced consisting of 11 women and 9 men.

For data analysis, this research used thematic analysis, which was defined as a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke 2006). This data analysis technique has been proven effective in identifying themes that emerge from qualitative data, such as interview transcripts emphasizing the individual understanding of experiences in real-life situations (Liu et al. 2019). Data analysis was also carried out in Indonesian to ensure that the original meaning of the data was preserved. The quotes cited in this article were translated into English after the data analysis was completed.

The first step in conducting the analysis was data immersion. All data was read and understood. Then, the data was coded to mark a particular topic, for instance, code: "parent" for each data related to the parent. The second step was code design. Every time a new topic was found, a new code would be added. This process continued until all data had been read and all topics found were coded. The third step was forming and refining the theme from steps 1 and 2. After all of the data was coded, each related code was included in one pattern/theme. This process would be continued until all code was included in a theme. In the process, one theme was able to be changed into two themes, or on the other hand, two themes were combined into one theme to make it easier to conclude. To maintain confidentiality, each data was assigned a number which was used as the key to access the data instead of based on the participant's name. Each participant was assigned a code numbered #1 to #20.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results and discussion of this study are divided into two parts: a description of national identity and the construction of national identity.

### National Identity Description

The description of national identity is divided into three: being proud to be Indonesian, choosing to be an Indonesian citizen, and how to show pride in Indonesia.

#### Being Proud to be Indonesian

Both male and female participants have the same reasons for being proud and not proud of Indonesia. However, they had different answers when asked about their pride in Indonesia. All male participants showed pride in Indonesia even though they still felt that there were shortcomings that Indonesia had to fix. On the other hand, almost all female participants only felt neutral, meaning neither proud nor ashamed. This showed that the perspective on the situation in Indonesia was different from the point of view of male and female participants. Male participants saw more positive factors from Indonesia, while female participants saw a balance between positive and negative factors. Dimitrova-Grajzl, Eastwood & Grajz (2016) stated that national pride is one of the proofs that a person has a national identity. Using this reference, the majority of male participants have a strong national identity while the majority of female participants have a moderate level.

There were three aspects that made the participants proud: unity, natural and cultural richness, also developments in Indonesia. First, the unity that is still well maintained in Indonesia. The participants were proud of the well-maintained unity in Indonesia because this condition was considered extremely difficult to do. This achievement is considered great because Indonesia has many tribes and religions, but overall unity can still be maintained well. "I feel that the Indonesian people can be categorized as having high tolerance. Only a small number of Indonesian people want to impose their own will and are intolerant." (#1). Moreover, they also admired the kinship of the community as the glue to unite the nation. "I feel that Bhinneka Tunggal Ika can unite people even though they have many differences. In my opinion, Indonesia has a higher sense of family than countries like Singapore or America." (#6). This finding was in line with the results of research from Hartanti & Ardhana (2022) which showed the importance of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in maintaining unity and preventing attacks on national identity.

Secondly, natural beauty and cultural richness are the great capital of Indonesia to become a great nation. Consequently, some participants considered this as the basis for admiration for Indonesia. (#2, #3, #4, #5, #18). This finding was in accordance with research's result from Risda & Ririn (2017) which stated that Indonesia's natural and cultural wealth is the basis of pride in Indonesia. Thirdly, the rapid development in Indonesia can create a sense of pride as an Indonesian. "History shows that Indonesia struggled to achieve independence. Now, Indonesia also needs to work hard to develop Indonesia. I see and hear a lot of construction is being done today. This makes me proud." (#7). Moreover, Indonesia has experienced rapid development in the economic field which has given rise to pride. "Indonesia now has many outstanding economic achievements compared to a few years ago." (#2). This result was in line with research by Evans & Kelley (2002) which stated that economic achievement was one of the basics to make a country proud.

On the other hand, the degrading factor was the different treatment that Chinese Indonesian received. The participants have been treated differently because of their ethnicity. Some participants responded casually when they received different views from other ethnicities. "When I'm in a public place where the majority is of another ethnicity, they usually look a little differently. I usually just ignore it, smile, and think they are my fans." (#1, #3). However, some feel disturbed but still managed to handle it. "I once was afraid when I came home from college that night I happened to pass in an alley where many people of other ethnicities were gathering. They looked at me with sharp eyes. They didn't do anything but just stare at me but I still felt annoyed with their behavior." (#4). Different treatment from the ethnic majority is experienced by many ethnic minorities, including Chinese Indonesian. However, they were able to usually handle it well (Azaria, 2022).

### **Choosing to be an Indonesian Citizen**

All male participants wanted to become Indonesian citizens because they were proud of Indonesia. Surprisingly, almost all female participants were also happy to be considered Indonesian citizens even though their pride was only neutral so they were not too proud of Indonesia. All participants felt that they were part of Indonesia and had an Indonesian national identity. They were all proficient in Indonesian and understand the national flag, state symbols, and so on. Conversely, transnational identity means recognizing the multi-geographical nature of immigrants who are from one particular country but live out their lives in another (Esteban-Guitart et al. 2013). Transnational identity considers the country from which they come as more valuable than the country in which they live.

Unsurprisingly, all participants did not want to have a transnational identity. They all wanted to be considered Indonesian citizens, although for different reasons. The majority chose to become Indonesian citizens because they were born and raised in Indonesia. This condition was indeed a strong reason to become a citizen (Fatmawati, 2021). However, some actually focused not on citizens' selection but on the desire to live a quiet life. "I never thought about the issue of being a citizen. I just want to be able to live in peace in my nation right now, Indonesia." (#11, #16).

Furthermore, the reason for becoming an Indonesian citizen was the impossibility to become a Chinese citizen. "I went to other countries just for vacation so I never stay long in other countries including China. Accordingly, I also cannot possibly be a Chinese citizen because I do not have any relation with this country. Therefore, I only know to be an Indonesian citizen. Hence, I learned to be a good Indonesian citizen." (#9, #19). In addition, the reason for choosing to become an Indonesian citizen was due to having no other choice. They might choose to become citizens of better countries than Indonesia if they get the opportunity. "I have no choice. If there is an option to become a citizen other than Indonesia, maybe I will consider leaving Indonesia. However, I will not be a Chinese citizen. I might become a citizen in Europe or America." (#20).

One participant preferred to be Chinese Indonesian because he still wants to maintain his ethnicity but not as a Chinese citizen. "I wanted to be an Indonesian citizen, but I did not want to lose my ethnicity, Chinese. If possible, I want to be considered as Chinese Indonesian." (#10). Even though he wanted to become Chinese Indonesian, this participant still chose to become an Indonesian citizen. This result was in line with the research conducted by Suryani et al. (2019) who examined Chinese Indonesian Students in Jakarta and stated that national identity was stronger than ethnic identities among young people. The fact that all participants chose to become Indonesian citizens was in line with research from Evans (1988) which stated that children born in a country or migrating as children were easier to choose citizenship in the country where they live than those who migrate as adults.

### **Showing Pride in Indonesia**

To show their pride, the participants did it in four ways: maintaining the image, increasing the sense of belonging to Indonesia, providing support, and having the right response.

First, pride in the country could be shown by maintaining the image of Indonesia. For instance, by maintaining a personal image by having a good attitude and manner. "When I was in elementary and junior high school, I went to a small town where I was an ethnic minority. However, my Chinese Indonesian friends and I tried to maintain our attitude and manners. We respected teachers and elders. As a result, we were more trusted by the teachers." (#2). They realized that the focus of many people was on them so if they made a small mistake, it would make it bigger (Azaria, 2022). Therefore, they always try to maintain their image. Another way was to maintain a personal image on social media which would have a direct impact on Indonesia's image. "I feel I have to maintain my own image wherever I am, including on social media. If I write inappropriate comments, especially in Indonesian, it will damage the image of Indonesian so that they are considered a toxic society." (#1).

Second, pride for the country could be shown by increasing the sense of belonging to Indonesia. This sense of belonging might be started from small steps such as taking care of the environment itself. "A practical form of showing pride is protecting our environment. The simplest example is throwing trash in its place." (#3). Another form was to maintain the integrity of the Indonesian state. "I will defend Indonesia if anyone spreads false news about Indonesia" (#9). Maintaining the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) as well as maintaining the unity and integrity of the nation is the responsibility of all Indonesian people (Fatmawati, 2021).



Third, providing support was a form of showing pride in Indonesia. The clearest support was given during sporting events where teams from Indonesia compete, no matter who was competing in any event regardless of ethnicity and religion. "I always support Indonesia. The sports I usually see are badminton, football, and basketball" (#4). Even so, they would still be very proud when the Indonesian team won. "I support Indonesia in the e-sport tournament. At that time Indonesia became the world champion so I felt very proud" (#6). This finding was in line with research conducted by Kelley (2002) which stated that achievement in sports was one of the bases for making a country proud.

Fourth, they were still proud of Indonesia even though they were misunderstood by many people. The majority of ethnic sometimes doubt Chinese Indonesian love for Indonesia so that it has great potential to make them hurt. Fortunately, the participants were well prepared to receive this kind of treatment.

"Everyone might have different perceptions. Hence, a negative view of Chinese Indonesian that has been trusted by the public would be very difficult to change. However, I do not care about it. I still show that I love and am proud to be Indonesian." (#3).

"I do not care about the negative perception. People who think Chinese Indonesian do not love Indonesia do not necessarily love Indonesia either. So, I do not want to think about that wrong assumption." (#6).

All participants seemed relatively ready to accept negative views directed at them related to their love for Indonesia to minimize the negative impact (Azaria, 2022).

## **The Construction of National Identity**

National identity could be influenced by five aspects: school, parents, social media, friends, and religious community.

### **School**

Schools became an important place in the construction of National identity because parents tended to submit to the school the process of constructing their children's national identity (Azaria 2022). Schools might influence the construction of national identity in three ways: classroom lessons, flag ceremonies, and respect for local culture in extracurricular activities. First, lessons from class could help the process of improving national identity. "I got my national identity through Civics lessons and character education." (#1, #2). Therefore, it is important to include national identity material in the curriculum. One of the subjects that could be given national identity material was English (Masita 2021, Parlindungan, Rifai & Safriani 2018).

Second, the flag ceremony could be used to increase national identity. The participants took part in the flag ceremony from elementary to high school. They felt having a great nation which was obtained from the sacrifices of the heroes. "I take part in the flag ceremony once a month and on national days, such as Heroes Day, Independence Day, and so on. At least, I feel that I have a hero who contributed to the independence of this country" (#2, #9). The flag ceremony can indeed be used to improve national identity, such as the research conducted by Finell (2019) in Finland and Chen, Panyu, Shang & Li (2020) in China.

Third, increasing respect for local cultures might increase national identity. Therefore, national identity would increase when more people participated in preserving the local cultures around them (Liu & Alley 2019). One way to improve local cultures is to require students to wear batik as a reminder of the richness of Indonesian culture. "When I was in elementary school through high school, I was asked to wear batik once a week. This was good for increasing awareness of being Indonesian. Moreover, I really loved wearing various batik patterns and kebaya" (#12).

Moreover, schools could participate in preserving traditional arts by placing them in extracurricular programs. "I studied at a Catholic school in middle and high school. Every Friday, my school held a Gamelan class which was mandatory for all students. Each child would hold one musical instrument so all students had to participate. My school had a total of 35 gamelan" (#13). "When I was in elementary school, my school held one extracurricular class to learn traditional musical instruments such as gongs, kentongan, gamelan, and so on. Many Chinese Indonesian took this class even though it was not mandatory" (#15). Additionally, schools could organize special events to develop local culture. "When I was in high school, my friends were from various ethnic groups and came from many cities. Once a year, the school holds an art performance as well as opens booths based on the students' hometowns to showcase the uniqueness of their area. This event was designed for the public so that the public could buy the typical goods of each city and learn about diversity" (#18).

### **Parents**

Some parents instilled national identity in their children in various ways. First, the parents emphasized the importance of developing Indonesia. "My Dad and mom suggested to me the importance of developing Indonesia after I graduated from college. Even though I will continue my studies abroad, I must still return to Indonesia" (#12). Second, the parents provided facilities for their children to learn traditional arts. "My parents encouraged my sister and I to learn traditional dance. I took a course as well as extracurricular traditional dance at school" (#13). Third, the parents took their children

to visit historical places. "My parents took me to see tourist attractions that have Indonesian historical value, such as Taman Sari and Borobudur Temple in Yogyakarta" (#14).

Fourth, parents introduced and tried to be fond of traditional cuisine. "My parents taught me national identity by encouraging me to like all traditional Indonesian dishes. My parents like traditional food so my mom often cooks traditional food at home. We also often eat traditional Indonesian dishes. In my opinion, Indonesian cuisine is the best in the world" (#18). Five, parents set an example in providing support to Indonesian sports teams. Parents invited them to watch sports matches together while instilling pride in Indonesia, especially if they won the game (#2, #3, #5, #14, #19). Six, parents emphasized the importance of associating with different ethnicities and religions. "Frankly speaking, I was encouraged to continue my studies in Surabaya because my mom and dad wanted me to be friends and associate with many ethnicities and religions. My hometown is too small so the ethnicity is almost uniform" (#10).

Although much has been done, parents were still considered to have little influence on the national identity of their children (Azaria 2022). The results were in line with the study by Supratiknya (2021) who stated that the majority of participants acknowledged the parents and the extended family as their source of identity, but seemed to fail as the main contributor to the formation of their children's national identity.

### **Social Media**

Social media should be a good tool to help the process of constructing a national identity for young people. Chen, Panyu, Shang & Li (2020) stated that young people prefer to form a national identity from the media than others. Unfortunately, social media has not been taken seriously to help develop Indonesia's national identity. The participants saw social media as a reference because social media could not be separated from their lives. Unfortunately, the majority of participants felt that social media did not have a positive impact on national identity construction because they did not find the greatness of Indonesia on social media. "I do not find any news that makes Indonesia proud. Maybe I should explore more about Indonesia. So far, those who have been exposed are Indonesian netizens who are outrageous. In fact, Indonesia is currently good and great, but I do not get any news about this." (#16).

In fact, the behavior of Indonesian netizens was a degrading aspect of pride in Indonesia. These were some negative opinions about the behavior of Indonesian netizens.

"Indonesian seem to only be able to think shortly or indeed tend not to think before they act. They talk arbitrarily on social media. As a consequence, Indonesia has been awarded as the most toxic netizen" (#2)

"Indonesian are easily provoked. If there is viral news, they never check the truth first. They immediately participated in sharing the news even though it was not necessarily true" (#5, #6)

"Indonesian netizens are too loud. If something went wrong, it was immediately highlighted and made viral" (#12).

"I feel embarrassed by netizens' comments that are not clear and even go viral in other countries" (#14, #17).

Actually, not all Indonesian netizens gave a lot of negative comments, however, social media users tended to pay more attention to the negative. Segesten, Bosetta, Holberg & Niehorster (2022) stated that negative news on Facebook would affect users more. Even though the research was done for Facebook, the behavior looked no different on other social media platforms. Therefore, the negative comments seemed to affect the participants more than the positive comments. Accordingly, social media should be optimized as a tool to build a National identity for young people. (Gündüz 2017). Especially for Chinese Indonesian, there needs to be an expose about Chinese Indonesian who have a strong national identity and are proven to be fighting for Indonesia. "The government should be open to Chinese Indonesian and present nationalist figures from this ethnicity" (#1, #2).

### **Friends and Religious Community**

Friends played an important role in national identity construction (Umana-Taylor, Kornienko, McDermott & Motti 2020). However, the participants felt that the influence of their friends was not significant during the process of constructing national identity. On the other hand, currently, they have relatively identical friends in terms of national identity. Consequently, the majority of male participants have many friends who were also proud of Indonesia while the majority of female participants have neutral friends. Furthermore, religious communities also influenced national identity construction (Zhang, et al, 2021). The religious community of some participants did have several events related to Indonesia such as singing folk songs and traditional dances at church (#11), and also holding prayers for Indonesia every week (#12).

Additionally, some churches that have activities outside of worship to make the congregation mingle with other ethnicities and religions. "Youths in my church have activities to familiarize themselves with the local communities. The last program was the Surabaya tour riding together to Surabaya. This activity allowed us to mingle with people of

different ethnicities and religions.” (#10). Although some have held activities with Indonesian nuances, this study found that the influence of the religious community was not significant on national identity construction.

## CONCLUSION

The outcomes exhibited that all participants had a national identity; none of them had a transnational identity. Their national identity came mainly from their schools and parents. Meanwhile, social media did not bring good influence, indeed it made them embarrassed to see the behavior of Indonesian netizens on social media. Additionally, friends and religious communities did not significantly affect their national identity.

This study concludes the importance of socializing national insight in a way that is appropriate for generations of Chinese Indonesian youth. In addition, it is also necessary to socialize Chinese Indonesian who have a strong national identity in order to provide positive perspectives for non-Chinese ethnicities. However, this study did not explore the causes of all of the above aspects, so further researches are needed. This research can be continued by taking participants from different ethnicities, different age ranges, different backgrounds, and in different cities

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### ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Sally Azaria:** Department of Early Childhood Teacher Education, Faculty of Teacher Education, Petra Christian University, Surabaya, East Java Province, Indonesia. [sallyazaria@petra.ac.id](mailto:sallyazaria@petra.ac.id)

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# Chineseness and Perception of China Among Young Chinese Indonesian

Tonny Dian Effendi\*, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Indonesia  
Josh Stenberg, University of Sydney, Australia

\* tonny@umm.ac.id

*Abstract: Some studies recognize the relations between Chineseness and China among ethnic Chinese living out of China, including Chinese Indonesian. However, empirical research examining those relations is still limited. This study examines the relationship between Chineseness (ability to communicate in Mandarin) and perceptions of China (destination for study, work, and perception of Chinese culture) through a survey of 120 young Chinese Indonesian. The regression analysis showed that speaking Mandarin did not automatically give a positive affect the orientation to study or work in China, or highly appreciate to the Chinese culture. Meanwhile, reading Mandarin is critical for the young Chinese Indonesian's orientation and perception of China. This empirical study confirms previous studies on the diversity of Chineseness's interpretation among Chinese Indonesian groups; while Mandarin is a critical element to connecting China, but it needs more skill than just speaking. Moreover, since this study focuses on the young generation of Chinese Indonesians, it encourages exploring this community to get a fresh narration or discourse on contemporary Chineseness of Chinese Indonesians while also critical for the future of this community in Indonesia.*

*Keywords: Chinese Indonesians, Chineseness, young generation, perception*

## INTRODUCTION

Some scholars argue that Chineseness in Chinese Indonesia is related to the construction of identity, internalization of Chinese culture and the relationship with China. They argue that democratization in Indonesia has encouraged the reconstruction of the Chineseness, which moves towards essentialism. In these efforts, some Chinese Indonesian communities seek to rebuild Chinese identity based on Chinese culture referring to China. Others attributed the rise of China to the influence of re Cinicization. The development of Chinese identity in Chinese Indonesia then lies in two dimensions, domestic and international. In the domestic dimension, democratization led to the reconstruction of Chinese identity moving in two directions, the strengthening of Peranakan and Totok identities. On the international dimension, the rise of China attracted the attention of the Chinese community to connect with China, including in the context of Chinese culture and identity.

Scholars explain the relationship between Chinese Indonesians and China in four dimensions. The first is the cultural dimension, where some Chinese communities are culturally oriented toward China. Some Chinese Indonesians build their culture on essentialist perspective by looking for "original culture" from China as a reference (Hoon, 2012; Chan and Hoon, 2021). Chinese cultural expressions referring to China raise questions about re Cinicization (Thung, 2015) and the emergence of re-Totokism (Suryadinata, 2010). Mandarin language learning is part of the construction of Chinese identity and reconnection with China (Hoon and Kuntjara, 2019). Indonesian Chinese-language newspapers that mainly reproduce Chinese media news and represent Beijing's views (Suryadinata, 2020) show that one of the pillars of Chinese culture is also strongly influenced by China. Second is the generation dimension, where the generational differences of Chinese Indonesians show a different attachment to Chinese. For the older generation of Chinese Indonesians who had experienced Chinese education in the 1950s, they had a stronger attachment to China than the younger generation, who felt discrimination during the New Order period and the new generation born after the reformation (Hoon, 2006; Sai and Hoon, 2013; Setijadi, 2016b; Effendi, 2017). In other words, the diversity between each generation influences the perspective and relationship with China. The third is the diasporic dimension or transnationalism. Some Chinese organizations that reappeared or emerged after the reforms sought to connect with China through their transnational networks and diasporic identities (Giblin, 2003; Coppel, 2013; Suryadinata, 2021). However, involvement in these transnational networks represents a political orientation to China, and in certain groups, this diasporic identity does not become a core identity (Ali, 2007; Weng, 2014). The fourth is the dimension of international relations, where the Chinese Indonesian community is the target of China's foreign policy in Indonesia. Beijing seeks to explore Chinese identity to build links with China and target the Chinese Indonesian community in its public diplomacy (Soebagio, 2009; Suryadinata, 2017a, 2021). These four dimensions show that scholars have explained the relationship between Chinese Indonesians and China in a comprehensive and detailed manner.

However, empirical research on the relationship between Chinese Indonesians and Chinese is still limited. Almost all studies on the four dimensions do not provide statistical analysis to precisely measure the level of these relationships. Does Chineseness always shape a positive perception of China? When Chinese Indonesians can communicate in Mandarin, will they like Chinese culture more while placing China as a study and working destination? This study attempts to contribute to research on the relationship between Chinese Indonesians and Chinese by presenting empirical research through surveys and statistical analysis. The study surveyed 120 young Chinese from different cities of Indonesia to gauge the relationship between ethnicity and perception of China. The results of this study show an



interesting phenomenon where mastery of Mandarin and dialect languages does not necessarily make them automatically have a positive perception of China.

## CHINESE IDENTITY, CHINESENESS AND THE RISE OF CHINA

Chineseness is an effort to maintain domestic political unity where Chineseness serves as a maintenance tool to create a stable Chinese nation while containing equality in a hierarchical Chinese society (Shi, 2015). Chineseness centers on Chinese ethnicity and culture, establishing a Chinese identity. Chineseness unites the Chinese nation in one identity, and this identity applies equally to everyone in China despite coming from different backgrounds.

Others criticize Chineseness as an identification of Chinese identity. Ien Ang is one of the scholars who define the discourse of Chineseness as a political identity. Ian Ang argues that there is a political interest or "politics of Chineseness" in discourse that then distinguishes between "real" or "fake" in one's nationality and is measured by mastery of Chinese culture such as Chinese. Ang argues that Chineseness moves in two dimensions, essentialism centered on the "indigenous culture" of China or Taiwan, and anti-essentialism that contains multicultural elements that show differences in Chineseness, especially in the Chinese diaspora community or Overseas Chinese (Ang, 1994). For Ang, the two establish "boundaries" with each other, and therefore, Chineseness should be put in a position between the two, namely that diversity and Chinese identity are dynamic. According to Ang, in the diaspora paradigm, Chineseness is not a fixed concept but rather dynamic and continually undergoes negotiation and reaffirmation, differing between inside and outside China (Ang, 2001). If Chineseness is placed on a concept that remains and is centered in China, this concept will "imprison" the identity itself and negate the interaction with the local culture for the diaspora community, and even at some point, Ang conveys "Can one, when called for, say no to Chineseness?" In an interview with Ien Ang in 2009, Sharmani Patricia Gabriel captured a complexity in the discourse of Chineseness understood by Ang as a reality as a decade of academic concepts (Gabriel, 2011). The situation from a diaspora perspective suggests that Chineseness is not just about originality and the dominant culture surrounding it but rather a situation "in-between" like hybridity, creolization, and syncretism.

Agreeing with Ang, Allen Chun argues that interpretations of Chineseness are not singular but vary depending on the political context, especially regarding the political perspectives of China and Taiwan (Chun, 1996). According to Chun, the construction of Chineseness constructed by China and Taiwan builds a dividing boundary over the areas included in this discourse while establishing colonialization and marginalization and leaving aside other Chineseness entities and discourses, resulting in a single narrative and discourse centered on them. Chun argues that Chineseness in the context of Hong Kong and the Chinese diaspora provides an alternative discourse on Chineseness beyond the hegemony of Chineseness China and Taiwan. In cultural identity, Rey Chow revealed that Chineseness is related to cultural essentialism or Sino centrism, which denotes an imaginary area that distinguishes between China and the outside world (Chow, 1998). Chow also points out that the discourse of Chineseness appears in the context of the Chinese language and literature, which refers to the use and mastery of Chinese as a central element in Chineseness.

The scholarly debate about Chineseness with China places this concept on a centripetal and centrifugal orientation. By adopting the rotational force of objects in physics, centripetal and centrifugal forces can describe the direction of meaning of the concept of Chineseness. Centripetal force describes the circular movement of an object toward the center of the circle. The essentialist approach shows the interpretation and definition of Chineseness by referring to China by emphasizing the originality aspect of describing the centripetal situation. In contrast, the diaspora approach describes the dynamism of interpretation and meaning of Chineseness by involving specific contexts and situations so that Chineseness is defined variously and may "move away" from its center (China) as depicted in centrifugal style. Although the two approaches show different orientations, one thing that cannot be denied is the importance of the Chinese factor in Chineseness. China in Chineseness has two functions. China is a center of identification and a "significant other" of Chineseness. Also, the rise of China made the discussion of the relationship between Chineseness and China relevant in recent days (Chan and Hoon, 2021).

The discussion of the relationship between Chineseness and the rise of China centers on the influence of China's rise on Chineseness or Beijing's policy of strengthening nationalism at home and abroad to the Chinese diaspora or overseas Chinese. Domestically, the Chinese government seeks to establish Chineseness as a national identity by creating ethnonationalism through various channels. China's economic reforms have changed the propaganda strategy of the Chinese Communist Party by emphasizing Chineseness through the use of traditional Chinese and Confucian thinking tailored to the CCP's political interests (Brady, 2012). The Chinese government is establishing symbolic boundaries for Chineseness which is why religious groups in China seek to associate themselves with Chineseness (Lu and Gao, 2018). The construction of Chineseness to strengthen identity and nationalism is also carried out through traditional Chinese martial arts—Kung Fu—and film (Zhouxiang, Zhang and Hong, 2014). The essentialist narrative also emerged at the Beijing Olympics by presenting Chineseness in a new context by presenting the image of China as a superpower with a great history of view and culture, having a society that contributes to a harmonious world (Zeng, 2013). In Hong Kong, the Hong Kong government seeks to revive ethnic nationalism by building Chineseness based on a blood-based view that is contrary to the plurality view of Hong Kong society (Lin and Jackson, 2021). China's increasing economic and industrial power does not necessarily abandon Chineseness but instead rebrands it but still centers on Chinese identity (Bergstrom, 2012).



China's rise caused global Chineseness challenges by reviving Chineseness centered on China (Reid, 2009a). China seeks to build a transnational government network to manage relations with the Chinese diaspora based on ethnic and diasporic ties (Liu and van Dongen, 2016). Beijing seeks to strengthen networks with China through more assertive institutions, policies, programs, and actions in responding to anti-Chinese and anti-China in certain countries (Suryadinata, 2017b). China's policy towards Chinese Diaspora by strengthening the centering of China as a new form of nationalism raises concerns about the strengthening of re Sinicization in Chinese diaspora groups (Suryadinata, 2021). In addition, China's rise Sinophobia over several other countries has an impact on, once again, the racialization of Chineseness rooted in Chinese and non-Chinese dichotomies (Ang, 2022).

Discussions about Chineseness and the rise of China can be grouped into two directions. The first is the China perspective, where Beijing uses Chineseness to evoke ethnonationalism inside and outside China. Second is the perspective of ethnic Chinese both inside and outside China. For Chinese people in China, Chineseness may have become part of their daily identity, but for overseas Chinese or the Chinese diaspora, Chineseness can be both a burden and an opportunity. Chineseness becomes a burden when overseas Chinese face Chinese and Chinese stereotypes from local communities, but on the other hand, Chineseness can be an opportunity to connect with China or within the Chinese diaspora network. In other words, the relationship between Chineseness and the rise of China can be a direction from China to China, and vice versa, from Chinese to Chinese. In Indonesia, these two directions "meet" on the situation of Chinese Indonesians after the 1998 political reforms.

## CHINESENESS IN CHINESE INDONESIAN CONTEXT

Leo Suryadinata explained that in the post-political reform in Indonesia, the three pillars of Chinese culture—organizations, media, and schools—reappeared after being banned by the New Order regime (Suryadinata, 2007). Hundreds of Chinese organizations reappeared as new organizations and the continuation of Chinese organizations that had been closed during the New Order period. The same is true of the Chinese media, where Chinese-language newspapers reappear both at the local and national levels, although not many have survived to the present day (Hoon, 2006; Suprajitno, 2020; Suryadinata, 2020). Although the "Chinese schools" that emerged after the reform was not one hundred percent the same as those of the Chinese schools in the 1950s, Chinese language learning became massive in schools where most students were ethnic Chinese. On the other hand, Chinese cultural expressions have also reappeared in public spaces, such as Chinese New Year celebrations and various Chinese traditions that are again celebrated openly in several cities with large ethnic Chinese populations. Indonesian society is also increasingly accustomed to the representation of Chineseness in public spaces in Indonesia (Kuntjara and Hoon, 2020).

The revival of Chinese culture in the Chinese Indonesian community represents the identity construction in this community. Chinese identity and Chineseness appear simultaneously in this expression of Chinese culture. These two concepts are very close; however, they have slight differences. Chinese identity is related to self-identification as an ethnic Chinese but not and is related to Chinese cultural expression. Not everyone who claims to be Chinese carries on traditions or celebrates Chinese culture. They may claim to be Chinese because of ethnic factors based on heredity and physical characteristics. In this context, the division of Peranakan and Totok groups may find relevance. Meanwhile, Chineseness is related to the degree of attachment to Chinese culture that encompasses Chinese identity. Then, what is Chineseness in the context of Chinese Indonesians, and how does it relate to China?

The post-reform situation in Indonesia shows a "meeting" between the construction of Chineseness and the rise of China. On the one hand, some Chinese Indonesians are trying to build a Chinese identity by associating themselves with the original Chinese culture centered in China. Having long been part of the "Chinese Problem" during the New Order regime, in the post-political reforms, Chineseness found its relevance in a different context: cultural commodification and Chineseness in the Indonesian context (Sai and Hoon, 2013). The commodification of Chineseness is older people and business elites through self-essentialism by building a Chinese primordial identity, although it is challenging to build an authentic Chineseness (Hoon, 2021). They also place Chineseness cultural resources, social capital, and ethno-commodity in establishing relations with China. Chineseness became an imagined and dreamed culture to replace nostalgia through the reconnection of authentic Chinese culture (van Wichelen, 2010).

On the other hand, the influence of Chinese soft power attracts the attention of some younger generations to rebuild clan relations, learn Mandarin and consume Chinese cultural products to connect with China (Hoon and Kuntjara, 2019). However, other young Chinese Indonesians responded to Chineseness more relaxed than other Chinese Indonesians who built Chineseness by identifying Chineseness in Indonesian history (Budianta, 2007). Although Chineseness resurfaced due to the rise of China and the need to relearn Mandarin due to the increasing economic relations between Indonesia and China, Chineseness, on the other hand, remains a burden for most Chinese Indonesians who identify as Peranakan (Reid, 2009b). Labels of 'Chinese' in a negative sense remain in Indonesia, and therefore, amid the arrival of new immigrants from China, they are trying to distinguish themselves from Chinese Chineseness but as ethnic Chinese of Indonesia. They are still in the "identity negotiations" stage between Chineseness and Indonesian-ness (Mitrayani, 2019). The situation of Chineseness among Chinese Indonesians shows different orientations between individuals and groups of Chinese Indonesians (Koning and Susanto, 2008; Dawis, 2009), included in their response to the Sinicization and rise of China (Setijadi, 2016b). However, the older generation is usually more toward essentialism. What about the younger generation of Chinese Indonesian?

Mandarin is one critical element of Chineseness, and some Chinese Indonesian groups reconstruct Chineseness by relearning Mandarin. Charlotte Setijadi researched the motivations of the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians in Jakarta. She found that learning Mandarin is an expression of Chinese identity even though their motivations vary from the reasons for establishing a Chinese identity to pragmatic reasons for business and connected to the rise of China (Setijadi, 2016a). Mastery of Mandarin then became a pride and an asset to them, and learning this language made them feel like "being Chinese again." Mandarin for the younger generation of Indonesia is a heritage language even though they take trouble learning it because of the problem of adapting to learning materials that are far from their daily lives (Lie, 2018). Mandarin is also a cultural capital for the younger generation of Chinese who learn it, and this situation is influenced by their motivations and perceptions of China (Kurniawan and Suprajitno, 2019). Although the tendency of the link between Chinese learning and Chineseness seems strong, it does not mean that it applies equally to all groups of young Chinese Indonesians. The diversity of dialects and geographical locations also results in the expression of Chineseness in other languages, such as the Hakka language, which is a symbol of Chineseness in the Chinese community in West Kalimantan (Stenberg, 2016). However, one thing that is relatively similar among the Chinese community in Indonesia is the difference in Chineseness orientation between the older and younger generations. Furthermore, does the younger generation's mastery of Mandarin affect their perception of China?

This study attempts to analyze the relationship between Chineseness—in this context, the mastery of Mandarin—and perceptions of China among the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians. Several previous studies have shown a link between Chineseness and learning Mandarin in the younger generation of Chinese with various motivations and degrees of Chineseness. When this situation is associated with the rise of China, it should also give a positive response to China because of the possibility that they can access positive information from China while connecting in China culturally and economically. However, previous studies have been limited in providing empirical analysis with statistical methods to measure the level of relationship and influence between Chineseness and perception of China. Therefore, this study seeks to provide empirical analysis with statistics to show the relationship and influence between Chineseness and the perception of China in the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians.

## RESEARCH METHOD

We surveyed 120 Chinese Indonesians aged 17 to 25 who came from various cities in Indonesia. The survey was conducted online from June to July 2022. Respondents were given open and closed questions without mentioning names, and the survey results were recorded through Google form and then analyzed using regression analysis. The dependent variables in this study are perceptions of China as a destination for education and work and an appreciation for traditional and modern Chinese culture. Meanwhile, independent variables are Mandarin language skills (speaking and reading), dialect language, and discussions about China within the family. We also use control variables by involved gender and geography involved. Table 1 shows detailed variables and indicators in this study.

Table 1. Research Variables and Indicators

Variable	Definition	Indicator
DEPENDENT VARIABLE		
STUDY	Interested to study in China	Ordinal scale coded 1 (not interested), 2 (considered), and 3 (interested)
WORK	Interested to work in China	Ordinal scale coded 1 (not interested), 2 (considered), and 3 (interested)
CULTURE	Love for Chinese culture both traditional and modern culture	Ordinal scale coded 1 (do not like at all), 2 (fairly like), and 3 (like)
INDEPENDENT VARIABLE		
Speaking Chinese	Ability to speak Chinese	Ordinal scale coded 1 (cannot speak), 2 (passive), and 3 (fluent)
Reading Chinese	Ability to read Chinese character	Ordinal scale coded 1 (cannot read), 2 (limited), and 3 (fluent)
Speaking Dialect	Ability to speak in dialect (Hakka, Hokkian, Cantonese, etc.	Ordinal scale coded 1 (cannot speak), 2 (passive), and 3 (fluent)
Discussing China in Family	Frequently discussing China in the family	Ordinal scale coded 1 (never), 2 (sometimes), and 3 (frequently)
CONTROL VARIABLE		
Gender	Respondent's gender	Coded 1 if respondent is male, and 0 if female.
Location	Respondent's current location, both in Jawa and out of Jawa	Coded 1 if respondent comes from Java Island, and 0 if from out of Java.

Most of the respondents were female and mainly from Java Island (Figure 1). Figure 2 displays descriptive data on the respondents' mastery of Mandarin. Many respondents could speak Mandarin passively, and others could speak fluently. A large percentage of respondents were able to read Chinese characters in a limited way; the rest were able to read fluently, and a small percentage of others could not. This data also showed that only a tiny percentage of respondents did not master either spoken or written Chinese, and some respondents could speak but could not read Chinese

characters. In mastering dialects such as Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese, and others, most respondents could not speak dialect languages, others could speak passively, and only a few could speak fluently.

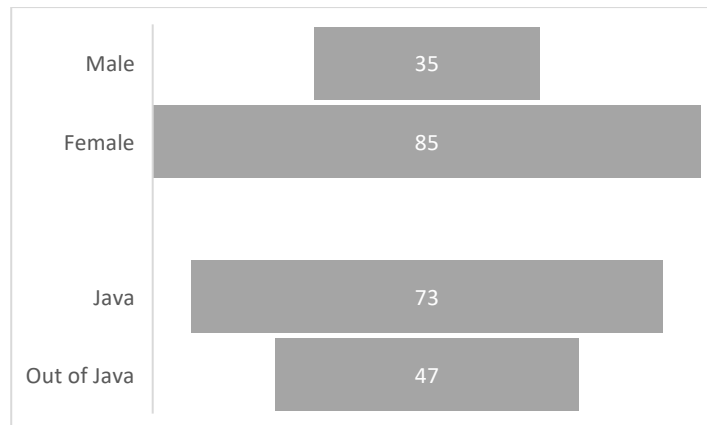


Figure 1. Number of Respondents based on gender and location

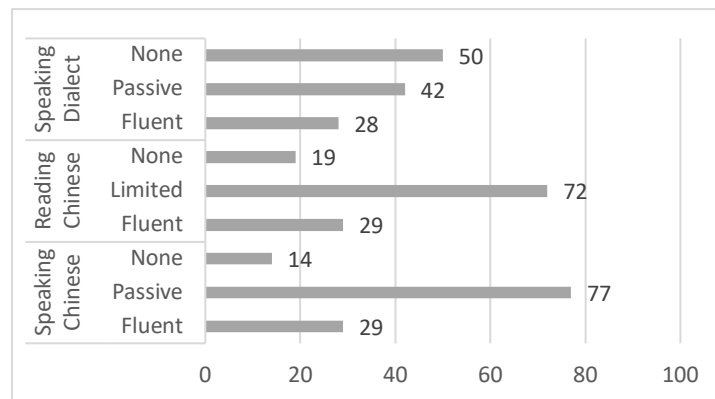


Figure 2. The respondents' ability in Chinese (Speaking and Reading) and Dialect (Speaking)

The survey also identified the language spoken by respondents within their families. The role of the family is critical in establishing the mastery of Chinese and dialects. Most respondents admitted to using two languages in their families. Thirty-eight respondents admitted to using one language in communication within their families, where most used Indonesian (27), followed by dialects (9), Mandarin (1), and regional languages (1). The survey results also show that few families use Mandarin in communication within the family, even less than those who use dialectal languages.

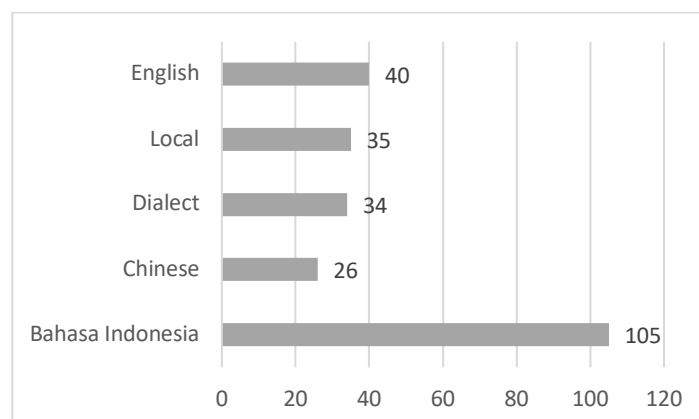


Figure 3. The language used by the respondent's family

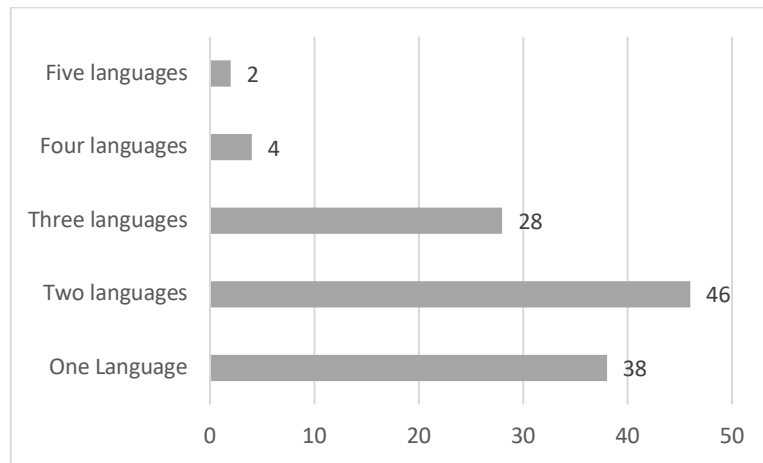


Figure 4. Number of languages used in respondent's family

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The regression analysis results show that Mandarin language skills influence the orientation and perception of the younger Chinese generation toward China. However, the coefficient of the relationship between the ability to speak Chinese is not statistically significant to the orientation of study and work and the liking for Chinese culture. Therefore, we cannot conclude whether this variable has a positive or negative effect. On the contrary, the ability to read Chinese writing positively and significantly influences study and work orientation and perception of Chinese culture. These results show that the higher the ability to speak Mandarin, the higher the interest in studying and working in China and builds increased fondness for Chinese culture. When we compare the positive influence of Chinese reading ability on the three dependent variables, we can see that the most significant influence is on cultural preferences (0.940), followed by study interests (0.933) and work in China (0.848).

Table 2. Regression Results

	Dependent variable:		
	STUDY (1)	WORK (2)	CULTURE (3)
Speaking Chinese	-0.616 (0.549)	-0.420 (0.519)	-0.430 (0.554)
Reading Chinese	0.949* (0.498)	0.845* (0.475)	0.895* (0.511)
Speaking Dialect	0.002 (0.296)	0.039 (0.284)	0.304 (0.294)
Discussing China in Family	0.602* (0.333)	0.354 (0.315)	0.030 (0.321)
Gender	-1.073** (0.431)	-0.243 (0.409)	0.247 (0.430)
Location	0.972** (0.462)	0.164 (0.446)	0.761* (0.458)
Observations	120	120	120

Note: \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Meanwhile, the ability to speak dialect languages did not have a statistically significant effect on the three dependent variables. Discussion of China within the family had a positive and significant influence on the interest in studying in

China. However, discussion has no bearing on the interest in working in China and the interest for Chinese culture. Furthermore, regression analysis results on the control variables showed interesting results. The regression results showed that gender has negative and statistically significant associations with an interest in studying in China but did not have statistically significant associations of work interest and fondness for Chinese culture. These results showed that male respondents seemed less interested in studying in China than female respondents. Finally, location variables showed positive and statistically significant associations to Chinese study orientation and cultural preferences but not significantly to interest in working in China. These results show that respondents living on the island of Java tend to be interested in studying in China and like Chinese culture.

The regression analysis results in this study provide two critical points in discussing Chineseness, Chinese and China. First, the study confirms that Chineseness is understood differently by groups within the Chinese community, and the generation factor is critical. Chineseness is cultural resources, social capital, ethno-commodity, and authentic culture that is envisioned to be connected to China (van Wichelen, 2010; Hoon, 2021); and the older generation, business elites, and Totok groups seek to construct Chineseness oriented towards China (Reid, 2009b; Hoon, 2012; Sai and Hoon, 2013). Meanwhile, the younger generation group has a different view on accessing and interpreting Chineseness (Koning and Susanto, 2008; Setijadi, 2016c; Effendi, 2017; Hoon and Kuntjara, 2019; Mitrayani, 2019). Chineseness in the Chinese Indonesian community is not singular, and the generational factor becomes significant in explaining it. Rather than appearing as one of the sections or comparisons with the older generation, the narrative and discourse of Chineseness in this younger generation become very important to research because it describes the contemporary situation and the future of the Chinese Indonesian community.

Second, Mandarin is a crucial element in Chineseness, but being able to communicate with Chinese does not necessarily strengthen orientation to China. Mandarin is a means of connecting with China, expressing identity, heritage language, and cultural capital (Setijadi, 2016c; Lie, 2018; Hoon and Kuntjara, 2019; Kurniawan and Suprajitno, 2019). However, the results of this study show that mastery of Chinese does not necessarily positively influence the orientation of studying and working in China. The results of this study confirm two opinions about the relationship between Mandarin learning and orientation toward China. On the one hand, the results of this study confirm that there is a possibility of learning Chinese to access China, but on the other hand, it does not run automatically. The results of this study show that speaking Chinese alone is not enough to strengthen interest in studying and working in China or liking Chinese culture, but the ability to read Chinese writing has a significant role. Furthermore, the results of this study also show that it seems China is more in demand as a place to study than a place to work.

## CONCLUSION

Ien Ang criticizes either the primordial-centered construction of Chineseness in China or the construction of Chineseness from the multiculturalism-diaspora's point of view. Finally, Ang questioned, "Can One Say No To Chineseness?" This situation is built into a complex situation where Chineseness creates confusion, ambiguity, and burden and requires a lot of self-negotiation to determine whether the Chineseness is in construction. Despite it all, the experience of the situation and conditions experienced also influenced the construction of this Chineseness. Therefore, as scholars have said, generational differences also produce differences in interpretation.

Different interpretations of Chineseness in each generation represent not only the contestation of their perspectives but also the contestation in presenting a picture of Chineseness in academia. The narrative of Chineseness in Chinese Indonesian studies has been dominated by elite groups or perhaps the older generation who are quite influential in the Chinese community in Indonesia. Therefore, topics on re Sinicization often come up in discussions of Chineseness, especially in its association with China. Meanwhile, another group of Chinese Indonesians, the younger generation, is emerging and has their own views and interpretations of Chineseness. All respondents in this study were young Chinese Indonesians born after the 1998 political reform. They may not experience the severity of discrimination, or they may also know stories about discrimination in the past. However, they live and develop in different situations at home and abroad. They likely have their interpretations of Chineseness and China, and it is in this context that research on this young group is significant, not only to provide narratives and discourses that may be different but may be able to describe how the future of Chinese in Indonesia is.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

**Tonny Dian Effendi:** Lecturer at the Department of International Relations, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Malang, Indonesia. Email: [tonny@umm.ac.id](mailto:tonny@umm.ac.id)

**Josh Stenberg:** Senior Lecturer in Chinese Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Studies, University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia. Email: [josh.stenberg@sydney.edu.au](mailto:josh.stenberg@sydney.edu.au).



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# Indonesian Young Researchers on Research of Chinese Indonesians

Julia Eka Rini\*, Petra Christian University, Indonesia

\* jerini@petra.ac.id

*Abstract: Learning from Indonesian past experience in which Chinese Indonesian had been the scapegoat whenever there were critical national conditions in Indonesia, more research on Chinese Indonesians should be conducted in the present peaceful situations. The activities in preserving the peranakan culture, literature, culinary etc. are really worth doing. Centers for Chinese Diaspora, especially Chinese Indonesians, are excellent efforts of researchers in the academic area. More important than that is the existence of beginner or young researchers. Opportunities to become young researchers should be created by offering university courses on Chinese Indonesians in a master level department. In this article it was done in a master level of literature in the faculty of languages and literature. After reviewing the curriculum and the human resources, the idea of adding new courses on Chinese Indonesians was brought to the department meetings. Two new courses were added in the new curriculum besides the existing one. The last step was offering one different course on Chinese Indonesians every semester and explained to the students the topics discussed and what research could be conducted for their theses. The new curriculum produced three theses on Chinese Indonesians instead of only one in the old curriculum and eight students' presentations on Chinese Indonesians in a conference held in 2021. I consider that offering several courses of Chinese Indonesians in the master level program in universities is necessary; whatever the department is. It is important to encourage Indonesian young researchers to conduct research on Chinese Indonesians who are part of Chinese overseas in general and of Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia in particular.*

*Keywords: Chinese Indonesians, Young Researchers, Master Level, Reasons*

## INTRODUCTION

In the years before the pandemic, I noticed that a lot of activities were conducted to bring the Chinese Diaspora feel the togetherness. Baba Nyonya gatherings have been conducted more than thirty times in different locations in Southeast Asia. Having attended the one conducted in Indonesia, I attended the one in Malaka, Malaysia and planned to attend again the following year if there was no pandemic. From my personal point of view, these gatherings were marvelous in creating togetherness, in giving me an identity that I am one of the Chinese Diaspora. Despite the fact that I am Indonesian in my ID card and passport, long time ago in my teenage years, I was also called 'Cino'. This made me then thought that I was not considered Indonesian by the Indonesians. However, when I was among my totok friends, their families did not regard me as a Chinese because I did not speak Mandarin. Although I could bargain at Pasar Atom using Mandarin, that was not enough for them to consider it as an ability to speak Mandarin a little. Even being not able to use chopsticks was also connected with my being Chinese by the Chinese; at that time, I had not known the term of Chinese Indonesians. These incidents and later the readings about the 1998 riots and the unmentioned Chinese Indonesians' participation during struggle in Indonesian independence have made me question several things. How much more can be revealed and not kept hidden? This made me think that more and more researchers are needed in the study of Chinese Indonesians, especially Indonesian young researchers.

As a part of Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia, the existence of Chinese Indonesians has been significant for a great number of years for several reasons. First, from the population of Chinese Indonesians alone, in the year of 2000, seen from Aris Ananta et al.'s survey (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020) the number is 2.83 million people, the twelfth largest ethnic group in Indonesia and 1.5% of the whole population of Indonesia. In Aryodiguno's article (2018, p.3), however, the data varies.

The data for the population of the Chinese varies. The statistical data from the National Central Bureau of Statistics of Indonesia mentions that the total population of the Chinese is 2,832,510. According to the research data from non-profit foreign organizations, the actual population of Chinese Indonesian is about 11 million (Christian, 2017.) Conforming to the Overseas Chinese Affairs Council of the Republic of China (Taiwan), Indonesia's Chinese population is approximately 12 to 15 million (Overseas Community Affairs Council, Republic of China "Taiwan" 2016).

Whether it is a raise in sixteen years or not, it is quite a big number that cannot be ignored. Second, there is a great interest in studying about Chinese Indonesians. One of the examples of the conferences on Chinese Indonesians was Chinese Indonesians: Identities and Histories held on October 1-3, 2019) on Clayton Campus, featuring some of the world's leading scholars in the relevant fields." Dean of The Faculty of Arts Professor Sharon Pickering remarked emphatically that "it is impossible to study modern Indonesia, without adequate knowledge of Chinese Indonesians" with their paradoxical position." (Monash Herb Feith Indonesian Engagement Centre, October 16, 2019). Another example is this conference itself is a continuation of the previous six conferences starting in 2017. On June 12, 2021 Petra Christian University held International Conference on Chinese Indonesian Cultural Heritage (<https://ic-cich.petra.ac.id/>).



The international and national interest in Chinese Indonesian studies and the opinion I have about the importance of research on Chinese Indonesians made me curious to know about the academic situation concerning Chinese Indonesians. In the book launching of *Peranakan Tionghoa Indonesia* in 2018 at Semarang Gallery, having been curious about the existence of the courses in the universities in Indonesia, I asked a question concerning the existence of a Chinese Indonesian department in Indonesia. The answer I got was surprising; there was no such department. If I am not mistaken, the answer I got at that time was that throughout Indonesia only one subject on Chinese Indonesians was offered in a university on bachelor level (in Indonesia it is called S1 level). This situation, I thought at that time, would not be able to produce young researchers.

## METHODOLOGY

In 2018 when I was appointed to be the head of the department of the master's degree of literature (postgraduate level) at Petra Christian University, I determined to create opportunities for S2 students to be young researchers on Chinese Indonesians, since in S2 level, in my opinion, real research begins. Therefore, first, I reviewed the curriculum. In reviewing it, it turned out that in the curriculum used in 2018, there was only one course of Chinese Indonesians offered. One master course on Chinese Indonesians, I thought, would not be enough to trigger master students to conduct research on Chinese Indonesians.

Second, I reviewed the professors who could teach the courses on Chinese Indonesians. Out of ten full time professors in the master department, there were three who had been conducting research on Chinese Indonesians. In another department in the same faculty, several professors were also interested in Chinese Indonesians. In other faculties at the university, some other professors were also interested in Chinese Indonesians.

Third, I brought the idea of adding the number of courses on Chinese Indonesians into department meetings. Meetings after meetings were held, not only to make the semester teaching and learning plan and the topics for each session, but also to determine who would teach the sessions. After a lot of meetings and efforts, two more optional courses on Chinese Indonesians were ready to be added in the curriculum. The three courses do not have prerequisites, so that students are free to take any course any time it is offered. This would attract the students to it.

Fourth, in 2019 it was time to review the curriculum periodically and thus, the two new courses were added in the new curriculum in that year. The courses of Chinese Indonesian in Media and Cultural Hybridity of Chinese Indonesians have been offered along with Chinese Indonesian Society and Culture which was already in the curriculum. The new curriculum was included Panduan Akademik 2019, which was not on the website of Magister Sastra anymore. In Pedoman Akademik Program Studi Magister Sastra Universitas Kristen Petra 2021 (pp.22-23), it is written there that the discussion of the three courses of Chinese Indonesians involve the literature, language, media, organization, culture, identity, hybridity, economy, culinary and society of Chinese Indonesians ([https://magister-sastra.petra.ac.id/Pedoman\\_Akademik\\_Magister\\_Sastra\\_2021.pdf](https://magister-sastra.petra.ac.id/Pedoman_Akademik_Magister_Sastra_2021.pdf)).

Fifth step was introducing the new curriculum, especially the courses on Chinese Indonesians. First, it was introduced to the two undergraduate departments, the Chinese and the English Departments, in the Faculty of Languages and Literature (now the name becomes The Faculty of Humanities and Creative Industries) so that they would be interested to take the master's degree. The introduction of the new curriculum included a special mention of the three courses on Chinese Indonesians because most of the undergraduate departments were and are Chinese Indonesians. Second, whenever there were people interested in the master program, the courses on Chinese Indonesians were especially mentioned and explained. The same thing was done every semester to the master students in the semester study plan: the topics discussed in the classroom and the research that can be conducted on topics of Chinese Indonesians.

The next step was offering one different course out of the three Chinese Indonesians courses each semester so that every student was given a chance to take the three courses in their study time of four semesters and could have an idea of a topic and conduct research on Chinese Indonesians for their thesis.

## RESULTS

Although this observation was done in a small scale and possibly there were other aspects influencing the result, there is a difference between the old and the new curriculum. The previous curriculum with one course on Chinese Indonesians produced one thesis. The research is about the construction of Chinese Indonesians' identity and their value on their identity as Chinese Indonesians, their attitudes and opinions about the policy of name changing (Wijono, 2017). According to her, there are three gradations of attitudes and values on their constructing identity as Chinese Indonesians with their new names: becoming true Indonesians, maintaining identity as a Chinese, and acknowledging double identity as Chinese and as Indonesians (<https://dewey.petra.ac.id/catalog/digital/detail?id=39518>). The new curriculum with three courses on Chinese Indonesians produced three titles of theses. There was a research on the hidden ideology within the motivation in learning Mandarin (Hananya, 2020). It is found that "the young Chinese Surabayanese informants perceived the ideology of learning Mandarin as an advantage, i.e. to globalize their life opportunities in work and communication, to gain power in the markets because of the rise of China, to invest in their linguistic capital, and to understand parents' influence; learning Mandarin has no effect on their sense of Chineseness, because the

informants perceive Mandarin as an advantage” (<https://dewey.petra.ac.id/catalog/digital/detail?id=46683>). The next study done was about Chinese Indonesian single women. Although the informants experienced the discrimination and the stigma, they also get the benefits of being single (Tedjaatmadja, 2021). Another thesis is in the form of a creative work, a novel that explores the triggers of trauma that can disrupts one’s social identity and the recovery from the trauma (Octavia, 2022). Another student is still in the process of writing her thesis on Chineseness and terms of address preferences and she will soon finish writing it. In short, after two more courses of Chinese Indonesians were added in the curriculum, more theses were written on the topic on Chinese Indonesians.

Besides theses, as a requirement to graduate, students need to present in a conference. In 2021 eight students presented in International Conference on Chinese Indonesian Cultural Heritage (ICCICH): Rejuvenating Chinese Indonesian Cultural Heritage on June 12th, 2021 by eight master students held at Petra Christian University. The eight titles of the presentations can be seen at <https://ic-cich.petra.ac.id/RUNDOWN.pdf>: (1) Chinese-Indonesian Identities in Films: An Analysis from The Films “Ca-Bau-Kan” And “Cek Toko Sebelah”; (2) The Hybridity in the Chinese Indonesian Art of Lion Dance: Ulin Barong Sekeloa; (3) Lontong Cap Go Meh as a Hybridity in Chinese Indonesian Tradition; (4) A Cinematic Portrayal of Wei: Chineseness in Between Two Worlds; (5) The Reception Analysis Toward Chinese-Indonesians on Typical Chinese Indonesia YouTube Video; (6) Heavier on the balance: How Chinese Indonesians are reported in news portal; (7) Chinese New Year celebration at school: From reviving Chinese roots to cultivating multicultural roots; (8) A bowl of cultural indulgence: Identity construction through Chinese Indonesian cuisines in Pematangsiantar and Surabaya. The latter five papers can be read in the proceedings at <https://ic-cich.petra.ac.id/Proceedings-ICCICH.pdf>

## DISCUSSION

Is it as simple as offering more courses on Chinese Indonesians in a university? Probably it is not the only factor that can encourage students to be interested to conduct research in Chinese Indonesians. However, it can be one of the factors, an important one. First, courses on Chinese Indonesians in universities provide knowledge about Chinese Indonesians. Second, what seems to be everyday trivial thing can be an important and interesting discussion if it is brought in an academic atmosphere. Third, university courses, especially after the undergraduate, will trigger research, be it small or big scales because master’s degree usually deals with academic papers. The more research on Chinese Indonesians produced and published, the more people know about Chinese Indonesians, hopefully their positive contributions to the nation which might not be revealed intentionally.

Another reason why the existence of researchers should be encouraged is that Indonesia is a very large country and very diverse in culture. Although the name Chinese Indonesian seems to be one kind, the diverse local culture would create a diversity of Chinese Indonesians since “many Chinese Indonesians were more comfortable identifying themselves with local ethnic groups than with their cultural identity (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020 from Ananta et al. 2015; Coppel 2017)”. The cultural synthesis ... have produced a unique *peranakan* heritage in language, religious, customary and culinary practices (Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020). This is a rich field to investigate.

Third, young researchers can counter the negative sentiments to Chinese Indonesians in social media. With the existence of social media and the speed of communication, negative sentiments towards Chinese Indonesians can be spread very quickly. Young people are the ones who are good at using social media and young researchers with knowledge of Chinese Indonesians and their problems can be expected to counter the negative postings in social media with the positive ones from their research.

Lastly, in the past, “the targets of anti-Chinese riots in 1998 were all Chinese in Indonesia, regardless of their political orientation” (Aryodiguno, 2018, p. 8) and “all expressions of Chineseness in the public sphere, ... organization, ...” (Hoon, 2017, p.7) were banned. There might be a possibility that it can happen again. Some people will say that past is past; however, it is better to be on guard. Who can guarantee that it will not happen again in the future? In case it happens again, university courses, in my opinion, might not be so easily banned because first, courses are only a part of a curriculum. Second, moreover, if only two or three courses offered in a department and they are optional, such an offer would not be considered dangerous. Third, there are many departments that can offer courses on Chinese Indonesians, such as history, economics, etc. If such departments can offer courses on Chinese Indonesians, then it is likely that more young researchers can emerge.

Hopefully, mandarin fever (Hoon & Kuntjara, (2019) will also hit young Chinese Indonesians, not only to learn Chinese language, but also to conduct research about Chinese Indonesians themselves. When the new curriculum with three courses on Chinese Indonesians was introduced to the Chinese Department in my faculty, the undergraduate students were, I was informed, not interested in studying Chinese Indonesians. They were interested in Chinese language but were not interested in studying Chinese Indonesians. Probably the finding in Hananya’s thesis (2020) mentioned above is true; learning Mandarin is not about Chineseness, but merely seen as an advantage. Probably it is only true in Surabaya because the informants were young Surabayanese. Probably it can also be true in other big cities. Questions about the hidden ideology will certainly trigger further research.

## CONCLUSION

The theses of the students discussed here tend to be about language since the faculty was also the Faculty of Languages and Literature. Other departments can do it, too, according to the faculties they are under. Two or three courses in a department will be a good trigger to make students of the master level conduct research on Chinese Indonesians. The important thing is if there are professors or lecturers who are interested in and have conducted research on Chinese Indonesians, optional courses on Chinese Indonesians can be offered. If there is only one department in a university that offers courses on Chinese Indonesians, students of other departments should be given the facility of taking the courses on Chinese Indonesians in the department that offers them, since interdepartmental courses is possible in the era of *merdeka belajar*.

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Dr. Julia Eka Rini:** Associate Professor in English Department of Petra Christian University, Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia, [jerini@petra.ac.id](mailto:jerini@petra.ac.id).

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