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Artikel Jurnal Internasional Bereputasi

Judul Artikel : Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

Jurnal : *KEMANUSIAAN: The Asian Journal of Humanities* (KAJH) 2020, 27 (1), 1-23

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Constructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

Abstract

The fall of Suharto in 1998 brought winds of change to Indonesia, especially to policies concerning the Chinese. After being suppressed under the Suharto regime, Chinese Indonesians suddenly had an opportunity to express their cultural heritage in their own ethnic media, counter negative stereotypes, and reconstruct an identity that had been virtually erased during the Suharto era. In this paper, I examine the discursive practices Chinese Indonesians use to remould their ethnic identity through an analysis of the media strategies used to reinvigorate the Chinese Indonesian identity. It was found from the Chinese media, as exemplified in *Qiandao Ribao*, *Guoji Ribao* and *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, that the recreation of the Chinese identity requires an understanding of what it was to be Chinese through the use of the symbols most salient to Chinese ethnicity. The media have been strongly geared towards the reconstruction and maintenance of a Chinese identity that sees Chinese Indonesians as an imagined community whose ethnicity is symbolically perceived and maintained through frequent exposure to the ethnic media. By being exposed to the ethnic media, Chinese Indonesian readers can feel a sense of ethnic belonging and identity through perceived affiliation and shared symbols. However, although they succeeded in bringing Chinese culture back to the Indonesian public sphere, the diversity in the Chinese community challenges the media efforts to construct a definitive Chinese identity.

Keywords: Chineseness, Chinese Indonesian, identity, media

Introduction

Up until 1965, there had been several Chinese newspapers in Indonesia. However, when the Suharto regime was in power (1966-1988), a period described as “the dark ages for the Chinese

press” (Hoon 2006, 96), all Chinese media except the military backed *Yindunixiya Ribao* was banned. Suharto’s downfall in 1998 brought a change to the political landscape and gave the Chinese media a new lease of life. “The Chinese-Indonesian press can finally welcome the light of the morning sun” claimed Huang Hui (quoted in Hoon 2006, 97). Being finally allowed greater freedom of expression, the Chinese media was able to once again target the Chinese community in both Chinese and Indonesian. Since that time, Chinese dailies, weeklies, magazines, and tabloids have proliferated.

A number of new Chinese-language and Indonesian-language Chinese newspapers and magazines emerged in 1998; *Qiandao Ribao*, *Yindunixiya Shangbao*, *Guoji Ribao*, and *Chinatown*. However, several others have ceased publication, such as *Longyang Ribao*, *Huawen Youbao*, *Yinhua Tiansheng*, and *Sinergi Indonesia* because they failed “to understand their potential readership and the contemporary Chinese community itself” (Pandiangan 2003, 419). Overall, the Chinese media in Indonesia has limited readership, primarily because few Chinese Indonesians, and especially the younger generation, are able to understand Chinese. Therefore, increasing readership has been a significant challenge, as claimed by Sugondo Margonoto, a Chinese businessman who had supported the publication of *Qiandao Ribao*’s, at the newspaper’s 10th anniversary,

It has been ten years since *Qiandao Ribao* was published. The founding fathers pledge to continue publishing this newspaper although it has suffered financial losses all these years. ... It is impossible for a Chinese newspaper to gain a profit. However, we are willing to cover the financial losses because we believe that we should keep on publishing our newspaper because *it has an important mission; namely, to preserve the Chinese language*

and culture in Indonesia. (*Qiandao Ribao*, 11 October 2010, my translation, italics are mine).

Margonoto's statement highlighted the cultural mission of not only *Qiandao Ribao* but all other Chinese media; a mission that has become the impetus for their survival.

In spite of the limited readership, the Chinese media's will to survive is so that Chinese Indonesians can "develop visions of their futures in Indonesia" (Turner and Allen 2007, 120) and provide an avenue to express themselves to regain the ethnicity that had been banned during the New Order regime. Previous studies have found that there is a strong connection between ethnic media and the perceptions of ethnic identity. For example, Matsaganis (2011), Oh (2016), and Somani and Guo (2018), found that ethnic media encourages communication within the ethnic community by giving them a voice, expressing their concerns, advancing and defending their interests, and interpreting issues from the community's perspectives, all of which develops and fosters ethnic belonging and preserves a cultural consciousness and an ethnic identity.

Along with the freedom to celebrate their ethnicity, the post-Suharto Chinese media was also able to express the community's concerns by protesting against discrimination, preserving language and culture, and making people aware of the issues in their ethnic community. All of this was made possible because the people behind the post-Suharto Chinese media had been involved in the Chinese media in the pre-Suharto era. The Chinese media re-emerged into the "public sphere" (Habermas 1991) to provide a communicative space to a people "who had been silenced over the three previous decades, to speak out" (Hoon 2006, 91). Therefore, the Chinese media view their role as preserving Chinese culture and encouraging Chinese Indonesians to embrace the ethnic identity that was suppressed during the New Order era.

In this paper, I investigate how Chinese media construct the ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians. In so doing, I examine the discursive practices used in the ethnic media to develop the ethnic and social identity of the Chinese community. Through an analysis of news reports, I examine the strategies used in the Chinese press to construct the Chinese identity.

Conceptual Framework for Ethnicity and the Media

Since Barth proposed the conception of ethnicity as a social process in 1969, there has been wide research focused on the notion of ethnicity, with some such as Bayar (2009), Eriksen (2010), Fenton (2010), and Bowen (2017) concurring with Barth. Today, ethnicity is no longer seen as immutable or as a fixed entity; rather, it is seen as fluid as it is situationally defined in the social interactions with other groups as well as by the boundaries it establishes and maintains as a result of these interactions. Kivisto claimed that “ethnicity is essentially a social boundary” (2017, 1426), with these boundaries being mental and cultural rather than physical, and being more important than the culture they enclose. Ethnic boundaries are constituted by selected cultural features that the members ascribe to themselves and consider relevant; in other words, the cultural features that are “perceived as typical for their community” (Wimmer 2008, 973) and can “reinforce their collective identity” (Smajda and Gerteis 2012, 619). Therefore, ethnicity is more related to the emotional significance attached to the cultural content rather than the cultural content itself.

In an effort to establish and maintain ethnic boundaries, ethnic groups attempt to sustain their feelings of identity and of being ethnic. The continuity of these feelings, which Cornell called “ethnic persistence”, is important as it gives the members ethnicity and identity, which in turn gives them a sense of belonging and social existence (1996, 268). Weeks claimed that “identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you

from others” (1990, 88). Therefore, ethnic persistence is related to the specific features of the ethnic group that engender a sense of belonging and distinguish them from others.

Ethnicity is strongly related to group belonging, self-identification, and an identification by others outside the group, the perception and expression of which is often expressed through symbolic means. Gans claimed that, “In effect, feeling ethnic is achieved by employing ethnic objects, material and nonmaterial, as well as symbols” (2017, 1411). Rather than knowledge or practice, what is of importance are the feelings of ethnic identity because “identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from,’ so much as what we become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we represent ourselves” (Hall 1996, 4). Therefore, ethnic identity comes from a self-narrative associated with an imagined belonging to a certain group of people who draw attention to the shared culture that binds them into what Anderson (2006) called an “imagined community.”

When forming this imagined community, group members use ethnic symbols rather than specific cultural practices. Gans stated that the logic of modern ethnicity is based on symbols and feelings of identity. In his opinion, ethnicity is symbolic as people “move from acting to feeling ethnic, which emphasizes identity instead of practising the culture and participating in its organizations” (2017, 1411). Because feelings of identity and expressions of those feelings are the primary ways of being ethnic, ethnicity depends largely on the use of symbols, which become the ethnic group identity markers used to establish and maintain the ethnic boundaries that define the imagined community; in other words, as stated by Gans, ethnicity is symbolic.

However, the characteristics of symbolic ethnicity are arbitrary. Depending on the situation and on how important they feel their ethnicity is, individual ethnic group members may have

different ways of perceiving and expressing their ethnic symbols. This has been identified as “ethnic salience,” which is defined as “the importance that individuals attach to ethnicity” (Bhavnani and Miodownik 2009, 30). Therefore, ethnic salience has a close relationship with ethnic persistence as the former embodies the notions of the latter. Generally, there is a hierarchy of ethnic salience, with ethnic group members valuing some aspects of their ethnicity more than others, with these aspects being more important to their ethnic persistence; in other words, these valued aspects create the feelings of identity and of being ethnic and basically function as ethnic identifiers.

Ethnic salience reinforces ethnic persistence, which then maintains the ethnic boundaries that define the imagined community. Anderson believes that “communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (2006, 6). In other words, it is the “forms of imagining” that construct a community (Anderson 2006, 24).

In their construction of the imagined community, “print-capitalism” (Anderson 2006, 18) – magazines and new papers – allows groups to “imagine” a linked community that may not have had any special forms of togetherness. The imagined linkages that the media engenders, in Anderson’s opinion, “derives from two obliquely related sources.” The first is what he calls “calendrical coincidence” (2006, 33), which refers to events that occur at various places on the same date; in other words, readers anonymously share what they read with other readers which makes them feel they belong to a collective body of readers. The second is the media creates what Anderson calls “mass ceremony” (2006, 35) in that the readers are participating in a consumption of media, and although this consumption “is performed in silent privacy,” the readers know that “the ceremony” they are performing is also being simultaneously performed by “thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence [they are] confident, yet whose identity [they have] not the

slightest notion” (2006, 35). This enables them to feel part of the community of readers/audience with whom they have no direct interactions. Calendrical coincidence and mass ceremony are important in the development of the collective identity for members of this imagined community.

Cohen also claimed that the construction of a community is symbolic. In his opinion, the idea of a community is “symbolic, rather than a structural construct” (1985, 98), as the core of community consciousness is a feeling of belonging and identity as well as a sense of distinction, which generally operates through symbols and representations (1985, 15).

Therefore, the media plays a constitutive role in the creation of the symbols and representations that heighten the sense of community. According to Appadurai, the media constructs collective imaginations within the public spheres of a community. However, imagining is not equal to fantasizing; rather, it has the capacity of agency. Appadurai claimed, “It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighbourhood and nationhood, The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape” (1996, 7). The collective imaginations and experiences the media provides, which are formed as a result of their discursive practices, have the ability to rouse agency, to create solidarity, and to develop a staging ground for actions, all of which are advanced by the existence of the public sphere, which is “a domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed (Habermas 1991, 399). Habermas’ public sphere is seen as a social realm in which public discourse, such as ethnicity, can be circulated and debated and allows the ethnic media to give its views. In Yu’s words, the public sphere provides a platform where ethnic minorities have “the right to communicate” and “a right to be understood” (2018, 1979). Hence, it is through the public sphere that the ethnic media can overcome socio-cultural marginalization, counter negative representations, and maintain and elevate their ethnic identity.

Grounded by this conceptual framework of ethnicity in which ethnicity is a mental construct of an imagined community in which the boundaries are symbolically created through ethnic salience and persistence, the media facilitates the creation of the symbols and representations through the public sphere that forge ethnic identity; therefore, the role of the Chinese media is to construct the Chinese identity of Chinese Indonesians.

Methodology

The data for this article were collected primarily through analysing news reports and coverage on categories that are closely related to Chinese ethnicity. Those categories are (1) Chinese rituals, traditions, and culture; (2) Chinese language; (3) Chinese organizations; (4) Chinese pop culture; and (5) the Chinese diasporic community. News reports and coverage chosen for analysis were those issued since March 2017. I chose the news reports and coverage from *Qiandao Ribao*, *Guoji Ribao*, and *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, the Chinese language newspapers that have survived to the present day and circulated nationally. Interviews were also held with Chinese media practitioners and regular and non-regular readers of Chinese media in order to get a better understanding on the strategies being used in the media and readers' perception on those strategies.

Forms of Imagining

This analysis of the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined construct is informed by Gupta's and Ferguson's study (1992), which emphasized the salience of the imagination in the construction of an ethnic community. The imagination construct is basically a feeling of identity and belonging that is derived from an attachment to a shared body of symbols (Anderson 2006; Cohen 1985), which are those aspects that function as differentiating symbols and are indexical to the imagined ethnicity.

The distinction of Chinese Indonesians as an imagined community comes from a belief in a common ancestry and the sense of identity and group boundaries that are experienced and expressed through the various ethnic culture symbols that represent their ethnic salience. As the Chinese media in Indonesia use these symbols to inculcate a sense of the imagined ethnic community, these symbols can be thought of as “forms of imagining” (Anderson 2006, 24) that mediate between the Chinese Indonesian readers of the ethnic media and their Chinese ethnic identity; in other words, the attachment to these forms maintains the imagined ethnic community. In this part the forms of imagining often appearing in Chinese ethnic media are identified and examined.

The first form of imagining is related to ethnic traditions, rituals and culture, which are concrete practices that, according to Gans, serve as symbols of ethnicity. Practices such as the celebration of ethnic festivals, traditions, and rituals are primary ways of practicing and maintaining ethnicity (Gans 2017, 1411) as they are ritualized symbols that engender a sense of belonging (Driedeger 1989, 161) and an imagined Chinese ethnicity. An example of this is the Chinese New Year, widely reported in the Chinese media. Declared as a national holiday by President Megawati on April 2002, the Chinese New Year celebration is seen as an acceptance of Chinese culture in Indonesia. In spite of their different backgrounds, many Chinese Indonesians see this celebration as a way of celebrating their ethnicity. For example, one famous and historical mosque in Yogyakarta (Syuhada Mosque) held a special prayer session to celebrate Chinese New Year for the first time (*Gatra*, 23 January 2006). Some Catholic churches also held a mass with Chinese New Year nuances (*Kompas*, 19 February 2007), a tradition which some churches still continue.

The second form of imagining is language since it serves as the fundamental expression of group collective identity and ensures its maintenance. Some scholars, such as Driedeger (1989), feel that language is one of the indicators of ethnic cohesion, arguing that there is a strong correlation between ethnic language retention and the development and reinforcement of ethnic consciousness. Therefore, through the promotion of the Chinese language, the Chinese in Indonesia can regain their ethnicity. A Chinese Indonesian scholar claimed that by mastering the Chinese language, “this [young] generation of Indonesian Chinese does not have to bear the deep sense of cultural loss that members of [her] generation endured during the Suharto era” (Dawis 2007).

Another form of imagining is the development of ethnic institutions since these function as powerful mechanisms for the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity and ethnic boundaries. Driedeger claimed that ethnic institutions correlate with ethnic identity as the more institutionally complete an ethnic community is, the greater the likelihood the retention of ethnic culture and identity (1989, 160). Ethnic organizations can also reinforce the strong sense of ethnic identity (Eriksen 2010, 49). Examples of ethnic institutions in Indonesia are social, political, and religious organizations. Through such ethnic institutions, among others, *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (*Chinese Indonesian Association*) and *Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia* (*Indonesian Chinese Clans Social Association*), the Chinese community attempt to find solutions to the problems Chinese Indonesians face as an ethnic group. They also attempt to retain their ethnic language, customs and cultural practices as well as creating an ethnic awareness that strengthens their ethnic identity (for example, *Paguyuban Meizhou Indonesia* (*Indonesian Meizhou Association*), *Perhimpunan Hakka Indonesia* (*Indonesian Hakka Association*)). Religious-based Chinese organizations such as *MATAKIN* (*Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu Indonesia* or *The*

Supreme Council of Confucian Religion in Indonesia) and *PITI (Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia or Indonesian Chinese Muslim Association)* also seek to overcome negative Chinese Indonesian stereotypes through their social development and charitable initiatives, which demonstrate that in spite of their ethnicity, they are also a part of the Indonesian community.

Besides social, political, and religious organizations, another important ethnic institution for the Chinese community are Chinese schools, seen as one of the three pillars of the Chinese community (Suryadinata 1997, 12). A Chinese scholar, Mona Lohanda claimed that the Chinese community believes that Chinese schools are able to impart Chinese cultural values to the young generation (*Kompas*, 2 June 2008), which is why many Chinese organizations have founded Chinese schools since they hope that young Chinese Indonesians can develop an emotional attachment to their ethnic culture and therefore sustain their ethnic identity. Fenton noted that the development of these emotional attachments develops the ethnic cultural consciousness that constitutes ethnicity (2010, 73-74).

Because of their position as a “foreign” ethnic minority, many Chinese Indonesians, often view themselves as part of the diaspora; therefore, as a diasporic community, they often identify themselves with a more global Chinese identity. This identification as part of the Chinese diaspora is evident in the last two forms of imagining: Chinese pop culture and an interest in the activities of Chinese diasporic communities.

Chinese pop culture, such as songs, films and television serials work to maintain the Chinese diasporic community’s cultural identification. Dayan and Katz (1992) observed that the electronic media, and particularly television, have the power to create instant histories that become part of the audience’s collective memory, traditions, and identity. In her study on the Indian community in England, Gillespie (1995) found that Indian films shaped and influenced the

collective memories of the “mythic homeland” in the diasporic Indian community. Ma (1999) concurred with Gillepsie in his study on Hong Kong television audiences, in which he found that pop culture was very much part of their collective memory and imagination for membership in the Chinese nation-state. Through the consumption of Chinese pop culture, Chinese Indonesians can also reinvent and renegotiate their Chinese identity, and at the same time identify themselves as part of the widely scattered Chinese diasporic community, all of whom also consume the same pop culture. Chua commented that “within this dense traffic of cultural production, circulation and consumption is the potential for the emergence of an imaginable ‘pan-Chinese community’ that can manifest itself through different channels, modes and communication media” (2006, 87-88).

The interest shown by the Chinese Indonesian community in the Chinese diaspora strengthens their ethnic identity. Driedeger’s study found that a knowledge of and an interest in one’s history were important avenues for the symbolic reinforcement of ethnic identity (1989, 161). Therefore, current events in fellow diasporic communities assume symbolic significance for many ethnic group members, which then become the focus of their ethnic orientation and identity. Gans noted that “ethnic feelings could be further expressed by celebrating famous coethnics, whether entertainers, athletes, artists, writers and others” (2017, 1411). By consuming news about what is happening in other ethnic Chinese communities, the Chinese Indonesian community can share images and feelings, making them feel a part of the large imagined Chinese diasporic community.

These forms of imagining; ethnic traditions and rituals, language, institutions, and pop culture, and interest in fellow diasporic communities; elucidate the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined community that has a symbolically perceived and expressed ethnicity. As these imaginings create salient symbols of Chinese identity and ethnicity, the Chinese ethnic media

harness these symbols in their effort to reconstruct the identity and ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians.

Vehicle of Imagining

The analysis shows that the Chinese ethnic media uses the above forms of imagining to develop and stimulate Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians, and especially in the younger generations whose ethnicity was reduced or even lost during the New Order period. A senior editor of a Chinese newspaper said,

The openness towards Chinese language and culture inspired us, the old generation, to bring the young Chinese generation back to their roots. One way of doing so is through publishing a newspaper. (Interview, 5 May 2017)

This statement echoed the words Huang Xiaozhong, a senior reporter at *Qiandao Ribao*, said at the inauguration of *Qiandao Ribao*'s new office on 12 June 2012,

This newspaper was published in memory of our Chinese school teachers and to serve as a learning avenue for young Chinese-Indonesians. (my translation)

These two statements clearly underscore the main goals of the Chinese ethnic media to provide an index for their ethnic culture, values, norms, and traditions. The media content that seeks to illuminate the ethnic symbols fuels the forms of Chinese ethnic imagining and reinforces the sense of belonging in the imagined Chinese community. These forms of imagining are evident in news reports, articles, editorials, opinions and other features as the Chinese media is focused on promoting Chinese culture and highlighting and celebrating Chinese identity.

As mentioned previously, one of the forms of imagining is the ethnic organization. News reports in the Chinese media often cover the numerous activities of Chinese organizations in their efforts to counter the negative stereotypes of Chinese Indonesians that native Indonesians have

such as a lack of loyalty to Indonesia, anti-social behaviour, and being merely economic animals (Turner and Allen 2007; Coppel 1983). An example of the activities that news reports often covers is charity. News report also often reveal the nationalistic face of the Chinese through, for example, the use of Indonesian nationalistic attributes and symbols in the activities conducted by Chinese organizations. The efforts of Chinese organizations to cooperate with various Chinese and non-Chinese elements in the society to participate in building Indonesian society are often reported in the Chinese media. The media also heavily covers Chinese organizations that voice the aspirations of the Chinese community to abolish the discriminatory laws that are still in place (Jusuf 2001) in news reports, feature articles and editorials, with the primary aim of reminding the Chinese of the problems they still face as an ethnic group, and also as a reminder of their ethnicity. Yet, at the same time, they also remind them of their position as one of the ethnic groups in the country and the responsibilities that come with this position. All the Chinese newspapers have a section entitled *Huashe* (“Chinese Community”) or *Huashe Xinwen* (“Chinese Community News”), which is devoted to covering the activities of Chinese communities in Indonesia.

Figure 1

The section *Huashe Xinwen* in *Guoji Ribao*. This coverage is about a meeting between *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and the Indonesian ambassador to China

Besides the activities of the various Chinese organizations, the celebration of Chinese traditions also receives wide coverage. While the Chinese New Year as the biggest celebration, which was declared a national holiday by President Megawati in 2001, is also covered by most other non-Chinese media, the coverage in the Chinese ethnic media is more intense and often includes the history behind the traditions and the rituals. They also report on how the ethnic Chinese in other parts of the world are celebrating but emphasize that no matter how global the

Chinese New Year celebration is, the celebration in Indonesia has its own local flavour. For example, the local influence is seen in the special food the Chinese Indonesians prepare, such as *Lontong Capgomeh* (Suprajitno 2008). Through this kind of coverage, the Chinese ethnic media seeks to build an image that the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia are also a part of the world-wide Chinese community, yet, at the same time, are also rooted in Indonesia. However, the emphasis on being part of the global Chinese community tends to imply that Chineseness and the Chinese identity are more important. Other Chinese rituals and traditions, such as *Qingming*, *Duanwu Jie*, and *Zhongqiu Jie*, which the national newspapers often do not report, are also covered widely in the Chinese media, further exemplifying the importance the Chinese media places on Chinese traditions and rituals to promote Chineseness.

Figure 2

Coverage of the Chinese New Year celebrations of the Xiao clan association in *Yindunxiya Shangbao's Huashe Xinwen*, 28 February 2018.

Figure 3

The coverage of *Duanwu Jie* in *Qiandao Ribao's Huashe Dongtai*, 2 June 2017.

The Chinese media also focus on the tenets of Chinese culture as they consider themselves to be “one of the gatekeepers of Chinese culture” (Hoon 2006, 112). Chinese culture dominates Chinese media, with a great deal of space being devoted to cultural matters. Chinese culture feature articles such as Chinese cultural commentaries, Chinese traditions, and Chinese classical stories are abundant in the *Fukan* (“Supplement”) section of all the Chinese newspapers. In addition to the *Fukan* section, *Qiandao Ribao* also devotes space to sections entitled *Zhonghua Wenhua* (“Chinese Culture”), and *Shuhua Xinshang* (“Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy Appreciation”).

The Chinese media also celebrates the Chinese language. For many older generation Chinese Indonesians, the Chinese language is an important part of their Chinese identity and is

seen as the quintessence of Chineseness. The rise of China in global politics has also contributed to the promotion of the Chinese language, which the Chinese Media claim is helping their goal. One director of a Chinese newspaper said that the, “Chinese language has become a world trend because of the growing Chinese economy. ... Young Chinese Indonesians learn Mandarin for economic prospects. The search for roots will come later – after they learn about Chinese culture (quoted in Hoon, 2006, 113). This statement clearly highlights the salience of ethnic language and culture as part of ethnicity and ethnic identity; that is, a Chinese who does not speak Chinese is considered to be losing their Chineseness. Ang noted that diasporic Chinese who do not speak Chinese are often questioned about the authenticity of their Chineseness. The promotion of the Chinese language is also reflected in the amount of space allocated to Chinese literature, short stories, and poems in the media, as they believe that promoting Chinese language and culture can help develop the Chineseness of young Chinese Indonesians, which is why they provide specialised sections, such as *Qiandao Ribao*’s *Huawen Yuandi* (“Chinese Language Garden”) or the Jakarta-based *Guoji Ribao*’s *Shisheng Yuandi* (“Teacher-Student Garden”), in which students who learn Chinese can publish their compositions.

Figure 4

Guoji Ribao’s *Shisheng Yuandi*, 31 May 2017

The rise of China in world politics and the role of the global Chinese diaspora in the economy also reinforce the interest of Chinese Indonesians in China and their identity as part of the Chinese diasporic community. Their interest in their ancestral country and their identification as a Chinese diasporic community are reflected in the coverage of China and the Chinese diaspora, which provides not only information on fellow diasporic communities, but also highlights common points of reference. From this information, the “deterritorialized subjects,” such as the Chinese

Indonesian community can sustain their “cultural continuity” (Thompson 1995), which can serve to strengthen their ethnic identity further. The Chinese media gives them areas of cultural identification in special sections on China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan so that they can imagine a coherent and continuous identity. *Guoji Ribao*, *Qiandao Ribao*, and *Yindunxiya Shangbao* each has *Zhongguo Yaowen* (“China News”), *Liang’an Side* (“Four Places across Taiwan Straits”), and *Zhonggangtai Xinwen* (“China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan News”), all of which cover issues in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. *Qiandao Ribao* also has a section called *Yinzhong Youhao* (“Indonesia-China Friendship”) that highlights the friendship between Indonesia and China and covers various aspects from culture to economics. When asked why they had these special sections on the regions of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan rather than combining the news into the *Guoji Xinwen* (“International News”) section, some editors and senior journalists said that many Chinese Indonesians were eager to know news about the region because of China’s economic prowess and its “special connection.” One journalist told me,

China is an economic power house now. With its Maritime Silk Road and One-belt-one-road Initiatives, China could play an important role in the world’s economy. It would be a loss for us to neglect China. (Interview, 29 June 2017)

Elaborating what the “special connection” was he referred to, an editor said,

Our ancestors came from China, so obviously, we have a special connection with the country, although we are now Indonesians. (Interview, 19 September 2017)

While mentioning the economic prowess of China, they emphasized the “special connection,” which can also be seen in news coverage about China. For example, *Guoji Ribao* (2 October 2017) gave the title “Zuguo de Mingtian Hui Geng Hao – Qingzhu Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Chengli Liushiba Zhounian Zhaodai Hui Ceji” (The Future of the Motherland Will Be Better –

Celebrating the 68th Year of the Founding of the People's Republic of China) for its coverage of China's national day. The choice of the words used for refereeing to China, that is *zuguo* (motherland), describe what the people behind the Chinese media think about the special connection.

Figure 5

Guoji Ribao's coverage of China's National Day on 2 October 2017.

The Chinese media also reports news on Chinese diasporic communities, with most putting this news in the *Huashe* or *Huashe Xinwen* sections. The coverage is not only about activities and happenings in these diasporic communities, but also about the achievements of the members. *Qiandao Ribao* goes further by having a section called *Tianxia Huaren* ("Chinese People in the World"), which features successful people, as the paper wishes Chinese Indonesians to be inspired by these success stories. According to Hoon, this "assumes a (trans)nationalistic pride of belonging to the Chinese 'race,' even though they are in different locations" (2006, 109).

This global diasporic identification is also evident in the reporting of pop culture news. All Chinese-language and most Indonesian-language Chinese media cover oriental pop culture from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, with Indonesian pop culture receiving little attention. Maybe this could be due to the huge popularity of Chinese pop culture; however, Chinese pop culture, as seen in the Chinese media, could be thought of as an expression of the desires of the Chinese community, at least those behind the Chinese media, to identify themselves with what they believe as their ethnic pop culture. Sinclair, Yue, Hawkins, Kee, and Fox proved that television entertainment programs can generate a strong sense of belonging and identity (2000, 35). The consumption of Chinese pop culture could be seen as a reflection of "the epistephilic desire" of Chinese Indonesians for entertainment from "home." (Naficy 1993, 107). The media also often

highlights the Chinese background of Indonesian entertainers, as seen in figure 5, something that is rarely seen in the mainstream media.

Figure 6

Qiandao Ribao's Yinni Huayi Mingxing (Chinese Indonesian Stars), 27 May 2017.

The identification of Chinese Indonesians with other Chinese communities in other parts of the world in the Chinese media's coverage of news and events in China, in the Chinese diasporic communities, and in the Chinese entertainment news, is all aimed at fostering a sense of Chineseness and Chinese identity. The Chinese media believe that this kind of coverage can generate the feeling in Chinese Indonesians that they share the same cultural beliefs and traditions as the Chinese communities worldwide, and that they are part of an imagined diasporic Chinese community. This kind of coverage conveys an "image of their communion" with the Chinese diaspora (Anderson 2006, 6), which in my opinion, is central to the discourse in the Chinese media, as can be seen in the symbolic Chinese ethnic forms published daily.

My observations have also found that through the production of symbolic forms of ethnicity, the Chinese media aims to reconstruct the Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians that was decimated by the New Order, as stated by Huang Xiaozhong on 12 June 2012. Explaining the idea behind the devotion of so much space to Chinese culture in his newspaper, one of the founding fathers of a newspaper said,

We adopted this idea because we hope that young Chinese Indonesians who do not know their language and culture can study them. We also hope that by studying them, they love their ethnic culture and develop their ethnic belonging. Like the saying goes, "tak kenal maka tak sayang" [Indonesian proverb which literally means, "you can't love what you don't know"]. (Interview, April 11, 2017)

My findings on the Chinese media have illuminated how the media is trying to reinforce the ethnic identity of their audience by triggering emotional attachments to ethnic symbols, which then feeds into feelings of ethnicity and ethnic identity in the readers. The Chinese media employ symbolic forms of ethnic imagining by foregrounding a Chineseness that links Chinese Indonesians to the global Chinese diasporic community. However, it is not easy for the Chinese media to achieve their cultural mission, especially in the younger generation, as a wide gap exists between the older Chinese generation behind the media and the potential readers who come mostly from the younger generation. The way the media presents their content might not be interesting to the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians, an idea that is discussed further in the following section.

Imagines Nostalgia

The coverage and exposure of the activities of Chinese organizations, language, culture and traditions has led to the emergence of Chineseness in the public sphere. In Habermasian terms, the public sphere is a cultural domain of social interaction in which the public concerned are carefully deliberated for furthering the critical knowledge that could produce change. Seen from this Habermasian perspective, the Chinese media advances their concerns regarding Chinese Indonesian ethnicity through the circulation and discussion of images, ideas, and arguments about Chineseness. Using ethnic symbols in their publications that are of salience to the Chinese, the Chinese media are attempting to construct a Chinese identity. A chief editor of a Chinese newspaper says,

Chinese culture has a fine history of 5,000 years. Assimilated [Indonesianised] Chinese have lost this noble culture. They are notably [un-Chinese] in their personality, including their morals. (quoted in Hoon 2006, 112).

Hoon's study also revealed that the Chinese media have tried to revive the Chinese culture that was lost during the New Order period (2006, 113). By exposing Chinese culture, they hope that the readers, and especially young Chinese Indonesians, can come to understand their ancestral roots and cultural heritage and hopefully reaffirm their ethnicity because to quote Ong, "the overall framing of message [in Chinese ethnic media] suggests that the identity at stake is [Chinese Indonesian] subjects" who have been detached from their ethnic and cultural heritage (2006, 169). Therefore, the Chinese media is attempting to construct the Chineseness they think was lost because of the New Order policy.

Yet, as mentioned previously, there is a gap between the people and the Chinese media, and it is therefore the potential readers who have become the "target" of their cultural mission. However, these potential readers have their own perceptions regarding China and Chinese culture, as exemplified by the interviewees below.

A 26-year-old shop-owner: Our generation is alienated from the more "sophisticated" Chinese culture. We know nothing about proper rituals, such as ancestor veneration. And I don't want to know about all those things. Too traditional. Even people in China do not practice them. (Interview, 19 July 2017).

A 35-year-old banker: Ancestor veneration is a typical Chinese ritual. It is intended to cultivate filial piety. But well, I don't think it is necessary for us to do that. Showing respect and filial piety to our parents when they are still alive is much better than venerating them when they have passed away. (Interview, 24 July 2017)

While they admitted that Chinese culture and traditional rituals were good, the two informants above thought that the Chinese culture and traditional rituals Chinese media reported in their news and coverage were far-fetched. They are not closely related to their daily lives. This was one reason

why they were not interested in reading them, despite their good Chinese proficiency, as they used to study Chinese in China before. The people behind the Chinese media may not aware that culture can change, and so can those who practice them. Because of this, younger Chinese find that this kind of coverage is boring.

A 20-year-old college student majoring in Chinese: I like *Qiandao Ribao's Huawen Yuandi*. We can send our essays for publication there. It is like a space where we can practice our writing skills. It is the only part that I read. ... I skip reading other sections. They are boring. (Interview, 14 September 2017)

Even those who have a connection with China, economic and otherwise, think that the news reports and coverage of Chinese media focus too much on China.

A 30-year-old businesswoman who often goes to China on business: Chinese newspapers are very China-centric. The coverage on China is too much, I think. I know that China is an economic super power, but it does not mean everything about China is news-worthy. (Interview, 11 September 2017)

A 29-year-old professional who pursued his master's degree in China: Too much coverage on China. ... They [news reports and articles about China and diasporic Chinese] are not closely related to us. No point in reporting them extensively. (Interview, 5 December 2017)

The five younger Chinese Indonesians think that the Chinese media is unattractive because of their loose or even non-existent connections with China and their changing views on Chinese traditions and culture. While not all young Chinese Indonesians feel the same as the interviewees above, it is evident that not all young Chinese Indonesians share the common view of the older generation on China and Chinese culture. Therefore, the, coverage is unable to attract many young Chinese Indonesians. The editors and journalists at *Qiandao Ribao* and *Guoji Ribao* admitted that their

readers' demographic profile was dominated by Chinese who had received a Chinese education, and that their younger readers were mostly those who worked in fields related to the Chinese language (personal communication). While the symbolic forms of imagining encapsulated in the memories of the past may provide ethnic salience for the older generation, these same forms do not appear to carry a lot of weight with others such as the younger generation. This is the reason the Chinese media is facing difficulties in carrying out their cultural mission to reconstruct the Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians they believe was lost during the New Order era.

However, I contend that this difficulty has occurred because in their efforts to indicate the degree or authenticity of Chineseness, the Chinese media have objectified Chinese culture by breaking it into practices, customs and traditions that carry symbolic weight and can be measured. Therefore, with this line of thought, some people are considered more Chinese because of their greater Chineseness and others are considered less Chinese because of their limited or lost Chineseness. This opinion identifies Chineseness as essential to ethnicity and also reflects a perception that Chinese culture is static and unchanging, which is not acceptable to the Chinese who grew up during the New Order era. In their effort to construct Chineseness through the use of Chinese cultural symbols and representations, the media have created an "imagined nostalgia" (Appadurai 1996, 77). The Chinese Indonesians behind the Chinese media may not be aware that younger Chinese Indonesians do not share their sentiments. Since the nostalgia they are highlighting is a nostalgia for something that has never existed in the younger generations' lives, the media's Chineseness is unrelated to their lives because Chineseness shifts over time due to personal experience and social change. Donald Nonini and Aihwa Ong commented that Chineseness was no longer "a property or essence of a person calculated by that person's having more or fewer 'Chinese values' or norms." Instead, it should be seen in terms of the "multiplicity"

(1997, 13) of being Chinese as reflected in the Chinese Indonesian community. Therefore, the way the Chinese media treat Chinese ethnic symbols is beneficial in terms of public sphere awareness, but misguided since they feel that this version of Chineseness and Chinese identity is sacrosanct; however, personal experience and social change are essential elements for the construction of Chineseness and Chinese identity in modern Indonesia. In other words, this imagined nostalgia is not shared by the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians, who have or are developing their own sense of their Chineseness.

Conclusion

The demise of the New Order paved the way for the Chinese Indonesian community to establish their own media, the cultural mission of which has been to preserve their ethnic culture and identity and encourage a certain ethnic identity in the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians. The Chinese media strongly believes that its function is to reconstruct the Chineseness and Chinese identity that were lost in the three decades of the New Order.

The media's reconstruction of Chineseness and Chinese identity has attempted to reinforce the Chinese Indonesian community's imagining (perceptions and feelings) of their ethnicity through the use of ethnic symbols that are salient to the Chinese cultural consciousness, with the belief that ethnic (Chinese) symbols and representations can forge ethnicity (Chineseness) and that through these emotional attachments to shared ethnic (Chinese) symbols, the people (Chinese Indonesians) can perceive a belonging to one (Chinese) community.

The strategies the Chinese media have adopted in their use of ethnic symbols for identity reconstruction are clearly reflected in the media content. Through news reports, editorials, opinions, and other features in their publications, they have sought to create an image of communion in the minds of the readers, with the hope that this frequent exposure can strengthen and maintain the

imagined community. However, in their efforts, they have developed an “imagined nostalgia” that the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians may not share. Therefore, the media is trapped in an essentialism that negates the possibility of the multiple forms of Chineseness and the multiple expressions of modern Chinese identity that exist in the Chinese diasporic community. Therefore, in my opinion, although they have been successful in bringing back Chinese culture to the Indonesian public, at the moment, it is difficult to achieve their goal of reconstructing the Chinese identity for the young Chinese Indonesian generation because it is a version of Chinese identity based on an “imagined nostalgia” that is often unrelated to the reality of young Chinese Indonesians.

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List of Figures



Figure 1

The section *Huashe Xinwen* in *Guoji Ribao*.

This coverage is about a meeting between *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and the Indonesian ambassador to China.



Figure 2

Coverage of the Chinese New Year celebrations of the Xiao clan association in *Yindunxiya Shangbao's Huashe Xinwen*, 28 February 2018.



Figure 3

Coverage of Duanwu Jie in *Qiandao Ribao's Huashe Dongtai*, June 2, 2017.



Figure 4

Guoji Ribao's Shisheng Yuandi, 31 May 2017

[illegible]

Figure 5



Figure 5

Coverage of *Yinni Huayi Mingxing* (Chinese Indonesian Stars) in *Qiandao Ribao*, 27 May 2017

Bukti 3

Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil review pertama, beserta email dari editor-in-chief yang memutuskan bahwa artikel yang dikirim perlu direvisi. Para reviewer juga menulis komentar mereka berdua, seperti yang terlihat di email dari editor-in-chief dan lampiran yang dikirim.

Tanggal 18 Maret 2019

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ACTION	STATUS	ID	TITLE	SUBMITTED	DECISIONED
	✉ Contact Journal EIC: Haroon, Haslina ADM: Musa, Zulkifli ADM: Ismail, Siti Nor Qamariah Accept (17-May-2019) <i>Archiving completed on 28-Nov-2019</i> view decision letter	KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R2	Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia <i>Files Archived</i>	05-May-2019	17-May-2019
a revision has been submitted (KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R2)	✉ Contact Journal EIC: Haroon, Haslina ADM: Musa, Zulkifli ADM: Ismail, Siti Nor Qamariah - Major Revision (14-Apr-2019) - a revision has been submitted <i>Archiving completed on 28-Nov-2019</i> view decision letter	KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R1	Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia <i>Files Archived</i>	31-Mar-2019	14-Apr-2019

ACTION	STATUS	ID	TITLE	SUBMITTED	DECISIONED
a revision has been submitted (KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R1)	✉ Contact Journal EIC: Haroon, Haslina ADM: Ismail, Siti Nor Qamariah - Major Revision (18-Mar-2019) - a revision has been submitted Archiving completed on 28-Nov-2019 view decision letter	KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306	Constructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia <i>Files Archived</i> ?	18-Nov-2018	18-Mar-2019

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KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities - Decision on Manuscript ID KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306

KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities <onbehalf@manuscriptcentral.com>Mon, Mar 18, 2019 at
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To: steph@petra.ac.id

18-Mar-2019

Dear Dr. Suprajitno:

Manuscript ID KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306 entitled "Constructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia" which you submitted to the KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities, has been reviewed. The comments of the reviewer(s) are included at the bottom of this letter.

The reviewer(s) have recommended revisions to your manuscript. Therefore, I invite you to respond to the reviewer(s) comments and revise your manuscript.

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Sincerely,
Professor Hajar Abdul Rahim
Editor-in-Chief
KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities

Reviewer(s)' Comments to Author:
Reviewer: 1

Comments to the Corresponding Author

This is a timely discussion about the rise of the Chinese media in Indonesia, a phenomenon that needs serious attention. However there are some contextual framework that needs to be evaluated and inserted into the article. First of all this article needs to revise the impression it gives, that Chinese in Indonesia is a homogeneous entity. Mandarin speaking Chinese and Chinese who are oriented towards China is only some among diverse Chinese Indonesian communities. Besides generational difference, Chinese Indonesians also vary according to regions in terms of their cultural assimilation. Consult Siew-Min Sai, Chang-Yau Hoon, Chang-Yau Hoon (2013) Chinese Indonesians Reassessed: History, Religion and Belonging, among other sources. Secondly, the sinification after the Reform of 1998 needs to be problematized, not taken for granted. The problem has been discussed by Charlotte Setijadi (2016) Ethnic Chinese in Contemporary Indonesia: Changing Identity Politics and the Paradox of Sinification and her chapter entitled "Being Chinese Again: Learning Mandarin in Post Soeharto Indonesia in Li Wei (2015) Multilingualism in the Chinese Diaspora Worldwide: Transnational.

The existence of the Peranakan Chinese way before the New Order regime is somehow erased in the discussion of this article. One paragraph about the cultural contestation between the culturally assimilated Chinese and the Mandarin oriented Chinese Indonesian that was twice replayed in Indonesian history needs to be framed as the historical context for the rise of Chinese Media, and its implication for the heterogeneous Chinese population today.

Reviewer: 2

Comments to the Corresponding Author

Please revise the following:

Methodology: your rationale in selecting the interviewees from the young Chinese-Indonesians group. It's not sufficient to just mention their age and profession. Who are they? Why them? What is their significance?

Organization of the report:

Presentation of the Findings should correspond to the points elaborated in the Forms of Imagining part.

Minor typos and errors.

See the attached list of suggestions.



review.ChineseMedia.pdf

54K

Constructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

Page	Line	Content	Suggestion
Title		Constructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia	Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia The Chinese identity has never disappeared. Even during Suharto's repression, the Chinese identity still existed and was adjusted
1	26	recreation	re-creation
2	12	target as what?	
2	31-34	...few Chinese Indonesians, and especially the younger generation, are able to understand Chinese.	Any source? Read for example: http://ejournal.upi.edu/index.php/IJAL/article/view/11468 Lie, A. (2017). Learning Chinese as a heritage language by two multilingual youths in Indonesia. <i>Educating Chinese-heritage students in the global- local nexus: Identities, challenges, and opportunities</i> . London: Routledge. Hoon, C.-Y.(2006). Assimilation, Multiculturalism, Hybridity: The Dilemmas of the Ethnic Chinese in Post-Suharto Indonesia. <i>Asian Ethnicity</i> , 7(2), June, 149-166.
8	12	the role of the Chinese media is to construct the Chinese identity of Chinese Indonesians	to construct or reconstruct? Even during Suharto's repression, the Chinese identity still existed and was adjusted

8-13		Forms of Imagining: 1. ethnic traditions, rituals, culture 2. language 3. ethnic institutions • social, political, religious • schools 4. Chinese pop culture 5. interest in other Chinese diasporic communities	
13-19		Vehicles of Imagining	It would be better if the presentation of the findings could correspond to the points listed in the previous section (Forms of Imagining)
21-22		26-year old shop owner 35-year old banker, and others	How did you select your interviewees? Not explained in your Methodology and they suddenly popped up here. What's the significance of these interviewees?
22	6	The people behind the Chinese media may not aware that	The people behind the Chinese media may not be aware that

Bukti 4

Bukti konfirmasi submit revisi pertama di laman online submission dan email konfirmasi dari editor-in-chief, beserta respons kepada para reviewer, serta artikel yang diresubmit yang ada catatan revisi yang dibuat.

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ACTION	STATUS	ID	TITLE	SUBMITTED	DECISIONED
	✉ Contact Journal EIC: Haroon, Haslina ADM: Musa, Zulkifli ADM: Ismail, Siti Nor Qamariah Accept (17-May-2019) <i>Archiving completed on 28-Nov-2019</i> view decision letter	KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R2	Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia <i>Files Archived</i>	05-May-2019	17-May-2019
a revision has been submitted (KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R2)	✉ Contact Journal EIC: Haroon, Haslina ADM: Musa, Zulkifli ADM: Ismail, Siti Nor Qamariah - Major Revision (14-Apr-2019) - a revision has been submitted <i>Archiving completed on 28-Nov-2019</i> view decision letter	KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R1	Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia <i>Files Archived</i>	31-Mar-2019	14-Apr-2019

ACTION	STATUS	ID	TITLE	SUBMITTED	DECISIONED
a revision has been submitted (KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R1)	✉ Contact Journal EIC: Haroon, Haslina ADM: Ismail, Siti Nor Qamariah - Major Revision (18-Mar-2019) - a revision has been submitted <i>Archiving completed on 28-Nov-2019</i> view decision letter	KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306	Constructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia <i>Files Archived</i>	18-Nov-2018	18-Mar-2019

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Sun, Mar 31, 2019 at 5:38 PM

Reply-To: marina.kajh@gmail.com

To: steph@petra.ac.id

31-Mar-2019

Dear Dr. Suprajitno:

Your manuscript entitled "Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia" has been successfully submitted online and is presently being given full consideration for publication in the KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities.

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Thank you for submitting your manuscript to the KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities.

Sincerely,
KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities Editorial Office

My response on the list of suggestions

Page	Line	Content	Suggestion	My Response
Title		Constructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia	Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia The Chinese identity has never disappeard. Even during Suharto's repression, the Chinese identity still existed and was adjusted.	I agreed with the reviewers' suggestion that "the Chinese identity has never disappeared. Even during Suharto's repression, the Chinese identity still existed and was adjusted." I changed the title of my manuscript, from "Constructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia" to "Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia," as they suggested.
1	26	recreation	re-creation	The reviewer were right. I consulted <i>Oxford Dictionary</i> and <i>Merriam Webster Dictionary</i> . "To create again" is "to re-create," not "to recreate." So, instead of "recreation," I used "re-creation," as the reviewers suggested.
2	12	target as what?		The reviewers' question was valid. In the previous draft, I just wrote that "the Chinese media was able to once again target the Chinese community." In this draft, I made my point clearer.
2	31-34	...few Chinese Indonesians, and especially the younger generation, are able to understand Chinese.	Any source? Read for example: http://ejournal.upi.edu/index.php/IJAL/article/view/11468 Lie, A. (2017). Learning Chinese as a heritage language by two multilingual youths in Indonesia. <i>Educating Chinese-heritage students in the global- local nexus: Identities,</i>	I added sources here, as suggested by the reviewers. In their suggestion, they mentioned that I could consult Hoon's article (published in Asian Ethnicity). I read that article, and found that Hoon's already cited article ("A hundred Flowers Bloom': The Re-emergence of the Chinese Press in Post-Suharto Indonesia.") also discussed the issue of the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians's inability to speak Chinese. Hence, I used this already cited article for supporting this part. I added another article that the reviewers suggested because I found this article highlighted the deprivation of the opportunity to learn Chinese.

			<i>challenges, and opportunities</i>. London: Routledge. Hoon, C.-Y.(2006). Assimilation, Multiculturalism, Hybridity: The Dilemmas of the Ethnic Chinese in Post-Suharto Indonesia. <i>Asian Ethnicity</i>, 7(2), June, 149-166.	
8	12	the role of the Chinese media is to construct the Chinese identity of Chinese Indonesians	to construct or reconstruct? Even during Suharto's repression, the Chinese identity still existed and was adjusted.	I accepted the reviewers' suggestion. I changed the word "construct" into "reconstruct," in line with the previous parts that I revised.
8-13		Forms of Imagining: 1. ethnic traditions, rituals, culture 2. language 3. ethnic institutions • social, political, religious • schools 4. Chinese pop culture 5. interest in other Chinese diasporic communities		I couldn't agree more with the reviewers, the points listed in both forms of imagining and vehicles of imagining should correspond to each other. I changed the order of the points listed in this section (forms of imagining) in order to correspond to the points in the vehicles of imagining.
13-19		Vehicles of Imagining	It would be better if the presentation of the findings could correspond to the points listed in the previous section (Forms of Imagining)	

21-22		26-year old shop owner 35-year old banker, and others	How did you select your interviewees? Not explained in your Methodology and they suddenly popped up here. What's the significance of these interviewees?	In the previous draft, I did not write the my rationale of choosing the interviewees, because basically, the data for this research came from news reports and coverage analysis. However, the reviewers had a point in highlighting the need to mention the rationale of selecting the interviewees. I added this part to address the reviewers' concern.
22	6	The people behind the Chinse media may not aware that	The people behind the Chinse media may not be aware that	I admit that the sentence was grammatically incorrect. I accepted the reviewer's correction.

ReConstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

Abstract

The fall of Suharto in 1998 brought winds of change to Indonesia, especially to policies concerning the Chinese. After being suppressed under the Suharto regime, Chinese Indonesians suddenly had an opportunity to express their cultural heritage in their own ethnic media, counter negative stereotypes, and reconstruct an identity that had been virtually erased during the Suharto era. In this paper, I examine the discursive practices Chinese Indonesians use to remould their ethnic identity through an analysis of the media strategies used to reinvigorate the Chinese Indonesian identity. It was found from the Chinese media, as exemplified in *Qiandao Ribao*, *Guoji Ribao* and *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, that the re-creation of the Chinese identity requires an understanding of what it was to be Chinese through the use of the symbols most salient to Chinese ethnicity. The media have been strongly geared towards the reconstruction and maintenance of a Chinese identity that sees Chinese Indonesians as an imagined community whose ethnicity is symbolically perceived and maintained through frequent exposure to the ethnic media. By being exposed to the ethnic media, Chinese Indonesian readers can feel a sense of ethnic belonging and identity through perceived affiliation and shared symbols. However, although they succeeded in bringing Chinese culture back to the Indonesian public sphere, the diversity in the Chinese community challenges the media efforts to construct a definitive Chinese identity.

Keywords: Chineseness, Chinese Indonesian, identity, media

Introduction

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Up until 1965, there had been several Chinese newspapers in Indonesia. However, when the Suharto regime was in power (1966-1988), a period described as “the dark ages for the Chinese press” (Hoon 2006, 96), all Chinese media except the military backed *Yindunxiya Ribao* was banned. Suharto’s downfall in 1998 brought a change to the political landscape and gave the Chinese media a new lease of life. “The Chinese-Indonesian press can finally welcome the light of the morning sun” claimed Huang Hui (quoted in Hoon 2006, 97). Being finally allowed greater freedom of expression, ~~the Chinese media was able to once again target the Chinese community as the potential readers of their publication in both Chinese and Indonesian. Its purpose was reconstructing its readers’ Chinese ethnic identity which experienced erasure due to Suharto’s policies.~~ Since that time, Chinese dailies, weeklies, magazines, and tabloids have proliferated.

A number of new Chinese-language and Indonesian-language Chinese newspapers and magazines emerged in 1998; *Qiandao Ribao*, *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, *Guoji Ribao*, and *Chinatown*. However, several others have ceased publication, such as *Longyang Ribao*, *Huawen Youbao*, *Yinhua Tiansheng*, and *Sinergi Indonesia* because they failed “to understand their potential readership and the contemporary Chinese community itself” (Pandiangan 2003, 419). Overall, the Chinese media in Indonesia has limited readership, primarily because few Chinese Indonesians, and especially the younger generation, are able to understand Chinese ~~(Hoon 2006; Lie 2017). In Lie’s opinion, their inability to understand Chinese occurs because “younger Chinese Indonesians were publicly deprived of the opportunity to maintain their cultural heritage during the Suharto administration” (2017, 47).~~ Therefore, increasing readership has been a significant challenge, as claimed by Sugondo Margonoto, a Chinese businessman who had supported the publication of *Qiandao Ribao*’s, at the newspaper’s 10th anniversary,

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It has been ten years since *Qiandao Ribao* was published. The founding fathers pledge to continue publishing this newspaper although it has suffered financial losses all these years. ... It is impossible for a Chinese newspaper to gain a profit. However, we are willing to cover the financial losses because we believe that we should keep on publishing our newspaper because *it has an important mission; namely, to preserve the Chinese language and culture in Indonesia*. (*Qiandao Ribao*, 11 October 2010, my translation, italics are mine).

Margonoto's statement highlighted the cultural mission of not only *Qiandao Ribao* but all other Chinese media; a mission that has become the impetus for their survival.

In spite of the limited readership, the Chinese media's will to survive is so that Chinese Indonesians can "develop visions of their futures in Indonesia" (Turner and Allen 2007, 120) and provide an avenue to express themselves to regain the ethnicity that had been banned during the New Order regime. Previous studies have found that there is a strong connection between ethnic media and the perceptions of ethnic identity. For example, Matsaganis (2011), Oh (2016), and Somani and Guo (2018), found that ethnic media encourages communication within the ethnic community by giving them a voice, expressing their concerns, advancing and defending their interests, and interpreting issues from the community's perspectives, all of which develops and fosters ethnic belonging and preserves a cultural consciousness and an ethnic identity.

Along with the freedom to celebrate their ethnicity, the post-Suharto Chinese media was also able to express the community's concerns by protesting against discrimination, preserving language and culture, and making people aware of the issues in their ethnic community. All of this was made possible because the people behind the post-Suharto Chinese media had been involved in the Chinese media in the pre-Suharto era. The Chinese media re-emerged into the "public

sphere” (Habermas 1991) to provide a communicative space to a people “who had been silenced over the three previous decades, to speak out” (Hoon 2006, 91). Therefore, the Chinese media

views its their role as preserving Chinese culture and encouraging Chinese Indonesians to embrace the ethnic identity that was suppressed during the New Order era. However, in its efforts to do so, the Chinese media overlooks the heterogeneity of Chinese Indonesians.

The ethnic Chinese in Indonesia is a diverse entity. Its diversity is due to, among others, economic background, culture, and political orientation. Culturally, the Chinese in Indonesia could be categorized into two groups. One was totok Chinese, referring to the Chinese who were ‘pure’ and still culturally Chinese in the sense that they maintained their Chinese heritage, such as language, and had Chinese cultural orientation. The other was called peranakan Chinese, referring to the Chinese who were of mixed descent and assimilated, had cultural orientation towards local cultures, and spoke local languages. Peranakan Chinese who went to Chinese school before it was banned may spoke Chinese, but Chinese was not their first language. Today, the distinction between totok and peranakan Chinese has blurred. Nevertheless, the diversity of Chinese Indonesians, especially in terms of cultural orientation, remains.

In this paper, I investigate how Chinese media constructs the ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians. In so doing, I examine the discursive practices used in the ethnic media to develop the ethnic and social identity of the Chinese community. Through an analysis of news reports, I examine the strategies used in the Chinese press to reconstruct the Chinese identity.

Conceptual Framework for Ethnicity and the Media

Since Barth proposed the conception of ethnicity as a social process in 1969, there has been wide research focused on the notion of ethnicity, with some such as Bayar (2009), Eriksen (2010), Fenton (2010), and Bowen (2017) concurring with Barth. Today, ethnicity is no longer seen as

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immutable or as a fixed entity; rather, it is seen as fluid as it is situationally defined in the social interactions with other groups as well as by the boundaries it establishes and maintains as a result of these interactions. Kivisto claimed that “ethnicity is essentially a social boundary” (2017, 1426), with these boundaries being mental and cultural rather than physical, and being more important than the culture they enclose. Ethnic boundaries are constituted by selected cultural features that the members ascribe to themselves and consider relevant; in other words, the cultural features that are “perceived as typical for their community” (Wimmer 2008, 973) and can “reinforce their collective identity” (Smajda and Gerteis 2012, 619). Therefore, ethnicity is more related to the emotional significance attached to the cultural content rather than the cultural content itself.

In an effort to establish and maintain ethnic boundaries, ethnic groups attempt to sustain their feelings of identity and of being ethnic. The continuity of these feelings, which Cornell called “ethnic persistence”, is important as it gives the members ethnicity and identity, which in turn gives them a sense of belonging and social existence (1996, 268). Weeks claimed that “identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others” (1990, 88). Therefore, ethnic persistence is related to the specific features of the ethnic group that engender a sense of belonging and distinguish them from others.

Ethnicity is strongly related to group belonging, self-identification, and an identification by others outside the group, the perception and expression of which is often expressed through symbolic means. Gans claimed that, “In effect, feeling ethnic is achieved by employing ethnic objects, material and nonmaterial, as well as symbols” (2017, 1411). Rather than knowledge or practice, what is of importance are the feelings of ethnic identity because “identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from,’ so much as what we become, how we have

been represented and how that bears on how we represent ourselves” (Hall 1996, 4). Therefore, ethnic identity comes from a self-narrative associated with an imagined belonging to a certain group of people who draw attention to the shared culture that binds them into what Anderson (2006) called an “imagined community.”

When forming this imagined community, group members use ethnic symbols rather than specific cultural practices. Gans stated that the logic of modern ethnicity is based on symbols and feelings of identity. In his opinion, ethnicity is symbolic as people “move from acting to feeling ethnic, which emphasizes identity instead of practising the culture and participating in its organizations” (2017, 1411). Because feelings of identity and expressions of those feelings are the primary ways of being ethnic, ethnicity depends largely on the use of symbols, which become the ethnic group identity markers used to establish and maintain the ethnic boundaries that define the imagined community; in other words, as stated by Gans, ethnicity is symbolic.

However, the characteristics of symbolic ethnicity are arbitrary. Depending on the situation and on how important they feel their ethnicity is, individual ethnic group members may have different ways of perceiving and expressing their ethnic symbols. This has been identified as “ethnic salience,” which is defined as “the importance that individuals attach to ethnicity” (Bhavnani and Miodownik 2009, 30). Therefore, ethnic salience has a close relationship with ethnic persistence as the former embodies the notions of the latter. Generally, there is a hierarchy of ethnic salience, with ethnic group members valuing some aspects of their ethnicity more than others, with these aspects being more important to their ethnic persistence; in other words, these valued aspects create the feelings of identity and of being ethnic and basically function as ethnic identifiers.

Ethnic salience reinforces ethnic persistence, which then maintains the ethnic boundaries that define the imagined community. Anderson believes that “communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (2006, 6). In other words, it is the “forms of imagining” that construct a community (Anderson 2006, 24).

In their construction of the imagined community, “print-capitalism” (Anderson 2006, 18) – magazines and new papers – allows groups to “imagine” a linked community that may not have had any special forms of togetherness. The imagined linkages that the media engenders, in Anderson’s opinion, “derives from two obliquely related sources.” The first is what he calls “calendrical coincidence” (2006, 33), which refers to events that occur at various places on the same date; in other words, readers anonymously share what they read with other readers which makes them feel they belong to a collective body of readers. The second is the media creates what Anderson calls “mass ceremony” (2006, 35) in that the readers are participating in a consumption of media, and although this consumption “is performed in silent privacy,” the readers know that “the ceremony” they are performing is also being simultaneously performed by “thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence [they are] confident, yet whose identity [they have] not the slightest notion” (2006, 35). This enables them to feel part of the community of readers/audience with whom they have no direct interactions. Calendrical coincidence and mass ceremony are important in the development of the collective identity for members of this imagined community.

Cohen also claimed that the construction of a community is symbolic. In his opinion, the idea of a community is “symbolic, rather than a structural construct” (1985, 98), as the core of community consciousness is a feeling of belonging and identity as well as a sense of distinction, which generally operates through symbols and representations (1985, 15).

Therefore, the media plays a constitutive role in the creation of the symbols and representations that heighten the sense of community. According to Appadurai, the media constructs collective imaginations within the public spheres of a community. However, imagining is not equal to fantasizing; rather, it has the capacity of agency. Appadurai claimed, “It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighbourhood and nationhood, The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape” (1996, 7). The collective imaginations and experiences the media provides, which are formed as a result of their discursive practices, have the ability to rouse agency, to create solidarity, and to develop a staging ground for actions, all of which are advanced by the existence of the public sphere, which is “a domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed (Habermas 1991, 399). Habermas’ public sphere is seen as a social realm in which public discourse, such as ethnicity, can be circulated and debated and allows the ethnic media to give its views. In Yu’s words, the public sphere provides a platform where ethnic minorities have “the right to communicate” and “a right to be understood” (2018, 1979). Hence, it is through the public sphere that the ethnic media can overcome socio-cultural marginalization, counter negative representations, and maintain and elevate their ethnic identity.

Grounded by this conceptual framework of ethnicity in which ethnicity is a mental construct of an imagined community in which the boundaries are symbolically created through ethnic salience and persistence, the media facilitates the creation of the symbols and representations through the public sphere that forge ethnic identity; therefore, the role of the Chinese media is to **reconstruct** the Chinese identity of Chinese Indonesians.

Methodology

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The data for this article were collected primarily through analysing news reports and coverage on categories that are closely related to Chinese ethnicity. Those categories are (1) Chinese rituals, traditions, and culture; (2) Chinese language; (3) Chinese organizations; (4) Chinese pop culture; and (5) the Chinese diasporic community. News reports and coverage chosen for analysis were those issued since March 2017. I chose the news reports and coverage from *Qiandao Ribao*, *Guoji Ribao*, and *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, the Chinese language newspapers that have survived to the present day and circulated nationally. Interviews were also held with Chinese media practitioners and regular and non-regular readers of Chinese media in order to get a better understanding on the strategies being used in the media and readers' perception on those strategies.

~~Media practitioners selected for the interviews were editors and journalists of Chinese media. One chief editor, two editors, and four journalists were willing to be interviewed. The result of the interviews with them was used for supporting the news report and coverage analysis, all of which enabled me to understand the role the Chinese media envisioned and played in the reconstruction of Chinese identity. I also interviewed readers of Chinese media—there were fifteen of them—in order to understand how they perceived the media consumed. In order to get diverse perspectives, Chinese Indonesian readers coming from various economic and cultural backgrounds were selected as the interviewees.~~

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Forms of Imagining

This analysis of the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined construct is informed by Gupta's and Ferguson's study (1992), which emphasized the salience of the imagination in the construction of an ethnic community. The imagination construct is basically a feeling of identity and belonging that is derived from an attachment to a shared body of symbols (Anderson 2006;

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Cohen 1985), which are those aspects that function as differentiating symbols and are indexical to the imagined ethnicity.

The distinction of Chinese Indonesians as an imagined community comes from a belief in a common ancestry and the sense of identity and group boundaries that are experienced and expressed through the various ethnic culture symbols that represent their ethnic salience. As the Chinese media in Indonesia use these symbols to inculcate a sense of the imagined ethnic community, these symbols can be thought of as “forms of imagining” (Anderson 2006, 24) that mediate between the Chinese Indonesian readers of the ethnic media and their Chinese ethnic identity; in other words, the attachment to these forms maintains the imagined ethnic community. In this part the forms of imagining often appearing in Chinese ethnic media are identified and examined.

The first form of imagining is the development of ethnic institutions since these function as powerful mechanisms for the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity and ethnic boundaries. Driedeger claimed that ethnic institutions correlate with ethnic identity as the more institutionally complete an ethnic community is, the greater the likelihood the retention of ethnic culture and identity (1989, 160). Ethnic organizations can also reinforce the strong sense of ethnic identity (Eriksen 2010, 49). Examples of ethnic institutions in Indonesia are social, political, and religious organizations. Through such ethnic institutions, among others, *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and *Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia* (Indonesian Chinese Clans Social Association), the Chinese community attempt to find solutions to the problems Chinese Indonesians face as an ethnic group. They also attempt to retain their ethnic language, customs and cultural practices as well as creating an ethnic awareness that strengthens their ethnic identity (for example, *Paguyuban Meizhou Indonesia* (Indonesian Meizhou

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Association), *Perhimpunan Hakka Indonesia (Indonesian Hakka Association)*). Religious-based Chinese organizations such as *MATAKIN (Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu Indonesia or The Supreme Council of Confucian Religion in Indonesia)* and *PITI (Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia or Indonesian Chinese Muslim Association)* also seek to overcome negative Chinese Indonesian stereotypes through their social development and charitable initiatives, which demonstrate that in spite of their ethnicity, they are also a part of the Indonesian community.

Besides social, political, and religious organizations, another important ethnic institution for the Chinese community are Chinese schools, seen as one of the three pillars of the Chinese community (Suryadinata 1997, 12). A Chinese scholar, Mona Lohanda claimed that the Chinese community believes that Chinese schools are able to impart Chinese cultural values to the young generation (*Kompas*, 2 June 2008), which is why many Chinese organizations have founded Chinese schools since they hope that young Chinese Indonesians can develop an emotional attachment to their ethnic culture and therefore sustain their ethnic identity. Fenton noted that the development of these emotional attachments develops the ethnic cultural consciousness that constitutes ethnicity (2010, 73-74).

The second form of imagining is related to ethnic traditions, rituals and culture, which are concrete practices that, according to Gans, serve as symbols of ethnicity. Practices such as the celebration of ethnic festivals, traditions, and rituals are primary ways of practicing and maintaining ethnicity (Gans 2017, 1411) as they are ritualized symbols that engender a sense of belonging (Driedeger 1989, 161) and an imagined Chinese ethnicity. An example of this is the Chinese New Year, widely reported in the Chinese media. Declared as a national holiday by President Megawati on April 2002, the Chinese New Year celebration is seen as an acceptance of Chinese culture in Indonesia. In spite of their different backgrounds, many Chinese Indonesians

see this celebration as a way of celebrating their ethnicity. For example, one famous and historical mosque in Yogyakarta (Syuhada Mosque) held a special prayer session to celebrate Chinese New Year for the first time (*Gatra*, 23 January 2006). Some Catholic churches also held a mass with Chinese New Year nuances (*Kompas*, 19 February 2007), a tradition which some churches still continue.

Another form of imagining is language since it serves as the fundamental expression of group collective identity and ensures its maintenance. Some scholars, such as Driedeger (1989), feel that language is one of the indicators of ethnic cohesion, arguing that there is a strong correlation between ethnic language retention and the development and reinforcement of ethnic consciousness. Therefore, through the promotion of the Chinese language, the Chinese in Indonesia can regain their ethnicity. A Chinese Indonesian scholar claimed that by mastering the Chinese language, “this [young] generation of Indonesian Chinese does not have to bear the deep sense of cultural loss that members of [her] generation endured during the Suharto era” (Davis 2007).

Because of their position as a “foreign” ethnic minority, many Chinese Indonesians, often view themselves as part of the diaspora; therefore, as a diasporic community, they often identify themselves with a more global Chinese identity. This identification as part of the Chinese diaspora is evident in the last two forms of imagining: an interest in the activities of Chinese diasporic communities and Chinese pop culture.

The interest shown by the Chinese Indonesian community in the Chinese diaspora strengthens their ethnic identity. Driedeger’s study found that a knowledge of and an interest in one’s history were important avenues for the symbolic reinforcement of ethnic identity (1989: 161). Therefore, current events in fellow diasporic communities assume symbolic significance for

many ethnic group members, which then become the focus of their ethnic orientation and identity. By consuming news about what is happening in other ethnic Chinese communities, the Chinese Indonesian community can share images and feelings, making them feel a part of the large imagined Chinese diasporic community.

Chinese pop culture, such as songs, films and television serials work to maintain the Chinese diasporic community's cultural identification. Gans noted that "ethnic feelings could be further expressed by celebrating famous coethnics, whether entertainers, athletes, artists, writers and others" (2017, 1411). Dayan and Katz (1992) observed that the electronic media, and particularly television, have the power to create instant histories that become part of the audience's collective memory, traditions, and identity. In her study on the Indian community in England, Gillespie (1995) found that Indian films shaped and influenced the collective memories of the "mythic homeland" in the diasporic Indian community. Ma (1999) concurred with Gillespie in his study on Hong Kong television audiences, in which he found that pop culture was very much part of their collective memory and imagination for membership in the Chinese nation-state.

Through the consumption of Chinese pop culture, Chinese Indonesians can also reinvent and renegotiate their Chinese identity, and at the same time identify themselves as part of the widely scattered Chinese diasporic community, all of whom also consume the same pop culture. Chua commented that "within this dense traffic of cultural production, circulation and consumption is the potential for the emergence of an imaginable 'pan-Chinese community' that can manifest itself through different channels, modes and communication media" (2006, 87-88).

These forms of imagining: ethnic institution, traditions and rituals, language, as well as interest in fellow diasporic communities and their pop culture; elucidate the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined community that has a symbolically perceived and expressed ethnicity.

~~As these imaginings create salient symbols of Chinese identity and ethnicity, the Chinese ethnic media harness these symbols in their effort to reconstruct the identity and ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians.~~

~~The first form of imagining is related to ethnic traditions, rituals and culture, which are concrete practices that, according to Gans, serve as symbols of ethnicity. Practices such as the celebration of ethnic festivals, traditions, and rituals are primary ways of practicing and maintaining ethnicity (Gans 2017, 1411) as they are ritualized symbols that engender a sense of belonging (Driedeger 1989, 161) and an imagined Chinese ethnicity. An example of this is the Chinese New Year, widely reported in the Chinese media. Declared as a national holiday by President Megawati on April 2002, the Chinese New Year celebration is seen as an acceptance of Chinese culture in Indonesia. In spite of their different backgrounds, many Chinese Indonesians see this celebration as a way of celebrating their ethnicity. For example, one famous and historical mosque in Yogyakarta (Syuhada Mosque) held a special prayer session to celebrate Chinese New Year for the first time (Gatra, 23 January 2006). Some Catholic churches also held a mass with Chinese New Year nuances (Kompas, 19 February 2007), a tradition which some churches still continue.~~

~~The second form of imagining is language since it serves as the fundamental expression of group collective identity and ensures its maintenance. Some scholars, such as Driedeger (1989), feel that language is one of the indicators of ethnic cohesion, arguing that there is a strong correlation between ethnic language retention and the development and reinforcement of ethnic consciousness. Therefore, through the promotion of the Chinese language, the Chinese in Indonesia can regain their ethnicity. A Chinese Indonesian scholar claimed that by mastering the Chinese language, "this [young] generation of Indonesian Chinese does not have to bear the deep~~

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sense of cultural loss that members of [her] generation endured during the Suharto era” (Dawis 2007).

Another form of imagining is the development of ethnic institutions since these function as powerful mechanisms for the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity and ethnic boundaries. Driedeger claimed that ethnic institutions correlate with ethnic identity as the more institutionally complete an ethnic community is, the greater the likelihood the retention of ethnic culture and identity (1989, 160). Ethnic organizations can also reinforce the strong sense of ethnic identity (Eriksen 2010, 49). Examples of ethnic institutions in Indonesia are social, political, and religious organizations. Through such ethnic institutions, among others, *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and *Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia* (Indonesian Chinese Clans Social Association), the Chinese community attempt to find solutions to the problems Chinese Indonesians face as an ethnic group. They also attempt to retain their ethnic language, customs and cultural practices as well as creating an ethnic awareness that strengthens their ethnic identity (for example, *Paguyuban Meizhou Indonesia* (Indonesian Meizhou Association), *Perhimpunan Hakka Indonesia* (Indonesian Hakka Association)). Religious-based Chinese organizations such as *MATAKIN* (*Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu Indonesia* or *The Supreme Council of Confucian Religion in Indonesia*) and *PITI* (*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* or *Indonesian Chinese Muslim Association*) also seek to overcome negative Chinese Indonesian stereotypes through their social development and charitable initiatives, which demonstrate that in spite of their ethnicity, they are also a part of the Indonesian community.

Besides social, political, and religious organizations, another important ethnic institution for the Chinese community are Chinese schools, seen as one of the three pillars of the Chinese community (Suryadinata 1997, 12). A Chinese scholar, Mona Lohanda claimed that the Chinese

community believes that Chinese schools are able to impart Chinese cultural values to the young generation (*Kompas*, 2 June 2008), which is why many Chinese organizations have founded Chinese schools since they hope that young Chinese Indonesians can develop an emotional attachment to their ethnic culture and therefore sustain their ethnic identity. Fenton noted that the development of these emotional attachments develops the ethnic cultural consciousness that constitutes ethnicity (2010, 73–74).

Because of their position as a “foreign” ethnic minority, many Chinese Indonesians, often view themselves as part of the diaspora; therefore, as a diasporic community, they often identify themselves with a more global Chinese identity. This identification as part of the Chinese diaspora is evident in the last two forms of imagining: Chinese pop culture and an interest in the activities of Chinese diasporic communities.

Chinese pop culture, such as songs, films and television serials work to maintain the Chinese diasporic community’s cultural identification. Dayan and Katz (1992) observed that the electronic media, and particularly television, have the power to create instant histories that become part of the audience’s collective memory, traditions, and identity. In her study on the Indian community in England, Gillespie (1995) found that Indian films shaped and influenced the collective memories of the “mythic homeland” in the diasporic Indian community. Ma (1999) concurred with Gillespie in his study on Hong Kong television audiences, in which he found that pop culture was very much part of their collective memory and imagination for membership in the Chinese nation-state. Through the consumption of Chinese pop culture, Chinese Indonesians can also reinvent and renegotiate their Chinese identity, and at the same time identify themselves as part of the widely scattered Chinese diasporic community, all of whom also consume the same pop culture. Chua commented that “within this dense traffic of cultural production, circulation and

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These forms of imagining: ethnic traditions and rituals, language, institutions, and pop culture, and interest in fellow diasporic communities, elucidate the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined community that has a symbolically perceived and expressed ethnicity. As these imaginings create salient symbols of Chinese identity and ethnicity, the Chinese ethnic media harness these symbols in their effort to reconstruct the identity and ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians.

Vehicle of Imagining

The analysis shows that the Chinese ethnic media uses the above forms of imagining to develop and stimulate Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians, and especially in the younger generations whose ethnicity was reduced or even lost during the New Order period. A senior editor of a Chinese newspaper said,

The openness towards Chinese language and culture inspired us, the old generation, to bring the young Chinese generation back to their roots. One way of doing so is through publishing a newspaper. (Interview, 5 May 2017)

This statement echoed the words Huang Xiaozhong, a senior reporter at *Qiandao Ribao*, said at the inauguration of *Qiandao Ribao*'s new office on 12 June 2012,

This newspaper was published in memory of our Chinese school teachers and to serve as a learning avenue for young Chinese-Indonesians. (my translation)

These two statements clearly underscore the main goals of the Chinese ethnic media to provide an index for their ethnic culture, values, norms, and traditions. The media content that seeks to illuminate the ethnic symbols fuels the forms of Chinese ethnic imagining and reinforces the sense of belonging in the imagined Chinese community. These forms of imagining are evident in news reports, articles, editorials, opinions and other features as the Chinese media is focused on promoting Chinese culture and highlighting and celebrating Chinese identity.

As mentioned previously, one of the forms of imagining is the ethnic organization. News reports in the Chinese media often cover the numerous activities of Chinese organizations in their efforts to counter the negative stereotypes of Chinese Indonesians that native Indonesians have such as a lack of loyalty to Indonesia, anti-social behaviour, and being merely economic animals (Turner and Allen 2007; Coppel 1983). An example of the activities that news reports often covers is charity. News report also often reveal the nationalistic face of the Chinese through, for example, the use of Indonesian nationalistic attributes and symbols in the activities conducted by Chinese organizations. The efforts of Chinese organizations to cooperate with various Chinese and non-Chinese elements in the society to participate in building Indonesian society are often reported in the Chinese media. The media also heavily covers Chinese organizations that voice the aspirations

of the Chinese community to abolish the discriminatory laws that are still in place (Jusuf 2001) in news reports, feature articles and editorials, with the primary aim of reminding the Chinese of the problems they still face as an ethnic group, and also as a reminder of their ethnicity. Yet, at the same time, they also remind them of their position as one of the ethnic groups in the country and the responsibilities that come with this position. All the Chinese newspapers have a section entitled *Huashe* (“Chinese Community”) or *Huashe Xinwen* (“Chinese Community News”), which is devoted to covering the activities of Chinese communities in Indonesia.

Figure 1

The section *Huashe Xinwen* in *Guoji Ribao*. This coverage is about a meeting between *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and the Indonesian ambassador to China

Besides the activities of the various Chinese organizations, the celebration of Chinese traditions also receives wide coverage. While the Chinese New Year as the biggest celebration, which was declared a national holiday by President Megawati in 2001, is also covered by most other non-Chinese media, the coverage in the Chinese ethnic media is more intense and often includes the history behind the traditions and the rituals. They also report on how the ethnic Chinese in other parts of the world are celebrating but emphasize that no matter how global the Chinese New Year celebration is, the celebration in Indonesia has its own local flavour. For example, the local influence is seen in the special food the Chinese Indonesians prepare, such as *Lontong Capgomeh* (Suprajitno 2008). Through this kind of coverage, the Chinese ethnic media seeks to build an image that the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia are also a part of the world-wide Chinese community, yet, at the same time, are also rooted in Indonesia. However, the emphasis on being part of the global Chinese community tends to imply that Chineseness and the Chinese identity are more important. Other Chinese rituals and traditions, such as *Qingming*, *Duanwu Jie*,

and *Zhongqiu Jie*, which the national newspapers often do not report, are also covered widely in the Chinese media, further exemplifying the importance the Chinese media places on Chinese traditions and rituals to promote Chineseness.

Figure 2

Coverage of the Chinese New Year celebrations of the Xiao clan association in *Yindunxiya Shangbao's Huashe Xinwen*, 28 February 2018.

Figure 3

The coverage of *Duanwu Jie* in *Qiandao Ribao's Huashe Dongtai*, 2 June 2017.

The Chinese media also focus on the tenets of Chinese culture as they consider themselves to be “one of the gatekeepers of Chinese culture” (Hoon 2006, 112). Chinese culture dominates Chinese media, with a great deal of space being devoted to cultural matters. Chinese culture feature articles such as Chinese cultural commentaries, Chinese traditions, and Chinese classical stories are abundant in the *Fukan* (“Supplement”) section of all the Chinese newspapers. In addition to the *Fukan* section, *Qiandao Ribao* also devotes space to sections entitled *Zhonghua Wenhua* (“Chinese Culture”), and *Shuhua Xinshang* (“Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy Appreciation”).

The Chinese media also celebrates the Chinese language. For many older generation Chinese Indonesians, the Chinese language is an important part of their Chinese identity and is seen as the quintessence of Chineseness. The rise of China in global politics has also contributed to the promotion of the Chinese language, which the Chinese Media claim is helping their goal. One director of a Chinese newspaper said that the, “Chinese language has become a world trend because of the growing Chinese economy. ... Young Chinese Indonesians learn Mandarin for economic prospects. The search for roots will come later – after they learn about Chinese culture (quoted in Hoon, 2006, 113). This statement clearly highlights the salience of ethnic language and culture as part of ethnicity and ethnic identity; that is, a Chinese who does not speak Chinese is

considered to be losing their Chineseness. Ang noted that diasporic Chinese who do not speak Chinese are often questioned about the authenticity of their Chineseness. The promotion of the Chinese language is also reflected in the amount of space allocated to Chinese literature, short stories, and poems in the media, as they believe that promoting Chinese language and culture can help develop the Chineseness of young Chinese Indonesians, which is why they provide specialised sections, such as *Qiandao Ribao*'s *Huawen Yuandi* ("Chinese Language Garden") or the Jakarta-based *Guoji Ribao*'s *Shisheng Yuandi* ("Teacher-Student Garden"), in which students who learn Chinese can publish their compositions.

Figure 4

Guoji Ribao's *Shisheng Yuandi*, 31 May 2017

The rise of China in world politics and the role of the global Chinese diaspora in the economy also reinforce the interest of Chinese Indonesians in China and their identity as part of the Chinese diasporic community. Their interest in their ancestral country and their identification as a Chinese diasporic community are reflected in the coverage of China and the Chinese diaspora, which provides not only information on fellow diasporic communities, but also highlights common points of reference. From this information, the "deterritorialized subjects," such as the Chinese Indonesian community can sustain their "cultural continuity" (Thompson 2005), which can serve to strengthen their ethnic identity further. The Chinese media gives them areas of cultural identification in special sections on China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan so that they can imagine a coherent and continuous identity. *Guoji Ribao*, *Qiandao Ribao*, and *Yindunxiya Shangbao* each has *Zhongguo Yaowen* ("China News"), *Liang'an Side* ("Four Places across Taiwan Straits"), and *Zhonggangtai Xinwen* ("China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan News"), all of which cover issues in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. *Qiandao Ribao* also has a section called *Yinzhong Youhao*

(“Indonesia-China Friendship”) that highlights the friendship between Indonesia and China and covers various aspects from culture to economics. When asked why they had these special sections on the regions of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan rather than combining the news into the *Guoji Xinwen* (“International News”) section, some editors and senior journalists said that many Chinese Indonesians were eager to know news about the region because of China’s economic prowess and its “special connection.” One journalist told me,

China is an economic power house now. With its Maritime Silk Road and One-belt-one-road Initiatives, China could play an important role in the world’s economy. It would be a loss for us to neglect China. (Interview, 29 June 2017)

Elaborating what the “special connection” was he referred to, an editor said,

Our ancestors came from China, so obviously, we have a special connection with the country, although we are now Indonesians. (Interview, 19 September 2017)

While mentioning the economic prowess of China, they emphasized the “special connection,” which can also be seen in news coverage about China. For example, *Guoji Ribao* (2 October 2017) gave the title “Zuguo de Mingtian Hui Geng Hao – Qingzhu Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Chengli Liushiba Zhounian Zhaodai Hui Ceji” (The Future of the Motherland Will Be Better – Celebrating the 68th Year of the Founding of the People’s Republic of China) for its coverage of China’s national day. The choice of the words used for refereeing to China, that is *zuguo* (motherland), describe what the people behind the Chinese media think about the special connection.

Figure 5
Guoji Ribao’s coverage of China’s National Day on 2 October 2017.

The Chinese media also reports news on Chinese diasporic communities, with most putting this news in the *Huashe* or *Huashe Xinwen* sections. The coverage is not only about activities and happenings in these diasporic communities, but also about the achievements of the members. *Qiandao Ribao* goes further by having a section called *Tianxia Huaren* (“Chinese People in the World”), which features successful people, as the paper wishes Chinese Indonesians to be inspired by these success stories. According to Hoon, this “assumes a (trans)nationalistic pride of belonging to the Chinese ‘race,’ even though they are in different locations” (2006, 109).

This global diasporic identification is also evident in the reporting of pop culture news. All Chinese-language and most Indonesian-language Chinese media cover oriental pop culture from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, with Indonesian pop culture receiving little attention. Maybe this could be due to the huge popularity of Chinese pop culture; however, Chinese pop culture, as seen in the Chinese media, could be thought of as an expression of the desires of the Chinese community, at least those behind the Chinese media, to identify themselves with what they believe as their ethnic pop culture. Sinclair, Yue, Hawkins, Kee, and Fox proved that television entertainment programs can generate a strong sense of belonging and identity (2000, 35). The consumption of Chinese pop culture could be seen as a reflection of “the episthephilic desire” of Chinese Indonesians for entertainment from “home.” (Naficy 1993, 107). The media also often highlights the Chinese background of Indonesian entertainers, as seen in figure 5, something that is rarely seen in the mainstream media.

Figure 6
Qiandao Ribao’s *Yinni Huayi Mingxing* (Chinese Indonesian Stars), 27 May 2017.

The identification of Chinese Indonesians with other Chinese communities in other parts of the world in the Chinese media’s coverage of news and events in China, in the Chinese diasporic

communities, and in the Chinese entertainment news, is all aimed at fostering a sense of Chineseness and Chinese identity. The Chinese media believe that this kind of coverage can generate the feeling in Chinese Indonesians that they share the same cultural beliefs and traditions as the Chinese communities worldwide, and that they are part of an imagined diasporic Chinese community. This kind of coverage conveys an “image of their communion” with the Chinese diaspora (Anderson 2006, 6), which in my opinion, is central to the discourse in the Chinese media, as can be seen in the symbolic Chinese ethnic forms published daily.

My observations have also found that through the production of symbolic forms of ethnicity, the Chinese media aims to reconstruct the Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians that was decimated by the New Order, as stated by Huang Xiaozhong on 12 June 2012. Explaining the idea behind the devotion of so much space to Chinese culture in his newspaper, one of the founding fathers of a newspaper said,

We adopted this idea because we hope that young Chinese Indonesians who do not know their language and culture can study them. We also hope that by studying them, they love their ethnic culture and develop their ethnic belonging. Like the saying goes, “tak kenal maka tak sayang” [Indonesian proverb which literally means, “you can’t love what you don’t know”]. (Interview, April 11, 2017)

My findings on the Chinese media have illuminated how the media is trying to reinforce the ethnic identity of their audience by triggering emotional attachments to ethnic symbols, which then feeds into feelings of ethnicity and ethnic identity in the readers. The Chinese media employ symbolic forms of ethnic imagining by foregrounding a Chineseness that links Chinese Indonesians to the global Chinese diasporic community. However, it is not easy for the Chinese media to achieve their cultural mission, especially in the younger generation, as a wide gap exists

between the older Chinese generation behind the media and the potential readers who come mostly from the younger generation. ~~This occurs because of the heterogeneity of Chinese Indonesian~~

~~community as a result of, among others, generational difference and different cultural orientations.~~

The way the media presents their content might not be interesting to the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians, an idea that is discussed further in the following section.

Imagines Nostalgia

The coverage and exposure of the activities of Chinese organizations, language, culture and traditions has led to the emergence of Chineseness in the public sphere. In Habermasian terms, the public sphere is a cultural domain of social interaction in which the public concerned are carefully deliberated for furthering the critical knowledge that could produce change. Seen from this Habermasian perspective, the Chinese media advances their concerns regarding Chinese Indonesian ethnicity through the circulation and discussion of images, ideas, and arguments about Chineseness. Using ethnic symbols in their publications that are of salience to the Chinese, the Chinese media are attempting to construct a Chinese identity. A chief editor of a Chinese newspaper says,

Chinese culture has a fine history of 5,000 years. Assimilated [Indonesianised] Chinese have lost this noble culture. They are notably [un-Chinese] in their personality, including their morals. (quoted in Hoon 2006, 112).

Hoon's study also revealed that the Chinese media have tried to revive the Chinese culture that was lost during the New Order period (2006, 113). By exposing Chinese culture, they hope that the readers, and especially young Chinese Indonesians, can come to understand their ancestral roots and cultural heritage and hopefully reaffirm their ethnicity because to quote Ong, "the overall framing of message [in Chinese ethnic media] suggests that the identity at stake is [Chinese

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Indonesian] subjects” who have been detached from their ethnic and cultural heritage (2006, 169). Therefore, the Chinese media is attempting to construct the Chineseness they think was lost because of the New Order policy.

Yet, as mentioned previously, there is a gap between the people and the Chinese media, and it is therefore the potential readers who have become the “target” of their cultural mission. However, these potential readers have their own perceptions regarding China and Chinese culture, as exemplified by the interviewees below.

A 26-year-old shop-owner: Our generation is alienated from the more “sophisticated” Chinese culture. We know nothing about proper rituals, such as ancestor veneration. And I don’t want to know about all those things. Too traditional. Even people in China do not practice them. (Interview, 19 July 2017).

A 35-year-old banker: Ancestor veneration is a typical Chinese ritual. It is intended to cultivate filial piety. But well, I don’t think it is necessary for us to do that. Showing respect and filial piety to our parents when they are still alive is much better than venerating them when they have passed away. (Interview, 24 July 2017)

While they admitted that Chinese culture and traditional rituals were good, the two informants above thought that the Chinese culture and traditional rituals Chinese media reported in their news and coverage were far-fetched. They are not closely related to their daily lives. This was one reason why they were not interested in reading them, despite their good Chinese proficiency, as they used to study Chinese in China before. ~~The people behind the Chinese media may not be aware that~~ culture can change, and so can those who practice them. Because of this, younger Chinese find that this kind of coverage is boring.

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A 20-year-old college student majoring in Chinese: I like *Qiandao Ribao*'s *Huawen Yuandi*. We can send our essays for publication there. It is like a space where we can practice our writing skills. It is the only part that I read. ... I skip reading other sections. They are boring. (Interview, 14 September 2017)

Even those who have a connection with China, economic and otherwise, think that the news reports and coverage of Chinese media focus too much on China.

A 30-year-old businesswoman who often goes to China on business: Chinese newspapers are very China-centric. The coverage on China is too much, I think. I know that China is an economic super power, but it does not mean everything about China is news-worthy. (Interview, 11 September 2017)

A 29-year-old professional who pursued his master's degree in China: Too much coverage on China. ... They [news reports and articles about China and diasporic Chinese] are not closely related to us. No point in reporting them extensively. (Interview, 5 December 2017)

The five younger Chinese Indonesians think that the Chinese media is unattractive because of their loose or even non-existent connections with China and their changing views on Chinese traditions and culture. While not all young Chinese Indonesians feel the same as the interviewees above, it is evident that not all young Chinese Indonesians share the common view of the older generation on China and Chinese culture. Therefore, the coverage is unable to attract many young Chinese Indonesians. The editors and journalists at *Qiandao Ribao* and *Guoji Ribao* admitted that their readers' demographic profile was dominated by Chinese who had received a Chinese education, and that their younger readers were mostly those who worked in fields related to the Chinese language (personal communication). While the symbolic forms of imagining encapsulated in the memories of the past may provide ethnic salience for the older generation, these same forms do

not appear to carry a lot of weight with others such as the younger generation. In other words, the Chinese media overlooks the facts that Chinese Indonesians are diverse, and this diversity leads to different interpretation of Chineseness. This is the reason the Chinese media is facing difficulties in carrying out their cultural mission to reconstruct the Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians they believe was lost during the New Order era.

However, I contend that this difficulty has occurred because in their efforts to indicate the degree or authenticity of Chineseness, the Chinese media have objectified Chinese culture by breaking it into practices, customs and traditions that carry symbolic weight and can be measured. Therefore, with this line of thought, some people are considered more Chinese because of their greater Chineseness and others are considered less Chinese because of their limited or lost Chineseness. This opinion identifies Chineseness as essential to ethnicity and also reflects a perception that Chinese culture is static and unchanging, which is not acceptable to the Chinese who grew up during the New Order era. In their effort to construct Chineseness through the use of Chinese cultural symbols and representations, the media have created an “imagined nostalgia” (Appadurai 1996, 77). The Chinese Indonesians behind the Chinese media may not be aware that younger Chinese Indonesians do not share their sentiments. Since the nostalgia they are highlighting is a nostalgia for something that has never existed in the younger generations’ lives, the media’s Chineseness is unrelated to their lives because Chineseness shifts over time due to personal experience and social change. Donald Nonini and Aihwa Ong commented that Chineseness was no longer “a property or essence of a person calculated by that person’s having more or fewer ‘Chinese values’ or norms.” Instead, it should be seen in terms of the “multiplicity” (1997, 13) of being Chinese as reflected in the Chinese Indonesian community. Therefore, the way the Chinese media treat Chinese ethnic symbols is beneficial in terms of public sphere awareness,

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I also stressed the multiple forms of Chineseness and multiple expression of Chinese identity in the conclusion

but misguided since they feel that this version of Chineseness and Chinese identity is sacrosanct; however, personal experience and social change are essential elements for the construction of Chineseness and Chinese identity in modern Indonesia. In other words, this imagined nostalgia is not shared by the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians, who have or are developing their own sense of their Chineseness.

Conclusion

The demise of the New Order paved the way for the Chinese Indonesian community to establish their own media, the cultural mission of which has been to preserve their ethnic culture and identity and encourage a certain ethnic identity in the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians. The Chinese media strongly believes that its function is to reconstruct the Chineseness and Chinese identity that were lost in the three decades of the New Order.

The media's reconstruction of Chineseness and Chinese identity has attempted to reinforce the Chinese Indonesian community's imagining (perceptions and feelings) of their ethnicity through the use of ethnic symbols that are salient to the Chinese cultural consciousness, with the belief that ethnic (Chinese) symbols and representations can forge ethnicity (Chineseness) and that through these emotional attachments to shared ethnic (Chinese) symbols, the people (Chinese Indonesians) can perceive a belonging to one (Chinese) community.

The strategies the Chinese media have adopted in their use of ethnic symbols for identity reconstruction are clearly reflected in the media content. Through news reports, editorials, opinions, and other features in their publications, they have sought to create an image of communion in the minds of the readers, with the hope that this frequent exposure can strengthen and maintain the imagined community. However, in their efforts, they have developed an "imagined nostalgia" that the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians may not share. Therefore, the media is trapped in

an essentialism that negates the possibility of the multiple forms of Chineseness and the multiple expressions of modern Chinese identity that exist in the Chinese diasporic community. Therefore, in my opinion, although they have been successful in bringing back Chinese culture to the Indonesian public, at the moment, it is difficult to achieve their goal of reconstructing the Chinese identity for the young Chinese Indonesian generation because it is a version of Chinese identity based on an “imagined nostalgia” that is often unrelated to the reality of young Chinese Indonesians.

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Commented [A15]: I re-checked the bibliography and found that I typed the wrong page. Hoon's article is on page 91-118.

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List of Figures



Figure 1

The section *Huashe Xinwen* in *Guoji Ribao*.

This coverage is about a meeting between *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and the Indonesian ambassador to China.



Figure 2

Coverage of the Chinese New Year celebrations of the Xiao clan association in *Yindunixiya* *Shangbao's Huashe Xinwen*, 28 February 2018.



Figure 3

Coverage of Duanwu Jie in *Qiandao Ribao's Huashe Dongtai*, June 2, 2017.



Figure 4

Guoji Ribao's Shisheng Yuandi, 31 May 2017

祖国的明天会更好——庆祝中华人民共和国成立六十八周年招待会侧记

新华社北京9月30日电 “今天是我们生日，也是祖国生日。在这喜庆的日子里，我们共同庆祝——人民大会堂宴会厅里，欢声笑语回荡在每一个角落，人们脸上洋溢着幸福的笑容。”

9月30日晚，中国国务院在人民大会堂举行招待会，庆祝中华人民共和国成立六十八周年。应邀出席的有来自世界各地的国家领导人、政府官员、国际组织负责人、知名人士、媒体代表等。宴会厅内灯火辉煌，气氛热烈。

宴会由国务院总理李克强主持。他在致辞中说，六十八年来，中国取得了举世瞩目的成就，这离不开中国人民的辛勤努力和世界各国朋友的无私支持。中国将继续坚持改革开放，推动高质量发展，为构建人类命运共同体作出更大贡献。

在致辞中，李克强还回顾了新中国成立以来的历史，特别是改革开放以来取得的巨大成就。他提到，中国已经成为世界第二大经济体，人民生活水平显著提高，国际地位日益提升。同时，他也表示，中国将始终不渝地走和平发展道路，奉行互利共赢的开放战略，推动建设新型国际关系。

宴会期间，各国领导人纷纷发表讲话，对中国取得的成就表示祝贺，并表达了对中印友好关系的重视。印度总理莫迪在致辞中说，印度对中国取得的成就表示钦佩，并强调中印两国在多个领域有着广泛的合作和共同利益。他祝愿中国在未来取得更大的成功，并为世界和平与繁荣作出更大贡献。

宴会的高潮是精彩的文艺表演。中国歌舞团带来了多场精彩的节目，包括民族舞蹈、现代舞、杂技等，赢得了现场观众的阵阵掌声。此外，还有来自世界各地的表演嘉宾带来了各具特色的节目，展示了不同文化的魅力。

整个招待会在欢乐祥和的气氛中圆满结束。人们纷纷表示，这次招待会不仅是一次庆祝盛会，更是一次增进友谊、促进合作的重要契机。大家对中国的发展充满信心，并对祖国的明天充满期待。

Figure 5
Guoji Ribao's coverage of China's National Day on 2 October 2017



Figure 5
Coverage of Yinni Huayi Mingxing (Chinese Indonesian Stars) in *Qiandao Ribao*, 27 May 2017

Bukti 5

Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil review kedua, beserta email dari editor-in-chief yang memutuskan bahwa artikel yang dikirim perlu direvisi lagi. Para reviewer juga menulis komentar mereka berdua, seperti yang terlihat di email dari editor-in-chief dan lampiran yang dikirim.

Tanggal 14 April 2019

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Sun, Apr 14, 2019 at 8:56 PM

Reply-To: kajh@usm.my

To: steph@petra.ac.id

14-Apr-2019

Dear Dr. Suprajitno:

Manuscript ID KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R1 entitled "Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia" which you submitted to the KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities, has been reviewed. The comments of the reviewer(s) are included at the bottom of this letter.

The reviewer(s) have recommended revisions to your manuscript before it can be considered further.

To revise your manuscript, log into <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/kajh> and enter your Author Center, where you will find your manuscript title listed under "Manuscripts with Decisions." Under "Actions," click on "Create a Revision." Your manuscript number has been appended to denote a revision.

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When submitting your revised manuscript, you will be able to respond to the comments made by the reviewer(s) in the space provided. You can use this space to document any changes you make to the original manuscript. In order to expedite the processing of the revised manuscript, please be as specific as possible in your response to the reviewer(s).

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Sincerely,
Prof. Hajar Abdul Rahim
Editor-in-Chief
KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities

Reviewer(s)' Comments to Author:

Comments to the Corresponding Author
Please revise the manuscript as suggested in the attached note.



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Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

Page	Line	Content	Suggestion
2	43	increasing readership —> ambiguous. May mean readership that has been increasing.	to increase readership has been
4	29	may spoke	may speak
4	36	constructs	reconstructs
8	38	Grounded by	Grounded in/on
8	38	Grounded by this conceptual framework of ethnicity in which ethnicity is a mental construct of an imagined community in which the boundaries are symbolically created through ethnic salience and persistence, the media facilitates the creation of the symbols and representations through the public sphere that forge ethnic identity	Too many (4) repetitions of ethnic/ethnicity in this sentence. Please rephrase
8	35-38	Chinese Indonesian readers coming from various economic and cultural backgrounds were selected as the interviewees.	Please specify this group of interviewees further. Age group, social class, occupation?
18	41	Elaborating what the “special connection” was he referred to, an editor said,	Please rephrase. Grammar.
21	27	generational difference	generational differences
21	32	Imagines Nostalgia	Imagined Nostalgia?

Bukti 6

Bukti konfirmasi submit revisi kedua di laman online submission dan email konfirmasi dari editor-in-chief, beserta respons kepada para reviewer, serta artikel yang diresubmit yang ada catatan revisi yang dibuat.

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KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities <onbehalfof@manuscriptcentral.com>

Sun, May 5, 2019 at 2:02 PM

Reply-To: marina.kajh@gmail.com

To: steph@petra.ac.id

05-May-2019

Dear Dr. Suprajitno:

Your manuscript entitled "Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia" has been successfully submitted online and is presently being given full consideration for publication in the KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities.

Your manuscript ID is KAJH-OA-11-2018-0306.R2.

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Thank you for submitting your manuscript to the KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities.

Sincerely,
KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities Editorial Office

My response on the list of suggestions

Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

Page	Line	Content	Suggestion	My Response
2	43	increasing readership —> ambiguous. May mean readership that has been increasing.	to increase readership has been	I accepted the reviewers' suggestion, and revised the sentence accordingly.
4	29	may spoke	may speak	I made a grammatical mistake. I accepted the reviewers' suggestion.
4	36	constructs	reconstructs	I did not pay attention to this sentence. I should have used the word "reconstruct," as the reviewer suggested. In this draft, I changed "constructs" into "reconstructs."
8	38	Grounded by	Grounded in/on	The reviewers' suggestion is right. The preposition for "grounded" is either "in" or "on." I replaced "by" with "in."
8	38	Grounded by this conceptual framework of ethnicity in which ethnicity is a mental construct of an imagined community in which the boundaries are symbolically created through ethnic salience and persistence, the media facilitates the creation of the symbols and representations through the public sphere that forge ethnic identity	Too many (4) repetitions of ethnic/ethnicity in this sentence. Please rephrase	I couldn't agree more with the reviewers. Too many repetitive words in this sentence. So I revised it. I deleted the word "ethnic" in the phrase "'forge ethnic identity" in order to avoid writing that word again. Despite the deletion, the subsequent clause provides the context that the identity here refers to "ethnic" identity, as the phrase "Chinese identity" expresses.

9	35-38	Chinese Indonesian readers coming from various economic and cultural backgrounds were selected as the interviewees.	Please specify this group of interviewees further. Age group, social class, occupation?	I added the information the reviewers think necessary.
18	41	Elaborating what the “special connection” was he referred to, an editor said,	Please rephrase. Grammar.	I agree with the reviewer. This sentence was grammatically unclear. I deleted the phrase “he referred to.” This phrase is redundant.
21	8	generational difference	generational differences	I accepted the reviewer’s suggestion. I used “differences”, instead of “difference.”
21	32	Imagines Nostalgia	Imagined Nostalgia?	The reviewer is right. What I intended to write was “imagined,” not “imagines.” I corrected it.

Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

Abstract

The fall of Suharto in 1998 brought winds of change to Indonesia, especially to policies concerning the Chinese. After being suppressed under the Suharto regime, Chinese Indonesians suddenly had an opportunity to express their cultural heritage in their own ethnic media, counter negative stereotypes, and reconstruct an identity that had been virtually erased during the Suharto era. In this paper, I examine the discursive practices Chinese Indonesians use to remould their ethnic identity through an analysis of the media strategies used to reinvigorate the Chinese Indonesian identity. It was found from the Chinese media, as exemplified in *Qiandao Ribao*, *Guoji Ribao* and *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, that the re-creation of the Chinese identity requires an understanding of what it was to be Chinese through the use of the symbols most salient to Chinese ethnicity. The media have been strongly geared towards the reconstruction and maintenance of a Chinese identity that sees Chinese Indonesians as an imagined community whose ethnicity is symbolically perceived and maintained through frequent exposure to the ethnic media. By being exposed to the ethnic media, Chinese Indonesian readers can feel a sense of ethnic belonging and identity through perceived affiliation and shared symbols. However, although they succeeded in bringing Chinese culture back to the Indonesian public sphere, the diversity in the Chinese community challenges the media efforts to construct a definitive Chinese identity.

Keywords: Chineseness, Chinese Indonesian, identity, media

Introduction

Up until 1965, there had been several Chinese newspapers in Indonesia. However, when the Suharto regime was in power (1966-1988), a period described as “the dark ages for the Chinese press” (Hoon 2006, 96), all Chinese media except the military backed *Yindunixiya Ribao* was banned. Suharto’s downfall in 1998 brought a change to the political landscape and gave the Chinese media a new lease of life. “The Chinese-Indonesian press can finally welcome the light of the morning sun” claimed Huang Hui (quoted in Hoon 2006, 97). Being finally allowed greater freedom of expression, the Chinese media was able to once again target the Chinese community as the potential readers of their publication in both Chinese and Indonesian. Its purpose was reconstructing its readers’ Chinese ethnic identity which experienced erasure due to Suharto’s policies. Since that time, Chinese dailies, weeklies, magazines, and tabloids have proliferated.

A number of new Chinese-language and Indonesian-language Chinese newspapers and magazines emerged in 1998; *Qiandao Ribao*, *Yindunixiya Shangbao*, *Guoji Ribao*, and *Chinatown*. However, several others have ceased publication, such as *Longyang Ribao*, *Huawen Youbao*, *Yinhua Tiansheng*, and *Sinergi Indonesia* because they failed “to understand their potential readership and the contemporary Chinese community itself” (Pandiangan 2003, 419). Overall, the Chinese media in Indonesia has limited readership, primarily because few Chinese Indonesians, and especially the younger generation, are able to understand Chinese (Hoon 2006; Lie 2017). In Lie’s opinion, their inability to understand Chinese occurs because “younger Chinese Indonesians were publicly deprived of the opportunity to maintain their cultural heritage during the Suharto administration” (2017, 47). Therefore, ~~to increase~~increasing readership has been a significant challenge, as claimed by Sugondo Margono, a Chinese businessman who had supported the publication of *Qiandao Ribao*’s, at the newspaper’s 10th anniversary,

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It has been ten years since *Qiandao Ribao* was published. The founding fathers pledge to continue publishing this newspaper although it has suffered financial losses all these years. ... It is impossible for a Chinese newspaper to gain a profit. However, we are willing to cover the financial losses because we believe that we should keep on publishing our newspaper because *it has an important mission; namely, to preserve the Chinese language and culture in Indonesia*. (*Qiandao Ribao*, 11 October 2010, my translation, italics are mine).

Margonoto's statement highlighted the cultural mission of not only *Qiandao Ribao* but all other Chinese media; a mission that has become the impetus for their survival.

In spite of the limited readership, the Chinese media's will to survive is so that Chinese Indonesians can "develop visions of their futures in Indonesia" (Turner and Allen 2007, 120) and provide an avenue to express themselves to regain the ethnicity that had been banned during the New Order regime. Previous studies have found that there is a strong connection between ethnic media and the perceptions of ethnic identity. For example, Matsaganis (2011), Oh (2016), and Somani and Guo (2018), found that ethnic media encourages communication within the ethnic community by giving them a voice, expressing their concerns, advancing and defending their interests, and interpreting issues from the community's perspectives, all of which develops and fosters ethnic belonging and preserves a cultural consciousness and an ethnic identity.

Along with the freedom to celebrate their ethnicity, the post-Suharto Chinese media was also able to express the community's concerns by protesting against discrimination, preserving language and culture, and making people aware of the issues in their ethnic community. All of this was made possible because the people behind the post-Suharto Chinese media had been involved in the Chinese media in the pre-Suharto era. The Chinese media re-emerged into the "public

sphere” (Habermas 1991) to provide a communicative space to a people “who had been silenced over the three previous decades, to speak out” (Hoon 2006, 91). Therefore, the Chinese media views its role as preserving Chinese culture and encouraging Chinese Indonesians to embrace the ethnic identity that was suppressed during the New Order era. However, in its efforts to do so, the Chinese media overlooks the heterogeneity of Chinese Indonesians.

The ethnic Chinese in Indonesia is a diverse entity. Its diversity is due to, among others, economic background, culture, and political orientation. Culturally, the Chinese in Indonesia could be categorized into two groups. One was totok Chinese, referring to the Chinese who were ‘pure’ and still culturally Chinese in the sense that they maintained their Chinese heritage, such as language, and had Chinese cultural orientation. The other was called peranakan Chinese, referring to the Chinese who were of mixed descent and assimilated, had cultural orientation towards local cultures, and spoke local languages. Peranakan Chinese who went to Chinese school before it was banned may speakspoke Chinese, but Chinese was not their first language. Today, the distinction between totok and peranakan Chinese has blurred. Nevertheless, the diversity of Chinese Indonesians, especially in terms of cultural orientation, remains.

In this paper, I investigate how Chinese media reconstructseconstructs the ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians. In so doing, I examine the discursive practices used in the ethnic media to develop the ethnic and social identity of the Chinese community. Through an analysis of news reports, I examine the strategies used in the Chinese press to reconstruct the Chinese identity.

Conceptual Framework for Ethnicity and the Media

Since Barth proposed the conception of ethnicity as a social process in 1969, there has been wide research focused on the notion of ethnicity, with some such as Bayar (2009), Eriksen (2010), Fenton (2010), and Bowen (2017) concurring with Barth. Today, ethnicity is no longer seen as

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immutable or as a fixed entity; rather, it is seen as fluid as it is situationally defined in the social interactions with other groups as well as by the boundaries it establishes and maintains as a result of these interactions. Kivisto claimed that “ethnicity is essentially a social boundary” (2017, 1426), with these boundaries being mental and cultural rather than physical, and being more important than the culture they enclose. Ethnic boundaries are constituted by selected cultural features that the members ascribe to themselves and consider relevant; in other words, the cultural features that are “perceived as typical for their community” (Wimmer 2008, 973) and can “reinforce their collective identity” (Smajda and Gerteis 2012, 619). Therefore, ethnicity is more related to the emotional significance attached to the cultural content rather than the cultural content itself.

In an effort to establish and maintain ethnic boundaries, ethnic groups attempt to sustain their feelings of identity and of being ethnic. The continuity of these feelings, which Cornell called “ethnic persistence”, is important as it gives the members ethnicity and identity, which in turn gives them a sense of belonging and social existence (1996, 268). Weeks claimed that “identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others” (1990, 88). Therefore, ethnic persistence is related to the specific features of the ethnic group that engender a sense of belonging and distinguish them from others.

Ethnicity is strongly related to group belonging, self-identification, and an identification by others outside the group, the perception and expression of which is often expressed through symbolic means. Gans claimed that, “In effect, feeling ethnic is achieved by employing ethnic objects, material and nonmaterial, as well as symbols” (2017, 1411). Rather than knowledge or practice, what is of importance are the feelings of ethnic identity because “identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from,’ so much as what we become, how we have

been represented and how that bears on how we represent ourselves” (Hall 1996, 4). Therefore, ethnic identity comes from a self-narrative associated with an imagined belonging to a certain group of people who draw attention to the shared culture that binds them into what Anderson (2006) called an “imagined community.”

When forming this imagined community, group members use ethnic symbols rather than specific cultural practices. Gans stated that the logic of modern ethnicity is based on symbols and feelings of identity. In his opinion, ethnicity is symbolic as people “move from acting to feeling ethnic, which emphasizes identity instead of practising the culture and participating in its organizations” (2017, 1411). Because feelings of identity and expressions of those feelings are the primary ways of being ethnic, ethnicity depends largely on the use of symbols, which become the ethnic group identity markers used to establish and maintain the ethnic boundaries that define the imagined community; in other words, as stated by Gans, ethnicity is symbolic.

However, the characteristics of symbolic ethnicity are arbitrary. Depending on the situation and on how important they feel their ethnicity is, individual ethnic group members may have different ways of perceiving and expressing their ethnic symbols. This has been identified as “ethnic salience,” which is defined as “the importance that individuals attach to ethnicity” (Bhavnani and Miodownik 2009, 30). Therefore, ethnic salience has a close relationship with ethnic persistence as the former embodies the notions of the latter. Generally, there is a hierarchy of ethnic salience, with ethnic group members valuing some aspects of their ethnicity more than others, with these aspects being more important to their ethnic persistence; in other words, these valued aspects create the feelings of identity and of being ethnic and basically function as ethnic identifiers.

Ethnic salience reinforces ethnic persistence, which then maintains the ethnic boundaries that define the imagined community. Anderson believes that “communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” (2006, 6). In other words, it is the “forms of imagining” that construct a community (Anderson 2006, 24).

In their construction of the imagined community, “print-capitalism” (Anderson 2006, 18) – magazines and new papers – allows groups to “imagine” a linked community that may not have had any special forms of togetherness. The imagined linkages that the media engenders, in Anderson’s opinion, “derives from two obliquely related sources.” The first is what he calls “calendrical coincidence” (2006, 33), which refers to events that occur at various places on the same date; in other words, readers anonymously share what they read with other readers which makes them feel they belong to a collective body of readers. The second is the media creates what Anderson calls “mass ceremony” (2006, 35) in that the readers are participating in a consumption of media, and although this consumption “is performed in silent privacy,” the readers know that “the ceremony” they are performing is also being simultaneously performed by “thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence [they are] confident, yet whose identity [they have] not the slightest notion” (2006, 35). This enables them to feel part of the community of readers/audience with whom they have no direct interactions. Calendrical coincidence and mass ceremony are important in the development of the collective identity for members of this imagined community.

Cohen also claimed that the construction of a community is symbolic. In his opinion, the idea of a community is “symbolic, rather than a structural construct” (1985, 98), as the core of community consciousness is a feeling of belonging and identity as well as a sense of distinction, which generally operates through symbols and representations (1985, 15).

Therefore, the media plays a constitutive role in the creation of the symbols and representations that heighten the sense of community. According to Appadurai, the media constructs collective imaginations within the public spheres of a community. However, imagining is not equal to fantasizing; rather, it has the capacity of agency. Appadurai claimed, “It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighbourhood and nationhood, The imagination is today a staging ground for action, and not only for escape” (1996, 7). The collective imaginations and experiences the media provides, which are formed as a result of their discursive practices, have the ability to rouse agency, to create solidarity, and to develop a staging ground for actions, all of which are advanced by the existence of the public sphere, which is “a domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed (Habermas 1991, 399). Habermas’ public sphere is seen as a social realm in which public discourse, such as ethnicity, can be circulated and debated and allows the ethnic media to give its views. In Yu’s words, the public sphere provides a platform where ethnic minorities have “the right to communicate” and “a right to be understood” (2018, 1979). Hence, it is through the public sphere that the ethnic media can overcome socio-cultural marginalization, counter negative representations, and maintain and elevate their ethnic identity.

Grounded ~~in~~ by this conceptual framework ~~that of ethnicity in which~~ ethnicity is a mental construct of an imagined community in which the boundaries are symbolically created through ethnic salience and persistence, the media facilitates the creation of the symbols and representations through the public sphere that forge ~~ethnic~~ identity; therefore, the role of the Chinese media is to reconstruct the Chinese identity of Chinese Indonesians.

Methodology

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The data for this article were collected primarily through analysing news reports and coverage on categories that are closely related to Chinese ethnicity. Those categories are (1) Chinese rituals, traditions, and culture; (2) Chinese language; (3) Chinese organizations; (4) Chinese pop culture; and (5) the Chinese diasporic community. News reports and coverage chosen for analysis were those issued since March 2017. I chose the news reports and coverage from *Qiandao Ribao*, *Guoji Ribao*, and *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, the Chinese language newspapers that have survived to the present day and circulated nationally. Interviews were also held with Chinese media practitioners and regular and non-regular readers of Chinese media in order to get a better understanding on the strategies being used in the media and readers' perception on those strategies. Media practitioners selected for the interviews were editors and journalists of Chinese media. One chief editor, two editors, and four journalists were willing to be interviewed. The result of the interviews with them was used for supporting the news report and coverage analysis, all of which enabled me to understand the role the Chinese media envisioned and played in the reconstruction of Chinese identity. I also interviewed readers of Chinese media – there were fifteen of them, aged twenty through thirty-five – in order to understand how they perceived the media consumed. In order to get diverse perspectives, Chinese Indonesian readers coming from various economic and cultural backgrounds were selected as the interviewees. In terms of social class, ten interviewees belonged to middle-class and upper-middle-class families, and five were from a low-income family background. Four interviewees were college students, two worked as Chinese language instructors, two ran their own businesses, and seven were professionals in private companies – banking, financial and trading. In terms of Chinese language use, only seven interviewees who said that they were from Chinese-speaking families. However, there were only three of them who admitted that their parents spoke Chinese quite well. The rest said that it was only their

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grandparents and the generations of their grandparents who spoke Chinese. Most of the time, their parents spoke Indonesian or Javanese, peppered with Chinese words. The other eight interviewees said that Chinese language was not spoken in their families, except Chinese expressions for kinship terms and numbers.

Forms of Imagining

This analysis of the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined construct is informed by Gupta's and Ferguson's study (1992), which emphasized the salience of the imagination in the construction of an ethnic community. The imagination construct is basically a feeling of identity and belonging that is derived from an attachment to a shared body of symbols (Anderson 2006; Cohen 1985), which are those aspects that function as differentiating symbols and are indexical to the imagined ethnicity.

The distinction of Chinese Indonesians as an imagined community comes from a belief in a common ancestry and the sense of identity and group boundaries that are experienced and expressed through the various ethnic culture symbols that represent their ethnic salience. As the Chinese media in Indonesia use these symbols to inculcate a sense of the imagined ethnic community, these symbols can be thought of as "forms of imagining" (Anderson 2006, 24) that mediate between the Chinese Indonesian readers of the ethnic media and their Chinese ethnic identity; in other words, the attachment to these forms maintains the imagined ethnic community. In this part the forms of imagining often appearing in Chinese ethnic media are identified and examined.

The first form of imagining is the development of ethnic institutions since these function as powerful mechanisms for the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity and ethnic boundaries. Driedeger claimed that ethnic institutions correlate with ethnic identity as the more institutionally

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complete an ethnic community is, the greater the likelihood the retention of ethnic culture and identity (1989, 160). Ethnic organizations can also reinforce the strong sense of ethnic identity (Eriksen 2010, 49). Examples of ethnic institutions in Indonesia are social, political, and religious organizations. Through such ethnic institutions, among others, *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and *Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia* (Indonesian Chinese Clans Social Association), the Chinese community attempt to find solutions to the problems Chinese Indonesians face as an ethnic group. They also attempt to retain their ethnic language, customs and cultural practices as well as creating an ethnic awareness that strengthens their ethnic identity (for example, *Paguyuban Meizhou Indonesia* (Indonesian Meizhou Association), *Perhimpunan Hakka Indonesia* (Indonesian Hakka Association)). Religious-based Chinese organizations such as *MATAKIN* (*Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu Indonesia* or *The Supreme Council of Confucian Religion in Indonesia*) and *PITI* (*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* or *Indonesian Chinese Muslim Association*) also seek to overcome negative Chinese Indonesian stereotypes through their social development and charitable initiatives, which demonstrate that in spite of their ethnicity, they are also a part of the Indonesian community.

Besides social, political, and religious organizations, another important ethnic institution for the Chinese community are Chinese schools, seen as one of the three pillars of the Chinese community (Suryadinata 1997, 12). A Chinese scholar, Mona Lohanda claimed that the Chinese community believes that Chinese schools are able to impart Chinese cultural values to the young generation (*Kompas*, 2 June 2008), which is why many Chinese organizations have founded Chinese schools since they hope that young Chinese Indonesians can develop an emotional attachment to their ethnic culture and therefore sustain their ethnic identity. Fenton noted that the

development of these emotional attachments develops the ethnic cultural consciousness that constitutes ethnicity (2010, 73-74).

The second form of imagining is related to ethnic traditions, rituals and culture, which are concrete practices that, according to Gans, serve as symbols of ethnicity. Practices such as the celebration of ethnic festivals, traditions, and rituals are primary ways of practicing and maintaining ethnicity (Gans 2017, 1411) as they are ritualized symbols that engender a sense of belonging (Driedeger 1989, 161) and an imagined Chinese ethnicity. An example of this is the Chinese New Year, widely reported in the Chinese media. Declared as a national holiday by President Megawati on April 2002, the Chinese New Year celebration is seen as an acceptance of Chinese culture in Indonesia. In spite of their different backgrounds, many Chinese Indonesians see this celebration as a way of celebrating their ethnicity. For example, one famous and historical mosque in Yogyakarta (Syuhada Mosque) held a special prayer session to celebrate Chinese New Year for the first time (*Gatra*, 23 January 2006). Some Catholic churches also held a mass with Chinese New Year nuances (*Kompas*, 19 February 2007), a tradition which some churches still continue.

Another form of imagining is language since it serves as the fundamental expression of group collective identity and ensures its maintenance. Some scholars, such as Driedeger (1989), feel that language is one of the indicators of ethnic cohesion, arguing that there is a strong correlation between ethnic language retention and the development and reinforcement of ethnic consciousness. Therefore, through the promotion of the Chinese language, the Chinese in Indonesia can regain their ethnicity. A Chinese Indonesian scholar claimed that by mastering the Chinese language, “this [young] generation of Indonesian Chinese does not have to bear the deep

sense of cultural loss that members of [her] generation endured during the Suharto era” (Dawis 2007).

Because of their position as a “foreign” ethnic minority, many Chinese Indonesians, often view themselves as part of the diaspora; therefore, as a diasporic community, they often identify themselves with a more global Chinese identity. This identification as part of the Chinese diaspora is evident in the last two forms of imagining: an interest in the activities of Chinese diasporic communities and Chinese pop culture.

The interest shown by the Chinese Indonesian community in the Chinese diaspora strengthens their ethnic identity. Driedeger’s study found that a knowledge of and an interest in one’s history were important avenues for the symbolic reinforcement of ethnic identity (1989, 161). Therefore, current events in fellow diasporic communities assume symbolic significance for many ethnic group members, which then become the focus of their ethnic orientation and identity. By consuming news about what is happening in other ethnic Chinese communities, the Chinese Indonesian community can share images and feelings, making them feel a part of the large imagined Chinese diasporic community.

Chinese pop culture, such as songs, films and television serials work to maintain the Chinese diasporic community’s cultural identification. Gans noted that “ethnic feelings could be further expressed by celebrating famous coethnics, whether entertainers, athletes, artists, writers and others” (2017, 1411). Dayan and Katz (1992) observed that the electronic media, and particularly television, have the power to create instant histories that become part of the audience’s collective memory, traditions, and identity. In her study on the Indian community in England, Gillespie (1995) found that Indian films shaped and influenced the collective memories of the “mythic homeland” in the diasporic Indian community. Ma (1999) concurred with Gillespie in his

study on Hong Kong television audiences, in which he found that pop culture was very much part of their collective memory and imagination for membership in the Chinese nation-state.

Through the consumption of Chinese pop culture, Chinese Indonesians can also reinvent and renegotiate their Chinese identity, and at the same time identify themselves as part of the widely scattered Chinese diasporic community, all of whom also consume the same pop culture. Chua commented that “within this dense traffic of cultural production, circulation and consumption is the potential for the emergence of an imaginable ‘pan-Chinese community’ that can manifest itself through different channels, modes and communication media” (2006, 87-88).

These forms of imagining; ethnic institution, traditions and rituals, language, as well as interest in fellow diasporic communities and their pop culture; elucidate the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined community that has a symbolically perceived and expressed ethnicity. As these imaginings create salient symbols of Chinese identity and ethnicity, the Chinese ethnic media harness these symbols in their effort to reconstruct the identity and ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians.

Vehicle of Imagining

The analysis shows that the Chinese ethnic media uses the above forms of imagining to develop and stimulate Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians, and especially in the younger generations whose ethnicity was reduced or even lost during the New Order period. A senior editor of a Chinese newspaper said,

The openness towards Chinese language and culture inspired us, the old generation, to bring the young Chinese generation back to their roots. One way of doing so is through publishing a newspaper. (Interview, 5 May 2017)

This statement echoed the words Huang Xiaozhong, a senior reporter at *Qiandao Ribao*, said at the inauguration of *Qiandao Ribao*'s new office on 12 June 2012,

This newspaper was published in memory of our Chinese school teachers and to serve as a learning avenue for young Chinese-Indonesians. (my translation)

These two statements clearly underscore the main goals of the Chinese ethnic media to provide an index for their ethnic culture, values, norms, and traditions. The media content that seeks to illuminate the ethnic symbols fuels the forms of Chinese ethnic imagining and reinforces the sense of belonging in the imagined Chinese community. These forms of imagining are evident in news reports, articles, editorials, opinions and other features as the Chinese media is focused on promoting Chinese culture and highlighting and celebrating Chinese identity.

As mentioned previously, one of the forms of imagining is the ethnic organization. News reports in the Chinese media often cover the numerous activities of Chinese organizations in their efforts to counter the negative stereotypes of Chinese Indonesians that native Indonesians have such as a lack of loyalty to Indonesia, anti-social behaviour, and being merely economic animals (Turner and Allen 2007; Coppel 1983). An example of the activities that news reports often covers is charity. News report also often reveal the nationalistic face of the Chinese through, for example, the use of Indonesian nationalistic attributes and symbols in the activities conducted by Chinese organizations. The efforts of Chinese organizations to cooperate with various Chinese and non-Chinese elements in the society to participate in building Indonesian society are often reported in the Chinese media. The media also heavily covers Chinese organizations that voice the aspirations of the Chinese community to abolish the discriminatory laws that are still in place (Jusuf 2001) in news reports, feature articles and editorials, with the primary aim of reminding the Chinese of the problems they still face as an ethnic group, and also as a reminder of their ethnicity. Yet, at the

same time, they also remind them of their position as one of the ethnic groups in the country and the responsibilities that come with this position. All the Chinese newspapers have a section entitled *Huashe* (“Chinese Community”) or *Huashe Xinwen* (“Chinese Community News”), which is devoted to covering the activities of Chinese communities in Indonesia.

Figure 1

The section *Huashe Xinwen* in *Guoji Ribao*. This coverage is about a meeting between *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and the Indonesian ambassador to China

Besides the activities of the various Chinese organizations, the celebration of Chinese traditions also receives wide coverage. While the Chinese New Year as the biggest celebration, which was declared a national holiday by President Megawati in 2001, is also covered by most other non-Chinese media, the coverage in the Chinese ethnic media is more intense and often includes the history behind the traditions and the rituals. They also report on how the ethnic Chinese in other parts of the world are celebrating but emphasize that no matter how global the Chinese New Year celebration is, the celebration in Indonesia has its own local flavour. For example, the local influence is seen in the special food the Chinese Indonesians prepare, such as *Lontong Capgomeh* (Suprajitno 2008). Through this kind of coverage, the Chinese ethnic media seeks to build an image that the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia are also a part of the world-wide Chinese community, yet, at the same time, are also rooted in Indonesia. However, the emphasis on being part of the global Chinese community tends to imply that Chineseness and the Chinese identity are more important. Other Chinese rituals and traditions, such as *Qingming*, *Duanwu Jie*, and *Zhongqiu Jie*, which the national newspapers often do not report, are also covered widely in the Chinese media, further exemplifying the importance the Chinese media places on Chinese traditions and rituals to promote Chineseness.

Figure 2

Coverage of the Chinese New Year celebrations of the Xiao clan association in *Yindunxiya Shangbao's Huashe Xinwen*, 28 February 2018.

Figure 3

The coverage of *Duanwu Jie* in *Qiandao Ribao's Huashe Dongtai*, 2 June 2017.

The Chinese media also focus on the tenets of Chinese culture as they consider themselves to be “one of the gatekeepers of Chinese culture” (Hoon 2006, 112). Chinese culture dominates Chinese media, with a great deal of space being devoted to cultural matters. Chinese culture feature articles such as Chinese cultural commentaries, Chinese traditions, and Chinese classical stories are abundant in the *Fukan* (“Supplement”) section of all the Chinese newspapers. In addition to the *Fukan* section, *Qiandao Ribao* also devotes space to sections entitled *Zhonghua Wenhua* (“Chinese Culture”), and *Shuhua Xinshang* (“Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy Appreciation”).

The Chinese media also celebrates the Chinese language. For many older generation Chinese Indonesians, the Chinese language is an important part of their Chinese identity and is seen as the quintessence of Chineseness. The rise of China in global politics has also contributed to the promotion of the Chinese language, which the Chinese Media claim is helping their goal. One director of a Chinese newspaper said that the, “Chinese language has become a world trend because of the growing Chinese economy. ... Young Chinese Indonesians learn Mandarin for economic prospects. The search for roots will come later – after they learn about Chinese culture (quoted in Hoon, 2006, 113). This statement clearly highlights the salience of ethnic language and culture as part of ethnicity and ethnic identity; that is, a Chinese who does not speak Chinese is considered to be losing their Chineseness. Ang noted that diasporic Chinese who do not speak Chinese are often questioned about the authenticity of their Chineseness. The promotion of the Chinese language is also reflected in the amount of space allocated to Chinese literature, short

stories, and poems in the media, as they believe that promoting Chinese language and culture can help develop the Chineseness of young Chinese Indonesians, which is why they provide specialised sections, such as *Qiandao Ribao*'s *Huawen Yuandi* ("Chinese Language Garden") or the Jakarta-based *Guoji Ribao*'s *Shisheng Yuandi* ("Teacher-Student Garden"), in which students who learn Chinese can publish their compositions.

Figure 4

Guoji Ribao's *Shisheng Yuandi*, 31 May 2017

The rise of China in world politics and the role of the global Chinese diaspora in the economy also reinforce the interest of Chinese Indonesians in China and their identity as part of the Chinese diasporic community. Their interest in their ancestral country and their identification as a Chinese diasporic community are reflected in the coverage of China and the Chinese diaspora, which provides not only information on fellow diasporic communities, but also highlights common points of reference. From this information, the "deterritorialized subjects," such as the Chinese Indonesian community can sustain their "cultural continuity" (Thompson 2995), which can serve to strengthen their ethnic identity further. The Chinese media gives them areas of cultural identification in special sections on China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan so that they can imagine a coherent and continuous identity. *Guoji Ribao*, *Qiandao Ribao*, and *Yindunxiya Shangbao* each has *Zhongguo Yaowen* ("China News"), *Liang'an Side* ("Four Places across Taiwan Straits"), and *Zhonggangtai Xinwen* ("China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan News"), all of which cover issues in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. *Qiandao Ribao* also has a section called *Yinzhong Youhao* ("Indonesia-China Friendship") that highlights the friendship between Indonesia and China and covers various aspects from culture to economics. When asked why they had these special sections on the regions of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan rather than combining the news into the *Guoji*

Xinwen (“International News”) section, some editors and senior journalists said that many Chinese Indonesians were eager to know news about the region because of China’s economic prowess and its “special connection.” One journalist told me,

China is an economic power house now. With its Maritime Silk Road and One-belt-one-road Initiatives, China could play an important role in the world’s economy. It would be a loss for us to neglect China. (Interview, 29 June 2017)

Elaborating what the “special connection” was ~~he referred to~~, an editor said,

Our ancestors came from China, so obviously, we have a special connection with the country, although we are now Indonesians. (Interview, 19 September 2017)

While mentioning the economic prowess of China, they emphasized the “special connection,” which can also be seen in news coverage about China. For example, *Guoji Ribao* (2 October 2017) gave the title “Zuguo de Mingtian Hui Geng Hao – Qingzhu Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Chengli Liushiba Zhounian Zhaodai Hui Ceji” (The Future of the Motherland Will Be Better – Celebrating the 68th Year of the Founding of the People’s Republic of China) for its coverage of China’s national day. The choice of the words used for refereeing to China, that is *zuguo* (motherland), describe what the people behind the Chinese media think about the special connection.

Figure 5
Guoji Ribao’s coverage of China’s National Day on 2 October 2017.

The Chinese media also reports news on Chinese diasporic communities, with most putting this news in the *Huashe* or *Huashe Xinwen* sections. The coverage is not only about activities and happenings in these diasporic communities, but also about the achievements of the members. *Qiandao Ribao* goes further by having a section called *Tianxia Huaren* (“Chinese People in the

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World”)), which features successful people, as the paper wishes Chinese Indonesians to be inspired by these success stories. According to Hoon, this “assumes a (trans)nationalistic pride of belonging to the Chinese ‘race,’ even though they are in different locations” (2006, 109).

This global diasporic identification is also evident in the reporting of pop culture news. All Chinese-language and most Indonesian-language Chinese media cover oriental pop culture from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, with Indonesian pop culture receiving little attention. Maybe this could be due to the huge popularity of Chinese pop culture; however, Chinese pop culture, as seen in the Chinese media, could be thought of as an expression of the desires of the Chinese community, at least those behind the Chinese media, to identify themselves with what they believe as their ethnic pop culture. Sinclair, Yue, Hawkins, Kee, and Fox proved that television entertainment programs can generate a strong sense of belonging and identity (2000, 35). The consumption of Chinese pop culture could be seen as a reflection of “the episthephilic desire” of Chinese Indonesians for entertainment from “home.” (Naficy 1993, 107). The media also often highlights the Chinese background of Indonesian entertainers, as seen in figure 5, something that is rarely seen in the mainstream media.

Figure 6
Qiandao Ribao's Yinni Huayi Mingxing (Chinese Indonesian Stars), 27 May 2017.

The identification of Chinese Indonesians with other Chinese communities in other parts of the world in the Chinese media's coverage of news and events in China, in the Chinese diasporic communities, and in the Chinese entertainment news, is all aimed at fostering a sense of Chineseness and Chinese identity. The Chinese media believe that this kind of coverage can generate the feeling in Chinese Indonesians that they share the same cultural beliefs and traditions as the Chinese communities worldwide, and that they are part of an imagined diasporic Chinese

community. This kind of coverage conveys an “image of their communion” with the Chinese diaspora (Anderson 2006, 6), which in my opinion, is central to the discourse in the Chinese media, as can be seen in the symbolic Chinese ethnic forms published daily.

My observations have also found that through the production of symbolic forms of ethnicity, the Chinese media aims to reconstruct the Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians that was decimated by the New Order, as stated by Huang Xiaozhong on 12 June 2012. Explaining the idea behind the devotion of so much space to Chinese culture in his newspaper, one of the founding fathers of a newspaper said,

We adopted this idea because we hope that young Chinese Indonesians who do not know their language and culture can study them. We also hope that by studying them, they love their ethnic culture and develop their ethnic belonging. Like the saying goes, “tak kenal maka tak sayang” [Indonesian proverb which literally means, “you can’t love what you don’t know]. (Interview, April 11, 2017)

My findings on the Chinese media have illuminated how the media is trying to reinforce the ethnic identity of their audience by triggering emotional attachments to ethnic symbols, which then feeds into feelings of ethnicity and ethnic identity in the readers. The Chinese media employ symbolic forms of ethnic imagining by foregrounding a Chineseness that links Chinese Indonesians to the global Chinese diasporic community. However, it is not easy for the Chinese media to achieve their cultural mission, especially in the younger generation, as a wide gap exists between the older Chinese generation behind the media and the potential readers who come mostly from the younger generation. This occurs because of the heterogeneity of Chinese Indonesian community as a result of, among others, generational ~~differences~~~~difference~~ and different cultural

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orientations. The way the media presents their content might not be interesting to the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians, an idea that is discussed further in the following section.

~~Imagines~~Imagined Nostalgia

The coverage and exposure of the activities of Chinese organizations, language, culture and traditions has led to the emergence of Chineseness in the public sphere. In Habermasian terms, the public sphere is a cultural domain of social interaction in which the public concerned are carefully deliberated for furthering the critical knowledge that could produce change. Seen from this Habermasian perspective, the Chinese media advances their concerns regarding Chinese Indonesian ethnicity through the circulation and discussion of images, ideas, and arguments about Chineseness. Using ethnic symbols in their publications that are of salience to the Chinese, the Chinese media are attempting to construct a Chinese identity. A chief editor of a Chinese newspaper says,

Chinese culture has a fine history of 5,000 years. Assimilated [Indonesianised] Chinese have lost this noble culture. They are notably [un-Chinese] in their personality, including their morals. (quoted in Hoon 2006, 112).

Hoon's study also revealed that the Chinese media have tried to revive the Chinese culture that was lost during the New Order period (2006, 113). By exposing Chinese culture, they hope that the readers, and especially young Chinese Indonesians, can come to understand their ancestral roots and cultural heritage and hopefully reaffirm their ethnicity because to quote Ong, "the overall framing of message [in Chinese ethnic media] suggests that the identity at stake is [Chinese Indonesian] subjects" who have been detached from their ethnic and cultural heritage (2006, 169). Therefore, the Chinese media is attempting to construct the Chineseness they think was lost because of the New Order policy.

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Yet, as mentioned previously, there is a gap between the people and the Chinese media, and it is therefore the potential readers who have become the “target” of their cultural mission. However, these potential readers have their own perceptions regarding China and Chinese culture, as exemplified by the interviewees below.

A 26-year-old shop-owner: Our generation is alienated from the more “sophisticated” Chinese culture. We know nothing about proper rituals, such as ancestor veneration. And I don’t want to know about all those things. Too traditional. Even people in China do not practice them. (Interview, 19 July 2017).

A 35-year-old banker: Ancestor veneration is a typical Chinese ritual. It is intended to cultivate filial piety. But well, I don’t think it is necessary for us to do that. Showing respect and filial piety to our parents when they are still alive is much better than venerating them when they have passed away. (Interview, 24 July 2017)

While they admitted that Chinese culture and traditional rituals were good, the two informants above thought that the Chinese culture and traditional rituals Chinese media reported in their news and coverage were far-fetched. They are not closely related to their daily lives. This was one reason why they were not interested in reading them, despite their good Chinese proficiency, as they used to study Chinese in China before. The people behind the Chinese media may not be aware that culture can change, and so can those who practice them. Because of this, younger Chinese find that this kind of coverage is boring.

A 20-year-old college student majoring in Chinese: I like *Qiandao Ribao’s Huawen Yuandi*. We can send our essays for publication there. It is like a space where we can practice our writing skills. It is the only part that I read. ... I skip reading other sections. They are boring. (Interview, 14 September 2017)

Even those who have a connection with China, economic and otherwise, think that the news reports and coverage of Chinese media focus too much on China.

A 30-year-old businesswoman who often goes to China on business: Chinese newspapers are very China-centric. The coverage on China is too much, I think. I know that China is an economic super power, but it does not mean everything about China is news-worthy. (Interview, 11 September 2017)

A 29-year-old professional who pursued his master's degree in China: Too much coverage on China. ... They [news reports and articles about China and diasporic Chinese] are not closely related to us. No point in reporting them extensively. (Interview, 5 December 2017)

The five younger Chinese Indonesians think that the Chinese media is unattractive because of their loose or even non-existent connections with China and their changing views on Chinese traditions and culture. While not all young Chinese Indonesians feel the same as the interviewees above, it is evident that not all young Chinese Indonesians share the common view of the older generation on China and Chinese culture. Therefore, the coverage is unable to attract many young Chinese Indonesians. The editors and journalists at *Qiandao Ribao* and *Guoji Ribao* admitted that their readers' demographic profile was dominated by Chinese who had received a Chinese education, and that their younger readers were mostly those who worked in fields related to the Chinese language (personal communication). While the symbolic forms of imagining encapsulated in the memories of the past may provide ethnic salience for the older generation, these same forms do not appear to carry a lot of weight with others such as the younger generation. In other words, the Chinese media overlooks the facts that Chinese Indonesians are diverse, and this diversity leads to different interpretation of Chineseness. This is the reason the Chinese media is facing difficulties

in carrying out their cultural mission to reconstruct the Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians they believe was lost during the New Order era.

However, I contend that this difficulty has occurred because in their efforts to indicate the degree or authenticity of Chineseness, the Chinese media have objectified Chinese culture by breaking it into practices, customs and traditions that carry symbolic weight and can be measured. Therefore, with this line of thought, some people are considered more Chinese because of their greater Chineseness and others are considered less Chinese because of their limited or lost Chineseness. This opinion identifies Chineseness as essential to ethnicity and also reflects a perception that Chinese culture is static and unchanging, which is not acceptable to the Chinese who grew up during the New Order era. In their effort to construct Chineseness through the use of Chinese cultural symbols and representations, the media have created an “imagined nostalgia” (Appadurai 1996, 77). The Chinese Indonesians behind the Chinese media may not be aware that younger Chinese Indonesians do not share their sentiments. Since the nostalgia they are highlighting is a nostalgia for something that has never existed in the younger generations’ lives, the media’s Chineseness is unrelated to their lives because Chineseness shifts over time due to personal experience and social change. Donald Nonini and Aihwa Ong commented that Chineseness was no longer “a property or essence of a person calculated by that person’s having more or fewer ‘Chinese values’ or norms.” Instead, it should be seen in terms of the “multiplicity” (1997, 13) of being Chinese as reflected in the Chinese Indonesian community. Therefore, the way the Chinese media treat Chinese ethnic symbols is beneficial in terms of public sphere awareness, but misguided since they feel that this version of Chineseness and Chinese identity is sacrosanct; however, personal experience and social change are essential elements for the construction of Chineseness and Chinese identity in modern Indonesia. In other words, this imagined nostalgia is

not shared by the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians, who have or are developing their own sense of their Chineseness.

Conclusion

The demise of the New Order paved the way for the Chinese Indonesian community to establish their own media, the cultural mission of which has been to preserve their ethnic culture and identity and encourage a certain ethnic identity in the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians. The Chinese media strongly believes that its function is to reconstruct the Chineseness and Chinese identity that were lost in the three decades of the New Order.

The media's reconstruction of Chineseness and Chinese identity has attempted to reinforce the Chinese Indonesian community's imagining (perceptions and feelings) of their ethnicity through the use of ethnic symbols that are salient to the Chinese cultural consciousness, with the belief that ethnic (Chinese) symbols and representations can forge ethnicity (Chineseness) and that through these emotional attachments to shared ethnic (Chinese) symbols, the people (Chinese Indonesians) can perceive a belonging to one (Chinese) community.

The strategies the Chinese media have adopted in their use of ethnic symbols for identity reconstruction are clearly reflected in the media content. Through news reports, editorials, opinions, and other features in their publications, they have sought to create an image of communion in the minds of the readers, with the hope that this frequent exposure can strengthen and maintain the imagined community. However, in their efforts, they have developed an "imagined nostalgia" that the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians may not share. Therefore, the media is trapped in an essentialism that negates the possibility of the multiple forms of Chineseness and the multiple expressions of modern Chinese identity that exist in the Chinese diasporic community. Therefore, in my opinion, although they have been successful in bringing back Chinese culture to the

Indonesian public, at the moment, it is difficult to achieve their goal of reconstructing the Chinese identity for the young Chinese Indonesian generation because it is a version of Chinese identity based on an “imagined nostalgia” that is often unrelated to the reality of young Chinese Indonesians.

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List of Figures



Figure 1

The section *Huashe Xinwen* in *Guoji Ribao*.

This coverage is about a meeting between *Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Association) and the Indonesian ambassador to China.



Figure 2

Coverage of the Chinese New Year celebrations of the Xiao clan association in *Yindunixiya Shangbao's Huashe Xinwen*, 28 February 2018.



Figure 3
Coverage of Duanwu Jie in *Qiandao Ribao's Huashe Dongtai*, June 2, 2017.



Figure 4
Guoji Ribao's Shisheng Yuandi, 31 May 2017

[illegible]

Figure 5



Figure 5

Coverage of *Yinni Huayi Mingxing* (Chinese Indonesian Stars) in *Qiandao Ribao*, 27 May 2017

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Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

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Published online: 15 April 2020

To cite this article: Stefanus Suprajitno. 2020. Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese media and Chinese identity in post-reform Indonesia. *KEMANUSIAAN the Asian Journal of Humanities* 27(1): x–xx. <https://doi.org/10.21315/kajh2020.27.1.1>

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Running head: Chinese Media and Identity in Indonesia

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Abstract. The fall of Suharto in 1998 brought winds of change to Indonesia, especially to policies concerning the Chinese. After being suppressed under the Suharto regime, Chinese Indonesians suddenly had an opportunity to express their cultural heritage in their own ethnic media, counter negative stereotypes and reconstruct an identity that had been virtually erased during the Suharto era. In this article, author examines the discursive practices Chinese Indonesians use to remould their ethnic identity through an analysis of the media strategies used to reinvigorate the Chinese Indonesian identity. It was found from the Chinese media, as exemplified in *Qiandao Ribao*, *Guoji Ribao* and *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, that the re-creation of the Chinese identity requires an understanding of what it was to be Chinese through the use of the symbols most salient to Chinese ethnicity. The media have been strongly geared towards the reconstruction and maintenance of a Chinese identity that sees Chinese Indonesians as an imagined community whose ethnicity is symbolically perceived and maintained through frequent exposure to the ethnic media. By being exposed to the ethnic media, Chinese Indonesian readers can feel a sense of ethnic belonging and identity through perceived affiliation and shared symbols. However, although they succeeded in bringing Chinese culture back to the Indonesian public sphere, the diversity in the Chinese community challenges the media efforts to construct a definitive Chinese identity.

Keywords and phrases: Chineseness, Chinese Indonesian, identity, media, post-reform Indonesia

Introduction

Up until 1965, there had been several Chinese newspapers in Indonesia. However, when the Suharto regime was in power (1966–1988), a period described as “the dark ages for the Chinese press” (Hoon 2006, 96), all Chinese media except the military backed *Yindunxiya Ribao* was banned. Suharto’s downfall in 1998 brought a change to the political landscape and gave the Chinese media a new lease of life. “The Chinese-Indonesian press can finally welcome the light of the morning sun”, claimed Huang Hui (as quoted in Hoon 2006, 97). Being finally allowed greater freedom of expression, the Chinese media was able to once again target the Chinese community as the potential readers of their publication in both Chinese and Indonesian. Its purpose was reconstructing its readers’ Chinese

ethnic identity which experienced erasure due to Suharto's policies. Since that time, Chinese dailies, weeklies, magazines and tabloids have proliferated.

A number of new Chinese-language and Indonesian-language Chinese newspapers and magazines emerged in 1998: *Qiandao Ribao*, *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, *Guoji Ribao* and *Chinatown*. However, several others have ceased publication, such as *Longyang Ribao*, *Huawen Youbao*, *Yinhua Tiansheng* and *Sinergi Indonesia* because they failed "to understand their potential readership and the contemporary Chinese community itself" (Pandiangan 2003, 419). Overall, the Chinese media in Indonesia has limited readership, primarily because few Chinese Indonesians and especially the younger generation, are able to understand Chinese (Hoon 2006; Lie 2017). In Lie's opinion, their inability to understand Chinese occurs because "younger Chinese Indonesians were publicly deprived of the opportunity to maintain their cultural heritage during the Suharto administration" (Lie 2017, 47). Therefore, to increase readership has been a significant challenge, as claimed by Sugondo Margonoto, a Chinese businessman who had supported the publication of *Qiandao Ribao*'s, at the newspaper's 10th anniversary,

It has been ten years since *Qiandao Ribao* was published. The founding fathers pledge to continue publishing this newspaper although it has suffered financial losses all these years. ... It is impossible for a Chinese newspaper to gain a profit. However, we are willing to cover the financial losses because we believe that we should keep on publishing our newspaper because *it has an important mission; namely, to preserve the Chinese language and culture in Indonesia* [Author's translation; italics added]. (*Qiandao Ribao*, 11th October 2010)

Margonoto's statement highlighted the cultural mission of not only *Qiandao Ribao* but all other Chinese media; a mission that has become the impetus for their survival.

In spite of the limited readership, the Chinese media's will to survive is so that Chinese Indonesians can "develop visions of their futures in Indonesia" (Turner and Allen 2007, 120) and provide an avenue to express themselves to regain the ethnicity that had been banned during the New Order regime. Previous studies have found that there is a strong connection between ethnic media and the perceptions of ethnic identity. For examples, Matsaganis (2011), Oh (2016) and Somani and Guo (2018), found that ethnic media encourages communication within the ethnic community by giving them a voice, expressing their concerns, advancing and defending their interests and interpreting issues from the community's perspectives, all of which develops and fosters ethnic belonging and preserves a cultural consciousness and an ethnic identity.

Along with the freedom to celebrate their ethnicity, the post-Suharto Chinese media was also able to express the community's concerns by protesting against discrimination, preserving language and culture and making people aware of the issues in their ethnic community. All of this was made possible because the people behind the post-Suharto Chinese media had been involved in the Chinese media in the pre-Suharto era. The Chinese media re-emerged into the "public sphere" (Habermas 1991) to provide a communicative space to a people "who had been silenced over the three previous decades, to speak out" (Hoon 2006, 91). Therefore, the Chinese media views its role as preserving Chinese culture and encouraging Chinese Indonesians to embrace the ethnic identity that was suppressed during the New Order era. However, in its efforts to do so, the Chinese media overlooks the heterogeneity of Chinese Indonesians.

The ethnic Chinese in Indonesia is a diverse entity. Its diversity is due to, among others, economic background, culture and political orientation. Culturally, the Chinese in Indonesia could be categorised into two groups. One was *totok* Chinese, referring to the Chinese who were "pure" and still culturally Chinese in the sense that they maintained their Chinese heritage, such as language and

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had Chinese cultural orientation. The other was called *peranakan* Chinese, referring to the Chinese who were of mixed descent and assimilated, had cultural orientation towards local cultures and spoke local languages. *Peranakan* Chinese who went to Chinese school before it was banned may speak Chinese, but Chinese was not their first language. Today, the distinction between *totok* and *peranakan* Chinese has blurred. Nevertheless, the diversity of Chinese Indonesians, especially in terms of cultural orientation, remains.

In this article, author investigates how Chinese media reconstructs the ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians. In doing so, author examines the discursive practices used in the ethnic media to develop the ethnic and social identity of the Chinese community. Through an analysis of news reports, author examines the strategies used in the Chinese press to reconstruct the Chinese identity.

Conceptual Framework for Ethnicity and the Media

Since Barth (1969) proposed the conception of ethnicity as a social process in 1969, there has been wide research focused on the notion of ethnicity, with some such as Bayar (2009), Eriksen (2010), Fenton (2010) and Bowen (2017) concurring with Barth. Today, ethnicity is no longer seen as immutable or as a fixed entity; rather, it is seen as fluid as it is situationally defined in the social interactions with other groups as well as by the boundaries it establishes and maintains as a result of these interactions. Kivisto claimed that “ethnicity is essentially a social boundary” (Bowen 2017, 1426), with these boundaries being mental and cultural rather than physical and being more important than the culture they enclose. Ethnic boundaries are constituted by selected cultural features that the members ascribe to themselves and consider relevant; in other words, the cultural features that are “perceived as typical for their community” (Wimmer 2008, 973) and can “reinforce their collective identity” (Smajda and Gerteis 2012, 619). Therefore, ethnicity is more related to the emotional significance attached to the cultural content rather than the cultural content itself.

In an effort to establish and maintain ethnic boundaries, ethnic groups attempt to sustain their feelings of identity and of being ethnic. The continuity of these feelings, which Cornell (1996, 268) called “ethnic persistence”, is important as it gives the members ethnicity and identity, which in turn gives them a sense of belonging and social existence. Weeks claimed that “identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others” (1990, 88). Therefore, ethnic persistence is related to the specific features of the ethnic group that engender a sense of belonging and distinguish them from others.

Ethnicity is strongly related to group belonging, self-identification and identification by others outside the group, the perception and expression of which is often expressed through symbolic means. Gans (2017, 1411) claimed that, “In effect, feeling ethnic is achieved by employing ethnic objects, material and nonmaterial, as well as symbols”. Rather than knowledge or practice, what is of importance are the feelings of ethnic identity because “identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from’, so much as what we become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we represent ourselves” (Hall 1996, 4). Therefore, ethnic identity comes from a self-narrative associated with an imagined belonging to a certain group of people who draw attention to the shared culture that binds them into what Anderson (2006) called an “imagined community”.

When forming this imagined community, group members use ethnic symbols rather than specific cultural practices. Gans stated that the logic of modern ethnicity is based on symbols and feelings of identity. In his opinion, ethnicity is symbolic as people “move from acting to feeling ethnic, which emphasises identity instead of practising the culture and participating in its organisations” (Gans 2017, 1411). Because feelings of identity and expressions of those feelings are the primary ways of being ethnic, ethnicity depends largely on the use of symbols, which become the ethnic group

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identity markers used to establish and maintain the ethnic boundaries that define the imagined community; in other words, as stated by Gans, ethnicity is symbolic.

However, the characteristics of symbolic ethnicity are arbitrary. Depending on the situation and on how important they feel their ethnicity is, individual ethnic group members may have different ways of perceiving and expressing their ethnic symbols. This has been identified as “ethnic salience”, which is defined as “the importance that individuals attach to ethnicity” (Bhavnani and Miodownik 2009, 30). Therefore, ethnic salience has a close relationship with ethnic persistence as the former embodies the notions of the latter. Generally, there is a hierarchy of ethnic salience, with ethnic group members valuing some aspects of their ethnicity more than others, with these aspects being more important to their ethnic persistence; in other words, these valued aspects create the feelings of identity and of being ethnic and basically function as ethnic identifiers.

Ethnic salience reinforces ethnic persistence, which then maintains the ethnic boundaries that define the imagined community. Anderson (2006, 6) believes that “communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined”. In other words, it is the “forms of imagining” that construct a community (Anderson 2006, 24).

In their construction of the imagined community, “print-capitalism” (Anderson 2006, 18) – magazines and new papers – allows groups to “imagine” a linked community that may not have had any special forms of togetherness. The imagined linkages that the media engenders, in Anderson’s opinion, “derive from two obliquely related sources”. The first is what he calls “calendrical coincidence” (Anderson 2006, 33), which refers to events that occur at various places on the same date; in other words, readers anonymously share what they read with other readers which makes them feel they belong to a collective body of readers. The second is the media creates what Anderson (2006, 35) calls “mass ceremony” in that the readers are participating in a consumption of media and although this consumption “is performed in silent privacy”, the readers know that “the ceremony” they are performing is also being simultaneously performed by “thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence [they are] confident, yet whose identity [they have] not the slightest notion” (Anderson 2006, 35). This enables them to feel part of the community of readers/audience with whom they have no direct interactions. Calendrical coincidence and mass ceremony are important in the development of the collective identity for members of this imagined community.

Cohen (1985) also claimed that the construction of a community is symbolic. In his opinion, the idea of a community is “symbolic, rather than a structural construct” (Cohen 1985, 98), as the core of community consciousness is a feeling of belonging and identity as well as a sense of distinction, which generally operates through symbols and representations (Cohen 1985, 15).

Therefore, the media plays a constitutive role in the creation of the symbols and representations that heighten the sense of community. According to Appadurai, the media constructs collective imaginations within the public spheres of a community. However, imagining is not equal to fantasising; rather, it has the capacity of agency. Appadurai (1996, 7) claimed, “It is the imagination, in its collective forms, that creates ideas of neighbourhood and nationhood... The imagination is today a staging ground for action and not only for escape”. The collective imaginations and experiences the media provides, which are formed as a result of their discursive practices, have the ability to rouse agency, to create solidarity and to develop a staging ground for actions, all of which are advanced by the existence of the public sphere, which is “a domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed” (Habermas 1991, 399). Habermas’ public sphere is seen as a social realm in which public discourse, such as ethnicity, can be circulated and debated and allows the ethnic media to give its views. In Yu’s words, the public sphere provides a platform where ethnic minorities have “the right to communicate” and “a right to be understood” (Yu 2018, 1979).

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Hence, it is through the public sphere that the ethnic media can overcome socio-cultural marginalisation, counter negative representations and maintain and elevate their ethnic identity.

Grounded in this conceptual framework that ethnicity is a mental construct of an imagined community in which the boundaries are symbolically created through ethnic salience and persistence, the media facilitates the creation of the symbols and representations through the public sphere that forge identity; therefore, the role of the Chinese media is to reconstruct the Chinese identity of Chinese Indonesians.

Methodology

The data for this article were collected primarily through analysing news reports and coverage on categories that are closely related to Chinese ethnicity. Those categories are (1) Chinese rituals, traditions and culture, (2) Chinese language, (3) Chinese organisations, (4) Chinese pop culture and (5) the Chinese diasporic community. News reports and coverage chosen for analysis were those issued since March 2017. Author chose the news reports and coverage from *Qiandao Ribao*, *Guoji Ribao* and *Yindunxiya Shangbao*, the Chinese language newspapers that have survived to the present day and circulated nationally. Interviews were also held with Chinese media practitioners and regular and non-regular readers of Chinese media in order to get a better understanding on the strategies being used in the media and readers' perception on those strategies. Media practitioners selected for the interviews were editors and journalists of Chinese media. One chief editor, two editors and four journalists were willing to be interviewed. The result of the interviews with them was used for supporting the news report and coverage analysis, all of which enabled me to understand the role the Chinese media envisioned and played in the reconstruction of Chinese identity. Author also interviewed readers of Chinese media – there were 15 of them, aged 20 to 35 years old – in order to understand how they perceived the media consumed. In order to get diverse perspectives, Chinese Indonesian readers coming from various economic and cultural backgrounds were selected as the interviewees. In terms of social class, 10 interviewees belonged to middle-class and upper-middle-class families and five were from a low-income family background. Four interviewees were college students, two worked as Chinese language instructors, two ran their own businesses and seven were professionals in private companies – banking, financial and trading. In terms of Chinese language use, only seven interviewees said that they were from Chinese-speaking families. However, there were only three of them who admitted that their parents spoke Chinese quite well. The rest said that it was only their grandparents and the generations of their grandparents who spoke Chinese. Most of the time, their parents spoke Indonesian of Javanese, peppered with Chinese words. The other eight interviewees said that Chinese language was not spoken in their families, except Chinese expressions for kinship terms and numbers.

Forms of Imagining

This analysis of the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined construct is informed by Gupta's and Ferguson's study (1992), which emphasised the salience of the imagination in the construction of an ethnic community. The imagination construct is basically a feeling of identity and belonging that is derived from an attachment to a shared body of symbols (Anderson 2006; Cohen 1985), which are those aspects that function as differentiating symbols and are indexical to the imagined ethnicity.

The distinction of Chinese Indonesians as an imagined community comes from a belief in a common ancestry and the sense of identity and group boundaries that are experienced and expressed through the various ethnic culture symbols that represent their ethnic salience. As the Chinese media in

Indonesia use these symbols to inculcate a sense of the imagined ethnic community, these symbols can be thought of as “forms of imagining” (Anderson 2006, 24) that mediate between the Chinese Indonesian readers of the ethnic media and their Chinese ethnic identity; in other words, the attachment to these forms maintains the imagined ethnic community. In this part the forms of imagining often appearing in Chinese ethnic media are identified and examined.

The first form of imagining is the development of ethnic institutions since these function as powerful mechanisms for the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity and ethnic boundaries. Driedeger (1989, 160) claimed that ethnic institutions correlate with ethnic identity as the more institutionally complete an ethnic community is, the greater the likelihood the retention of ethnic culture and identity. Ethnic organisations can also reinforce the strong sense of ethnic identity (Eriksen 2010, 49). Examples of ethnic institutions in Indonesia are social, political and religious organisations. Through such ethnic institutions, among others, Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa (Chinese Indonesian Association) and Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia (Indonesian Chinese Clans Social Association), the Chinese community attempt to find solutions to the problems Chinese Indonesians face as an ethnic group. They also attempt to retain their ethnic language, customs and cultural practices as well as creating an ethnic awareness that strengthens their ethnic identity, for example, Paguyuban Meizhou Indonesia (Indonesian Meizhou Association) and Perhimpunan Hakka Indonesia (Indonesian Hakka Association). Religious-based Chinese organisations such as Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu Indonesia (MATAKIN) or The Supreme Council of Confucian Religion in Indonesia and Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI) or Indonesian Chinese Muslim Association also seek to overcome negative Chinese Indonesian stereotypes through their social development and charitable initiatives, which demonstrate that in spite of their ethnicity, they are also a part of the Indonesian community.

Besides social, political and religious organisations, another important ethnic institution for the Chinese community are Chinese schools, seen as one of the three pillars of the Chinese community (Suryadinata 1997, 12). A Chinese scholar, Mona Lohanda claimed that the Chinese community believes that Chinese schools are able to impart Chinese cultural values to the young generation (*Kompas*, 2 June 2008), which is why many Chinese organisations have founded Chinese schools since they hope that young Chinese Indonesians can develop an emotional attachment to their ethnic culture and therefore sustain their ethnic identity. Fenton (2010, 73–74) noted that the development of these emotional attachments develops the ethnic cultural consciousness that constitutes ethnicity.

The second form of imagining is related to ethnic traditions, rituals and culture, which are concrete practices that, according to Gans, serve as symbols of ethnicity. Practices such as the celebration of ethnic festivals, traditions and rituals are primary ways of practicing and maintaining ethnicity (Gans 2017, 1411) as they are ritualised symbols that engender a sense of belonging (Driedeger 1989, 161) and an imagined Chinese ethnicity. An example of this is the Chinese New Year, widely reported in the Chinese media. Declared as a national holiday by President Megawati on April 2002, the Chinese New Year celebration is seen as an acceptance of Chinese culture in Indonesia. In spite of their different backgrounds, many Chinese Indonesians see this celebration as a way of celebrating their ethnicity. For example, one famous and historical mosque in Yogyakarta (Syuhada Mosque) held a special prayer session to celebrate Chinese New Year for the first time (*Gatra*, 23rd January 2006). Some Catholic churches also held a mass with Chinese New Year nuances (*Kompas*, 19th February 2007), a tradition which some churches still continue.

Another form of imagining is language since it serves as the fundamental expression of group collective identity and ensures its maintenance. Some scholars, such as Driedeger (1989), feel that language is one of the indicators of ethnic cohesion, arguing that there is a strong correlation between ethnic language retention and the development and reinforcement of ethnic consciousness.

Therefore, through the promotion of the Chinese language, the Chinese in Indonesia can regain their ethnicity. A Chinese Indonesian scholar claimed that by mastering the Chinese language, “this [young] generation of Indonesian Chinese does not have to bear the deep sense of cultural loss that members of [her] generation endured during the Suharto era” (Dawis 2007).

Because of their position as a “foreign” ethnic minority, many Chinese Indonesians often view themselves as part of the diaspora; therefore, as a diasporic community, they often identify themselves with a more global Chinese identity. This identification as part of the Chinese diaspora is evident in the last two forms of imagining: an interest in the activities of Chinese diasporic communities and Chinese pop culture.

The interest shown by the Chinese Indonesian community in the Chinese diaspora strengthens their ethnic identity. Driedeger’s (1989, 161) study found that a knowledge of and an interest in one’s history were important avenues for the symbolic reinforcement of ethnic identity. Therefore, current events in fellow diasporic communities assume symbolic significance for many ethnic group members, which then become the focus of their ethnic orientation and identity. By consuming news about what is happening in other ethnic Chinese communities, the Chinese Indonesian community can share images and feelings, making them feel a part of the large imagined Chinese diasporic community.

Chinese pop culture, such as songs, films and television serials work to maintain the Chinese diasporic community’s cultural identification. Gans (2017, 1411) noted that “ethnic feelings could be further expressed by celebrating famous coethnics, whether entertainers, athletes, artists, writers and others”. Dayan and Katz (1992) observed that the electronic media and particularly television, have the power to create instant histories that become part of the audience’s collective memory, traditions and identity. In her study on the Indian community in England, Gillespie (1995) found that Indian films shaped and influenced the collective memories of the “mythic homeland” in the diasporic Indian community. Ma (1999) concurred with Gillespie in his study on Hong Kong television audiences, in which he found that pop culture was very much part of their collective memory and imagination for membership in the Chinese nation-state.

Through the consumption of Chinese pop culture, Chinese Indonesians can also reinvent and renegotiate their Chinese identity and at the same time identify themselves as part of the widely scattered Chinese diasporic community, all of whom also consume the same pop culture. Chua (2006, 87–88) commented that “within this dense traffic of cultural production, circulation and consumption is the potential for the emergence of an imaginable ‘pan-Chinese community’ that can manifest itself through different channels, modes and communication media”.

These forms of imagining – ethnic institution, traditions and rituals, language, as well as interest in fellow diasporic communities and their pop culture – elucidate the Chinese Indonesian community as an imagined community that has a symbolically perceived and expressed ethnicity. As these imaginings create salient symbols of Chinese identity and ethnicity, the Chinese ethnic media harness these symbols in their effort to reconstruct the identity and ethnicity of Chinese Indonesians.

Vehicle of Imagining

The analysis shows that the Chinese ethnic media uses the mentioned forms of imagining to develop and stimulate Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians and especially in the younger generations whose ethnicity was reduced or even lost during the New Order period. A senior editor of a Chinese newspaper said,

The openness towards Chinese language and culture inspired us, the old generation, to bring the young Chinese generation back to their roots. One way of doing so is through publishing a newspaper. (Interview, 5th May 2017)

This statement echoed the words Huang Xiaozhong, a senior reporter at *Qiandao Ribao*, said at the inauguration of *Qiandao Ribao*'s new office on 12 June 2012, "This newspaper was published in memory of our Chinese school teachers and to serve as a learning avenue for young Chinese-Indonesians" [Author's translation].

These two statements clearly underscore the main goals of the Chinese ethnic media to provide an index for their ethnic culture, values, norms and traditions. The media content that seeks to illuminate the ethnic symbols fuels the forms of Chinese ethnic imagining and reinforces the sense of belonging in the imagined Chinese community. These forms of imagining are evident in news reports, articles, editorials, opinions and other features as the Chinese media is focused on promoting Chinese culture and highlighting and celebrating Chinese identity.

As mentioned previously, one of the forms of imagining is the ethnic organisation. News reports in the Chinese media often cover the numerous activities of Chinese organisations in their efforts to counter the negative stereotypes of Chinese Indonesians that native Indonesians have such as a lack of loyalty to Indonesia, anti-social behaviour and being merely economic animals (Turner and Allen 2007; Coppel 1983). An example of the activities that news reports often covers is charity. News reports also often reveal the nationalistic face of the Chinese through, for example, the use of Indonesian nationalistic attributes and symbols in the activities conducted by Chinese organisations. The efforts of Chinese organisations to cooperate with various Chinese and non-Chinese elements in the society to participate in building Indonesian society are often reported in the Chinese media. The media also heavily covers Chinese organisations that voice the aspirations of the Chinese community to abolish the discriminatory laws that are still in place (Jusuf 2001) in news reports, feature articles and editorials, with the primary aim of reminding the Chinese of the problems they still face as an ethnic group and also as a reminder of their ethnicity. Yet, at the same time, they also remind them of their position as one of the ethnic groups in the country and the responsibilities that come with this position. All the Chinese newspapers have a section entitled *Huashe* (Chinese Community) or *Huashe Xinwen* (Chinese Community News), which is devoted to covering the activities of Chinese communities in Indonesia (as shown in Figures 1 to 3).

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Figure 1. The section *Huashe Xinwen* in *Guoji Ribao*: This coverage is about a meeting between Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa (Chinese Indonesian Association) and the Indonesian ambassador to China (Source: *Guoji Ribao*, 13th April 2018)

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Wednesday, February 28th, 2018 | Posted by admin

印尼萧氏宗亲总会春节团拜晚会 今年承办“第11届环球萧氏宗亲恳亲大会”



印尼萧氏宗亲总会理事合影。前左起：萧伟鸿、萧锡鸿、萧宜敏、黄建南、萧禄盛、萧炳章、萧椰凯、萧世平、萧晶华。后左起：萧伟忠、萧瑞明、萧敏超、萧震军、萧国盛、萧伟文、萧乐凯等。

Figure 2. Coverage of the Chinese New Year celebrations of the Xiao clan association in Yindunixiya Shangbao's Huashe Xinwen (Source: Yindunixiya Shangbao, 28th February 2018)

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Figure 3. The coverage of *Duanwu Jie* in *Qiandao Ribao*'s *Huashe Dongtai* (Source: *Qiandao Ribao*, 2nd June 2017)

Besides the activities of the various Chinese organisations, the celebration of Chinese traditions also receives wide coverage. While the Chinese New Year as the biggest celebration, which was declared a national holiday by President Megawati in 2001, is also covered by most other non-Chinese media, the coverage in the Chinese ethnic media is more intense and often includes the history behind the traditions and the rituals. They also report on how the ethnic Chinese in other parts of the world are celebrating but emphasise that no matter how global the Chinese New Year celebration is, the celebration in Indonesia has its own local flavour. For example, the local influence is seen in the special food the Chinese Indonesians prepare, such as *Lontong Capgomeh* (Suprajitno 2008). Through this kind of coverage, the Chinese ethnic media seeks to build an image that the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia are also a part of the world-wide Chinese community, yet, at the same time, are also rooted in Indonesia. However, the emphasis on being part of the global Chinese community tends to imply that Chineseness and the Chinese identity are more important. Other Chinese rituals and traditions, such as *Qingming*, *Duanwu Jie* and *Zhongqiu Jie*, which the national newspapers often do not report, are also covered widely in the Chinese media, further exemplifying the importance the Chinese media places on Chinese traditions and rituals to promote Chineseness.

The Chinese media also focus on the tenets of Chinese culture as they consider themselves to be "one of the gatekeepers of Chinese culture" (Hoon 2006, 112). Chinese culture dominates Chinese media, with a great deal of space being devoted to cultural matters. Chinese culture feature articles such as Chinese cultural commentaries, Chinese traditions and Chinese classical stories are abundant in the *Fukan* (Supplement) section of all the Chinese newspapers. In addition to the *Fukan* section, *Qiandao Ribao* also devotes space to sections entitled *Zhonghua Wenhua* (Chinese Culture) and *Shuhua Xinshang* (Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy Appreciation).

The Chinese media also celebrates the Chinese language. For many older generations of Chinese Indonesians, the Chinese language is an important part of their Chinese identity and is seen as the quintessence of Chineseness. The rise of China in global politics has also contributed to the promotion of the Chinese language, which the Chinese Media claim is helping their goal. One director of a Chinese newspaper said that, "Chinese language has become a world trend because of the growing Chinese economy... Young Chinese Indonesians learn Mandarin for economic prospects. The search for roots will come later – after they learn about Chinese culture" (as quoted in Hoon 2006, 113). This statement clearly highlights the salience of ethnic language and culture as part of ethnicity and ethnic identity; that is, a Chinese who does not speak Chinese is considered to be losing their Chineseness. Ang (2001) noted that diasporic Chinese who do not speak Chinese are often questioned about the authenticity of their Chineseness. The promotion of the Chinese language is also reflected in the amount of space allocated to Chinese literature, short stories and poems in the media, as they believe that promoting Chinese language and culture can help develop the Chineseness of young Chinese Indonesians, which is why they provide specialised sections, such as *Qiandao Ribao*'s *Huawen Yuandi* (Chinese Language Garden) or the Jakarta-based *Guoji Ribao*'s *Shisheng Yuandi* (Teacher-Student Garden), in which students who learn Chinese can publish their compositions (as shown in Figure 4).

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妈妈,母亲节快乐

[illegible]

就真一直不停地疯狂叫唤。最后才找到合适的。有时候我的成绩不理想时，我回来后会希望去偷，但是也没有，您反而会安慰我，您说：智洋啊，妈妈从来都不希望您能考到100分回来，妈妈也不想让您读书有压力，下次再努力吧。我听了妈妈讲的话后非常感动，马上翻开书本学习第二天考试。

妈妈,我虽然没能像别人那样,买一些贵重的东西给您,但是我却能写这篇作文给您。谢谢您这 34 年来的照顾,以后换我来孝顺您了!

馬智洋
西溪森新三溪學校
初中三年級

我的小狗——玲玲

多少年呢？三年或四年？记不清了。一个闷热的午后，曾经发生一件令我终生难忘的惨剧，我的病死了。

[illegible]

过了3年，玲玲已长成大，它3岁了，身体也很大。今，我已12岁，即将升入高中。家人都劝学校要参加毕业典礼，玲玲自己也有家眷。那天在学校，我参加完典礼后，看到妈妈和妹妹。毕业典礼后，快乐回家。我也想带玲玲回去，因为这是我最快乐的日子！感谢有它和我陪伴着。但是，去香港时，我没有带它回去，可能它不开心。我丢下它的小窝，我很难，我失望，我难过，但是没有办法，玲玲死了。

已过去四年了，如今我还在怀念它，感谢它带给我的这样好的养了，如今我发觉它想的是这样而已。我，我回到香港，希望玲玲上天堂，因为它是一只好狗。我爱它，玲玲！

詹妮斯·詹妮斯

曾志丰 Jennix Chan
Lpp Noble Batam
地址 南内学文补习班

我有一个梦想



每个人都有自己的梦想。我的梦想是能成为一名医生。我小时候身体不好，常常生病，妈妈经常带我去看医生。

当我看病的医生为人非常好，医术也很高明。我吃了药之后，病渐渐就好了。那时候我就想当一名医生了。因为医生可以治好很多病。

我觉得医生是一份很有意义的工作,可以每天给病人看病,使病人恢复健康。我希望自己可以成为医生,我要好好学习,让我的梦想

綠地慈濟學校 TZU CHI SCHOOL
 四年級慈惠班 P4—Compassion
 夏麗霞 Clarissa Karuna Herman
 徵件金額：五元

我的春节



在春节，我去我的舅舅家。在那里，我拿到了很多红包。我也去过一个伯伯的家里。在那里我也拿到很多红包。我们还在那里吃了一顿晚饭。我的爷爷和奶奶也给我红包，红包里有很多钱！我觉得我的春节很开心。因为我拿到很多红包，我手很高兴，它变得很开心。

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八华学校
班期: 2年9班
指导老师: 谢保玲、李强

母亲节

对我来说母亲节是最重要的节日，因为我觉得世界上母亲是最伟大的。她把我们生下来，一直照顾我们成长。也给我们很多的爱和知识。母亲节那一天，我和我妈妈打算给妈妈一个惊喜。但在同时，我妈妈生病了，我妈妈每天都很劳累的。晚上差不多七点钟时，我和姐姐，则去大黑柜，衣

Figure 4. *Guoji Ribao's Shisheng Yuandi* (Source: *Guoji Ribao*, 31st May 2017)

The rise of China in world politics and the role of the global Chinese diaspora in the economy also reinforce the interest of Chinese Indonesians in China and their identity as part of the Chinese diasporic community. Their interest in their ancestral country and their identification as a Chinese diasporic community are reflected in the coverage of China and the Chinese diaspora, which provides not only information on fellow diasporic communities, but also highlights common points of reference. From this information, the “deterritorialised subjects”, such as the Chinese Indonesian community can sustain their “cultural continuity” (Thompson 1995), which can serve to strengthen their ethnic identity further. The Chinese media gives them areas of cultural identification in special sections on China, Hong Kong and Taiwan so that they can imagine a coherent and continuous identity. *Guoji Ribao*, *Qiandao Ribao* and *Yindunxiya Shangbao* each has *Zhongguo Yaowen* (China News), *Liang'an Side* (Four Places across Taiwan Straits) and *Zhonggangtai Xinwen* (China, Hong Kong and Taiwan News), all of which cover issues in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. *Qiandao Ribao* also has a section called *Yinzhong Youhao* (Indonesia-China Friendship) that highlights the friendship between Indonesia and China and covers various aspects from culture to economics. When asked why they had these special sections on the regions of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan rather than combining the news into the *Guoji Xinwen* (International News) section, some editors and senior journalists said that many Chinese Indonesians were eager to know news about the region because of China’s economic prowess and its “special connection”. One journalist told author,

China is an economic power house now. With its Maritime Silk Road and One-belt-one-road Initiatives, China could play an important role in the world's economy. It would be a loss for us to neglect China. (Interview, 29th June 2017)

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Elaborating what the “special connection” was, an editor said “Our ancestors came from China, so obviously, we have a special connection with the country, although we are now Indonesians” (Interview, 19th September 2017).

While mentioning the economic prowess of China, they emphasised the “special connection”, which can also be seen in news coverage about China. For example, *Guoji Ribao* (2nd October 2017) gave the title “Zuguo de Mingtian Hui Geng Hao: Qingzhu Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Chengli Liushiba Zhounian Zhaodai Hui Ceji” (The Future of the Motherland Will be Better: Celebrating the 68th Year of the Founding of the People’s Republic of China) for its coverage of China’s national day (as shown in Figure 5). The choice of the words used for refereeing to China, that is *zuguo* (motherland), describe what the people behind the Chinese media think about the special connection.

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祖国的明天会更好——庆祝中华人民共和国成立六十八周年招待会侧记

新华社北京9月30日电 “中国号”，已被人民复兴的巨轮所承载。党的十八大以来，以习近平同志为核心的党中央科学把握当今世界和当代中国的发展大势，顺应实践要求和人民愿望，推出一系列重大战略举措，提出一系列重大方针政策，统筹谋划五位一体总体布局，协调推进四个全面战略布局，推动中国特色社会主义伟大事业取得历史性成就，谱写新时代中国特色社会主义新篇章。

9月30日晚，中国国务院在人民大会堂举行国庆招待会。习近平等党和国家领导人同各国驻华使节、国际组织负责人、外国政要、各界人士欢聚一堂，共庆中华人民共和国成立六十八周年。

人民大会堂宴会厅内，华灯璀璨，觥筹交错，宾朋济济一堂，气氛喜庆热烈。主席台上方国徽高悬，“1949—2017”的大字年号在红地毯下熠熠生辉。

这是不平凡的历史节点，党的十九大召开之年，实施“十三五”规划、全面建成小康社会的重要一年，推进供给侧结构性改革的深化之年……奋进的

5年来，中国的国际地位与影响与日俱增，中国正前所未有地走近世界舞台中心，中国特色大国外交展开波澜壮阔的历史征程，构建人类命运共同体从理念变为现实，中国取得的历史性成就，得到国际社会的广泛赞誉。

中国举办的主场外交活动全球瞩目，越来越多的“中国倡议”上升为国际共识，越来越多的“中国方案”汇聚成国际行动。中国提出的“一带一路”倡议为沿线国家发展带来新的机遇，中国在自身发展的同时，还积极帮助其他国家共同发展，展现了大国责任和担当。“哈萨克斯坦驻华大使努雷舍夫说，中国在国际舞台上的角色越来越重要，在应对气候变化、支持联合国和多边主义等方面的作用举足轻重。期待推动‘中国制造2025’战略与‘德国工业4.0’对接，为两国合作注入新动力。”

获得2017年度中国政府“友谊奖”的意大利专家沃林顿说，中国取得的巨大成就归功于中国人民的聪明才智和辛勤劳动。“中国正处在发展的关键时期，正在从世界工厂转变为发明、制造和设计大国，创新和可持续发展非常重要。”

5年来的历史变革和成就，不仅体现在党和国家面貌的深刻变化，也体现在人民群众满满的获得感和幸福感。

党的十八大以来，国家的政策在农村落地生根，党员带头苦干实干，我们村民的吃、住、医、学，都得到了大大的改善，老百姓得到的实惠看得见，摸得着，大家感觉日子变好了。”山东省济南市章丘区三涧溪村党支部书记高震说，“我们对十九大的召开充满期待，相信党中央会持续推进各项改革，让人民群众得到更多实惠。”

梦想在前，使命在肩。中铁十七局集团铺架分公司“响后”探伤工关改玉说：“作为祖国铁路事业的一员，我有信心为我们的铁路走向世界贡献一份力量，撸起袖子加油干，梦想终会成真！”

华灯初上，夜幕下的人民大会堂庄严肃穆，天安门广场，红旗猎猎，在以习近平总书记为核心的党中央坚强领导下，满怀信心的中国在时代发展的新起点上扬帆起航！

Figure 5. *Guoji Ribao*’s coverage of China’s National Day on 2nd October 2017

The Chinese media also reports news on Chinese diasporic communities, with most putting this news in the *Huashe* or *Huashe Xinwen* sections. The coverage is not only about activities and happenings in these diasporic communities, but also about the achievements of the members. *Qiandao Ribao* goes further by having a section called *Tianxia Huaren* (Chinese People in the World), which features successful people, as the paper wishes Chinese Indonesians to be inspired by these success stories. According to Hoon (2006, 109), this “assumes a (trans)nationalistic pride of belonging to the Chinese ‘race’, even though they are in different locations”.

This global diasporic identification is also evident in the reporting of pop culture news. All Chinese-language and most Indonesian-language Chinese media cover oriental pop culture from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, with Indonesian pop culture receiving little attention. Maybe this could be due to the huge popularity of Chinese pop culture; however, Chinese pop culture, as seen in the Chinese media, could be thought of as an expression of the desires of the Chinese community, at least those behind the Chinese media, to identify themselves with what they believe as their ethnic pop culture. Sinclair et al. (2000, 35) proved that television entertainment programs can generate a strong sense of belonging and identity. The consumption of Chinese pop culture could be seen as a reflection of “the epistemic desire” of Chinese Indonesians for entertainment from “home” (Naficy 1993, 107). The media also often highlights the Chinese background of Indonesian entertainers, as shown in Figure 5, something that is rarely seen in the mainstream media.

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Figure 6. Qiandao Ribao's Yinni Huayi Mingxing (Chinese Indonesian Stars), 27th May 2017.

The identification of Chinese Indonesians with other Chinese communities in other parts of the world in the Chinese media's coverage of news and events in China, in the Chinese diasporic communities and in the Chinese entertainment news, is all aimed at fostering a sense of Chineseness and Chinese identity. The Chinese media believe that this kind of coverage can generate the feeling in Chinese Indonesians that they share the same cultural beliefs and traditions as the Chinese communities worldwide and that they are part of an imagined diasporic Chinese community. This kind of coverage conveys an "image of their communion" with the Chinese diaspora (Anderson 2006, 6), which in the author's opinion, is central to the discourse in the Chinese media, as can be seen in the symbolic Chinese ethnic forms published daily.

Author's observations have also found that through the production of symbolic forms of ethnicity, the Chinese media aims to reconstruct the Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians that was decimated by the New Order, as stated by Huang on 12th June 2012. Explaining the idea behind the devotion of so much space to Chinese culture in his newspaper, one of the founding fathers of a newspaper said,

We adopted this idea because we hope that young Chinese Indonesians who do not know their language and culture can study them. We also hope that by studying them, they love their ethnic culture and develop their ethnic belonging. Like the saying goes, *tak kenal maka tak sayang* (Indonesian proverb which literally means, "You cannot love what you do not know"). (Interview, 11th April 2017)

Author's findings on the Chinese media have illuminated how the media is trying to reinforce the ethnic identity of their audience by triggering emotional attachments to ethnic symbols, which then feeds into feelings of ethnicity and ethnic identity in the readers. The Chinese media employ symbolic forms of ethnic imagining by foregrounding a Chineseness that links Chinese Indonesians to the global Chinese diasporic community. However, it is not easy for the Chinese media to achieve

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their cultural mission, especially in the younger generation, as a wide gap exists between the older Chinese generation behind the media and the potential readers who come mostly from the younger generation. This occurs because of the heterogeneity of Chinese Indonesian community as a result of, among others, generational differences and different cultural orientations. The way the media presents their content might not be interesting to the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians, an idea that is discussed further in the following section.

Imagined Nostalgia

The coverage and exposure of the activities of Chinese organisations, language, culture and traditions has led to the emergence of Chineseness in the public sphere. In Habermasian terms, the public sphere is a cultural domain of social interaction in which the public concerned are carefully deliberated for furthering the critical knowledge that could produce change. Seen from this Habermasian perspective, the Chinese media advances their concerns regarding Chinese Indonesian ethnicity through the circulation and discussion of images, ideas and arguments about Chineseness. Using ethnic symbols in their publications that are of salience to the Chinese, the Chinese media are attempting to construct a Chinese identity. A chief editor of a Chinese newspaper says, “Chinese culture has a fine history of 5,000 years. Assimilated [Indonesianised] Chinese have lost this noble culture. They are notably [un-Chinese] in their personality, including their morals” (as quoted in Hoon 2006, 112).

Hoon’s (2006, 113) study also revealed that the Chinese media have tried to revive the Chinese culture that was lost during the New Order period. By exposing Chinese culture, they hope that the readers and especially young Chinese Indonesians, can come to understand their ancestral roots and cultural heritage and hopefully reaffirm their ethnicity because to quote Ong (2006, 169), “the overall framing of message (in Chinese ethnic media) suggests that the identity at stake is (Chinese Indonesian) subjects” who have been detached from their ethnic and cultural heritage. Therefore, the Chinese media is attempting to construct the Chineseness they think was lost because of the New Order policy.

Yet, as mentioned previously, there is a gap between the people and the Chinese media and it is therefore the potential readers who have become the “target” of their cultural mission. However, these potential readers have their own perceptions regarding China and Chinese culture, as exemplified by the following interviewees.

A 26-year-old shop-owner: Our generation is alienated from the more “sophisticated” Chinese culture. We know nothing about proper rituals, such as ancestor veneration. And I don’t want to know about all those things. Too traditional. Even people in China do not practice them. (Interview, 19th July 2017)

A 35-year-old banker: Ancestor veneration is a typical Chinese ritual. It is intended to cultivate filial piety. But well, I don’t think it is necessary for us to do that. Showing respect and filial piety to our parents when they are still alive is much better than venerating them when they have passed away. (Interview, 24th July 2017)

While they admitted that Chinese culture and traditional rituals were good, the two informants above thought that the Chinese culture and traditional rituals Chinese media reported in their news and coverage were far-fetched. They are not closely related to their daily lives. This was one reason why they were not interested in reading them, despite their good Chinese proficiency, as they used to study Chinese in China before. The people behind the Chinese media may not be aware that culture can change and so can those who practice them. Because of this, younger Chinese find that this kind of coverage is boring.

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A 20-year-old college student majoring in Chinese: I like *Qiandao Ribao*'s *Huawen Yuandi*. We can send our essays for publication there. It is like a space where we can practice our writing skills. It is the only part that I read. ... I skip reading other sections. They are boring. (Interview, 14th September 2017)

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Even those who have a connection with China, economic and otherwise, think that the news reports and coverage of Chinese media focus too much on China.

A 30-year-old businesswoman who often goes to China on business: Chinese newspapers are very China-centric. The coverage on China is too much, I think. I know that China is an economic super power, but it does not mean everything about China is news-worthy. (Interview, 11th September 2017)

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A 29-year-old professional who pursued his master's degree in China: Too much coverage on China. ... They [news reports and articles about China and diasporic Chinese] are not closely related to us. No point in reporting them extensively. (Interview, 5th December 2017)

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The five younger Chinese Indonesians think that the Chinese media is unattractive because of their loose or even non-existent connections with China and their changing views on Chinese traditions and culture. While not all young Chinese Indonesians feel the same as the interviewees above, it is evident that not all young Chinese Indonesians share the common view of the older generation on China and Chinese culture. Therefore, the coverage is unable to attract many young Chinese Indonesians. The editors and journalists at *Qiandao Ribao* and *Guoji Ribao* admitted that their readers' demographic profile was dominated by Chinese who had received a Chinese education and that their younger readers were mostly those who worked in fields related to the Chinese language (personal communication). While the symbolic forms of imagining encapsulated in the memories of the past may provide ethnic salience for the older generation, these same forms do not appear to carry a lot of weight with others such as the younger generation. In other words, the Chinese media overlooks the facts that Chinese Indonesians are diverse and this diversity leads to different interpretation of Chineseness. This is the reason the Chinese media is facing difficulties in carrying out their cultural mission to reconstruct the Chineseness in Chinese Indonesians they believe was lost during the New Order era.

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However, author contends that this difficulty has occurred because in their efforts to indicate the degree or authenticity of Chineseness, the Chinese media have objectified Chinese culture by breaking it into practices, customs and traditions that carry symbolic weight and can be measured. Therefore, with this line of thought, some people are considered more Chinese because of their greater Chineseness and others are considered less Chinese because of their limited or lost Chineseness. This opinion identifies Chineseness as essential to ethnicity and also reflects a perception that Chinese culture is static and unchanging, which is not acceptable to the Chinese who grew up during the New Order era. In their effort to construct Chineseness through the use of Chinese cultural symbols and representations, the media have created an "imagined nostalgia" (Appadurai 1996, 77). The Chinese Indonesians behind the Chinese media may not be aware that younger Chinese Indonesians do not share their sentiments. Since the nostalgia they are highlighting is nostalgia for something that has never existed in the younger generations' lives, the media's Chineseness is unrelated to their lives because Chineseness shifts over time due to personal experience and social change. Donald Nonini and Aihwa Ong commented that Chineseness was no longer "a property or essence of a person calculated by that person's having more or fewer 'Chinese values' or norms". Instead, it should be seen in terms of the "multiplicity" (Nonini and Ong 1997, 13) of being Chinese as reflected in the Chinese Indonesian community. Therefore, the way the

Chinese media treat Chinese ethnic symbols is beneficial in terms of public sphere awareness, but misguided since they feel that this version of Chineseness and Chinese identity is sacrosanct; however, personal experience and social change are essential elements for the construction of Chineseness and Chinese identity in modern Indonesia. In other words, this imagined nostalgia is not shared by the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians, who have or are developing their own sense of their Chineseness.

Conclusion

The demise of the New Order paved the way for the Chinese Indonesian community to establish their own media, the cultural mission of which has been to preserve their ethnic culture and identity and encourage a certain ethnic identity in the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians. The Chinese media strongly believes that its function is to reconstruct the Chineseness and Chinese identity that were lost in the three decades of the New Order.

The media's reconstruction of Chineseness and Chinese identity has attempted to reinforce the Chinese Indonesian community's imagining (perceptions and feelings) of their ethnicity through the use of ethnic symbols that are salient to the Chinese cultural consciousness, with the belief that ethnic (Chinese) symbols and representations can forge ethnicity (Chineseness) and that through these emotional attachments to shared ethnic (Chinese) symbols, the people (Chinese Indonesians) can perceive a belonging to one (Chinese) community.

The strategies the Chinese media have adopted in their use of ethnic symbols for identity reconstruction are clearly reflected in the media content. Through news reports, editorials, opinions and other features in their publications, they have sought to create an image of communion in the minds of the readers, with the hope that this frequent exposure can strengthen and maintain the imagined community. However, in their efforts, they have developed an "imagined nostalgia" that the younger generation of Chinese Indonesians may not share. Therefore, the media is trapped in an essentialism that negates the possibility of the multiple forms of Chineseness and the multiple expressions of modern Chinese identity that exist in the Chinese diasporic community. Therefore, in my opinion, although they have been successful in bringing back Chinese culture to the Indonesian public, at the moment, it is difficult to achieve their goal of reconstructing the Chinese identity for the young Chinese Indonesian generation because it is a version of Chinese identity based on an "imagined nostalgia" that is often unrelated to the reality of young Chinese Indonesians.

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Comment [Copy Edit39]: Previously, this reference has incomplete bibliographic details. Please recheck if the **added information** here is correct.

Comment [Copy Edit40]: Previously, this reference has incomplete bibliographic details. Please recheck if the **added information** here is correct.

Comment [Copy Edit41]: Previously, this reference has incomplete bibliographic details. Please recheck if the **added information** here is correct.

Comment [Copy Edit42]: Previously, this reference has incomplete bibliographic details. Please recheck if the **added information** here is correct.

Comment [Copy Edit43]: Previously, this reference has incomplete bibliographic details. Please recheck if the **added information** here is correct.

Comment [Copy Edit44]: Previously, this reference has incomplete bibliographic details. Please recheck if the **added information** here is correct.

Yu, S.S. 2018. Multi-ethnic public sphere and accessible ethnic media: Mapping online English-language ethnic media. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 44(11): 1976–1993. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1346466>

Comment [Copy Edit45]: Previously, this reference has incomplete bibliographic details. Please recheck if the **added information** here is correct.

Bukti 9

Bukti submit konfirmasi dan koreksi atas penyuntingan yang dilakukan oleh dewan redaksi.

Tanggal 5 Maret 2020



List of Queries KAJH 27(1) 2020: Art 1

Setefanus Suprajitno <steph@petra.ac.id>

Thu, Mar 5, 2020 at 8:27 PM

To: KAJH Journal Administrator <nurmahfuzah.kajh@gmail.com>

Cc: nurmahfuzah@usm.my, s.suprajitno@gmail.com, Asian Journal of Humanities <kajh@usm.my>, Hajar Abdul Rahim <hajar@usm.my>

Dear Ms. Nurmahfuzah,

I have just finished perusing my article. I would like to thank the editor for correcting and mistakes. I have also found some errors in it, and made some suggestions in the query file.

I am sending the completed query file. Please contact me if you need further clarification.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
Setefanus suprajitno

[Quoted text hidden]



KAJH 27(1) 2020 Art 1 Queries_Completed.docx
32K

Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese Media and Chinese Identity in Post-Reform Indonesia

STEFANUS SUPRAJITNO

(Please check the details of Author(s), Author(s) affiliations and the corresponding author's email in the text.)

Dear Author(s),

The number in the Queries Number column corresponds to the query asked in the PDF document (in individual balloons on the margin) sent along with this file. Please provide answers to each query in the column Author's Comment.

PAGE	QUERY'S NO.	AUTHOR'S COMMENT
2	1.	The edit has maintained the intended meaning
2	2.	This is quoted from news report published in <i>Qiandao Ribao</i> (<i>Qiandao Daily</i>) page 13, on 11 October 2010. The title of the newsreport is 《千岛日报》创刊十周年有感 (“<i>Qiandao Ribao</i>” <i>Chuanggan Shi Zhounian Yougan</i>), which means <i>Congratulatory Remarks on the 10th Anniversary of Qiandao Ribao</i>. The journalist who wrote it was unknown. The publisher is <i>Qiandao Ribao</i>. The formatted reference is below. ---. 2010. “Qiandao Ribao” Chuanggan shi zhounian yougan (Congratulatory remarks on the 10th anniversary of Qiandao Ribao). <i>Qiandao Ribao</i>. 11 October.
3	3.	The added information is correct.
4	4.	The editor is right. I am referring to <i>newspapers</i> . Please change “new papers” into <i>newspapers</i> .
4	5.	The added information is correct.
4	6.	The added information is correct.
8	7.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 5 May 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee was my informant. The place of the interview was the office of the newspaper, that is, <i>Guoji Ribao</i> (<i>International Daily News</i>), in Jakarta, Indonesia.
8	8.	There is no press release or media statement. I was invited to attend the inauguration of the new office of <i>Qiandao Ribao</i> on 12 June 2012, when I did a fieldwork for another project.
8	9.	The quotation is from my field note, in which I wrote speeches that I thought were important. Mr. Huang Xiaozhong was one of the newspaper editors and senior reporters of <i>Qiandao Ribao</i> who had the honor to deliver their speeches at the inauguration of the new office of the newspaper on 12 June 2012.
8	10.	I believe that the inclusion is appropriate.
8	11.	This is news report published in <i>Guoji Ribao</i> on 13 April 2018. The title of the news report is 印尼华裔总会一行人会晤饶哈利大使 (<i>Yinni Huayi Zonghui Yixing Ren Huiwu Rao Hali Dashi</i>), which means <i>Chinese</i>

		<i>Indonesian Association Meets with Ambassador Jauhari</i>. “Rao Hali” is the Chinese transliteration of “Jauhari,” the Indonesian ambassador to China. The journalist who wrote it was unknown. The publisher is <i>Guoji Ribao</i>. The formatted reference is below. ---. 2018. Yinni Huayi zonghui yixing ren huiwu Rao Hali Dashi (Chinese Indonesian Association meets with Ambassador Jauhari). <i>Guoji Ribao</i>. 13 April.
9	12.	This is news report published in <i>Yindunxiya Shangbao</i> on 28 February 2018. The title of the news report is 印尼萧氏宗亲总会春节团拜晚会今年承办“第 11 届环球萧氏宗亲恳亲大会” (<i>Yinni Xiao Shi Zongqin Zonghui Chunjie Tuanbai Wanhui Jinnian Chengban “Di 11 Jie Huanqiu Xiao Shi Zongqin Ken Qin Dahui”</i>), which means <i>Xiao Clan Association of Indonesia Hosted Chinese New Year Gala Dinner cum the 11th World Xiao Clan Conference</i>. The journalist who wrote it was unknown. The publisher is <i>Yindunxiya Shangbao (Indonesian Business Daily)</i>. The news report I cite here is the online version. The URL is http://old.shangbaoindonesia.com/?p=207650 , accessed on 6 August 2018 The formatted reference is below. ---. 2018. Yinni Xiao shi zongqin zonghui Chunjie tuanbai wanhui jinnian chengban “Di 11 jie huanqiu Xiao shi zongqin ken qin dahui” (This year Xiao clan association of Indonesia hosted Chinese New Year gala dinner cum the 11th world Xiao clan conference). <i>Yindunxiya Shangbao</i>. 28 February. http://old.shangbaoindonesia.com/?p=207650 [6 August 2018].
10	13.	This news report is published in <i>Qiandao Ribao</i> on 2 June 2017. The title of the news report is 祭端午添寿夫 – 记泗水广肇会馆举办端午节祭祀活动 (<i>Ji Duanwujie Tian Shou Fu: Ji Sishui Guangzhao Huiguan Juban Duanwujie Jisi Huodong</i>), which means <i>Duanwujie Prayer: Report on the Commemoration of Duanwujie held by Guangzhao Chinese Association in Surabaya</i>. The journalist who wrote it was unknown. The publisher is <i>Qiandao Ribao</i>. The formatted reference is below. ---. 2017. Ji Duanwujie tian shou fu: Ji Sishui Guangzhao Huiguan juban Duanwujie jisi huodong (Duanwujie prayer: Report on the commemoration of Duanwujie held by Guangzhao Chinese Association in Surabaya). <i>Qiandao Ribao</i>. 2 June.
10	14.	No, I am not referring to “much older generation.” In order to make this sentence clear, I revise the sentence

		For many older generations Chinese Indonesians, the Chinese language is an important part of their Chinese identity and is seen as the quintessence of Chineseness into For many Chinese Indonesians of older generation, namely, those who were born and grew up before the New Order era, the Chinese language is an important part of their Chinese identity and is seen as the quintessence of Chineseness I have mentioned the term “the New Order era” in page 2, so I think the inclusion of this term would not be confusing as it has been introduced before.
10	15.	The added information is correct.
10	16.	I accept the editor’s suggestion.
11	17.	This figure is a section of <i>Guoji Ribao</i>, called 师生园地 (<i>Shisheng Yuandi</i> or <i>Teacher-Student Garden</i>). The figure I cite here is the section published on 31 May 2017. It consisted of 5 students’ compositions entitled 1. 妈妈, 母亲节快乐 (<i>Mama, Muqinjie Kuaile</i> or <i>Mum, Happy Mother’s Day</i>), 2. 我的小狗 — 零零 (<i>Wo de Xiao Gou: Lingling</i> or <i>My Little Dog: Lingling</i>), 3. 我有一个梦想 (<i>Wo You Yi Ge Mengxiang</i> or <i>I Have a Dream</i>), 4. 我的春节 (<i>Wo de Chunjie</i> or <i>My Chinese New Year</i>), and 5. 母亲节 (<i>Muqinjie</i> or <i>Mother’s Day</i>). The publisher is <i>Guoji Ribao</i>. I am not sure how to format the reference as I explained above.
11	18.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 29 June 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee was my informant. The place of the interview was a cafe in Surabaya, where I invited this journalist for an interview.
12	19.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 19 September 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee was my informant. The place of the interview was the office of the newspaper (<i>Qiandao Ribao</i>) in Surabaya, Indonesia.
12	20.	I accept the editor’s suggestion.
12	21.	This is news report published in <i>Guoji Ribao</i>, on 2 October 2017. The title of the news report is 祖国的明天会更好 — 庆祝中华人民共和国成立六十八周年招待会侧记 (<i>Zuguo de Mingtian Hui Geng Hao – Qingzhu Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Chengli Liushiba Zhounian Zhaodai Hui Caji</i>), which means <i>The Future of the Motherland Will Be Better – Celebrating the 68th Year of the Founding of the People’s Republic of China</i>. The journalist who wrote it was unknown. The publisher is <i>Guoji Ribao</i>. The formatted reference is below.

		---. 2017. Zuguo de mingtian hui geng hao – Qingzhu Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo chengli liushiba zhounian zhaodai hui ceji (The future of the motherland will be better: Celebrating the 68th year of the founding of the People’s Republic of China). <i>Guoji Ribao</i> . 2 October.
12	22.	The editor is correct. I am referring to figure 6.
13	23.	This news report is published in <i>Qiandao Ribao</i> on 27 May 2017. The title of the news report is 印尼华裔明星 — 姽姽·弗雷德里卡 (<i>Yinni Huayi Mingxing — Chacha Fuleidelika</i>). “Chinese Indonesian Actress: Chacha Fuleidelika” is the Chinese transliteration of “Chacha Frederika,” the name of a Chinese Indonesian actress. The journalist who wrote it was unknown. The publisher is <i>Qiandao Ribao</i>. The formatted reference is below. ---. 2017. <i>Yinni Huayi Mingxing — Chacha Fuleidelika</i> (Chinese Indonesian Actress: Chacha Frederika). <i>Qiandao Ribao</i>. 27 May.
13	24.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 11 April 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee was my informant. The place of the interview was the office of the newspaper (<i>Qiandao Ribao</i>) in Surabaya, Indonesia.
14	25.	I made a mistake. The year of publication for this author’s book is 1999 . Please change the year “2006” into 1999 . I have also checked the page of the quotation. It is correct. The page of the quotation is page 169.
14	26.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 19 July 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee, a Chinese Indonesian, was my informant. The place of the interview was his house in Surabaya, Indonesia.
14	27.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 24 July 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee, a Chinese Indonesian, was my informant. The place of the interview was a restaurant in Surabaya, where I invited him for dinner.
15	28.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 14 September 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee, a Chinese Indonesian, was my informant. The place of the interview was a canteen in the university where my interviewee studied. The location of the university was in Surabaya.
15	29.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 11 September 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee, a Chinese Indonesian, was my informant. The place of the interview was her house in Surabaya.
15	30.	This is the transcript of the interview I conducted on 5 December 2017, when I did the fieldwork for this paper. I was the interviewer, and the interviewee, a Chinese Indonesian, was my informant. The place of the interview was the informant’s office in Surabaya.

15	31.	This is not a citation, but an extract of the data from my field notes when I conducted the field work for this paper. The methods of getting the data were interviews, informal conversations, and participant-observation. That is why I called this as personal communication. I did the field work in 2017.
16	32.	I have checked the details the editor added.
16	33.	The added information is correct.
17	34.	The added information is correct.
17	35.	The added information is correct.
17	36.	The added information is correct.
17	37.	The added information is correct.
17	38.	The added information is correct.
18	39.	The added information is correct.
18	40.	The added information is correct.
18	41.	The added information is correct.
18	42.	The added information is correct.
18	43.	The added information is correct.
18	44.	The added information is correct.
19	45.	The added information is correct.
Additional correction/suggestion/information from author(s) (if any) – Please provide the page/para/line number.		
1		The details of Author(s): My name is spelled STEFANUS SUPRAJITNO The spelling of my first name is wrong. The correct spelling of my name is SETEFANUS SUPRAJITNO Please change STEFANUS into SETEFANUS
6		First paragraph, line 9: It is written ..., the Chinese community attempt to find solutions to the problems Chinese Indonesians face as an ethnic group. I think I made a grammatical error. It should be written as ..., the Chinese community attempts to find solutions to the problems Chinese Indonesians face as an ethnic group. The word “community” is singular, so the letter “s” should added to the verb “attempt”
6		The second paragraph, lines 1 and 2 It is written: Besides social, political, and religious organizations, another important ethnic institution for the Chinese community are Chinese schools, ... I think I made a grammatical error. It should be written as

		Besides social, political, and religious organizations, another important ethnic institution for the Chinese community is Chinese school, ... The subject is singular, that is, “another important ethnic institution,” so the linking verb “be” should be in the form “is.” I consider that “school” here is an entity, so it should also be singular. In this way, there is an agreement between the subject and the complement of the sentence.
18		Reference: In this manuscript it is written as: Weeks, J. 1990. The Value of Difference. In <i>Identity: community, culture, difference</i>, ed. Jonathan Rutherford, pp. 88–100. London: Lawrence & Wishart Limited. The editor of this book is Jonathan Rutherford, not Jonathan Rutherford. Please correct this bibliographic information into: Weeks, J. 1990. The Value of Difference. In <i>Identity: community, culture, difference</i>, ed. Jonathan Rutherford, pp. 88–100. London: Lawrence & Wishart Limited.

***-Book citations:** Author(s). Year of publication. Title of contribution. Followed by In *Title of Book*. (ed.) or (eds.) followed by Initials, Surname of author or editor of publication. Place of publication: Publisher, page numbers of contribution. Link to the DOI (if any)

-Journal references: Author(s). Year of publication. Title of article. *Title of Journal*, volume number and (issue number), and the numbers of the first to the last pages. Link to DOI (if any)

-Annual report: Corporate author. Publication year. *Full title of annual report*. Place of Publication: Publisher.

-For an e-version of an annual report: Author or corporate author. Year. *Title of document or page* [type of medium]. Website address/URL(Uniform Resource Locator)[Accessed date].

-For newspaper articles found in online newspapers: Author or corporate author. Year. Title of document or page. *Name of newspaper* [type of medium]. Additional date information. URL [Accessed date].

-For theses and dissertations: Author(s). Year. Title of thesis. Degree’s type and field, University’s name.

-For published conference paper: Author(s). Year of publication. Title of paper. Initial and Surname of editors. *Title of published proceedings which may include place held and date*. Publisher: Place of Publication, page number(s). doi: .

-For unpublished conference paper: Author(s). Year of publication. Title of paper. *Proceedings: Name of the conference*. Place of the conference, date held. Website address/URL [Accessed date].

Thank you very much.

Bukti 10

Email dari Journal Administrator tentang referensi yang terlewatkan beserta jawaban atas email tersebut.

Tanggal 27 Maret 2020



List of Queries KAJH 27(1) 2020: Art 1

KAJH Journal Administrator <nurmahfuzah.kajh@gmail.com>
To: Setefanus Suprajitno <steph@petra.ac.id>, s.suprajitno@gmail.com

Fri, Mar 27, 2020 at 7:45 AM

Dear Sir,

We have processed the queries' answers and the article accordingly. But we have found three more cited newspapers with insufficient information and not listed in the Bibliography section as follows:

Kompas, 2 June 2008.
Gatra, 23 January 2006.
Kompas, 19 February 2007.

Please provide the titles of the news articles (**in red**) (with the URL to the news article, if any) in the following paragraphs:

A Chinese scholar, Mona Lohanda claimed that the Chinese community believes that Chinese schools are able to impart Chinese cultural values to the young generation (***Kompas*, 2nd June 2008**), which is why many Chinese organisations have founded Chinese schools since they hope that young Chinese Indonesians can develop an emotional attachment to their ethnic culture and therefore sustain their ethnic identity.

For example, one famous and historical mosque in Yogyakarta (Syuhada Mosque) held a special prayer session to celebrate Chinese New Year for the first time (***Gatra*, 23rd January 2006**). Some Catholic churches also held a mass with Chinese New Year nuances (***Kompas*, 19th February 2007**), a tradition which some churches still continue.

We hope the author would respond to these enquiries accordingly.

Thank you.

On Thu, Mar 5, 2020 at 10:28 PM Setefanus Suprajitno <steph@petra.ac.id> wrote:

[Quoted text hidden]



[Quoted text hidden]



List of Queries KAJH 27(1) 2020: Art 1

Setefanus Suprajitno <steph@petra.ac.id>

Fri, Mar 27, 2020 at 4:22 PM

To: KAJH Journal Administrator <nurmahfuzah.kajh@gmail.com>

Cc: s.suprajitno@gmail.com

Dear KAJH administrator,

My apology for overlooking the source of the quotation.

The source of the quotation and the formatted reference are in the file I am attaching.

Best,
Setefanus

[Quoted text hidden]



Virus-free. www.avast.com



Queries_27 March.docx

15K

A Chinese scholar, Mona Lohanda claimed that the Chinese community believes that Chinese schools are able to impart Chinese cultural values to the young generation (*Kompas*, 2nd June 2008), which is why many Chinese organisations have founded Chinese schools since they hope that young Chinese Indonesians can develop an emotional attachment to their ethnic culture and therefore sustain their ethnic identity.

Mona Lohanda's statement is quoted from news report published in *Kompas* daily, on 2 June 2008. The title of the newsreport is "Perkembangan Sekolah Tionghoa di Era Teformasi," which means "The Development of Chinese School in the Reform Era." The journalist who wrote it was unknown. The publisher is *Kompas*

The formatted reference is below.

---. 2008. Perkembangan cekolah Tionghoa di era Reformasi (The Development of Chinese school in the Reform era). *Kompas*. 2 June

For example, one famous and historical mosque in Yogyakarta (Syuhada Mosque) held a special prayer session to celebrate Chinese New Year for the first time (*Gatra*, 23rd January 2006). Some Catholic churches also held a mass with Chinese New Year nuances (*Kompas*, 19th February 2007), a tradition which some churches still continue.

The source of the quotation from *Gatra* is taken from news report published in *Gatra* magazine Vol. 12 No. 12, 30 January - 4 February 2006. The title of the news report is "Hajatan Tionghoa Lintas Agama," which means "Chinese Celebration across Religions. The journalists who wrote it were Asrori S. Karni, Rahman Mulya, dan Puguh Windrawan. The news report I cite here is the online version. The URL is <http://arsip.gatra.com/2006-01-30/majalah/artikel.php?pil=23&id=91914>

The formatted reference is below:

Karni, A.S., Mulya, R. and Windrawan, P. 2006. Hajatan Tionghoa lintas agama (Chinese celebration across religions). *Gatra* 12(12), 30 January – 4 February. <http://arsip.gatra.com/2006-01-30/majalah/artikel.php?pil=23&id=91914> [31 July 2018]

The source of the quotation from *Kompas* is taken from news report published in *Kompas* daily on 19 February 2007. The title of the news report is "Beberapa Gereja Menyelenggarakan Misa Imlek," which means "Some Churches Celebrate Chinese New Year Mass" The journalist who wrote it was unknown. The publisher is *Kompas*

The formatted reference is below.

---. 2008. Beberapa gereja menyelenggarakan misa Imlek (Some churches celebrate Chinese New Year mass). *Kompas*. 19 February.

Bukti 11

Email dari Journal Administrator tentang final proof (11a), beserta tanggapan atas permintaan final proof tersebut.

Tanggal 7 April 2020



KAJH Vol. 27, No. 1, 2020: Final Proof

KAJH Journal Administrator <nurmahfuzah.kajh@gmail.com>

Tue, Apr 7, 2020 at 8:03 AM

To: Setefanus Suprajitno <steph@petra.ac.id>

Cc: s.suprajitno@gmail.com, Asian Journal of Humanities <kajh@usm.my>, marina_azmi@usm.my

Dear Author,

We are pleased to enclose the final proof of your article from the above mentioned issue of KAJH. Authors are requested to do a final check before we forward the article for publication.

Please take note that only minimal changes can be made at this stage and authors are responsible for any error in the published paper due to your oversight.

We appreciate your attention to the above and any enquiry should be made by 10th April 2020. In case of any delay, we will publish the article as it is.

Thank you.

--

NURMAHFUZH BINTI MALEK

Journal Administrator, KEMANUSIAAN: The Asian Journal of Humanities,

Universiti Sains Malaysia Press,

Universiti Sains Malaysia, MALAYSIA

Website: <http://web.usm.my/kajh/>

Manuscript submission: <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/kajh>

Tel: 04 653 4980



KAJH 27(1)_Art1.pdf

2409K



KAJH Vol. 27, No. 1, 2020: Final Proof

Setefanus Suprajitno <steph@petra.ac.id>

Tue, Apr 7, 2020 at 2:22 PM

To: KAJH Journal Administrator <nurmahfuzah.kajh@gmail.com>

Cc: s.suprajitno@gmail.com, Asian Journal of Humanities <kajh@usm.my>, marina_azmi@usm.my

Dear Ms. Nurmahfuzah,

Thank you for the email. There is only one minor change that I propose.

In this section of the text,

To cite this article: Stefanus Suprajitno. 2020. Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese media and Chinese identity in post-reform Indonesia. *KEMANUSIAAN the Asian Journal of Humanities* 27(1): 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.21315/kajh2020.27.1.1>

The spelling of my name is wrong. The correct one is **Setefanus Suprajitno**. It is correctly spelled in "the name of the author."

Setefanus is my first name, and Suprajitno is my family name. So, citing this article should be:

Suprajitno, S. 2020. Reconstructing Chineseness: Chinese media and Chinese identity in post-reform Indonesia. *KEMANUSIAAN the Asian Journal of Humanities* 27(1): 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.21315/kajh2020.27.1.1>

Thank you for your attention and help.

I am also attaching the file in which I put a note on the words that need a minor change.

Best,
Setefanus Suprajito

[Quoted text hidden]



KAJH 27(1)_Art1_Suprajitno Rev.pdf
2418K

Bukti 12

Email dari Journal Administrator tentang publikasi manuskrip di vol 27, no. 1, tahun 2020.

Tanggal 20 April 2020



KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities Volume 27, No. 1 (2020): Publication

KAJH Journal Administrator <nurmahfuzah.kajh@gmail.com>

Mon, Apr 20, 2020 at 9:23 AM

To: Setefanus Suprajitno <steph@petra.ac.id>, "Norlida Mohd. Jalaludin" <idamie3@gmail.com>, rameil sayad <sayadrameil@gmail.com>, Hazmirullah Aminuddin <azmeer125@gmail.com>, Raith Zeher <raithzeher@gmail.com>, SIVACHANDRALINGAM SUNDARA RAJA <siva@um.edu.my>

Cc: Asian Journal of Humanities <kajh@usm.my>, Hajar Abdul Rahim <hajar@usm.my>, marina_azmi@usm.my, sarwani@usm.my, Normisbah Wan Cheek <normisbah@usm.my>, awatif@usm.my, Journal USM <journal@usm.my>, intan_suhaila@usm.my, yusri@usm.my

Dear all,

We are happy to inform you about the publication of *KEMANUSIAAN The Asian Journal of Humanities* Volume 27, No. 1 (2020).

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