

FROM ASSIMILATION TO PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM POLICY: STATE POLICY TOWARDS ETHNIC CHINESE IN INDONESIA

Wasino, Saptono Putro, Ananto Aji, Edi Kurniawan, Fitri Amalia Shintasiwi
Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Semarang

ABSTRACT

Indonesian society inherits plural society of Dutch colonization. One of the major problems is related to the minority ethnicity and its position towards the majority. One of the ethnicities which receives special attention from the government is Chinese. This article is trying to analyse the history of Indonesia Government Policy from Indonesian Independence to *Reformasi*. The results show that from Indonesian Independence to The New Order era, discrimination politics to Chinese in Indonesia occurs. Chinese is trying to create their image being Indonesian by imitating the majority's cultural identity or practicing assimilation based on the location where they live. After *Reformasi* in 1998, the state politics changed by respecting cultures or multicultural society. Therefore, some Chinese identities start to strengthen, but most of them still follow the majority culture.

Keywords: plural society, minority, identity, multicultural policy, identity

ABSTRAK

Masyarakat Indonesia mewarisi masyarakat majemuk penjajahan Belanda. Salah satu masalah utama terkait dengan etnis minoritas dan posisinya terhadap mayoritas. Salah satu etnis yang mendapat perhatian khusus dari pemerintah adalah Cina. Artikel ini mencoba menganalisis sejarah Kebijakan Pemerintah Indonesia dari era Kemerdekaan Indonesia hingga Reformasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dari kemerdekaan Indonesia ke era Orde Baru, terjadi diskriminasi politik terhadap Tionghoa di Indonesia. Orang Tionghoa mencoba membuat citra mereka menjadi orang Indonesia dengan meniru identitas budaya mayoritas atau mempraktikkan asimilasi berdasarkan lokasi tempat mereka tinggal. Setelah era reformasi pada tahun 1998, politik negara berubah dengan menghormati budaya atau masyarakat multikultural. Oleh karena itu, beberapa identitas Cina mulai menguat, tetapi kebanyakan dari mereka masih mengikuti budaya mayoritas.

Kata kunci: masyarakat majemuk, minoritas, identitas, kebijakan multikultural, identitas



INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country with pluralistic or plural society. Horizontally, it consists of various tribes, religions, races, and inter-groups, which in the terminology during Suharto era, known and abbreviated as SARA. In addition, based on geographical aspect, the difference between villages and cities in Java and outside Java is very obvious. Vertically, it consists of social layers consisting of various criteria, such as upper-class, middle-class, and low-class groups. Likewise, from the aspect of social position, there are rulers and common people. In the terminology of Javanese culture, there are terms known as "*priyayi*" (the noble) and "*wong cilik*" (the poor).

The conception of pluralistic society has been inherited by Indonesia since the colonial period. In the colonial concept, as pointed out by Furnivall (1944), it is described as a group of people consisting of two or more elements that live alone without any assimilation of one another in a political entity. Although the concept was intended for the colonial community, according to Nasikun (1985: 35), the continuity of this conception still exists until this time. By ignoring the concrete manifestation, we can capture the essence of the conception regardless of time and space. A plural society is a society with a value system that is embraced by various social entities that become the parts of it so that the members of the community lack loyalty to society as a whole, lack cultural homogeneity or even lack the basis for mutual understanding of one to each other.

Recognizing this plurality, the nation's founders had made a symbolic foundation in the symbol of the state of Indonesia namely "Garuda Pancasila", a Garuda (eagle) bird holding a ribbon which says "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" which means unity in diversity. The phrase has many interpretations. The first interpretation is in the form of the symbolist's confession (Muhammad Yamin) that in the reality, the newly established state, Indonesia, is indeed diverse but still has the same na-

ture, namely the willingness to unite or unity. For the second interpretation, the symbol is actually a warning or an "alarm" that reminds all children of the nation that Indonesia, in the reality, is plural and in that plural country, there is an opportunity for disintegration so there must be an awareness to unite. The main source of awareness to unite is Pancasila and the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence.

Talking about which interpretation is correct, it still needs to be discussed, but after Indonesia's independence, the problem of nation disintegration starts to appear. The highly visible thing is the issue of the relationship between ethnicity and religion. The issue of ethnicity and religion which has the most value of continuity is the conflict between "native Moslem" and "non-Moslem ethnic Chinese" communities. In the connection with that matter, the state requires to adopt the ethnic Chinese policy. This paper will conduct a historical-sociological analysis of the state policy and the relationship between the state and ethnic Chinese in Indonesia.

ASSIMILATION POLICY OF THE TRADITIONAL COUNTRY

Chinese people have existed in Nusantara since a long time ago, long before the Dutch colonialism. Generally, they came to this area for commercial purposes. At the peak of Majapahit's glory, in the XIV century, Javanese from the upper class were accustomed to the luxury goods imported from China such as silk, porcelain and so on. Along the north coast of Java, there have been many Chinese villages. In line with its interests, then in Kurun Niaga (1480-1680) (Reid, 1988), many Chinese people lived in port cities in Nusantara such as Banda Aceh, Malaka, Jepara, Tuban, Lasem, and Surabaya. The presence of Chinese people has boosted the economic growth of port cities and the growth of power centers in Nusantara. At the same time, marriages took place between Chinese and local Indonesian people. In subsequent developments, Moslem Chinese descendants were born (Carey.

1986: 17). As the result of mixed marriages, their children became a Chinese-Javanese *mestizo* generation. (Onghokkham, 1983). As the time goes by, the aspects of identity of the descendants of mixed marriages are difficult to recognize, their Chinese looks are not so obvious. With regard to this matter, Lekkerkerker, a Dutch scholar stated that 80% of the population of the North coast of Java had Chinese blood (Budiman.1979: 29).

Local government in Indonesia, especially in Java, had the interest in making policies towards the ethnic Chinese. At the peak of the glory of a Hindu and Buddhist kingdom, Majapahit, several low-ranked employees were under control of many Chinese. There was even a high-level official appointed from the ethnic Chinese, namely Adipati Terung. He was a mixed-blooded (Pegeaud) official. Likewise, the people from Wali Sembilan, namely Sunan Bonang and Sunan Ngampel Denta, who became the rulers of the eastern area of north coast of Java, were Chinese descendants. The Islamic Mataram Kingdom also embraced Chinese people for cooperation in managing the government. A concrete example is Tumenggung Wiroguno, an influential prime minister who was estimated to be a Chinese descent (De Graaf.1986: 211). Due to Chinese important role, the Constitution of Mataram regulated Chinese people specifically, namely the fine for killing Chinese was twice higher than that of killing Javanese (Carey 1986). Based on the description above, it can be said that traditional state policy at that time used assimilation model.

RACIAL LINE, COLONIAL LEGACY

The crucial change towards ethnic Chinese in Indonesia occurred during the Dutch colonial period. Colonial Government since VOC period until the Dutch East Indies Government period has changed assimilation relationship which has been built between ethnic Chinese as migrants and local residents or often called as "natives".

The Dutch government in Indonesia had an interest in separating Chinese people from local population after the event of 1740. At that time, Chinese Community in Batavia resisted VOC government in Batavia which was considered arbitrary against Chinese people. The rebellion escalated to a number of port cities in the north coast of Java which resulted in an alliance of resistance between Javanese aristocrats and the rebels of ethnic Chinese in a number of places in port cities such as Semarang, Jepara and Rembang. After the completion of the rebellion, the Dutch Government carried out very strict control towards Chinese people.

The Chinese-Javanese assimilation policy developed so far has been replaced with a policy of separating relationship between Chinese people and indigenous population. Since 1740, Chinese people have been officially forced to live in separate environments in every city controlled by the Dutch or *Pacinan* (*Chinese Wijk* or *town*). However, the regulation concerning *Pacinan* was not strictly enforced, and mostly, it depended on the behaviour and views of local Dutch officials. In 1830, many Chinese people lived outside the *Pacinan* area and the government had to instruct strict regulation regarding the *Pacinan* provisions. It seems that this order was not carried out properly because the sanctions were light. During the 19th century, there were many admonitions and orders from Batavia to apply stricter laws in *Pacinan*. However, local Dutch officials always seemed to have the right to make a final decision by looking at the local system. The effect of this policy on the stability of Chinese settlement patterns was very influential. Chinese people have never lived outside *Pacinan* for long time. Moreover, during the 19th century, there were many changes regarding the territorial borders of the government in Java, such as cities, districts, and so on. With an impact of *Pacinan* that was designed long ago, only district cities have *Pacinan* area. Therefore, from time to time, Chinese people who lived outside the *Pacinan* area or in the *Pacinan* area in the new regency

and city were planned to be moved to that place (Onghokham.1983: 38).

After enforcing the policy of residence system for Chinese people, the Dutch Colonial Government enacted the space limitation system for ethnic Chinese through delivery order. *Pacinan* required a delivery order. Although a delivery order was given on request, but in the end, they also had to submit a request. Through delivery order, Chinese people were easily monitored by the colonial government for their mobility outside its territory. (Onghokham.1983: 39).

That Colonial Government's policy resulted in a social gap between Javanese and Chinese people, even the appearance of conflict. This fact was reinforced by the existence of strata system created by Dutch Government. Approximately in 1850, social level based on race was stated in the constitution. The implementation of racial laws was also reflected in colonial reports which included many social conditions on the racial lines. It had implications for the rights of those who occupied certain layers which were in contrast to other layers. The social level based on the race are: (1) Employees of the company; (2) Independent population (Christians); (3) Foreign Easterners (Chinese, Indians, Arabs); (4) *Inlander* (native) (Wertheim.1956: 123).

The division of society into such social levels resulted in tenuous relationship between ethnic groups in Javanese society. The Dutch considered that their position was higher than that of Chinese and Javanese. Meanwhile, ethnic Chinese considered that their position was higher than the Javanese, even though they considered that their position was lower than the position of westerners. This order can psychologically cause "native" people to have a feeling of being marginalized in the colonial order and can cause a feeling of displeasure with the Dutch and the Chinese (Wasino, 2005).

In the field of economy, ethnic Chinese was given the opportunity to carry out economic activities supporting the colonial economy. Some of them worked in

the plantation production sector as contractors in the production process, intermediary traders, and the collectors of tax and "*pachts*" for toll roads, opiate, and so on. Some also worked without being associated with the colonial government, most of them were "*mindring*", or selling goods in instalment to Indonesian people in the countryside, liquor producers, and opium smugglers. Likewise, the distribution network for the trade of middle-low goods such as bicycles, watches and other electronic goods had also become an arena for supporting the economic activities of ethnic Chinese groups. Specific areas of expertise such as dental artisan, watchmaker, food chef, teacher, and so on also became the employment of ethnic Chinese in the colonial period.

INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION DURING OLD ORDER ERA

Colonial policy that separates citizens based on racial lines resulted in displeasure among the natives. As the result, after Indonesia's independence, the position of Chinese people who were placed as second-class citizens over the population of the natives during the Dutch Colonial era resulted in the feeling of suspicion of the freedom fighters who later became the rulers of the new state, the Republic of Indonesia.

The suspicion of the new rulers of the Republic of Indonesia was related to the loyalty of Chinese people towards Indonesia. Chinese political organizations in Indonesia were divided into three, namely those who are loyal to ancestral lands (both People's Republic of China and China), loyal to Dutch Colonial, and loyal to Indonesia. From those three groups, there was only a small proportion which was considered loyal to Indonesia. This was supported by the citizenship policy of the government of People's Republic of China that adheres to *Ius Sanguinis* principle which recognizes all Chinese citizens wherever they were born. Meanwhile, Indonesia adheres to *Ius Soli* principle (Dutch Act of 1910) which only recognizes Indonesian citizens born in Indonesia.

As the result, ethnic Chinese can legally have dual citizenship.

The governmental change from a colonized state to Republic of Indonesia influenced the economic order to change. In the colonial period, the control of assets and economic networks was largely controlled by Western entrepreneurs, especially the Dutch with the *second line* of Chinese entrepreneurs. Then, during the independence era, the control was transferred to Chinese people. This became more apparent after the process of *Indonesianisation* and nationalization of Western private assets to Indonesian Government which was then legalized in the Nationalization Act (number 86 of 1958) (Wasino. 2016: 62-71).

The policies of Indonesian Government from the beginning of independence to the end of guided democracy (1946-1965) towards ethnic Chinese were ambiguous. On the one hand, it did not provide opportunities for these ethnic groups in important positions in the government, like president position. In the 1945 Constitution, it is clearly stated that "the president is a native Indonesian", even in the draft of the manuscript, it is said that the president must be a Moslem. However, the word Moslem was removed in order to not offend the feeling of those with other religions. The word "native" has the meaning of "indigenous people". It is interpreted that it does not include the citizens of Chinese descent. However, on the other hand, Indonesian government realized that the economic power of the ethnic Chinese was quite strong and had trade networks throughout the country and between countries. For this reason, the government has made rules that were not so strict towards ethnic Chinese politics and culture.

There were two life orientation groups of ethnic Chinese which were given the opportunity by the Indonesian government. They were known as integration and assimilation ideology. Integration was described that the ethnic Chinese is one ethnic group like Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis, Batak, Malay and others which are

integrated in the state of Indonesia. As an ethnic group, the ethnical identities such as language, religion, and ancestral traditions were still maintained. Meanwhile, the assimilation was described that the ethnic Chinese must assimilate and unite with the culture of the other ethnic groups in Indonesia by not highlighting the characteristics of Chinese culture (Yahya (ed.), 1983).

This integration ideology was supported by the birth of a mass organization of ethnic Chinese group called the Indonesian Citizenship Consultative Body (*Baperki*) on March 14th, 1954. The aim was to make citizens of Chinese descent become genuine Indonesian citizens and oppose all forms of racial discrimination. *Baperki* as a mass organization which was active in politics and became a participant in the 1955 Indonesian election. *Baperki* succeeded in placing his representative in parliament, namely Siauw Giok Tjhan. *Baperki* actively supported Indonesian government in the political struggle including the liberation of West Irian.

In the economic field, *Baperki* adheres to the development of the national economy. In national economy, the use of natural resources and the development of human resources for the benefit of the people of Indonesia must be guaranteed. In order for the ethnic Chinese to support Indonesia's development as a whole, the ethnic Chinese must be legitimate Indonesian citizens and decrease the number of foreign Chinese in Indonesia.

Later on, assimilation ideology was born. Supporters of this ideology were opposed to the *Baperki*'s ideology because they wanted to assimilate ethnic Chinese culture into the body of the Indonesia nation. The birth of this organization was driven by the desire of President Sukarno on December 22nd, 1959 at the University of Gadjah Mada, so that there would be inter-tribal marriages namely between minority groups and majority groups who were said to the genuine Indonesian citizens. The assimilation group consisting of 30 figures of Chinese descent met in Bandung Ambarawa, Semarang Regency,

Central Java and signed the Assimilation Charter on January 15th, 1961. Those who signed the charter were: Be Tjong Lee, Ong Hok Ham, and D, Sudjiadi. The charter stated that:

Assimilation is the process of uniting groups that have various mental attitudes, customs and cultural statements which are combined into a harmonious and meaningful sociological roundness, which in this case, it is called the nation of Indonesia.

In relation to the issue of "Chinese descent" Indonesian citizens, assimilation means the entry and acceptance of Chinese descent into a single Indonesian nation so that finally there will be no typical characteristic of each group" (Charter of assimilation in Yahya 1983: 13).

If the institutional flow integrated into the political mass organization, Baperki, then the assimilation flow used the institutional container of Development Agency for National Unity (LPKB). This institution was established on March 12, 1963. Just like Baperki, this organization was also approved by President Sukarno.

In the competition between those two organizations, LPKB with the principle of assimilation gained superiority after the events of the G/30 S of 1965. LPKB, as an organization opposed to the PKI, firmly condemned that "counterrevolutionary movement". Meanwhile, Baperki lacked a condemning attitude towards the murder of the generals, so that this organization was accused of being involved in supporting the rebellion alleged by Suharto that it was conducted by the PKI. Baperki was seen very close to Sukarno and PKI so that this organization was disbanded by the New Order ruler, Suharto. There were many figures of Baperki who fled abroad, and some were arrested and imprisoned.

In the economic field, the government policy towards ethnic Chinese was carried out by limiting economic space and integrating the economy of Chinese people with the government or the natives. The first was known as the fortress economic system and the second was

known as the Ali-baba system. The word "fortress" has its own meaning.

As the result of the expansion and economic dominance of ethnic Chinese, including Totok Chinese, PP (government decree) 10 of 1959 was issued. The decree stated that Chinese people were only permitted to trade in the city of the regency, and were prohibited from trading in rural areas. As the result, many Chinese people moved from the district cities to the regency (PP nomor 10 tahun 1959).

ASSIMILATION IN NEW ORDER ERA

Unlike Sukarno, who accommodated two ideologies, namely integration and assimilation for ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, Suharto only embraced the policy of assimilation. President Suharto's policy of assimilation was based on the events of 30 September 1965 which were allegedly driven by the Indonesian Communist Party. In that coup d'etat, People's Republic of China was seen as a party of outside country that played an important role in supporting the movement, although in the latest research it was still a debate over who was the mastermind behind the bloody events in Indonesian history. Chinese people in Indonesia who had connection with Indonesian Communist Party and had networks with the People's Republic of China were the members of Baperki because many were sitting in the Sukarno government at the time. Therefore, it was only Chinese ethnic group embraced assimilation ideology which gained a place in the New Order era.

During Suharto's Government (1966-1998), it was stated clearly that the citizens of Chinese descent must immediately integrate and assimilate with "native" Indonesian citizens. (Dwipayana and Hadimadja, 1989: 279; Suryadinata "2003: 2). In this policy of assimilation, Indonesian government did not permit them to have Chinese identity as in its ancestral country. The identity is in the form of language, writing, school, religion, and Chinese tradition. The aim of the policy of assimilation was to control Chinese Indo-

nesian citizens to be loyal only to the Republic of Indonesia, and not to the Republic of China.

To realize the policy of assimilation, the government of New Order must ensure that "Chinese" characteristics or identities are eliminated and merged into "Indonesian identity". *Firstly*, newspapers that speak and use the letter of Chinese were banned, except for one newspaper that was controlled by the military which used two languages. In this case, the advertisements and import of publications in Chinese were also prohibited. *Secondly*, Chinese schools were closed and replaced by special schools which became the places for assimilation development, the national school where Chinese children continued their studies. These schools were also required to accept native students with a composition ranging from 60/40 percent. *Thirdly*, in the political field, there were no permissible political parties based on race or ethnic Chinese. They can only join the existing Indonesian political parties (after 1971, there were only 3 parties, namely Golkar, PDI, and PPP). *Fourthly*, the policy of name changing was enacted. The Suharto government forced the Chinese to change their names from Chinese identical names to Indonesian identical names. The name change was strongly supported by Chinese religious residents who used to be assimilationist because it was a sign of their political loyalty to Indonesia (Suryadinata: 2003: 2-3). Among the name changes, the most widely used are Javanese names.

Although the policy of assimilation has a political dimension, this policy is actually based on the socio-cultural theory of "*melting pot*". In this theory, the minority culture merges into the majority culture. In this way, social conflicts between minority ethnic groups and majority one can be eliminated. In line with this concept, Siswana Yuda Husada, a native entrepreneur and one of the former economics ministers in the Suharto era proposed the concept of "*rock sugar assimilation*". In this assimilation concept, the minority group merges into Indonesian culture and

colours the taste of Indonesian culture as well as the use of new sugar in tea.

In the context of the socio-cultural theory, assimilation is juxtaposed with acculturation. Assimilation is defined as "*a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitude of the persons groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in common cultural life*" (Poerwanto, 2005:13). Meanwhile, acculturation is defined as "*... comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different culture comes into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either of both groups.*" Based on these two definitions, assimilation and acculturation can be defined as a meeting of people or cultural behaviours that causes both parties to influence each other and change forms eventually (Purwanto, 29-33).

The process of assimilation and acculturation between Chinese and "native" ethnic groups actually had legitimacy in the historical journey of Indonesia long before the Dutch colonialism. However, the concept of assimilation in the context of the New Order is a political concept, a social process imposed by the state on ethnic Chinese to merge into the culture of the majority of the Indonesian people.

Although culturally and politically marginalized, Chinese people (especially the upper class) were very needed by the New Order government. This government, which was controlled by the military, did not have special expertise in economic management, so "nurturing" Chinese entrepreneurs who were seen to have close connection was the best way to drive the economy. In the process, there was often "corruption" and "collusion" between the military authorities and Chinese entrepreneurs.

The tradition of economic relationship between military authorities and Chinese entrepreneurs has been running since the war. Suharto was accustomed to build business relationships with Lim Siew Li-ong when he was Diponegoro Division

Commander in Central Java. At first, the making of military uniforms was borne by the Chinese entrepreneurs who were related to President Suharto through the marriage of their children.

The pattern of business relationship between the authorities and ethnic Chinese during Suharto government era lasted to a lower level bureaucracy. Entrepreneurs from ethnic Chinese group have understood the behaviour of the authorities who asked to be served, so that they provided "tribute" as a part of the costs to be incurred in economic activities. In daily language in Indonesian society, it comes from Javanese vocabulary, "*nyogok*" (bribing) the officials which becomes economic habits traditions that must be presented in the authoritarian regime. With this business security strategy, ethnic Chinese are protected by the authorities in their economic activities.

This "dirty" business behaviour has become the general understanding of the community. As the result, it results in the prejudice among other Indonesian residents, because at one point, ethnic Chinese were treated discriminatively. However, on the other hand, they could receive special treatment when conducting money politics in all their business dealings. This special treatment and protection led to anti-Chinese movements in a number of times and a number of places during New Order era, such as the 1974 Mari Event, the Anti-China Movement Event in Solo in 1980, and the 1998 racial conflict that occurred in a number of major cities in Indonesia, such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Solo, and so on.

PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM IN REFORMASI ERA

In 1998, there was a reform movement that tried to replace the order of New Order government which was considered to have rot because of the development of Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism or often abbreviated as KKN. The reform movement was sponsored by the intellectual middle class, mainly from a number

of well-known universities in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. This reform movement was in line with the economic crisis around 1998 which caused the New Order government's debt to swell, inflation to grow, and world economic pressure on Indonesia to be stronger which caused the exchange rate of rupiah to collapse.

The reform movement has succeeded in overthrowing Suharto government which had been in power for 32 years. The new government under President Habibie was forced to make the political world in Indonesia more democratic. Habibie opened the faucet of the growth of political parties as a sign of the revival of democracy in Indonesia. At that time, there were 100 political parties emerged with various ideological orientations. The new atmosphere also led to the birth of ethnic Chinese political participation by creating three political parties, namely: (1) the Indonesian-Chinese Reform Party (Indonesian Assimilation Party, and the Indonesian Bhineka Tunggal Ika Party (PBI)). However, many ethnic Chinese groups did not agree with the birth of ethnic-based political parties, they want the formation of non-political Chinese organizations in the form of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The first NGO formed was Indonesian-Chinese Social Clan Association (PMSTI). The organization was split and formed a new NGO with the name of Indonesian-Chinese Harmony Association (INTI). (Suryadinata, 2003: 3-4; Suryadinata, 2008: 218).

A very monumental government policy for ethnic Chinese citizens is when Indonesia was under the government of President Abdurachman Wahid or abbreviated as Gus Dur. Gus Dur was one of the reform leaders, and was the General Chair of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest moderate Islamic organization in Indonesia. Gus Dur dismantled the concept of "non-native" for ethnic Chinese and "native" for other tribes in Indonesia. This view is considered wrong because it considers that Indonesia consists of only two races, namely Malay race and the Mongolid race. In terms of reality, it con-

sists of three races, namely, Malay, Austro-Melanesia, and Mongolid (Chinese). The three of them formed Indonesian nationality (Wahid, 1998: 7-8). Based on this thought, Gus Dur formed a new party that could accommodate various races with the name of the National Awakening Party (PKB).

In line with his pluralistic political and cultural thinking, Gus Dur made an accommodative policy towards ethnic Chinese. Gus Dur dismantled the previous rules which were discriminative against the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. The regulation was stated in Presidential Decree number 6 year 17 January 2000. With the issuance of the presidential decree, the decision to ban all matters relating to Chinese customs as stated in President Suharto's Instruction No. 14 of 1967 was officially revoked. Since then, all activities of ethnicity, belief and custom of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia can be carried out without requiring special permission as it was in the previous government. This presidential decree also provided opportunities for the use of Mandarin in ethnic Chinese, the introduction of Mandarin in mass media and in the world of education. Gus Dur also provided an affirmative action policy, which was the government's special action to guarantee and to protect the ethnic groups and individuals whose human rights are violated, including ethnic Chinese (Instruksi Presiden No 14 tahun 1967; Putra Dwivianto, 2016: 479-480).

Chinese identity in religion is often associated with "Konghutju religion". In the framework of granting religious freedom, "Konghutju" is recognized as one of the country's official religions. In line with this, the Minister of Religious Affairs, M. Tolchah Hasan issued the Minister of Religious Affairs' decree No. 13 of 2001 which sets the Chinese New Year as a national holiday.

Another problem for ethnic Chinese was the identity problem on the National Identity Card (KTP). Based on the previous regulation, namely Circular Letter of the Minister of Home Affairs number

477/74054 on November 18, 1978, it is necessary for Chinese descendants to have a Proof of Citizenship Letter to administer National Identity Card. It also has included the information of the state official religion. With this new regulation, the *Proof of Citizenship* of the Republic of Indonesia (SKBRI) is not applicable, and Konghutju's religion can be included in the National Identity Card (KTP).

Abdurachman Wahid's government also provided opportunities for ethnic Chinese to be the official in the government. Kwiek Kian Gie who was the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs came from ethnic Chinese or Chinese descendant. Likewise, a number of legislative members (DPR), there were a number of representatives from the Chinese ethnic group such as Ir Tjandra Wijaya Wong, Alvin Lie Ling Piao, Ir. Enggratiasto Lukito, and L.T. Susanto. In the People's Consultative Assembly, there was Hartati Murdaya (Chow Lie Ing) (Putra Dwivianto, 2016: 480).

After Gus Dur government, the country's socio-cultural and political policies towards the ethnic Chinese continued. Religion, traditions, and customs of ethnic Chinese were given the opportunity to be developed. Therefore, there was the revitalization of Chinese culture in Indonesia which was reflected in religious ceremony namely Chinese New Year which was often attended by state officials and inviting people from other ethnicities. Chinese language was widely used in daily conversation in a number of Chinese communities, and was taught in schools, especially for the schools which have many students from ethnic Chinese group. A number of universities, including state universities, have opened a Mandarin language study program whose students were from both Chinese and other ethnic groups.

After dozens of reforms and state alignment to Chinese minority were strong enough, there was a problem of new ethnic sentiments. The use of Mandarin in the ethnic Chinese community in public places has given rise to a sense of

disagreement in a number of other ethnic communities because it was seen as a new "exclusivism". This was supported by the fact that many Chinese people were successful in the economic field. That economic power was often rumoured that the authorities or rulers (let's say Jokowi) were supported by Chinese conglomerates called Nine Dragons.

The case of the collapse of Ahok (Basuki Tjahaya Purnama) showed the strengthening of negative sentiments from other ethnic groups towards ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. Ahok, who is a minority, ethnic Chinese, and Christian, is considered a threat to the ethnic majority of Jakarta people in particular, and Indonesians who generally feel themselves as "natives". It was due to 212 political and religious movements which was considered as a signal of anti-Chinese sentiment that began to strengthen again. In addition, with the statement of Governor Anis Baswedan who firmly stated that he would fight for the fate of "natives" who had been under "economic oppression".

The feeling of being threatened by the strengthening "Chinese" economy among the population of the "native" was getting stronger as the improvement of political and economic relationship between Indonesia and People's Republic of China. Although the efforts to improve the relationship between these two countries began during Gus Dur government era, the efforts to attract large-scale foreign investment from PRC resulted in suspicion among Jokowi's political enemies. This was supported by the increasing number of Chinese citizens working in investment sectors originating from China, such as highway, train, mining, and so on. To overcome this, it was accommodated with the concept of economic policy for the medium and small economy (UMKM) and the economic development policy of the people which was an agreement between President Jokowi and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).

Policies which were considered too "generous" towards ethnic Chinese led to jealousy among Chinese entrepreneurs. In

connection with this, in a number of areas, such as Rembang, Semarang and Surakarta, inter-ethnic and religious dialogues were held to prevent conflicts based on ethnicity and religion. The Religious Communication Forum is one of the important pillars in preventing the conflict. Moreover, there were also forums by the National Unity and Community Empowerment Agency at the provincial and district level which held inter-tribal and inter-faith dialogue.

CONCLUSION

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the state policy towards the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia experienced ups and downs. In certain period, the state made policies in the form of protection of ethnic Chinese, but in other period, the state carried out discriminative actions against them. In responding to the changes in the country's policies, the ethnic Chinese people generally were the active agents in the changing times. As the result, the embodiment of Chinese ethnic culture became flexible in these policy changes. There are several patterns of state policy towards ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. The first is assimilative as reflected in the traditional state and New Order era. The second is racist integrative, it occurred during the Dutch colonial period. The third is freedom and multiculturalism, namely during the Sukarno government. The fourth is forced assimilation which is during the government of the New Order leader, Suharto. And the fifth is the multiculturalism policy and the respect for human rights which is during the Aburachman Wahid era until now. By referring to the Bordue theory, policies in each phase of government are considered as an arena, so that ethnic Chinese behaviour follows the arena created both in cultural expression, social behaviour, political behaviour, and economic behaviour. However, by referring to the Gidden theory, they are not just subject to the environment, they also take an active role in every policy change. Especially in the economic field, the ethnic groups that mostly work

in trade and other business ventures play an active role in building relationship with the authorities for the security and success of their business. This often creates social jealousy and conflicts among ethnic groups at the grassroots level.

REFERENCES

- Budiman, A. (1979). *Masyarakat Islam Tionghoa di Indonesia*. Semarang: Tanjung Sari.
- Carey, Peter. (1986). *Asal Usul Perang Jawa: Pemberontakan Spoy dan Lukisan Raden Saleh*. Jakarta: Pustaka Azet.
- De Graaf, H.J., and Pegeaud, Th. G. (1986). *Kerajaan Islam di Jawa Peralihan Dari Majapahit ke Mataram*. Jakarta: Grafiti Pers
- Dwipayana, G. and Hadimadja, R. K. (1989). *Suharto: Pikiran, Ucapan, dan Tindakan Saya*. Jakarta: Citra Lamtorogung Per-sada.
- Furnivall, J. S. (1944). *Netherlands India: a Study of Plural Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- President Instruction, Number of 14, Year of 1967, about Agama, Kepercayaan, dan Adat Istiadat Cina. Retrieved November 5, 2019, https://id.wikisource.org/wiki/Instruksi_Presiden_Republik_Indonesia_Nomor_14_Tahun_1967
- Nasikun. (1985). *Sistem Sosial Indonesia*. Jakarta: Grafiti Pers
- Onghokkham. (1983). *Rakyat dan Negara*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Poerwanto, H. (2005). Asimilasi, Akulturasi, dan Integrasi Nasional. *Humaniora*, 11 (3)
- Dwivianto, B. P. (2016). *Pengaruh Kebijakan Mengenai Etnis Tionghoa di Indonesia era Pemerintahan Abdurrahman Wahid terhadap Hubungan Bilateral Indonesia dan Tiongkok*. Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya.
- President Policy (PP) Number of 10, Year of 1959. Larangan bagi Usaha Perdagangan Kecil dan Eceran yang Bersifat Asing di Luar Ibu Kota daerah Swatantra Tingkat I dan II Serta Karesidenan. Retrieved November 2, 2019, from <https://m.hukumonline.com/pusatdata/detail/13179/nprt/610/perpres-no-10-tahun-1959-larangan-bagi-usaha-perdagangan-kecil-dan-eceran-yang-bersifat-asing-diluar-ibu-kota-daerah-swatantra-tingkat-i-dan-ii-serta-karesidenan>
- Reid, A. J. S. (1988). *South East Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1690: Volume One: The lands Below the Winds*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Suryadinata, L. (2018). *Etnis Tionghoa dan Nasionalisme Indonesia: sebuah bunga rampai, 1965-2008*. Jakarta: Kompas-Gramedia
- Suryadinata, L. (2003). Kebijakan Negara Indonesia terhadap Etnis Tionghoa dari Asimilasi ke Multikulturalisme. In *Antropologi Indonesia*. Jakarta: Antropologi, Universitas Indonesia
- Wasino. (2005). *Wong Jawa dan Wong Cina: Liku-liku Hubungan Sosial antara Etnis Tionghoa dengan Jawa di Solo Tahun 1911-1998*. Semarang: Unnes Press.
- Wasino. (2016). Nasionalisasi Perusahaan-Perusahaan Asing Menuju Ekonomi Berdikari. *Paramita: Historical Studies*, 26 (1).
- Wahid, A. (1998), *Tabayun Gus Dur, Pribumisasi Islam, Hak Minoritas, Reformasi Kultural*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Wertheim, W. F. (1956). *Indonesian Society in Transition*. The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd.
- Yahya, J. (ed.). (1983). *Garis Rasila Garis Usang*. Jakarta: Badan Komunikasi Penghayatan Kesatuan Bangsa (BAKOM-PKB) Pusat