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RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE STATE DISCURSIVE PRACTICES AGAINST CHINESE ETHNIC IN Indonesian NOVELS.

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Abstract

The state discursive practice to Chinese ethnic in the power development of Indonesia is still showing a political phenomenon full of ambivalence. On one side, the Chinese ethnic in certain circumstances be strategically positioned in such a way; on the other hand it is not uncommon this position is very dangerous in the context of its capacity as a citizen. This paper aims to describe the state discursive practices that full of ambivalence which is reflected in Indonesian novels and their implications for the policy of Indonesian multicultural state. Through the sociological approach of literature, analysis of this paper attempts to describe the ambivalence of power politics in two ways; namely concerning the relationship between Chinese ethnicity discourse with Indonesian and the discourse of the state relates with the construction of identity-based politics. There are three novels analyzed in this case, the novel *Maut dan Cinta* works Mochtar Lubis, Clara Ng's *Dimsum Terakhir*, and *Putri Cina* works Sindhunata. Results of this analysis states that the state discursive practices against Chinese ethnic that full of ambivalence was not effective and functional in the context of an Indonesian multicultural state. Political practices that full of ambivalence lead many complex issues, both vertically relation with the state-based structure, as well as horizontally between culturally groups in Indonesia.

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Introduction:-

The state Discursive practices is an important discussion to be observed academically. In that connection, the state needs to be analyzed as the party deemed to have a complex power networks in order to optimize its entire power. The complex power networks has been logical political reasoning when the state is understood and positioned as a structural element that has the capacity of high authority over the reality of multicultural citizens.

Based on the complex power network, the state has the ability to reproduce constantly his power base. State seems to be a formal authority structurally that most legitimate to reproduce constantly the power base and at the same time, it is not uncommon to deny the other elements outside the country. In such conditions, the state tends to get stuck in a position to act on the name of power and to be arbitrary (despotic state) on behalf of the country's own terms.

Thus the practical realities of the country, according to Foucault (1977: 206-207) is the realization of the implementation of the concept *panopticon* within a country; in which the state embodies itself as a form of

surveillance powers, which intensively oversee all activities of citizens. With more a simple premise, the practice of such state it can be called a state panoptic. As a form of state power panoptic it is optimized for monitoring as intensive as possible in order to control as much as possible against all physical and non-physical activity of the state citizens.¹

The state discursive practices in this context, is also done in such power relationships. State is a party which produces intensive power relations in order to obtain effective power for its power production. Along with it, the system of regulation, distribution, circulation, and statement operations associated with the circular relationship (Foucault, 1980: 133).

The discursive formation becomes a pattern for the construction of discourse to explain the operational reality. The discourse is constructing, defining, and produce objects of knowledge to the relationships that can be accepted by the reasoning power (Barker, 2005: 106). In such context, the country was again the most powerful party in the reality of the discourse of power production.

This means that the state is not merely a form of power (power); however, also be present as a builder discourse (discourse building). In his capacity as discourse builders, then the state regulate and intervene in such a way over the twisted socio-cultural reality of its citizens. In his capacity as that discourse builder, state reproduce its power base on an ongoing basis and at the same time, make every effort to establish the legitimacy and accumulation of power.

In the context of the literary, the state discursive practices also appear reflected in the Indonesian novels. In Indonesian novels, discursive practices operationally engaged state in the identity space that is constructed in such a way. Ethnicity is a problem that is not uncommon in such a way is constructed and played for the benefit of state-based power. The phenomenon of ethnic Chinese Indonesian in that context, be one of the ethnic groups do not escape from the construction of the state-based power. In that respect, this study seeks to explain the discursive practices of the country in the context of the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia were reflected novel Indonesia.

Methods:-

This study uses descriptive qualitative design, to describe the phenomenon of countries in the novel discursive practices of Indonesia. There are three novels analyzed in this case, the novel *MautdanCintaworksMochtarLubis*, Clara Ng's *DimsumTerakhir*, and *PutriCina works Sindhunata*. Through the approach of sociology of literature, analysis of this paper attempts to describe the ambivalence of power politics in two ways; namely concerning therelationship with Indonesian Chinese ethnicity discourse and the discourse of the country to do with the construction of identity-based politics.

Results and Discussion:-

Chinese Ethnicity and Indonesianness: Criticism of Unity Discourse

The issue of Chinese ethnicity and Indonesianness however still leaves problem, which concerns on the relationship patterns and also the integration of ethnic groups against Indonesianness. There are serious problems at the level of the state-based political praxis to be scrutinized with regard to the process of integrating this ethnic group. In few decades, for example, the integration process is manifested in the form of uniformity politicalactualization. In connection with this, the uniformity political actualization, both at the level of concept and in practical level kept rolling along with the development of the nation that has to state. Indonesia became a form of real examples for uniformity political actualization process. The state discursive practices to the presence of political uniformity, with a term called unity, derived further and operationally being discourse of assimilation. Therefore, the discourse of assimilation is regarded as one of the possible alternatives in the middle of a complicated and complex integration process multicultural society in Indonesia.

At least, it can be noted occurred during the Old Order (*Orde Lama*). Under Sukarno, the Old Order encourages the assimilation process, where this process historically has been disconnected politically by the colonial party as a result of the presence of social class politics, which divides into three levels of colonial society. As mentioned previously, the Dutch colonial government split into three levels; namely, the first level is occupied by the people of Europe; second, eastern resident alien; and third, native populations. The policy is based on article 163 IndischeStaatsregeling 1927 (Soyomukti, 2012: 195).

The social class divisions of Dutch colonial society, according to Pirus is compounded by the implementation of zoning politics (Santosa, 2012:31). A colonial political construction is done by grouping certain ethnic groups, in this case Chinese ethnic groups, were in particular geographical zones. This was done with the aim that the colonial government could easily do the political control on the cultural group. The combination of these two forms of politics strategically can ravage the social structure and sort sharply the assimilation or assimilation process that has recently occurred.ⁱⁱ

Lubis in the novel *Maut dan Cinta* for example provides exposure straightforward enough on the importance of the assimilation process involving ethnic groups. Furthermore, even Lubis gives the premise of the importance of the presence of the Indonesian government to encourage the assimilation process. Assimilation is envisioned as the integration process an ethnic group of the so-called construction Indonesianness.

On this side, then when the political discourse of assimilation is rolled again, it ideally be encouraged in order to create a model of cultural integration that is natural. The position of the state in this case, is just as those who facilitate and provide cultural movespace for that process. Basically, assimilation imposed and enforced on behalf of the state, no less bad impact with that sort of colonial politics sharply to the reality of a multicultural society earlier.

Moreover, for example, the discourse of assimilation is juxtaposed with Indonesian discourse. Discourse of assimilation is not quite logical to pair with the taking as the Indonesian discourse. Discourse of assimilation only be one part of which is possible, if necessary in the context of Indonesian-ness. When not needed, the assimilation discourse can basically be ruled out; though, is not to be rejected absolutely.

It also parallels with other forms of discourse strategy initiated by the state. For example, the state initiates discourse of the taking as Indonesia by formal adaptation of identity subject name that represents a particular ethnic group. The taking as Indonesia, with the strategy discourse basically just succeed to touch the surface aspect. Furthermore, it is not able to reach the deepest aspect, in the subject conjunction with national ties are formed.

Moreover, even the construction of political discourse of the taking as Indonesia with formal adaptation models subject name that represents the identity of a particular ethnic group will only have implications for the tendency of the birth of hypocrisy in certain ethnic groups; or on the other hand, injuring the ethnic group because they are basically already feel as the integral part of this multicultural nation. Therefore, the application of political discourse by the state with a passion for taking as Indonesia the certain ethnic groups only birthing complex injuries, both socio-cultural and political.

It is called birthing a complex injury, due to the implementation of the political discourse that state discursive practices are indirectly engaged but the ethnic groups compared with the ethnic groups that have been deemed to exist. There is unequal treatment that should not be called as a form of discrimination. In the construction of a multicultural society, discursive practices such countries deemed problematic.

In connection with this, Lubis (1993: 389) and Ng (2006: 134) provides an illustration for the discursive practices with the implementation of the discourse of assimilation and the taking as Indonesia process by way of formal adaptation subject name identity that represents a certain ethnic groups. The state discursive practices shows that Indonesia actually both in the category of the nation as well as in the category as a country, is still in the experimental-transitional in positioning and regulating appropriately and ideally their citizens.

”Tetapi pemerintah tuan tidak punya politik untuk mengusir orang-orang Cina perantauan? Tanya Kolonel Hua.

”Oh, sama sekali tidak. Kami tahu bahwa dua juta lebih penduduk Cina dan turunan Cina di Indonesia sebagian besar akan tetap hidup turun-temurun di Indonesia. Malahan pemerintah saya menganjurkan asimilasi, agar penduduk Cina mau menyatukan diri dengan sungguh-sungguh menjadi orang Indonesia. Tapi ini sukar..” (Lubis, 1993:389).

Banyak yang akhirnya menjadi lebih Indonesia daripada orang Indonesia asli. Tapi, mereka masih tidak dianggap sebagai tuan di negara kelahiran mereka sendiri. Bahkan beberapa puluh tahun lalu, mereka tidak berhak menyangand tiga-nama-Cina. Mereka harus mengubah nama mereka menjadi lebih “Indonesia”.

Wie menjadi Widjaja. Han menjadi Handojo atau Handoko atau Hanan. Tan menjadi Tanujaya atau Tanuwijaya. Sue menjadi menjadi Sucipto. Dan lain-lain. Sebagian lagi tidak memedulikan nama keluarga dalam bahasa Indonesia. (Ng, 2006:134).

This can be evidenced by the presence of perceptual discourse that expressed the concept of assimilation as an alternative to the construction of citizenship relations of Indonesian Republic. Lubis even, through narrative way figure thrusting this discourse as a form of discourse as state discursive practices of the country. It was though admittedly difficult to do.

There are two things to note in the Lubis view. Firstly, that the discourse of assimilation is a discourse that is positioned as a form of state discursive practices of countries that must be done. As a form of the state discursive practices, discourse of assimilation constructed to integrate and operate on the territory of ethnic groups considered to be a problem for a nation that has become the state.

Chinese ethnic groups in this case is positioned as an ethnic group, which is directly or indirectly placed as a carrier of the matter. Therefore, to assimilate the Chinese ethnic groups is a form of structural necessity for the state discursive practices to act of effective and operational. On this side, the state discursive practices of a recognized or not has also brought its own problems since the discourse rolled out.

Positioning that is not equivalent to the discursive practices basically already tends to alienate the Chinese ethnic group. Assimilation is not directed to entire ethnic groups that exist in the multicultural country. Ideally, if assimilation is also acceptable, it is done for all categories of ethnic groups, without distinction enforced. It is not able to do because there are limited perspectives that are not able to reach the overall the reality of ethnic groups and at the same time, the discourse was narrowed in a certain ethnic groups.

Secondly, the limited perspectives and pressed of assimilation discourse is essentially already contributes difficulties for the practice of assimilation itself. Behind it, the assimilation operates by discriminate, doubt, and built a suspicious view to certain ethnic groups. Chinese ethnic groups in this condition get a form of views and attitudes that shape so; so, however, the assimilation which is driven as a form of the state discursive practices is difficult to do

Along with it, according to the assimilation discourse of the taking as Indonesia process intensively carried out by the state. The production process of the state discourse at the beginning of the establishment of the New Order marks it. It may be noted, for example, on the production process to the taking as Indonesia process discourse conducted by the state, behind it is done within the framework of the elimination of a particular ethnic group identity through identity completely remove models subject name that represents that particular ethnic group; just call it Chinese ethnic in this regard. That discourse operates basis on skepticism and suspicion, and prejudice on the Chinese ethnic group to do with their Indonesianness commitment within them. This is a policy which shows ambivalence. One side was built as for the integration of the nation; on the other hand, followed by skepticism and suspicion, and prejudice.

Furthermore, the production process of discourse the taking as Indonesia process thus carried out in order to curb the Indonesianness commitment as New Order authority. The issuance of the Decree of the Presidium of the Cabinet No. 127 / Kep / 12/1966 on the regulation change the name for the citizen who adopted a Chinese name and followed up by Presidential Decree No. 123/1968 concerning the validity to get longer rename rules for the citizen who adopted a Chinese name as stated in the Decree of the Presidium of the Cabinet No. 127 / Kep / 12/1966, comprise a fundamental form of doubting that may be implicated in a complex psychological issues associated with the State's relationship with the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia is.ⁱⁱⁱ

The kind skepticism leads to the presence of psychological feelings, as stated Ng (2006: 134) as citizens who are not considered to be masters in their own country of birth. In other words, it can be stated that the process that considers and positioning of the Chinese ethnic group as the other citizens, not vice versa positioned as citizens in integrative become an integral part of this Indonesianness. Chinese ethnic groups, with the enforcement of such regulations become partiesthat as if accused for any suspicion and doubts over the commitment of Indonesianness to them.

The state discursive practices on the presence of discourse of the taking as Indonesia process and followed by a regulative discourse of renaming China became Indonesian name is considered by the state. In this case is represented by the New Order (*Orde Baru*) government be taking can the Chinese ethnic group as Indonesia. Though it does not provide significant implications for the presence Indonesianness commitment; exception, hypocrisy of citizenship commitment.

On the other hand, naming Indonesia academically also leaves a complicated issue. Conception of Indonesian name for the subject argument however difficult to build a strong academic foundation. The difficulties associated with the formulation of definitions, categories, and identification of the mention of the name of Indonesian term for a subject. Therefore, in a multicultural perspective the state discursive practices about the presence of state policy of renaming China became the name Indonesia will be its own problems in socio-cultural and political.

State and Political Discourse Based Identity:-

In connection with the policy of renaming Chinese into Indonesian name is, consciously or not the state remotely involved in the construction of the discourse of identity. Identity for the country is a separate issue that is deemed sensitive and for that it is important to be disciplined. Therefore, what is done by the New Order government in the early days of his rule can be understood as a political enforcement efforts on the identity discourse.

As mentioned previously, that the discourse of identity is a construction of discourse divided and unstable in a social construction. Particularly when the subject and the identity is discourse creation and practice of the discipline; where the position of the subject is seen as a product rather than as a producer on the discourse (Barker, 2005: 235). In this position, the subject is being a party that is constructed and is not able to determine any of the reality of the political and cultural it.

The state discursive practices in this context a built based on power political reasoning to positioning the subject as a top product formed discourse. Foucault criticize that the state discursive practices always in a state of three important points; namely the construction of discourse, discipline, and power; in which the subject is always understood in the context of the discourse and the power products (Barker, 2005: 235). Therefore, discourse always a domain that is played by the state in order to obtain the effects of the power.

In that context, discursive formations arranged in such a way that it operates discourse in order to get the effect of power. In connection with discursive formations, the discursive formations formed by the rules (rules of formation) that fall within the object element form, the pattern of expression, concepts, and the choice of themes (Foucault, 1989: 21). State seeks intensively to regulate any of the discursive elements in order to contribute to the desired power capacity.

Identity-based political discourse in this context is also constructed in such a framework. State intensive develop and produce objects, statements, concepts, and choice of themes that is deemed appropriate in the context of the production of discourse and power. In this position, the discourse of identity-based politics can be manifested in two faces at once. First, the political discourse rather as an effort to represent the state discursive practices. Secondly, the political discourse representation themselves as a form of subject consolidation over the identity of the subject.

The first one, it can be characterized by incessant efforts of the state in producing, regulating, distributing, and operating the political discourse as a form of power politics demolition process. A disciplined process of power applied by the state in order to regulate, control and supervise intensively citizens. The second one, it is marked by the process of identity formation and actions of the subject in order to change social practices that are based on some similarity value (Barker, 2005: 521).

In connection with this, Sindhunata (2007: 104-105; 2007: 97) suggests that the discourse of identity-based politics was dominated by state-based power. State in this case, as the party produces the discourse while controlling it all at once in order to bring the effect of power.

Mereka memang menjadi luar biasa kaya. Tapi mereka tidak ingat, bahwa dengan demikian mereka ditaruh di titik rawan yang paling gawat. Ya, mereka tidak sadar, bahwa mereka dijadikan sandaran yang enak bagi keluarga dan pengikut Prabu Amurco Sabdo dalam menambah nikmat. (Sindhunata, 2007:104).

...

Sayangnya, orang-orang Cina itu tak merasa, penjunjangan ini sebenarnya hanyalah akal licik kompeni belaka. Dengan akalnya itu, Kompeni membuat warga Cina menjadi sasaran iri dan curiga kaum pribumi yang masih miskin. Dan penjunjangan ini sebenarnya berlawanan dengan sejarah orang Cina sendiri. Sebelum Kompeni datang, sudah berabad-abad lamanya orang-orang Cina menetap di tanah Jawa. Di sini mereka hidup berdampingan, rukun dan damai dengan penduduk pribumi. (Sindhunata, 2007:105)

Orang-orang di Padang Kemulansendiriseringbertanyaheran, mengapa raja merekaberubahmenjadidemikian?TidakkahduluaadalahseorangPrabuMurhardo yang sukatersenyum, murahhati, danteguhjanji, mengapasekarangiamenjadiAmurcoSabdo yang mudahgeram, serakah, dantidakdapatsetiapada kata-katanyalagi? Tidakkahduluiaseorangpemimpin yang lemahlembut, mengapaiasekarangmenjadipenguasa yang kerasdanmenindas? Tidakkahduluiaseorang raja yang selaluma^uhamemayuhayuningbawono, mengapasekarangiamembiarkannegerinyadirusakdandiancamdengankekerasan? (Sindhunata, 2007:97).

The identity-based political discourse produced effectively both in the context of the New Order and Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia. Sindhunata try to give a description of the form of the identity-based political discourse in order to build awareness for the Chinese ethnic in Indonesia that are often positioned as the political victim. Along with it, for the Chinese ethnic in Indonesia is expected to consolidate awareness of political discourse on their selves to get not easily to be 'played' by the other political authorities, both state and non-state-based.

Political discourse conducted by the New Order by positioning a handful of Chinese ethnic as the economic elite is read by Sindhunata as political placement process at the most vulnerable point. Such a position was deliberate constructed by New Order, tentatively aimed at securing political power. Behind it, the New Order under the leadership of King AmurcoSabdo - a political satire to call President Suharto as king or a president that betrays his own words-establish political discourse that shows that Chinese ethnic groups actually 'problematic' in this country. Chinese ethnic group's economic dominance is used as a tool by the New Order to produce a political discourse that they are form of greed of an ethnic group is defeated or overcome other ethnic that groups.

The production of such discourse that,its turn, moves into an ambivalentinstrument of power to be distributed in such a way. Domination, greed and economic inequality are not read as a form of mismanagement of the state in managing the existing economic system. Instead, a system error of the economy management of the state distorted into a form of economic game played by Chineseethnic. Distribution of this discourse initiated by the New Order in the community in order to avoid political resistance vertically and at the same time beingled toward horizontal resistance (read: conflict).

Thus practical, the process of production and distribution of the resultingdiscourse-faced facing the Chinese ethnic group with another ethnic group. As a result, horizontal conflicts among Chinese ethnic with other ethnic groups occurred. Hatred discourse on Chinese ethnic group is rotated in such a way. Intensively, the state involved insuch political discourse. In such conditions, the violence seems to be part of the design of power; so in practice is intentionally left.

Surprisingly, such a model conflict occurs in a time scale that is prolonged. Perhaps, what is done by the New Order regime to imitate the model of political discourse conducted by the Dutchcolonial. Dutch colonial government in Indonesia is also doing the same thing; where the production process of political discourse is built in such a way to 'play' identity-based political discourse. The Dutch colonial government produce, regulate, distribute, and operate the discourse in order to carry out a political exploitation of Chinese ethnic on one side. On the other sides, the ethnic group is confronted with other ethnic groups who are classified as indigenous.

Dutch government policy discourse on the publication *Staatsregeling Indies* in 1927, are trying to sort out sharply structure of colonial society; where Chinese ethnic are positioned on top of the other ethnic groups that are categorized as indigenous, is able to encourage the presence of jealousy and hatred of indigenous ethnic group indigenous to the Chinese ethnic group. Positioning as it is a form of sly sense that the colonial government tried to put the Chinese ethnic in the most vulnerable position (Sindhunata, 2007: 105). Surprisingly, there are some groups of people who try to represent the Chinese ethnic group to be pragmatic on the political reality that is very detrimental to China's own ethnic group as a whole.^{iv}

Yet when judging historically, political stance as a groups are of people who represent the Chinese ethnic cultural paradox with a reality that has been happening. Historically, according to (Sindhunata, 2007: 105) Chinese ethnic groups that have long coexisted in harmony and peace with the indigenous population. In other words, Sindunata wants to say there is political preoccupation, economic, and cultural in this case against the historicity of the Chinese ethnic in Indonesia.

Ironically, the historicity of the discursive practices of ethnicity-based political discourse which is mistakenly copied by New Order, though done by building modifications to soften the state discursive practices in ethnicity-based. New Order no longer divided it in the form of social structure explicitly; however, display it in a more subtle (implicit). The implication of it is not actually received less bad impact for China's ethnic groups.

Conclusions:-

The state discursive practice Chinese ethnic in Indonesia novel can be described in two ways. First, in the context of the state policy and its relationship with Indonesia, Chinese ethnic are driven in such a way to assimilate and to take as Indonesia the subject name (Chineseethnic). Policies that are constructed in such a way that appeared during the Old Order and New Order.

Secondly, in the context of identity-based politics, the identity-based political discourse is produced effectively both in the context of the New Order era and Dutch colonial rule era in Indonesia. As a result of the identity-based politics, Chinese ethnic in Indonesia are often the parties 'played' by the other political authorities, both state and non-state-based. In such conditions to the facing-faced between Chinese ethnic group with another ethnic occur. As an implication, the issues of ethnic-based conflicts often occur.

Starting from these two cases, show that the state discursive practices, that are not based on a fully multicultural awareness as a nation will only have implications for the increase of complex nationality problems. This happens because there is state-based policy ambivalence; on one side as if it is encouraged to integrate, on the other hand it is built on a foundation of doubts, suspicions and prejudices to Chinese ethnic. Therefore, as a multicultural nation, the state discursive practice of Indonesia is ideally built upon the awareness of multicultural policies that promote the values of equality and solidarity.

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ⁱⁱFor the record, the Colonial in thenextprocess will applaya policy that prohibitsChineseethnicinIndonesiaahaslandissuedin 1879calledAgrarischeWet. It is a colonial agrarian constitution. Furthermore, SeeSoyomukti(2012: 193).

ⁱⁱⁱIn 2014 published a new regulation in the form of decree, namely Decree No. 12 in 2014 that changed the terms of China into Chinese/Chinese. Chinese intended to refer to ethnicity; whereas, China to refer to the status of his country. Replacement of the term of the mention of China into Chinese/Chinese in the Indonesian context is intended to avoid a negative outlook and discrimination.

^{iv}The pragmatic attitude is intended as a form of political action that merely emphasizes short-term political interests by taking the benefits that are material and deny the benefits of strategic and essential for politics itself.