

Ethnic Chinese Political Behavior in Makassar City

Bakhtiar¹, Hasnawi Haris², Muh. Said^{3*}, Muh Rizal S⁴, Andi Muhammad Rivai⁵

¹²*Departement of Pancasila and Civic Education, Faculty of Social Science and Law, Universitas Negeri Makassar*

³*Department of Social Science Education, Faculty of Social Science and Law, Universitas Negeri Makassar*

⁴⁵*Department of Administrative science, Faculty of Social Science and Law, Universitas Negeri Makassar*

*Corresponding author. Email: muh.said@unm.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Democracy requires a country to recognize pluralism, multiethnic, and multiculturalism. Indonesia as a nation state at least represents the reality of its people, in other words diversity for the Indonesian nation is an inevitability and should be the face of a nation that radiates harmonization. Citizens of ethnic Chinese have the same rights as indigenous citizens in their participation in the maintenance of national and state life. Makassar as one part of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia should avoid stereotype people's lives in the implementation of community life. Ethnic descendants who live and as citizens of Makassar city should be given the same space as other citizens (indigenous people) to express inherent rights as citizens. Ethnic Chinese political behavior, especially in political institutions, has led to significant developments over the past five years in Makassar City. They have placed their representatives in the Provincial DPRD and Makassar city. Several political parties have also filled their administrators in strategic positions among ethnic Chinese.

Keywords: *Political Behavior, Ethnicity Tonghoa*

1. INTRODUCTION

Diversity is not unusual for Indonesian society anymore. There are at least 300 tribes/ethnicities. [1] which inhabits the entire archipelago. Of a number of ethnic groups (tribes) in general, the Indonesian nation is divided into two major groups, namely indigenous ethnic groups such as Bugis, Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, Minang and immigrant ethnic groups such as Indian, Arab, European (represented by Portuguese and Dutch) and ethnic Chinese. In the field of religion, there are at least five major religions namely Islam, Protestant Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism and Hinduism and the belief in God Almighty. [2]

To maintain safe and peaceful conditions in the plurality of the nation, a harmonious form of intergroup relations is needed. The existence of tolerance between ethnic and inter-religious communities is a form of harmony that needs to be maintained. In the historical record (at least the period 1998-1999) many events are very heartbreaking and hurt the values of diversity (pluralism). Examples of events that may be included in the black pages in Indonesia's history are the riots of May 13 - 15, 1998, the Maluku conflict and many more conflicts that smell of groups. On the events of May 13 - 5, 1998 then showed damage done to all forms of ownership of ethnic descendants, especially ethnic

Chinese (also including public facilities built by the government).

After the independence revolution ended, tensions between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, especially Chinese ethnic ones, re-emerged. This situation emerged in the era of Parliamentary Democracy and Guided Democracy. Politicians and the military, especially the anti-communist Army, suspected the relationship of some ethnic Chinese communities with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) which at that time (1950) was already controlled by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The proximity and number of ethnic Chinese communities who are members of the Indonesian Citizenship Consultative Board (Baperki) and PKI and PKI relations that often defend the interests of ethnic Chinese communities are indications. This is seen in the anti-China events of 1959-1960 and 1963. [3]

The New Order government born after the events of the September 30, 1965 Movement decided that there was only one way to solve the ethnic Chinese problem, namely through the process of assimilation (Lan in Wibowo, 1999). This solution is also used as a national solution as reflected in various regulations issued by the New Order government with regard to ethnic Chinese

communities. All is done so that the ethnic Chinese community can be assimilated properly and prejudice against it is reduced. Some of these regulations are the decision of the Presidium of the Cabinet No. 127 / U / Kep / 1966 regarding the change of name so that from then on ethnic Chinese people must use a typical Indonesian name instead of a typical Chinese name. Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 governing the religion, beliefs and customs of Chinese descent. As a result, every ethnic Chinese citizen must be included in religions that are officially recognized by the government and art performances such as Barongsai dance are prohibited from being shown in public (revoked by the government based on Presidential Decree No. 6/2000). Other regulations such as Presidential decree No. 240/1967 on the main policy concerning Indonesian Citizens (WNI) of foreign descent, as well as The Instruction of the Cabinet Presidium No. 37/U/IN/1967 on the main policy of resolving the Chinese problem [4] *City Warta*, January 20, 2000; *Kompas*, February 5, 2000) also strengthened the assimilation policy earlier. The real result of some of the regulations was the reduced appearance of Tionghoa culture in everyday life.

Based on the background of circumstances like this, there are several studies that try to uncover the problems behind the interethnic problems. Some research that touches on the problem of interethnic relations is also done mainly from among researchers / academics. Research themes that have been raised include: interethnic perception in Indonesia [5], Social distance [4], Chinese Muslim/Non-Muslim acceptance [6], belief-trust system [7], Chinese ethnic nationalism [8], perception of Chinese ethnic students [9], Perception of discrimination [10].

Of the many studies that have been done, no one has revealed the specifics and explicit how the practice of ethnic democracy offspring in the socio-political aspect. Although in some regions of the country there have been leaders of ethnic ancestry, say for example the Minister of Trade in 2004-2009 and 2009-2014, Mari Elka Pangestu; Tellie Gozelle, Member of DPD Bangka Belitung in 2009-2014; Kwik Kian Gie, Menko Ekuin 1999-2000; Christiandy Sanjaya, Deputy Governor of West Kalimantan from 2007 to 2012, and many others (<http://www.harisahmad.com/20-tokoh-keturunan-china-di-panggung-politik/>).

The practice of democracy that is understood procedurally and mechanically is characterized by the participation or participation of every citizen who has been qualified to be directly or indirectly involved in the life of the nation and state. A citizen is defined as any person who is a resident of a country characterized by recognition as a citizen under the provisions of applicable citizenship regardless of ethnic, religious, gender, social status, etc. [11].

The participation of citizens directly in the life of the nation and state can be done through the delivery of

aspirations directly at democratic parties such as elections to elect the president / vice president, governor / deputy governor, regent / mayor / deputy regent / deputy mayor or elect members of the central and regional legislatures.

Direct participation in the life of the nation and state can also be done by being a candidate for the president / vice president, governor / deputy governor, regent / mayor / deputy regent / deputy mayor or elect members of the central and regional legislatures. In addition to the political nature can also convey aspirations in other forms such as conveying aspirations through complaints of services that are considered unfair and not in accordance with the rules, whether through related institutions or conveyed by demonstration, and others.

Citizens of ethnic descent, such as ethnic Chinese, Indians, and Arabs have the same rights as indigenous ethnic citizens in their participation in the implementation of national and state life. Makassar as one part of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia should avoid stereotype people's lives in the implementation of community life. Ethnic descendants who live and as citizens of Makassar city should be given the same space as other citizens (indigenous people) to express inherent rights as citizens.

The condition of Makassar city residents who are relatively compound in terms of ethnicity, religion, and culture should display the face of a very dynamic city. City residents, especially ethnic Chinese, Arabs and Indians, also have the same rights and obligations as citizens. Inherent rights are in line with democratic values, such as political rights, the right to equal treatment before the law and so on, but also they have an obligation to comply with all applicable laws and regulations. Departing from the phenomena and conditions stated above, encouraging the author to research about the democratic practices of ethnic people of descent in Makassar city.

The writing aims to: (1) obtain an overview of the realization of democratic values in ethnic descendants in Makassar city. (2) analyze the atmosphere experienced by ethnic people of descent in implementing democratic values in Makassar city. (3) know the policies of the Makassar City government in encouraging the creation of an atmosphere conducive to ethnic descendants in practicing democratic values in Makassar city.

2. METHOD

Research uses qualitative approaches, phenomenological types of research, data sources using informants obtained incidentally and reinforced with sources derived from relevant research results. To strengthen the data of research results are used source triangulation analysis techniques. The results of the study are presented descriptively qualitatively.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 *Democracy and Political Behavior*

Both in the interaction of fellow community and between society and the state. In order to realize civil society or civil society, democracy is an absolute prerequisite.

Etymologically "democracy" consists of two Greek words, namely *demos*, meaning people or inhabitants of a place, and *cratein* or *cratos*, meaning power or sovereignty. The combination of the two words *demos-cratein* or *demos-cratos* (democracy) means a system of government of, by, and of the people. [12]

Whereas the notion of democracy in terminology is as stated by experts on democracy: (1) Joseph A Schmeter said, democracy is an institutional planning to reach political decisions where individuals gain the power to decide how to fight consistently over the aspiration of the people. [13]. (2) Sidney Hook argues that democracy is a form of government in which important decisions are directly or indirectly based on the agreement of a majority given freely from the adult people. (Yudistira, 2016). (3) Henri B Mayo said, democracy as a political system is a system that shows that general policy is determined on the basis of majority by representatives who are effectively supervised by the people and periodic elections based on the principles of political equality held in an atmosphere of guaranteed political freedom. [14]

From some of the above opinions, it can be interpreted that the nature of democracy is the main role of the people in the social and political process. In other words, a democratic government is a government in the hands of the people containing the understanding of three things: (1) Government of the people is a legitimate government is an order that gets the recognition and support of the majority of the people through democratic mechanisms. (2) Government by the people (government by the people) is a government exercising its power on behalf of the people not at the personal instigation of the state elite or bureaucratic elite. (3) Government for the people (government for the people) contains the understanding that the power given by the people to the government must be exercised for the benefit of the people. The interests of the common people should be the main basis of the policy of a democratic government.

There are at least six basic norms or elements needed by a democratic society. The six norms are (A Ubaedillah, et al, 2008) as follows: [15]: (1) The norm of deliberation, is to require the realization and maturity of citizens to sincerely accept the possibility of negotiating and negotiating social and political compromises peacefully and freely in any joint decision. (2) Norms of consciousness and pluralism. Awareness of plurality is not just a passive recognition of the

plurality of society. Awareness of plurality requires positive responses and attitudes towards plurality itself actively. (3) The norm of the way should be in line with the goal. This norm emphasizes that democratic life is required that the way must be in line with the goal. (4) The norm of honesty in the agreement. The atmosphere of a democratic society is required to master and carry out the art of honest and healthy consultative ness to reach an agreement that gives the benefit of all parties. (5) Norms of freedom of conscience, equal rights, and obligations. Recognition of freedom of conscience, equal rights and obligations for all (egalitarianism) is a norm that must be integrated with a belief in the faith of people in groups (trust attitude). (6) The norm of trial and error (wrong trial) in the democracy of all parties must be ready to accept the possibility of inaccuracy or error in democratic practices.

3.2 *History of the Chinese Ethnic Group*

Ethnic Chinese or Chinese people are "ethnic indigenous" as well as Europeans. Their arrival on the archipelago is estimated in the 16th century. At that time in the archipelago has stood kingdoms that have carried out economic activities between regions of power. The transfer of Chinese population in the archipelago is also an indirect result of economic activity. [16]

At that time the transfer of population did not mean the transfer of families like the transmigration of Javanese farming families to other islands. At that time, it was usually only men who moved to the region. Later in the development of Indonesian society, these nomads are referred to as Peranakan China. So called because after they settled for some time, they ended up marrying indigenous women. And when they have offspring then they are referred to as Peranakan Chinese. [17]

The other is with the Chinese *totok*. It is thought that they were Chinese settlers from the late 19th to early 20th centuries. The goal is different too. If the first wave of migrants came because of trade issues then for the second wave it is related to political issues. [18] The state of the Chinese empire at that time was less favorable for its people so there were some of its citizens who moved in search of a new place to live. They came together with his family so that in contrast to his brother who came in the first wave when they reached the archipelago, they physically did not hold the process of assimilation. And because they still maintain their lifestyle, they are referred to as the Chinese *totok*. [19]

Theory of Assimilation; The concept of assimilation is often heard when we try to conduct a study of the phenomenon of relationships between groups of people in which there are majority and minority groups. This relationship according to Koentjaraningrat (1990) is a social process that arises when a group of people with a particular culture are

faced with elements of a foreign culture in such a way that the elements of foreign culture are gradually accepted and processed into their own culture without causing the loss of culture itself.

According to Koentjaraningrat (1990) assimilation is a social process that arises when there is [20]: (i) Groups of people with different cultural backgrounds, (ii) get along directly with each other intensively for a long time, so that (iii) the cultures of these groups each change their distinctive nature, and also the elements each change their form into elements of mixed culture. Usually, the groups caught up in a process of assimilation are a majority and some minorities. In that case, it is the minority groups that change the distinctive nature of the elements of its culture and adapt it to the culture of the majority in such a way that it gradually loses its cultural personality and enters into the majority culture.

Like koentjaraningrat, Newman (1973 in Lamm & Schaefer 1997) explains that assimilation is a series of processes that make the cultural traditions of a group of people into one part of another culture. Briefly assimilation is described as follows $A+B+C=A$. So, the culture of group A predominantly dominates minority groups B and C so that they become part of the dominant group. So theoretically (which also happens to be embraced by the rulers of *orba*) it is expected that the existence of a "yellow" minority in Indonesian society can be "eliminated" or dominated by indigenous cultures so that they no longer display the culture of their ancestral lands. The steps taken include changing the Chinese name to a typical Indonesian name (with a note inserting a surname with as Indonesian as possible and there are some people who still survive with the Chinese name).

Another thing to know is the existence of a condition of reverse assimilation. In this case what happens is that the majority of people assimilate into a minority group. As well as the findings of Sanjatmiko (1999) in Tangerang. When a Chinese man marries an indigenous girl and gets offspring then the offspring is considered a new Chinese rather than a new native.

3.3 Indigenous Relations with Ethnic Chinese Peoples

Many facts in the community that show the relationship between indigenous peoples and ethnic Chinese communities are colored by prejudice, tension and opposition. This condition is very different from the stereotype of the Indonesian nation which is said to be religious, easy to help others or gotong-royong, mutual tolerance, friendly full of family spirit and others. [21]

The seeds of opposition have begun to be spread since the Dutch colonial era, where the authorities-imposed regulations aimed at dividing society. At that time the colonial government-imposed policies that

included *wijkenstelsel* (1835) where ethnic Chinese citizens were placed in one settlement, giving higher status than the indigenous peoples as a "Foreign East" (this social status lies in the second position after the European group while the indigenous peoples are placed in the third position as *inlanders*). Such conditions cause a sense of ethnic, cultural and social differences between these two communities (indigenous peoples and ethnic Chinese communities) increasingly thickening. Especially with the emergence of feelings of superiority among ethnic Chinese caused by special treatment, especially in the economic field such as giving the right to some people from ethnic Chinese to raise taxes on indigenous people with the blessing of the colonial government. Not to mention the problem of settlements that are regulated by ethnicity or group so that the gap between the two groups of people is widening. [22]

Eventually tensions between the two groups erupted in some open conflict. In 1911 anti-China activities arose as an effort by indigenous peoples to match economic control by the Chinese people in Indonesia (Husodo in Murti, 1999). At another precise time in 1918 in Kudus there was a riot of Chinese-riots involving several leaders of the Islamic Union (SI) (Suryadianata, 1992). This incident can be assuaged by the peace agreement between the leaders of the two groups of society earlier. Other conflicts that help fill the gray sheet of the history of the Indonesian nation are the mass riots on August 5, 1973 in Bandung, 1984 in Tanjung Priok Jakarta and the last (?) riots of May 13-15, 1998. [23]

Warnaen (1979) through research on the behavior of these two communities in several regions in Indonesia concluded that the relationship between these two communities is generally colored by tensions of mutual suspicion. Meanwhile, according to the results of Suryadinata research (1984) based on historical facts show that the perception of indigenous peoples (especially their leaders) towards ethnic Chinese communities tends to be negative, where they are perceived as one of the ruling classes over the Indonesian economy and have a thin loyalty to the Indonesian state and tend to be affiliated to their ancestral countries (mainland China). Suryadinata's research results seem to strengthen the findings of Charles A. Coppel (Sukma in Wibowo, 1999) about a number of negative stereotypes of Chinese society. First, Chinese society tends to be considered a separate nation (race) that is the Chinese nation. Second, the position of Chinese people benefited in the social structure of Dutch colonial rule where they were likely to become the dominant economic power. Third, discriminatory social structures resulted in the majority of ethnic Chinese people identifying with the Dutch. Fourth, ethnic Chinese society is seen as an unlikely group and will maintain its cultural values wherever they are. And lastly, ethnic Chinese communities are seen as a group that only cares about their own interests,

especially economic interests (Sukma in Wibowo, 1999). [24]

The phenomenon of Indonesian society is actually not much different from the general picture of indigenous peoples in Malaysia. Suspicion and dislike among ethnic groups in Malaysia (Suryadinata, 1999) is slightly different. There is a kind of law that explicitly guarantees the rights of Malays that are not owned by ethnic "immigrants" such as Chinese and Indians. So do not be surprised if the implementation of "discrimination" is felt more clearly (fair) compared to the prevailing system in Indonesia which theoretically does not recognize discrimination but in its implementation is actually done (Suryadinata, 1999).

4. CONCLUSION

Democracy requires a country to recognize pluralism, multiethnic, and multiculturalism. Indonesia as a nation state at least represents the reality of its people, in other words diversity for the Indonesian nation is an inevitability and should be the face of a nation that radiates harmonization. Citizens of ethnic Chinese have the same rights as indigenous citizens in their participation in the maintenance of national and state life. Makassar as one part of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia should avoid stereotype people's lives in the implementation of community life. Ethnic descendants who live and as citizens of Makassar city should be given the same space as other citizens (indigenous people) to express inherent rights as citizens. Ethnic Chinese political behavior, especially in political institutions, has led to significant developments over the past five years in Makassar City. They have placed their representatives in the Provincial DPRD and Makassar city. Several political parties have also filled their administrators in strategic positions among ethnic Chinese.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

1. Bakhtiar as the head of research implementer is responsible for coordination and research ideas
2. Hasnawi Harus as a member I, acted as the initial problem analysis at the research site and helping data analysis and finalizing article manuscripts
3. Muh. Said as member II acts as a data collector in the field and corespondensi author
4. Muh. Rizal S as member III plays a role in analyzing data
5. Andi Muhammd Rivai as member III plays a role in analyzing data

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