

Habituation of Chinese Subculture amid Bangka Malay Domination: The Role-sharing Politics

Ibrahim Ibrahim ^{*1, }, Arief Hidayat ^{2, }, and Herza Herza ^{3, }

¹ Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bangka Belitung, 33172, Bangka, Bangka Belitung Islands Province, Indonesia

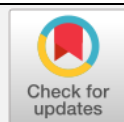
² Department of Cultural and Media Studies, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 55281, Sleman, DI Yogyakarta Province, Indonesia

³ Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bangka Belitung, 33172, Bangka, Bangka Belitung Islands Province, Indonesia

* Corresponding Author: iim_babel@yahoo.com

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic Chinese is an ethnic group that has long been part of the people of Bangka Island. The harmonious relationship between the ethnic Chinese and the indigenous population shows that the habituation process is going well so that their existence is accepted as a social reality. This study uses descriptive qualitative methods to collect data from interviews and observations in regencies/municipalities within Bangka Island. This research finds that the existence of the Chinese ethnicity has been processed by strengthening the four main capitals of the Chinese ethnicity (Bourdieu's view): economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. Capital control has encouraged good role-sharing politics because capital control is carried out transformatively. It is not surprising that the Chinese minority subculture, although in many ways it feels dominant, can still be accepted as a social reality that forms intercultural harmony on Bangka island.

Keywords: Bangka; Capital; Chinese; Habituation; Malay

1. Introduction

Ethnic Chinese have long been known as part of the life of the people of Bangka Island. Historically, the Chinese ethnicity of Bangka Island had existed before the existence of Indonesia. The history of the arrival of ethnic Chinese is in line with the migration due to tin mining. Tin, an important commodity besides spices, has become a special attraction for the rulers of Malacca and the Sultanate of Palembang (Heidhues, 2008; Darwance et al., 2018; Erman, 2007; 2008; 2009). Those who come are generally skilled workers in metal processing. Workers from Guangdong, China, are considered better at tin processing and mining which began to bloom into commodities in the 17th century (Heidhues, 1992; 2008). No wonder a large amount of tin production during the colonial period from Bangka Island was due to its exploitation involving miners from mainland China (Erman, 2017).

The Chinese are an ethnic minority on Bangka island, although many sources say they are an ethnic group that has inhabited this archipelago for a long time. The ethnic Chinese arrival history is almost identical to the Malay community's arrival history from around Bangka, including Palembang, Sumatra, Johor, and the Riau Islands. In general, ethnic Chinese have inhabited urban areas for a long time, including Pangkalpinang, Muntok, Toboali, Belinyu, Sungaliat on Bangka island, Tanjung Pandan and Manggar on Belitung island. Perhaps the history of the arrival of the Chinese on Bangka Island is the history of the early arrival of the Chinese in Indonesia. It is known that the Chinese have long had a relationship with Nusantara (a term or name for the entire Indonesian archipelago), even before and during colonialism (Siem, 2017; Suharnomo, 2017).

The existence of ethnic Chinese on Bangka Island, which has lasted for centuries, especially in Pangkalpinang, has been evidenced by the existence of a Chinese cemetery complex claimed to be the largest in Southeast Asia. The cemetery complex, with an area of approximately 20 hectares, implies a symbol of the dominance of the minority Chinese subculture. The burial land owned by Malays is only 3-5 hectares. The vastness of the burial area implies the strong power possessed by Chinese figures in the colonial and independence eras by implying a symbol of the breadth of land tenure. Chinese became a unique subculture amid the dominant Malay culture. According to Zaenudin (2016), a subculture is understood as a group that forms its own identity amid the minor existence of a large culture.

Another dominant position on Bangka island is controlling the center of economic activity, which the Chinese generally dominate. Companies, trade, and other economic activities, even the tin port network, are generally held by Chinese people (Ibrahim, 2013). This condition implies that the Chinese have a dominant relationship in a field compared to the ethnic Malays, who are quantitatively more dominant. However, the dominance of the ethnic Chinese over the Malays in Bangka did not emerge as something confrontational. Interestingly, when the violence was in Jakarta and other big cities in 1998, many victims were ethnic Chinese, and that incident did not occur on Bangka island. No Chinese person was harassed, and no shop or business place owned by ethnic Chinese was damaged or even burned by the mob. However, there were demonstrations in Muntok, Tanjung Pandan, and Pangkalpinang, demanding that Suharto step down from his position as president.

The Bangka Belitung Islands Province is a young province formed in mid-November 2001. Previously, Bangka Belitung was an administrative unit in South Sumatra Province. This territorial division began with the blooming of demands for regional autonomy, which was rolled out during the reformation period. In the process of becoming an independent province, Bangka Belitung is growing with all the different ethnicities, cultures, and various other riches

that take place simultaneously. The harmony of the lives of various ethnic groups on Bangka island has not revealed what happened and why all of this could happen.

Further, what is the future of this harmonization amid the contestation of roles that dominate each other, especially those carried out by the ethnic Chinese on Bangka island? A brief explanation exists historically with the feeling of sharing the same fate as a colonized population (Sya et al., 2019). Still, this bond is denied by the existence of second-class treatment for ethnic Chinese in other areas in Java and mainland Sumatra.

This research tries to dissect how the capital owned by the ethnic Chinese in Bangka Island can support the existence of harmonization between the Chinese and the natives in this archipelago. The terminology of local people or indigenous people, which will be used interchangeably in this research, refers to residents with a historical history at the historical roots of the ethnicity of the archipelago, not referring to the context of othering differentiation. This research also looks at how the relationship between ethnic domination and contestation occurs through the modal approach presented by Bourdieu (1990). Bourdieu opened a new tradition in the absurd social dynamics between individuals and society (Bourdieu, 1990). To overcome this contradiction, Bourdieu chooses to use a rational way of thinking (Swartz, 1997) that the objective structure and subjective representation, agent and behavior are dialectically intertwined and influence each other reciprocally or duality (Giddens, 1997; Priyono, 2002). The two do not deny each other but are adrift in practice.

Bourdieu himself explained that habitus is the basis for the formation of the realm, while on the other hand, the realm becomes the focus for the performance of habitus. The realm is an arena of power in which there is an effort to struggle for resources (capital) and gain certain access to the hierarchy of power. Bourdieu uses capital to map societal power relations (Fashri, 2007, p. 97). In Bourdieu's concept of capital, there are at least 4 (four) classifications of capital, including economic capital, which refers to means of production materials that are easily used for all purposes and are passed down from one generation to the next; social capital refers to the social network owned concerning other parties who have power; cultural capital, which includes all intellectual qualifications that can be produced through formal education or family inheritance, and; symbolic capital which includes all forms of prestige, social status, authority and legitimacy (Fashri, 2007). With this capital approach, it is hoped that a new perspective will emerge in supporting the presence of harmonization amid the dominance contestation. It takes many elements that strengthen and reduce the various distinguishing elements to create a strong family building that has existed so far on Bangka island.

2. Research Method

This research is a type of descriptive qualitative research with an exploratory pattern. Descriptive research aims to describe the nature of something ongoing when the research is carried out and examine the causes of a particular symptom. Descriptive qualitative research aims to describe a phenomenon's state and produce generalizations derived from inductive processes about the group, process, activity, or situation being studied (Given, 2008; Umar, 2011; Bakhri & Hanubun, 2019). In this study, what is described exploratively with the logic of generalization is how the habituation process of Chinese subcultures occurs amid the Malay majority society.

Data collection techniques are interviews and observations, with the research subjects being Chinese ethnic people and Indigenous people on Bangka island. Data were collected from November 2021 to June 2022. The collected data will be analyzed following a qualitative approach, in which three streams of analysis activities will be carried out simultaneously and

flexibly: data reduction, data presentation, analysis, conclusion drawing, and triangulation (Cresswell, 2017; Miles & Huberman, 2014).

3. Chinese Identity in Bangka Malay Domination

Identity is one of the markers possessed by a group of communities with the same background, culture or characteristics. This identity marker appears as a collective unit to reflect the similarities (Ibrahim, 2013). The Malay community's main marker is that they come from the same lineage and ancestors, for example, from Sumatra and Malacca.

Although the ethnic Chinese in Bangka is a minority, they do not receive repression or discriminatory treatment. At least as evidenced by the presence of togetherness in everyday life. This condition, at least, arises from the strong commitment of ethnic groups considered the majority, namely ethnic Malays, who provide maximum space and have no limitations in various ways. In addition, ethnic Chinese who are descendants of their ancestors who came to Bangka as mining workers consider Bangka island their second homeland. Those currently thought to be the third and fourth generations have considered Indonesia their homeland.

Most informants stated that they had never considered returning to the People's Republic of China (PRC). Even the average of those who live now no longer know about their grandfather or parents' family from their ancestral land, China. Plus the fact that many ethnic Chinese in Bangka have married ethnic Malays. This marriage made their sense of local nationalism stronger. Of course, a marriage that later gave birth to offspring would naturally raise the assumption from the Malays or natives that they were "our people".

As stated by Edi Santoso Ngui, whose real name is Fu Ciong, 50 years old, resident of Songhin Hamlet, Jurung Village, Bangka Regency, they never even think about returning to their ancestral land, namely China. Even for holidays, according to them, it never occurred to them. For them, being fully Indonesian is a must. Even their children are no longer obsessed with learning Mandarin as their ancestral language.

As for history, the early arrival of tin workers from Guangdong, China, to Bangka island did not include women's wives or families, but only men who came. These working men then marry Malay women and so on. This marriage lineage gave rise to a new, closer kinship term between the Malay and Chinese. This fusion of identities emerged due to severing relations with mainland China. Practically those who are married to Malays usually no longer preserve their ancestral traditions and are carried away by Malay traditions. For example, something that is most visible is the fading of the Mandarin language, the conversion of ancestral religions and the absence of a grave prayer tradition for those who have merged with Malay people.

Afing, one of the informants from Pelangas Village, West Bangka Regency, said he was like most locals. He does live in an area where there are a lot of Malays. They make friends and have inter-ethnic marriages. Even Afing says he speaks Pelangas every day.

"I like hunting birds and squirrels with Malay friends; automatically, my language and character are like theirs" (Afing, interview).

In terms of belief, it can also be seen that Bangka Island consists of various religions and beliefs. Six religions and beliefs officially recognized by the state exist in this province. Confucianism and Buddhism are the initial religions of ethnic Chinese migrants on Bangka Island. They then, with their respective understandings, marry Malays, who tend to be Muslim or immigrants from other ethnic groups who are Protestant or Catholic. Religious conversion on Bangka island is not a problematic issue. However, behind what is shown, there is a sense of

identity contestation, where the Chinese ethnic learns from events in other areas which marginalize and do not recognize the Chinese as citizens who also have rights following the promises of the state in the law. In many places, there were riots against the background of religious and ethnic differences. It is not uncommon for those who come from ethnic Chinese to be discriminated against and even repressively receive inhumane treatment because of the absence of recognition from the state.

Table 1. Statistics of Religious adherents in the Bangka Belitung Islands

Regencies / Municipalities	Religions							Total
	Islam	Protestant-Christianity	Catholic-Christianity	Hinduism	Buddhism	Confucianism	Streams of Faith	
Bangka	270,846	7,485	3,650	29	26,252	7,031	1,759	317,052
Belitung	155,257	2,727	1,142	759	9,014	147	7	169,053
South Bangka	170,721	1,187	723	231	1,496	2,299	1	176,658
Central Bangka	159,581	4,713	4,664	41	6,462	6,814	11	182,285
West Bangka	181,378	2,848	953	27	8,254	3,597	9	197,066
East Belitung	118,554	1,569	405	3	3,380	163	5	124,079
Pangkalpinang	177,317	8,179	7,164	64	12,860	7,966	23	213,573
Total	1,233,654	28,708	18,701	1,154	67,718	28,017	1,815	1,379,767

Source: babel.kemenag.go.id (2018)

Culturally, the identity of the Chinese ethnic in Bangka island can be classified into two main groups: *Totok* (full-blooded) and *Peranakan* (crossbreed) (Ibrahim, 2013; Nugroho, 2013; Reid, 2009). *Totok* is Chinese who have a direct relationship with their ancestors in China, commonly called the early Chinese generation. The *Totok* Chinese strongly adhere to traditions by preserving their ancestral traditions, for example, by speaking Mandarin, preserving Hio prayer, visiting ancestral graves, and celebrating Chinese customs and culture. At the same time, *Peranakan* is attached to Chinese who have mixed with other ethnicities or left their ancestral culture.

As for the *Peranakan* Chinese, they can interact and establish family relationships with other ethnicities outside of Chinese. Some are even married to other ethnic groups on Bangka island. Some did not even master their ancestral language Mandarin, changed their beliefs, and were no longer Confucian. In general, they began to give up their Chinese identity.

The ethnic Chinese on Bangka island were originally tin miners. It is this lead magnet that drives them to come. Furthermore, with the opening of other business fields and the more accommodative state policies towards the Chinese, they generally try to enter more into the business world. The world of politics for the ethnic Chinese in Bangka island was initially a field that was shunned. However, that period changed after the reformation (Turner, 2003; Turner & Allen, 2007). Even for some Chinese people, the memory of the political violence they felt during the New Order still lingers (Aryodiguno, 2019; Brahma, 2018; Cribb & Copel, 2009). During the election season, both nationally and locally, the level of participation tends to be minimal, especially for those of the ethnic Chinese who live in the villages. Statistically, many ethnic Chinese now in Bangka and Belitung hold strategic positions as regional heads at the Regency/Municipality level and Regional Representatives Council/House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia.

The openness of the political field for ethnic Chinese cannot be separated from the lack of ethnic sentiment in the general or regional head elections. From voter statistics, there are more Malays voters than ethnic Chinese. Bangka Belitung is considered very well-established in terms of Chinese ethnic political capital. This increasingly open field of Chinese ethnicity has made ethnic Chinese more accommodated and recognized in the community. In addition, in the

political field that Malays usually dominate, many politicians come from ethnic Chinese. Interestingly, those who sit in executive and legislative positions at both the central and regional levels do not affirm the special interests of the ethnic Chinese but act like representatives or leaders who protect the entire community of Bangka Belitung.

Table 2. Some Chinese Figures from Bangka Belitung and Their Roles

No.	Name	Position
1	Lim Tau Kian	Chinese elder
2	Toni Wen	Chinese elder
3	Amung Tjandra	Figure of the Formation of Bangka Belitung Province
4	Basuki Tjahaya Purnama	Former Regent of East Belitung
5	Basuri Tjahaya Purnama	Former Regent of East Belitung
6	Rudianto Tjen	Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia
7	Hidayat Arsani	Former Deputy Governor
8	Eko Wijaya	Member of the Indonesian House of Representatives Period 2014 - 2019
9	Bambang Patijaya	Member of the Regional House of Representatives for the Province of the Bangka Belitung Islands for the 2019 - 2024 period
10	Bong Ming Ming	Deputy Regent of West Bangka
11	Me Hoa	Chairman of the Regional House of Representatives of Central Bangka Regency
12	Bahar Buasan	Member of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia Period 2014 - 2019
13	Alex Fransiskus	Member of the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia Period 2020 - 2024
14	Isyak Meirobi	Deputy Regent of Belitung Period 2018 - 2023

Seeing the composition of several figures and officials from the existing ethnic Chinese, many ethnic Chinese have considered Bangka Belitung Island their second home. His first home is the origin of his ancestors. However, with the good reception from the ethnic Malays, the Chinese of Bangka Belitung are increasingly convinced that there is no discrimination in terms of the political and social fields in Bangka Belitung.

One form of ethnic Chinese adjustment is by conducting exogamous marriages between the Chinese and the indigenous population. The observation results show that the place of residence surrounding or even in the same village as the Malays also determines the occurrence of exogamous marriages between ethnic Chinese and ethnic Malays. This applies to the village context, which does not necessarily apply to life in an urban context (Ibrahim et al., 2017; 2019). Examples of villages that show many ethnic Chinese marrying Malays are the Sungai Selan, Lampung, and Trubus areas located in Central Bangka Regency, Pelangas Village, Suntai Hamlet, and Parit Tiga located in West Bangka Regency, Lumut Village and Cengel Hamlet which are located in West Bangka Regency. The villages mentioned above are geographically and socially surrounded by villages where most of the population is Malay.

Some informants said that their social environment, which Malays dominate, is an unavoidable condition that causes them to hang out often and interact socially with Malays. For

some people, this association and interaction begin an intensive relationship. One of the social implications is that they become convinced of each other to get married. Differences in ethnicity, religion, culture and so on, initially assumed to be obstacles, have become negotiable. Awek, one of the informants who is married to a Sungai Selan Malay, said:

"We live with those who are not Chinese; no wonder it made us close, and then we got married" (Awek, interview).

Another expression that refers to how environmental conditions and close association with Malays lead to exogamous marriages comes from Ayang, an ethnic Chinese resident who lives in Sungai Selan. Ayang said that he was used to making friends with Malays and thought they were the same. They do not position each other differently in friendship, so marriage is possible.

While getting along and then deciding to get married, this exogamous couple's family, especially those from Chinese families, chose to support their relationship directly. As in Ayang's case, he even ran away from home because he did not get support from his family, so in the end, his parents and siblings could be said to have relented and chose to make peace with Ayang's choice.

Ayang also explicitly revealed that for her and her husband, ethnic differences were not a problem in deciding to get married when they realized that they were already comfortable. The communication was interactive, affectionate, and loving. For him, they deserve to be together when they love each other. Their marriage was unconditional if one of them changed religion. It is evident from the interviewing result, Ayang remained Confucian until his Muslim husband died.

However, there does appear to be a slight difference between exogamy, common in villages, and conditions in urban areas are relatively rare. This could be influenced by the community assimilation process in the village more easily than in urban areas. The occurrence of such a distinction amid the same living environment is due to differences in social characteristics between the Chinese who live in the city and live in the village. Those who live in cities tend to have exclusive characteristics in their association, so what happens is friendship, interaction, and association within the scope of fellow ethnicities. For example, a study conducted by [Karmela & Pamungkas \(2017\)](#) in Jambi city also shows the same thing as what happened to the Chinese community living in cities in Bangka.

4. Domination of Habitus Forming Capital

Ethnicity is often used as a political tool to compete against each other for political and economic interests. [Ritau'din \(2017\)](#) argues that one of the interesting phenomena today is the inclusion of issues of ethnicity and religion, especially in the political realm. This issue is prone to harm democracy in Indonesia and triggers jealousy and conflict in a pluralistic society like Indonesia. In addition, ethnicity politics tends to be a creation of the state in labelling its citizens ([Haboddin, 2012](#)). [Salim, as cited in Zein \(2000\)](#), also reveals that from a historical perspective, the issue of ethnicity has been going on since the colonial era, when the Dutch established the Chinese as a second class after the Dutch and Europeans. Meanwhile, the natives were placed in the third class. As a result, the stereotype after Indonesia's independence was attached to the Chinese population as an extension of the colonizers and often became a reason to spill hatred on them.

On Bangka island, this harmony can be shown by those in multi-ethnic circles. Harmonious here is defined as a condition where one individual and another agree with each other, or it can be said that differences between individuals have been eroded by a well-established attitude of tolerance (Fernando et al., 2019). Ethnic Malays and Chinese make up the largest population in Bangka Belitung. Statistical data shows that the composition of Malay and Chinese reaches 69 percent and 11 percent (Kavin, 2017). The intimacy between the ethnic Chinese and the Malays can be seen in the Malay wedding attire, which is dominated by red, as a symbol of the lucky color for the Chinese. In addition, in Bangka, many Chinese women wear cloth and kebaya, a Malay tradition. The culinary field also proves the closeness between these two ethnic groups (Theo & Lie, 2014). *Martabak Manis*, or moonlit cake or *Hok Lopan*, is one type of heritage cake that displays traces of Chinese culture, which developed along with the acculturation process. This *Hok Lopan* cake or *martabak* is the most enjoyed cake by all residents in the Bangka Belitung Islands (Setiati, 2008). The closeness in social interaction between the two ethnic groups is also confirmed by the reality that they will visit each other every religious holiday. As stated by one of the hamlet heads in Pelangas Village, Akhiong (40 years old), on their respective religious holidays, they will visit each other so that they will stay in touch across identities.

The people of Bangka have recognized this difference as a reality that cannot be denied. This recognition of similarity confirms the existence of different but still one symbolizations (Marta, 2018). This is the basic assumption that underlies the understanding of multiculturalism. Even more interesting is that conflicts between Chinese and Malays are rarely found in Bangka Belitung. This is evidenced by the riot cases in Jakarta and other cities in Indonesia, where the ethnic Chinese population in Bangka was completely protected (Permana, 2002). Even in the literature and in the news, there has never been a racist riot in Bangka Belitung that happened to ethnic Chinese (Theo & Lie, 2014). Johan Murod, a prominent Malay Bangka, revealed that the ethnic Chinese and Malays of Bangka both fought against the Dutch colonialists because they were both victims of the colony who were suffering at that time (Murod, Interview, November 29, 2021). It is not surprising that Hakka's motto is "*Thong Ngin Fan Ngin Jit Jong*", meaning that Chinese and Malays are equal.

A study by Idi (2014) argues that harmonious inter-ethnic relations can occur without systematic "social engineering". It provides an important lesson with the fair and equal distribution of social, political, religious and economic structures. Meanwhile, Pageh (2018) examines the understanding of the wisdom of the local religious system in integrating diversity in Bali. Harmonization, according to Pageh, is the inclusive basis for the implementation of strong religious values, especially Hinduism there.

The authors assume that capital is a strength and shows that a harmonious society competes to influence and control each other in a dynamic rhythm. It's just that with smart management, the contestation is not in a diametrical realm that creates conflict. By exploring the cultural and social capital, it can be seen that the Chinese can paddle among the existing opportunities. The acceptance by the Malays as the largest ethnic group indicates the agileness of the Chinese community in implementing the acculturation strategy in peace and harmony.

From Table 2, which shows the role of Chinese figures in the Bangka Belitung Islands, at least the power of domination is present and owned by the ethnic Chinese. Several Chinese figures who hold public positions among politicians, council members and regional heads show that the Chinese are flexible in their societal role. The minority side, as the Chinese's weakness in Bangka, turned the situation into a turning point.

Harmonization between Malay and Chinese attracted Chinese social, political and economic networks into the political system, which influenced many policies, especially those oriented

towards the existence of social class in the community. The presence of Chinese figures in holding political positions can influence how the Chinese play a role in the community amidst the quantitative strength of Malays. Regarding capital, the Bangka Chinese hold four assets that Bourdieu conveyed economically, socially, culturally and symbolically. The presence of the four capitals asset allows them to move dynamically even though they are in minority conditions.

Law Number 12 of 2006, Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia, and Law Number 40 of 2008, Eliminating Racial and Ethnic Discrimination, are the government's efforts to provide law protection, certainty and equality to all citizens without ethnic discrimination. The Chinese community on Bangka island has been very free to carry out various activities even before the existence of this law. However, practically this law gives stronger political legitimacy to the ethnic Chinese in the Bangka Belitung Islands to be facilitated as citizens, for example, in terms of making Identity Cards, Birth Certificates, official state marriage affairs, and also other matters related to population administration, business administration, and so on. The Chinese community has also officially embraced various religions recognized by the state, which exist in the Bangka Belitung Islands, such as Islam, Protestant-Christianity, Catholic-Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and so on.

Ethnic Chinese are generally Buddhist and Confucian. Their expression of religious freedom was especially born during the time of President Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001). At that time, Buddhists and Confucians, who were generally ethnic Chinese, could freely express their beliefs and worship through ritual parties such as Cheng Beng or grave prayers and the celebration of Chinese New Year (Imlek) every year. In Sungailiat, Bangka Regency, as an expression of mixing Chinese and Malay cultures, the local government even gave street names written in three languages, Indonesian, Arabic, and Mandarin. This policy strongly conveys that various religions and ethnicities inhabit the area with equal citizenship positions.

Based on the findings of observations, the interaction that exists, especially between Malays and Chinese, is in the field of trade. In the market, they interact with each other both as traders and buyers and traders. The Chinese generally sell agricultural products in the form of vegetables, kitchen utensils, and also spices. While the Malays generally sell fish, clothing and other small business actors. Even if the researcher looks further, there are also many ethnic Chinese who work as farmers, gardeners, animal husbandry, laborers and fishermen. They have social interaction through trade, and it is an open place to interact. There are at least two markets in Bangka, namely the open market where ethnic Malays, Chinese and other ethnicities interact in buying and selling transactions. Now and then, the Chinese would use Hakka to serve their fellow Chinese buyers and would change to a Malay dialect when speaking with Malays. The second market is a closed market or a shock market. Commodities sold in this market tend to be more unique to the Chinese (non-halal), for example, pork, cumiasi Durian, Chinese New Year Cake (popular as *Kue Keranjang* or Chinese *Dodol* in Indonesia), *tek fu* noodles and so on.

In addition, some Chinese people become Civil Servants and even heads of Service. The existence of ethnic Chinese who become Civil Servants in the local government environment on Bangka Island shows that there is no ethnic discrimination in employee recruitment. Business cooperation can also show the existence of partnerships between Malays and Chinese in the economic field. Ethnic Chinese with a financial capital partner with Malays who supply raw materials or labor. Many Malays worked for the Chinese as employees or construction workers. In addition to the trade sector, interactions occur in the traditional mining sector, known as unconventional mining. Unconventional mining is a community mine that individuals drive.

Generally, they mine illegally and even in areas of the former PT Timah Mining Business Permit.

It is known that the Chinese who came to Bangka generally used to work as tin miners. The Chinese usually provide the facilities and infrastructure for unconventional tin mining, while the Malays are the workers. In almost all areas of Bangka Belitung, there is unconventional tin, and the area is getting wider, even to sea mines. The largest tin mining centers are Bangka, West Bangka, Central Bangka, South Bangka and East Belitung. As for the Pangkalpinang and Belitung areas, the regional governments firmly reject tin mining and often carry out raids, so many miners flee to other districts with less control over their apparatus. Many Chinese shops in Sungailiat and also Pangkalpinang provide these tin mining tools. Although most Chinese people trade, there is no racial sentiment, which creates problems in buying and selling transactions. Malays and Chinese trade with each other as a form of symbolic interaction as social capital for equality in social interaction.

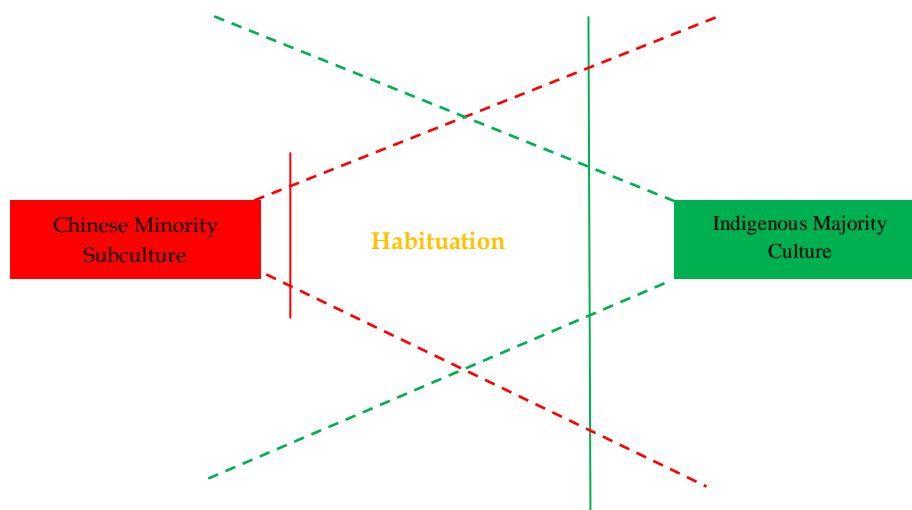
In the political field, most Chinese are reluctant to enter it. Even in general elections, Chinese people tend to be closed. However, this does not indicate the existence of a political attitude in the Chinese community as in the New Order era. Evidence of the active participation of the Chinese community can be seen from the large number of Chinese figures holding political positions amid the majority of Malay voters. In Bangka Regency, Chinese figures are members of the Council, such as Agung Setiawan, Riniarti Sajuni, Budiono, Junaidi Surya, and Tjindriajana. In Central Bangka Regency, Me Hoa is the first woman to serve as Chair of the Regional House of Representatives of Central Bangka Regency for 2019-2024. In West Bangka Regency, Bong Ming Ming is the Deputy Regent of West Bangka.

Even though the majority of ethnic Malays are running in the general election, the electability level of ethnic Chinese is said to be higher than the Malays themselves. Usually, they take advantage of kinship ties, for example, in regional head elections, elections for council members, village head elections and so on. Since the president of Abdurrahman Wahid, many ethnic Chinese have become active in politics. Many Chinese people are actively running as elected candidates in every general election. Interestingly, many Malays become the successful team of ethnic Chinese candidates. Even Chinese politician Rudianto Tjen was elected many times as a Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia. Some Malay politicians joked that Rudianto Tjen was an eternal member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia from the Bangka Belitung Islands (Johan Murod, Interview, November 25, 2021). Concerns about the revival of the terms indigenous and non-indigenous as new discourses raised by the candidates, as found in [Chen \(2021\)](#), do not seem to occur in the electoral context on Bangka island. The fact is that the reclaiming of the term indigenous in the electoral process is an 'unscrupulous' matter, not substantial as a matter of inter-ethnic equality. Of course, there is a bias, but as long as it is played as a movement of fear in a competition that does not get optimal space for voters, it shows that identity, whatever its form and object, remains the color of democratic contestation where procedural characteristics are still the indicators.

The ethnic Malays and Chinese living on Bangka Island seem to realize that the existing interactions result from being carved simultaneously. A soft contestation between the Chinese and Malays was created because, historically, they were bound to each other. The feeling of sharing the same fate, especially when the colonialization occurred in Bangka Belitung, caused them to have an inner bond. In addition, the widening marriage tradition has become a supporting term for the inclusion of stronger tolerance. Ethnic sentiment finally does not appear on the surface, even though Malays control the majority regarding social, political and

economic capital. Local governments also carry out pro-equality policies, especially regarding employee recruitment, social benefits, education, political opportunities, etc. Culturally, the grave prayer or Cheng Beng celebration is lively and even facilitated by the local government. They realized that the cultural potential that existed through the Cheng Beng tradition and the Chinese New Year helped push the community's economy in a more positive direction, along with the increasing number of tourists coming to Bangka.

Habitus was thus formed as part of the capital control process by the Chinese ethnic so that they were relatively well received amid the domination of the local population, which was generally Malay. The mastery of this capital is the basic capital for forming the ethnic Chinese power to be involved in the daily field and almost all sectors of life.



Scheme 1. Chinese Subculture Habituation

Referring to Bourdieu (1990), the four capitals owned by ethnic Chinese are formed from four main pillars: economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. In terms of economic capital, while at the grassroots, ethnic Chinese tend to be working figures and form inter-ethnic harmonization with economic inclusivity, in urban areas, they hold a central position as the main actor of trade. With this capital, they not only have a fairly strong economic capacity but are also relatively considered as 'the have' people who have encouraged their strong access to the economic sector. Mastery in this economic aspect is ultimately considered a consequence of the grouping of residences, a condition in which most indigenous people are in almost the same condition, so economic control is not considered a big problem. Meanwhile, in the social aspect, they tend to be accepted and blend in with all strata because they also form social groupings from the side of social strata. At the elite level, ethnic Chinese tend to blend in and not build social exclusivity openly. It is not surprising that the Chinese elite is heavily involved in various social and youth activities and then forms strong relationships with the principle of equality. From a cultural perspective, the long history of residents on Bangka island cannot be separated from the presence of the Chinese ethnic, so they also exert a strong cultural influence on the local community. Various cultural traditions, culinary, and local dialects unavoidably influence local culture. As for the symbols, the Chinese are perceived as economically strong citizens, have a strong ethnicity network, and now tend to be considered to have strong legitimacy by controlling certain political positions.

Scheme 1 above shows that the habituation process has encouraged the acceptance of the Chinese minority subculture for the majority. In Bourdieu, the habituation process is formed in the long term in which the objective structure and subjective phenomena unite to form a collectivity of social reality. Thus, this research wants to distance itself from the study of [Anggraeni \(2011\)](#), which says that even though they want to forget differences, the Chinese still need a different paradigm in accommodating Chinese identity in a social context. This study refers to habituation that has tried to form a special acceptance paradigm, especially in the context of Bangka island.

The habituation of this ethnic Chinese subculture can be said to be characterized by mastery of the four capitals that place the Chinese ethnicity as an influential subculture. If you look at the reviews in the previous sections, this habituation is formed slowly and is not a dramatic change process, so it is transformative. The tendency of the dominance of minority subcultures amid this dominance shows that the formation of habituation takes place over a long period with the support of the majority culture, which tends to be open. The sharing of similarities, both in economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital, shows that there is a relatively smooth division of roles so that it does not cause strong resistance. The politics of sharing is the right sentence to describe the conditions of habituation formation.

At the level of economic capital, the politics of sharing is marked by ethnic Chinese grouping, which does not always refer to domination in the economic field. Most people who control the economic sector in urban areas also take almost the same economic control. In social capital, the sharing of elite solidarity and inclusiveness is an indicator of the politics of sharing, namely role sharing, sharing opportunities and access. Meanwhile, in the cultural sector, the distribution of influence lasts longer with harmonious acculturation for a long time. In the symbolic capital sector, many exchanges have taken place regarding political power that remains divided and other symbols, including social status, authority and political legitimacy.

The role-sharing politics is one important aspect of ensuring that the roles of each do not negate each other. Sharing roles with a competitive model maintained democratically guarantees that the majority and minority contexts do not escalate into identity conflicts. As long as this sharing politics can run elegantly and is not oriented to the dilemma between homeland, citizenship, and place of residence, as [Lan \(2017\)](#) worries, identity hardening that leads to prejudice wrapped in hatred will not happen.

5. Conclusion

The existence of ethnic Chinese on Bangka island is a long historical fabric. Practices in social life between the Chinese and Malays are well entwined in harmony. However, some contestations influence each other and relations that feel dominant. In practice, the Chinese can play a good role, especially from the perspective of capital presented by Bourdieu. Ethnic Chinese can control the entire capital asset, showing dominance in the economic, social, cultural and political fields. The accommodation of elected Chinese politicians in public office is undeniable proof. In the social and cultural fields, many Chinese traditions are starting to be well accepted by the Malays. The presence of a Chinese-style school in Bangka also emphasized the presence of this dominative power.

Meanwhile, in the economic field, the majority of economic actors in downtown Pangkalpinang, Muntok, Tanjung Pandan, and Sungailiat are ethnic Chinese. The motto "*Thong Ngin Fan Ngin Jit Jong*" is considered a powerful incantation that provides cultural legitimacy to the ethnic Chinese of Bangka from the absence of discriminatory practices. Good collaboration

creates harmony, even though some Chinese and Malays still hold on to their intertwined identities, even face to face.

This research concludes that the habituation of the Chinese Ethnic as a subculture widely accepted by the majority culture has been carried out with good capital control by the Chinese Ethnic. This habituation is supported by the role-sharing politics that have been practiced for a very long time with the dynamics of change that occur as part of social reality. Habituation that goes well is why even though it feels like domination of subcultures, the existence of ethnic Chinese is not faced with resistance as in many other areas.

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About the Authors

1. **Ibrahim** obtained his Doctoral degree in Philosophy from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, in 2012 and a Doctoral degree in Political Science from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, in 2014. The author is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bangka Belitung, Indonesia. He was also Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bangka Belitung, from 2014 to 2020 and is now Rector of Universitas Bangka Belitung from 2020 to 2024. He is also the Head of the Indonesian Political Science Association in Bangka Belitung Islands Province.
E-Mail: iim_babel@yahoo.com
2. **Arief Hidayat** obtained his Master's degree in Politics and Government from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, in 2020. The author is a doctoral program student at the Department of Cultural and Media Studies, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia.
E-Mail: ariefcrbn@gmail.com
3. **Herza** obtained his Bachelor's degree in Sociology from Universitas Bangka Belitung, Indonesia, in 2016 and a Master's degree in Sociology from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, in 2019. The author is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bangka Belitung, Indonesia.
E-Mail: herzazul@ubb.ac.id