

**THE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDONESIAN
CHINESE DIASPORA AND CHINA:
CASE STUDY ON TIONGHOA CULTURAL
BASED ORGANIZATION IN SURABAYA,
INDONESIA**

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACFROC	All-China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese
ASEAN	Association of South East Asia Nations
Baperki	Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia/ Consultative Council on Indonesian Citizenship
BPKI	Badan Penyelidik Kemerdekaan Indonesia/ Investigate Committee on Indonesia's Independence
BKPBM	Badan Koordinasi Pendidikan Bahasa Mandarin/ Board of Mandarin Education Coordination
CCIS	Center for Chinese Indonesian Studies
CDN	Chinese of different nationality
CHH	Chung Hwa Hui
FKKB	Forum Komunikasi Kesatuan Bangsa/ Communication Forum for Nation Unity
GANDI	Gerakan Perjuangan Anti Diskriminasi/ Indonesian Anti-Discrimination Movement
HMTI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Tionghoa Indonesia/ Association of Chinese Indonesian Student
HQCH	Hua Qiao Chung Hui
ICASS	Institute of Citizenship Awareness Studies – Surabaya
INTI	Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa/ The Chinese Indonesian Association
LPKB	Lembaga Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa/ the Institute for the Promotion of National Unity

MATAKIN	Majelis Tinggi Agama Konghuchu Indonesia/ Supreme Council for Confucian religion in Indonesia
OCAC	Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee
OCAO	Overseas Chinese Affairs Office
OFP/SCIO	Office of Foreign Propaganda/State Council Information Office
Orla	Orde Lama/ Old Order regime
Orba	Orde Baru/ New Order regime
PARTI	Partai Reformasi Tionghoa Indonesia/ Chinese Indonesian Reform Party
PBI	Partai Bhineka Tunggal Ika/ Unity in Diversity Party
PERMIT	Perkumpulan Masyarakat dan Pengusaha Indonesia Tionghoa/ Indonesia Chinese Entrepreneur Community
PITI	Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia/Persatuan Iman Tauhid Indonesia/ Tionghoa Moslem Organization
PMTS	Paguyuban Masyarakat Tionghoa Surabaya/ The Association of Tionghoa in Surabaya
PPICH	Perhimpunan Persahabatan Indonesia-China
PPIT	Perhimpunan Persahabatan Indonesia-Tiongkok/ Indonesia-China Friendship Association
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSMTI	Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia/ The Indonesian Chinese Social Organization
PTI	Partai Tionghoa Indonesia/ Tionghoa Indonesia Party
PUTI	Perkumpulan Umat Tao Indonesia/ Indonesian Taoist Association

PWBI	Partai Warga Bangsa Indonesia/ Indonesian Citizens Party
RRT	Republik Rakyat Tiongkok/ People's Republic of China
SBKRI	Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia/ Proof Letter as Indonesian Citizen
SEA	South East Asia
SIMPATIK	Solidaritas Pemuda- Pemuda Tionghoa Indonesia untuk Keadilan/ Solidarity of Young Chinese Indonesian Women and Men for Justice
SMA	Sekolah Menengah Atas/ High School
SNB	Solidaritas Nusa Bangsa/ Solidarity for Motherland and Nation
SNPC	Sekolah Nasional Project Khusus/ Special Project National School
TCM	Traditional Chinese Medicine
THHK	Tiong Hwa Hwee Koan
WNA	Warga Negara Asiang/ foreign citizen
WNI	Warga Negara Indonesia/ Indonesian citizen

**HUBUNGAN DIANTARA DIASPORA CINA INDONESIA DENGAN
NEGARA CHINA: KAJIAN KES TERHADAP ORGANISASI TIONGHOA
BERTERASKAN BUDAYA DI SURABAYA, INDONESIA**

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini membicarakan tentang komuniti diaspora dalam rangka kajian hubungan antarabangsa di mana ia memberi tumpuan terutamanya kepada hubungan antara organisasi Cina-Indonesia atau Tionghoa dan China. Tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk mengenal pasti dan menjelaskan persepsi ahli dan jawatankuasa organisasi Tionghoa ke arah China, hubungan, minat dan motivasi berhubung dengan China. Ia merupakan kajian kualitatif dengan kajian kes untuk sembilan organisasi Tionghoa berteraskan budaya di Surabaya, Indonesia. Ia menggunakan pendekatan Konstruktivisme dalam kajian hubungan antarabangsa sebagai alat analisis. Dapatan kajian ini menunjukkan persepsi Tionghoa ke arah China hanya sebagai negara asal nenek moyang dan bukan tanah air mereka. Unsur diaspora berlaku hanya dalam konteks keturunan Cina dan tidak dominan berbanding dengan identiti sebagai warga negara Indonesia dan etnik Tionghoa di Indonesia. Hubungan dengan China hanya dalam budaya, bukan politik, dan kebanyakannya dalam acara istiadat, hanya sebagai penghormatan kepada negara nenek moyang. Kepentingan dan motivasi mereka lebih untuk mengakses China mengikut bidang dan aktiviti mereka, dan mengambil peranan sebagai jambatan dalam hubungan Indonesia-China. Terdapat empat perkara penting dalam kajian ini, pertama, elemen diaspora berlaku hanya dalam konteks sebagai keturunan Cina. Kedua, identiti sebagai warga negara Indonesia dan sebagai etnik Tionghoa Indonesia yang agak lebih dominan daripada identiti diaspora Cina. Ketiga,

kepentingan dan motivasi mereka dalam hubungan dengan China adalah "di sini" di Indonesia, bukan "di sana" di China. Keempat, walaupun Tionghoa kelihatan untuk memulihkan ke-Cina-an mereka dan mengekalkan unsur diaspora, tetapi ia tumbuh dalam konteks sebagai orang Indonesia. Faktor-faktor tadi yang mempengaruhi mengapa Tionghoa kurang aktif dalam aktiviti diaspora.

**THE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDONESIAN CHINESE DIASPORA AND
CHINA: CASE STUDY ON TIONGHOA CULTURAL BASED
ORGANIZATION IN SURABAYA, INDONESIA**

ABSTRACT

This study discusses diaspora community in the framework of international relations study where particularly it focuses to the relations between Indonesian-Chinese or Tionghoa organization and China. The purpose of this study are to identify and explain the perception of members and committee of Tionghoa organizations toward China, relationships, interests and motivation in relation with China. It is a qualitative research with case studies to nine Tionghoa cultural organizations in Surabaya, Indonesia. They are social organization (PMTS and INTI), family and clan organization (Huang and Hakka), religion organization (PITI and PUTI), education organization (BKPBM), business organization (PERMIT) and social-culture cooperation organization (PPIT). It adopts Constructivism approach in the study of international relations as analytical tool. The findings of this study indicate Tionghoa perception toward China is only as ancestor's origin country and not their homeland. The relationship with China only in the culture, not politics, and mostly in ceremonial event, only as respects to ancestors' country. Their interest and motivation are more to access China according to their fields and activity, and take a role as a bridge in Indonesia-China relations. There are four important points in this study, first, diasporic element occurs only in the context as Chinese descendant. Second, the identity as Indonesian citizen and as ethnic Tionghoa Indonesia relatively more dominant than the Chinese diaspora identity. Third, their interest and motivation in the relations with

China are “over here” in Indonesia, not “over there” in China. Fourth, although Tionghoa seem to revive their Chineseness and maintain diasporic element, but it grows in the context as Indonesian. Those factors are influencing why Tionghoa less active in diasporic activity.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Nowadays, diaspora communities are becoming both social and political actors in global politics and international relations (Varadarajan, 2010). In the context of transnational relations, they influence world politics directly and indirectly by influencing state policy (Ikbar, 2014) and also as global issues (Santoso, 2014). They may also have roles in the conflict, both perpetuating or worsening the conflict (Roth, 2015). Diaspora also plays an important role to influence both home and host country foreign policy (Shain & Barth, 2003). Jews diaspora uses the organization as a lobbying group in the United States policy related to Israel's interest. In addition, Armenian diaspora shows their roles to influence the domestic politics by looking for foreign countries support. In the case of Indian Diaspora, although they are separated geographically, they contribute toward the Indian foreign policy, especially for Indian host country as the agent of India's foreign policy (Haokip, 2013; Pathak, 2013). The studies about Jews, Indian and Mexican diaspora show that they have strong feeling and positively accept the projection of the home country. The similar pattern on diaspora-home country relations also happens in Latino and Caribbean countries (Orozco, 2005), Lebanon (Hourani, 2011), Nigeria (Ougbuagu, 2013) and South Korea (Mylonas, 2013). Further, from the host country side, it possible to influence the host's country foreign policy, especially to the home country since it also as group in domestic politics (Hara, 2010). Diaspora has a role as a tool for host country to decide public diplomacy, like in the United States (Trent, 2012), to develop domestic policies

like in Canada (Nanji, 2005) and to bridge between host and home country bilateral relations like in Australia (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2013). However, in some cases, it also faces the identity problem in their host country live (Stean & Pettiford, 2009).

Diaspora community could be active and passive actor in their diasporic activity, or the relations toward homeland (Shain and Barth, 2003). It is influenced by hostland and homeland policy and approach, and diaspora group perception.¹ However, the political system in the home and hostland also influence diaspora group attitude. The passive diaspora occurred where they are projected as diaspora community by the homeland, and in the democratic homeland, diaspora have opportunity as active player. Nevertheless, hostland policy toward diaspora community, like discrimination issue, also influence how active diaspora in their diasporic relations toward hostland. Then, diaspora perception toward hostland creates interest and motivation on their diasporic activity or relations toward hostland. Jewish diaspora in United States and Armenian diaspora in some European countries show that they play active roles in their relations toward homeland, direct and indirectly. India and Mexico are active to involve their diaspora to support domestic politics and relations toward the hostland (Varadarajan, 2010). The similar pattern also occurred in Cyprus, when the government attracts diaspora's support by provides tax previllage and citizenship (Adamson & Dimetriou, 2007).

Among diaspora communities, Chinese diaspora have different experiences. In Southeast Asia, where 32.7 million of 50 million of Chinese diaspora in the world

¹ Shain and Barth use the Sociological concept of hostland and home land to describe the origin country and host country of diaspora. While I use home-host country and host-homeland to describe the origin country and the country where diaspora living.

are living (Chang, 2013), their positions are more defined by the deal between home and host country and they also become a sensitive issue in both country relations or in other words state domination occurs (Liu, 2011a). Despite the fact that Chinese diaspora have their own identities and cultural relation with China, they tend to have a political orientation toward their host country rather than China (Cheng, 2012; Hoon, 2012; Lee, 2007; Suryadinata & Guan, 2012). The younger generation relatively keeps their distance with China (Pei, 2001). The Chinese identity in the later generation (third or fourth generation) is more as Chinese in their own term, that different from the older generation. Even, in there is extreme case when the second and third generation reject all of things related with China (McKeown, 2001). Southeast Asian Countries treatment toward Chinese diaspora also influence their identity (Chineseness) and attitude toward China (Basuki, 2013; Sochmawardiah, 2013; Suhandinata, 2009; Suryadinata, 1997; 2007).

The rise of China economy influences Chinese diaspora to re-identify the Chineseness and reconstructing network with China where sometimes it creates conflictual position in their host country (McKeown, 2001). In this context, Chinese communities in Southeast Asian countries are identified as Chinese diaspora in one hand, and part of host country in other hand (Bhattacharya, 2009). Identity and China are crucial factors for Chinese community in Southeast Asia (Suryadinata, 2007). In the pre-Cold War, Chinese issues were related to their integration or assimilation way to the host country, in Cold War they were related to Communism and in post-Cold War they are related to dual loyalty issue when China holds a global economic power.

Indonesia is the largest country in Southeast Asia and living place for the large number of Chinese diaspora (Jacques, 2011). In 2006, among 245 million of Indonesian population, only about 3% of them are Indonesian-Chinese (then called

Tionghoa)², and most of them work in economic sector (Qin, 2007). However, there is a problem to find exact number of Tionghoa population in Indonesia today because some of them do not explain themselves as Tionghoa because they feel assimilated or acculturated and another reason is political matter (Suryadinata, Arifin and Ananta, 2003). In the 2000 Census, Suryadinata, Arifin and Ananta mention that the estimate population of Tionghoa in Indonesia is 1,5% of total Indonesian population and mostly living outside of Java. In the 2010 census, the number of Tionghoa in Indonesia is around 1,2% and becomes 15th largest ethnic in Indonesia after other most populated ethnics like Javanese, Sundanese, Malay, Batak, Maduranese, Betawi, Minangkabau, Bugis, Banten, Banjar, Balinese, Aceh, Dayak and Sasak (Ananta, et, all, 2015).

²In this study the Tionghoa refers to ethnic Chinese in Indonesia or Chinese Indonesian or Indonesian-Chinese. The Chinese Indonesian more explains in English structure that means Indonesian with Chinese ethnic. While Indonesian-Chinese, with dash (-) for some peoples means the Indonesian first than Chinese or it also could be meant the Indonesian Chinese Peranakan which refers to cultural and social approach as the result of interaction between Chinese and Indonesian people for hundred years (Gondomono, 2012). Historically the word Tionghoa is come from Hokkien dialect, as the earliest and largest group in Java, to call zhonghua that means Chinese China (Suryadinata, 2002; 2014; 2016). Tionghoa then was used both by peranakans and indigenous people in public like in newspaper. But the politics influence how government use the word to identify Indonesian-Chinese. Dutch and Japanese colonial ruler used the word Tjina (Cina) which meant negative characters. The word of Tionghoa became popular with word Tionggok (Hokkien dialect for Zhongguo) since 1920 until Old Order regime. Suryadinata indicates that Tionghoa also used to distinguished Indonesian-Chinese and Chinese China. However, Tionghoa also sometime interchangeable with peranakans to call them. While the New Order regime, as military army suggestion on the reason to remove the inferiority of part of people and superiority of other and anti-Communist propaganda, the word Tjina is used and replace Tionghoa. Indonesian New Order government approved it with Cabinet Presidium in June 28, 1967 (Surat Keputusan Presidium Kabinet Ampera Nomor SE-06/PRES.KAB/6/1967). Many Indonesian-Chinese protest this policy because of racialist content. After 47 years, Indonesian government stopped the policy by President Decree No.12 year 2014 which using back the Tionghoa to replace Cina, and Tionggok for Cina (State). The decree brings two implications in domestic as practice of non-discrimination state and to improve ethnic relations, and internationally for Indonesia-China relations. Tionghoa is used by BAPERKI, a Peranakan and supporter for Indonesian-Chinese integration toward Indonesian nation building as an ethnic in 1950s (Suryadinata, 2005). Some Tionghoa people use the word Tionghoa to distinguish them from Chinese China and other Chinese diaspora in other countries. They also argue that the term Cina is related to a negative characteristic and stereotype. Antony Reid (2009) states that the concept of Tionghoa also becomes an alternative to distinguish Chinese Indonesia from Chinese China and to solve their dilemmatic position. The term of Tionghoa also predicted by Wang Gungwun in his article in 1976 that the Tionghoa was promoted as one suku or ethnic in Indonesian since 1945-1965. But he also argues that the core of this concept was developed by peranakans (Gungwu, 1976).

Chinese in Indonesia or Tionghoa is the most complicated Chinese problem in Southeast Asia (Wibowo, 2001: 1-34). The Chinese problem in Indonesia deals with the stereotype of Tionghoa for being viewed as different nation or ethnic than indigenous people, a group with some negative characters (Coppel, 1994; Gondomono, 2002), strong relations with China as ancestral land and domination in economy (Suryadinata, 1995).³ Tionghoa in Indonesia viewed in some negative characters like living exclusively in a group and separate residence, having superior thinking,⁴ being opportunist and loyal to their ancestor culture. The last character creates the stereotype that their loyalty to Indonesia has been doubted and only for economic interest (Coppel, 1994: 25-26). This situation identifies Tionghoa as problematic “other” where geographically they originated from other region, culturally different with Muslim majority, economically they control economy and viewed as PRC’s Communism supporter (Heryanto, 1998). The *Masalah Cina* or Chinese problem was being a political discourse in Indonesia when New Order regime define Chineseness of Tionghoa should be Indonesianized (Philpott, 2000). Those stereotypes trigger anti-Chinese sentiment, including the economic competition between indigenous people and Chinese (Coppel 1994:57; Ham, 2008; Purdey 2006: 4-6).

Indonesia post Reform⁵ in 1998 brought opportunity for Tionghoa to participate in the politics, social, economy and culture, and freedom to express their identity as Chinese. The situation is like the bloom of many flowers (Coppel, 2003). Each

³ The negative perception toward Chinese was also appears in some Southeast countries. The pamphlet “The Jew of the East” written by King Vajiravudh of Thailand in 1914 mentioned that Chinese described in characters of inassimilable outsiders, only loyal to money, opportunist businessman (McKeown, 2001).

⁴ Perception about superiority of Tionghoa becomes one of reason why New Order regime used term of “Cina” than Tionghoa to call Indonesian-Chinese.

⁵ Reformasi is the concept to explain the period after New Order regime under President Soeharto who on power until 1998. In the Reformasi period, Indonesian enjoy democratic political system with some of domestic political policy changes, including some of discrimination policy toward ethnic Chinese minority.

presidential period put changes to the discriminative law and regulation related to Tionghoa (Jacobsen, 2005; Jiakuan, 2011; Hwang & Sadiq, 2010; Liji, 2012; Mahfud, 2013; Sukma, 2009; Suryadinata, 2007). It started with B.J.Habibie who stopped the use of the concept indigenous and non indigenous. Then Abdurrahman Wahid dropped the ban on Chinese culture expression and put Confucianism as part of Indonesian official religion. Megawati Soekarno Putri made the Chinese New Year as a national holiday. She also appointed a Tionghoa economist as a minister. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono amended the Citizenship law and erased the term “*asli*” or origin of Indonesia which distinguish the citizen with non-origin one. He also appointed Tionghoa economist to be a minister during two periods of his administration. In 2014, SBY released a decree concerning the replacement of the term *Cina* with Tionghoa to refer to Indonesian-Chinese and the term China with *Tionggok*. However, the legal or official policies related with Tionghoa indicate non-discrimination effort but in the practice, from social perspective, there are still some problems on Tionghoa and non-Tionghoa relations, especially to view Tionghoa in Indonesian nationality (Lan, 2012).

As a response to the Indonesian political change, Tionghoa established some Tionghoa organizations. From 1998 until 2007, Indonesia had 176 Tionghoa organizations in Jakarta (Dawis, 2010) and 116 Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya (Yudono, 2011). The objectives of the organizations are as the pressure group to struggle for their right against discrimination law, self-protection, political bargaining tool with the authority, identity expression, Indonesian nationalism promotion and as coordination among Tionghoa communities and as solidarity enhancement (Afif, 2012; Dawis, 2009; Freedman, 2003; Giblin, 2003; Hoon, 2012; Suryadinata, 2010; Tan, 2008). These organizations consist of social-culture groups, anti-discrimination groups, political party, religious organization, clan organizations and Tionghoa school

alumni in pre-Soeharto period, language-based organization, family-based organization, and China place/origin organization (Dawis, 2010; Giblin, 2003; Hoon, 2012). But, they are dominated by Chinese-clan, Chinese-place/region origin and Chinese school alumni (Dawis, 2010; Setiono, 2009).

In other part, China play safe on Tionghoa issue in the relations with Indonesia. Due to anti-Chinese riot in 1998, China asked Indonesia to protect Tionghoa as part of their citizen, similar with other Indonesian citizen. This soft respond was influenced by some factors like the competition with Taiwan, Indonesia's significance in South China Sea dispute and China's reputation as Indonesian friend in economic crisis (Zha, 2000). But China's rising position in international world and the improvement of Indonesia-China bilateral relations bring impact Tionghoa communities. China's Chinese overseas policy placed Chinese diaspora to bridge host country and China (Kuehn, Louine, Pomfred, 2013). It encourages Chinese diaspora to re-identify their Chineseness which creates transnational cultural movement (Ang, 2003). It also brings three implications on economic (investment and finance), politics and diplomatic (espionage) and security liability/potential repercussions (Chang, 2013). In Indonesia, as the implementation of Indonesia-China Strategic Partnership Agreement, both countries agree to improve their bilateral relation including cultural relation (Liji, 2012) where it gives opportunity for China government to approach and attract Tionghoa community. Tionghoa organization becomes the target of China's public diplomacy and interest (Dahana, 2004; Soebagyo, 2009) which creates competition between Indonesia and China to gain Tionghoa loyalty (Zha, 2000).

In the context of relations with China, Tionghoa organizations serve as a passive diaspora. Although they feel as Chinese and have links with China, they more focus on how to be accepted as part of Indonesian nation (Giblin, 2003). They feel as

Chinese diaspora due to their ancestor and self-identity as Chinese. But in their social activities are not only for Tionghoa community but also for non-Tionghoa (Dawis, 2010). They seem as post-diasporic situation where their Chinese diaspora identity is not as a core but the second after Indonesian identity (Ali, 2007). Even in the clan-based organizations and Tionghoa school alumni organizations, which dominate Tionghoa organization in Indonesia, they do not want to be recognized as *totok*⁶ organization which have Chinese orientation although they promote Chinese culture on behalf to preserve their culture (Hoon, 2012). They maintain the relations to China, through some events and meeting with China representative (Setiono, 2009). However, the close relations between Indonesia and China, and the globalization of China's economy, politic and military power are become the challenges toward Tionghoa loyalty. Tionghoa organization should keep their distance with China because of their fragile and sensitive position in Indonesia (Mahfud, 2013). The anti-Tionghoa sentiment and the stereotype of Indonesian-Chinese negative stereotype still occurred in Indonesia democracy (Budiman, 2005; Setiono, 2011). The native Indonesian doubts on Tionghoa dual loyalties and dual nations state ideology (Ode, 2012).

1.2 Problem Statement

Home country projections toward diaspora community as part of their interest and also the nature of homeland, the nature of host country and its policy to diaspora community and diaspora perceptions toward home country which influence their

⁶ In the early pre and early Independence of Indonesia, Tionghoa were divided into two main groups. The first group is Totok, the first or second generation of Chinese in Indonesia and they were China-oriented. The second group is the second or third generation or the Chinese who already assimilate with locals and usually more Indonesia- oriented. In the post Indonesian Reformation, Leo Suryadinata (2007) indicates that there are the new-Totokism which is dominated by the old generation (1950s and 1960s generation) in the Tionghoa organization who have China orientation on culture.

interest and motivation on their relations with the home country, are determining how active or passive diaspora in their relations to home country (Shain & Barth, 2003). The active diaspora may occur if the host country is a democratic country where diaspora play two actions in the same time, integrate to the host country and maintain relations with the home country (Sheffer, 2013). According to those explanation, Tionghoa has an opportunity to be active actor on their relations with China since Indonesia becomes democratic country. In other hand, China put Tionghoa community as their target to be an active diaspora. But, although Tionghoa organization has been an interest group (Giblin, 2003; Hoon, 2012; Tan, 2008), it focuses on domestic politics issues and not really active in diasporic activities. Even though Tionghoa organizations maintain their link with China, but they act as passive diaspora. Comparing with other diaspora community experiences, like Indian, Mexican and Armenian, whom as active diaspora and have strong diaspora identity in their relations with home country, Chinese diaspora in democratic Indonesia show different attitude. The interesting points here are what kind of relations that developed by Tionghoa community/organization in this passive diasporic condition? What is their perception about China and why they still maintain relations with China? To explain this phenomena, this study identifies the relation between Tionghoa organizations and China, include their diaspora identity, which focus on the third factor as Shain and Barth mention by analysing the perception of Tionghoa toward China, their motive and interest to maintain relations with China. It is interesting because in the democratic situation in Indonesia, Tionghoa organization seem only focus on domestic politics and try to be accepted as part of Indonesia, while in other hand, some of them still keep relations with China in the context of relations with China representation in Indonesia (Embassy or Consulate). This study analyses the opinions and arguments the members

of Tionghoa organization committee about it. It shows how do they percept themselves as part of Chinese diaspora in one hand and as Indonesian in other hand, and which one is the most important for them. The study employs a case study on Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya, and focus on some organizations such as speech, family/clan, religion, social, culture, language, cooperation and business organization. Those organizations have been selected as case study because the social-culture or non-political organizations are dominating among Tionghoa organizations in number and member. While Surabaya as the case study because of Tionghoa history in the city as center for Tionghoa 's Indonesian nationalism movement and current political factor where Surabaya is important city for China's interest to eastern part of Indonesia. Another reason is the profiling of Surabaya people where the relations between Tionghoa and local people relatively stable, comparing with other Javanese cities in Indonesia like Jakarta and Solo.

1.3 Research Questions

This study has three research questions as follow:

1. How is the perception of Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya toward China?
2. What is the relationship between Tionghoa organization with China?
3. Why do they maintain relations/links with China and what are their interest and motivation?

1.4 Research Objectives

This study has two objectives. They are:

1. To examines the perception of Tionghoa organization in Surabaya toward China.

2. To identify the relationship between Tionghoa organization in Surabaya with China.
3. To analyse the reasons, interest and motivation of Tionghoa organization related to their relations with China.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

As mentioned in the problem statement and research question, this study focuses on Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya as Chinese diaspora organization. This study focuses on two points, their perception toward China (include identity) and their reason (interest and motivation) in maintaining relations with China. Since it only focuses on Tionghoa organization in Surabaya that is influenced by local culture and situation, it cannot be used as general description of Tionghoa organization in Indonesia including other organizations than social-cultural based organization, like political organization. It examines the perception, opinion and argument of the committee member of those organizations. So, not all of their arguments can't be used to explain the organization official statement or policy. While the term of the relations with China in this study is more related with the relations toward China's government representation office in Surabaya or the Consulate General of People Republic of China in Surabaya, and China as a state. Due to the limited time, this study only focuses on Tionghoa organization in post-reform Indonesia (1998-2016).

1.6 Methodology

Methodology is important in a study because it influences the significances of the result which is based on research design, data collection strategy, primary and

secondary data, and data analysis. This study is a qualitative research with a case study on Tionghoa organization in Surabaya, Indonesia.

1.6.1 Research Design

This is a qualitative research about Tionghoa organization in Surabaya. It studies social problem according by developing holistic description in words, reporting informant's opinion, and making an academic writing (Silalahi, 2009). A qualitative research experiences as inductive process and the categories are provided by informants and it is not previously identified by researcher. These categories are used to explain social phenomena based on the pattern in theory.

In the implementation, this study uses a case study method as explained by Robert K Yin that a case study is a research design using "how" and "why" question. Researcher only has limited chance to control the event or researcher does not need to control the event like an experiment (Yin, 2003). In case study, researcher explains the character of few events in specific time period. Case study is used to learn the member of targeted group or research subject intensely (Silalahi, 2009). It also gives opportunity to researcher to deeply study one important aspect of the problem in limited time (Blaikie, 2010).

According to the definition of the case study above, this study has case study characteristics because the research questions in this study are written using "how" and limited to specific event and time. This study only focuses on Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya which does not describe or represent all of Tionghoa organizations in Indonesia. It also does not explain the bilateral relations of Indonesia and China. Meanwhile, the time period used in this study is the reformation era in Indonesia in 1998 until 2016.

1.6.2 Research Strategy

Research strategy is related with research question in a research (Blaikie, 2009). Blaikie divides research strategy into four categories such as inductive, deductive, retroductive and abductive. The inductive research strategy aims to develop limited generalization about distribution, pattern relations or measurements of individual character in social phenomena. This strategy is used to answer the research question “what”. It also aims to create description about characteristic or pattern. This description is limited in space and time and it cannot be used as a general law. According to this definition, the research strategy in this study is inductive because it just describes the character and pattern of Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya based on their relationship with China. It is also limited in time since post-reform era in Indonesia in 1998 until 2015. Since this study is only conducted in Surabaya, the result cannot be used as general pattern or character of Tionghoa organizations in Indonesia.

1.6.3 Data Collection

One of the important aspects in the research is data collection. Data and its quality are important because these determine and influence the result of study. Data collection is defined as the process to get empirical data from informant by specific method (Lin, 1976). To choose appropriate informant, this study uses purposive sampling method that is choosing informant based on specific character to represent the population (Silalahi, 2009). Researcher uses this method because of the informant’s capacity and knowledge in research topic. Informants who give information to researcher have some characteristic such as the chairman and committee of Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya and their active members, and also

the informants as the scholars who have the knowledge about Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya. Robert K Yin (2014) mentions that there are six data sources for case study such as document, archive record, interview, direct observation, exhibition observation and physical tool. The documents for this study are documents about Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya (foundation, vision and mission, and report), research reports, news and scientific articles. Those are used to support the data from other sources. Meanwhile, interview is the most important information sources in case study. The interview is conducted to select informant by unstructured and open interview to get informant's perspective and opinion (Creswell, 2010). In unstructured interview, researcher does not have interview setting and only has the interview guide to introduce the issue (Silalahi, 2009).

1.6.3 (a) Primary Data

The primary data are the object or document from individual, group or specific information called as "first-hand information" (Silalahi, 2009). In this study, primary data are obtained from interview with, first, selected informant from Tionghoa organizations in Surabaya. This study focuses to some Tionghoa organizations which represent different background like social-culture organization, like *Paguyuban Masyarakat Tionghoa Surabaya (PMTS)*/The Association of Tionghoa Society in Surabaya and *Perhimpunan Tionghoa Indonesia (INTI)*/ Indonesian-Chinese Association; speech organization like Hakka Association; family-based organizations like Huang family Association; religious organization like *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia-Pembina Iman Tauhid Islam (PITI)*/ The Association of Moslem Tionghoa and *Persatuan Umat Tao Indonesia (PUTI)*/The Association of Indonesian Taoist; language or education organization like *Lembaga Koordinasi Pendidikan Bahasa Tionghoa (BKPB)*/The Board of Mandarin Education Coordination; business

organization like *Perkumpulan Masyarakat dan Pengusaha Indonesia Tionghoa PERMIT/* (Indonesia Chinese Entrepreneur Community); and Indonesia-China Friendship Association like *Perhimpunan Persahabatan Indonesia-Tionghok (PPIT)/* The Association of Indonesia-China Friendship. Second, the informants are people who have some knowledge about Tionghoa organizations but are not involved in those organizations and also scholars and experts on Tionghoa issues, especially Tionghoa in Surabaya, including academicians and researchers from CCIS (Center for Chinese Indonesian Studies- Petra Christian University). There were a total of 18 informants being interviewed as primary data source in this study, of which 15 were from Tionghoa organization and 3 others were expert scholars in Tionghoa studies, including from CCIS and University of Airlangga. Since the informants come from various Tionghoa organizations which cover socio-cultural organizations, clan organizations, religious organizations, business, educational and corporate institutions, wherein they are also involved as the board in those organizations, they are considered sufficiently representing the perspective of those varied Tionghoa organizations.

1.6.3 (b) Secondary Data

Secondary data are the data from second hand or other sources which are available before the study conducted or “second-hand information” (Silalahi, 2009). This study uses secondary data as supporting data obtained from journal articles, books, reports, Chinese magazines like *Chinatown*, videos, and other sources. Secondary data are also important for research and theoretical framework. The data are also important in the context of scientific writing because theoretical framework used to develop the hypotheses (Widjono, 2007).

1.6.4 Data Analysis

According to Miles and Huberman, there are three steps in data analysis (Silalahi, 2009). First step is data reduction consists of selection, simplification, abstraction process and transformation from raw material into research notes. This process is included in analysis process starts from sharpening, categorizing and organizing data until conclusion making. Second step is data presenting where a group of information is categorized to develop conclusion. Third step is conclusion making in which researcher tries to get the meaning, pattern, causes and proposition. The data obtained from interview and document is be analyzed through categorization, coding, interpretation and conclusion process (Creswell, 2010). This study uses the content analyses method to analyse data. Content analysis is the technique about the meaning of the objective, systematic and quantitative communication. Content analysis also as a technique to find the conclusion in the systematic and objective way by understanding specific message (Holsti, 1968).

This study analyzes the message from informant's answers and also from secondary data. Some specific informations are interpreted and connected with the research topic. The information and informant are needed in this study as described in the table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Framework Analysis

Study purposes	Variables	Data and information	Informant and data sources
To examines Tionghoa organization's perception about China.	Perception about China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organization background - Diaspora identity - Knowledge about Chinese values and culture - Closeness to China issues 	INTI – Indonesian-Chinese Association PMTS- Tionghoa Society Association in Surabaya Hakka Association Huang family Association PITI- Indonesian Tionghoa Moslem Association PUTI- Indonesian Taoist Association BKPBM- The Board of Mandarin Education Coordination PPIT- Indonesia-China Friendship Association PERMIT- Indonesi Chinese Entrepreneur Community
To identify the relationship between Tionghoa organization and China.	Relationship with China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The shape of relations/link 	INTI – Indonesian-Chinese Association PMTS- Tionghoa Society Association in Surabaya Hakka Association Huang family Association PITI- Indonesian Tionghoa Moslem Association PUTI- Indonesian Taoist Association BKPBM- The Board of Mandarin Education Coordination PPIT- Indonesia-China Friendship Association PERMIT- Indonesi Chinese Entrepreneur Community

1.7 Research Structure

This study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is introduction. It describes the background of the study, research question, research objectives, scope and limitation, justification of research location and research structure. It also includes the methodology of the research which is include the research design as a case study, research strategy, data collection, primary and secondary data and data analyses. This chapter aims to describe the topic of the research and the question that is needed to be answered and also the method of research that used. The second chapter is the literature review and theoritical framework. It describes the concept and studies used in this research. It begins with the description of diaspora and Chinese diaspora concept. Then it describes the studies on Tionghoa identity and organization. It also discusses the position of this study among those related studies. At the end of the chapter it describes Constructivism approach and the framework of study. Chapter three and four are about the finding and discussion. Chapter three deals with the perception of Tionghoa Organization in Surabaya about China and describe their relationship. It begins with the description about Tionghoa organization in Surabaya as the object of this study, include the history of Tionghoa community in Surabaya. Then it describes their perception toward China and how they define themselves as part of Chinese diaspora. It is about how their perception toward China and the the relationship with China. Chapter four discusses the interest and motivation of Tionghoa organizations on their relations with China. It is about how their opinion about China's policy and its impact, and their perception about Indonesia-China relations, organizational and community interest on those relations. Chapter five is conclusion, which describes the conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes literatures and studies related with the topic of this study. It is divided into five parts. They are the description about diaspora, diaspora and the relations with homeland/country, diaspora organization, Chinsese diaspora and its relations with China, Tionghoa identity and organization, Constructivism and diaspora and framework of study.

2.2 Diaspora

Diaspora is a concept which has broad definition depending on the study used. In general term, diaspora is defined as a group of people who migrate from their homeland to a new community (Braziel, 2008). Diaspora is also defined as a community that has specific characters which also has relations with homeland (Lahneman, 2005). Diaspora is a group which has bond relations with other group based on the similar ethnicity or nationality, live in other country, and maintain relations with the homeland. The relations with the homeland can be cultural relations or sometimes political relations. Diaspora has relations with other concept such as migrants, refugees, exiles, ethnic groups, expatriates, indigenous people and minorities. In the context of ethnic group as diaspora, Lahneman mentions that there is cultural relation than political relation on diaspora as ethnic group who living outside the home country. They feel as a part of the ethnic group in the home country culturally but do not need political relations with the home country and probably do not want to return.