Discourses of ethnic accommodation: Issues of othering in Indonesia

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Abstract

This discourse-based research investigates discourses of ethnic accommodation within the context of ethnic othering of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia. The overriding purposes of this research are twofold, to identify and illuminate discursive indications of ethnic accommodation; and to formulate actions that can be taken to reduce the effects of othering so as to create more accommodative environments, particularly through discursive means.

The research adopts a multi-perspectival approach by incorporating multiple analytical perspectives with relevant theories, methods and data and by taking interdiscursivity as a key apparatus in the research. Integrating the principles of discourse analysis, ethnography and social psychology as its theoretical and methodological underpinnings, the research incorporates five studies representing four analytical perspectives: (1) the social historical perspective; (2) the semiotic perspective; (3) the participants' perspective; and (4) the analyst's perspective. Two types of data are examined, namely, government policies and narratives of personal experience which are drawn from three key sites, i.e. schools, churches, and businesses. By incorporating the micro and macro dimensions of discourse, all the perspectives are embraced as a unified whole in order to provide grounded and all-embracing explanations, rather than simple descriptions or interpretations, of situated discursive practices of ethnic accommodation.

The discourse analytical findings of the five studies can be synthesized into two main points, which are best explained within the social historical context of the construction of the Chinese Other under three Indonesian regimes, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform. Firstly, with respect to indications of ethnic accommodation, the semiotic perspective suggests that, at the state level, Indonesia has ideologically moved away from othering and towards accommodation of Chinese Indonesians. This ideological change is enacted by the Reform regime and is demonstrated through the foregrounding of human rights protection and the annulment of othering practices through the Reform policies. The participants' perspective articulates the societal level of ethnic accommodation. Participants' perceptions of social reality can be distilled into four interconnected focal themes – equality, acceptance, tolerance, and trust. Within these themes, the Reform period is perceived as more accommodative than the New Order era, although some traces of subtle forms of othering practices are still

evident. In reacting to social reality due to othering, participants demonstrate positive behaviours, e.g. hard work and resilience, to overcome it and, to manage their relations with the majority society, embrace adaptation into mainstream society while retaining aspects of their Chinese identity. These behaviours, this research argues, may contribute to fostering the accommodation of Chinese Indonesians within that wider Indonesian society.

Secondly, this research argues for the urgency of further practical actions in order to address the gaps between the ideal and real world, or the state and societal level, of ethnic accommodation so as to create ethnically accommodative environments. The research proposes relevant discursive actions to constitute 'integrated strategies of ethnic accommodation' which, it is argued, can be effective if implemented by and through various levels of society – the state, organizations, and individuals; and targeted at and practised by both the minority and majority groups. These actions flow from a key finding that has emerged in this research, i.e. achieving ethnic accommodation entails political support by the government, social change in society, and behavioural change by individuals.

In this research, ethnic accommodation emerges as a complex, contested, and co-constructed social phenomenon, particularly within its political, social and psychological dimensions. The research concludes by suggesting that discourse analysis, through a multi-perspectival approach, offers an overarching resource for addressing social problems of ethnic accommodation and for reflection that is of practical relevance for the Indonesian government, Indonesian society at large, and Chinese Indonesians in particular.

Certificate of Originality

I hereby certify that this work is the result of my own research and that the work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other institution university or institution. I certify that sources of information used and the extent to which the work of others has been utilized have been indicated in the thesis.

This research was granted approval by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (Reference no. 5201200311) and conducted in accordance with the guidelines stipulated.

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Chapter 1 **Introduction**

This research investigates discourses of ethnic accommodation, within the context of historical othering (Holliday, 2011, 2013; Holliday, Hyde, & Kullman, 2010) of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia. It seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamic process of ethnic accommodation that such moments of ethnic othering entail. To achieve this, the construct of othering is invoked into the discourses of ethnic accommodation in the sense that both concepts deal with the constructed ethnic *difference* (see Hall, 2001) between the Self and the Other. This difference may present people with the option of whether to other or to accommodate the ethnic Other. This research focuses on the discursive and social processes that signal a potential move away from ethnic othering by appraising the discursive and social practices of ethnic accommodation, in which ethnic difference is accepted, recognized and acknowledged.

In the research area of Chinese diasporas, Indonesia definitely offers rich and evidential data revealing how Chinese-ness has become one of the most important forms of 'Other' against the construction of a national identity (see Reid, 2006). Indonesia has long been viewed not only as a developing country with the world's largest Muslim population, but also as a diverse place where different ethnic and religious groups live together. Its cultural and ethnic diversity is matched by enermous geographical diversity. It is the largest archipelago in the world with more than 13,000 islands and Java as the most populated island. Within this context of ethnically diverse Indonesia, this research seeks to address the challenge faced by the nation in regard to such ethnic difference, that is, whether to recognize and accommodate ethnic diversity or to exclude ethnic groups which are considered 'different' from the Indonesian majority.

Detail about ethnicity in Indonesia in general and, particularly, the situation faced by Chinese Indonesian (including how they have been constructed as the Other, and their relations with the mainstream) is presented in Chapter 3, which sets out the social and historical background of the study. To understand the plight of Chinese Indonesians and associated social political issues during different governmental regimes, it is important to understand issues surrounding multi-ethnic societies in Indonesia. This chapter thus becomes a central part of the thesis as it can lay a socio-historical foundation which makes this research significant and worthwhile with respect to understanding the processes leading from ethnic othering to ethnic accommodation.

In a nutshell, this research specifically accentuates issues of othering *within the national context*, involving the coexistence of two groups, i.e the minority group (the Chinese minority or Chinese Indonesians), and the majority group (the Indonesian majority). The majority here refers to the mainstream, who call themselves as 'Indonesians' inheriting the Indonesian 'indigenous blood' which became the basis of othering practices of Chinese Indonesians for generations. In other words, in the past the two groups were distinguished as non-native and native Indonesians, although this nativeness-based distinction has been banned by the current government. Chinese Indonesians themselves have been an integral part of Indonesia for generations yet have been othered from the whole community of the nation for various reasons.

The quantity of research and literature addressing the othering of Chinese Indonesians has mushroomed since the fall of Suharto. That was the time when people began to speak out and write more freely about taboo and sensitive topics about ethnicity which had been banned during the Suharto era. Those post-Suharto works mainly address issues of why and how Chinese Indonesians have been treated differently from other ethnic groups (Aguilar, 2001; Chua, 2004; Heryanto, 1998) and take a critical perspective on the violent forms of othering of Chinese Indonesians (Aspinall, 2008; Colombijn, 2002; Farid, 2006; Kingsbury, 2011; Min, 2006; Purdey, 2006). Some works have focused on the lives of Chinese Indonesians post-Suharto including the changes that have been made, significantly, by the government of the Reform (starting from 1998) particularly through regulations (Freedman, 2003; Suryadinata, 2008a; Winarta, 2004; Yang, 2005), the effects of the changes on social life (Dawis, 2009; Hoon, 2008), the cultural accommodation of Chinese Indonesians into the Indonesian majority group (Hoon, 2006; Purdey, 2003) and the ability of Chinese Indonesians to participate in shaping modern Indonesia (Blussé, 1991; Kahin, 1991; Suryadinata, 2008a).

Jemma Purdey (2003), for example, has published work based on her PhD research which analyzes selected incidents of anti-Chinese violence in Indonesia that occurred mainly in Java and reached a climax in Jakarta and elsewhere in May 1998. It seeks to examine existing explanations of the violence based on economic resentment, religious difference or state-sponsorship. Grounded on the argument that violence against ethnic Chinese Indonesians must be explained within the context of Indonesian nationalism and cannot be separated from other violence in Indonesia, Purdey concludes that, while ethnicity and prejudice are key to the explanation put forward, politics, economics, and religion offer additional keys to understanding why such outbreaks took place. In addition, it emphasizes

the competing representations of "Chineseness" and anti-Chinese violence for what they reveal about the motives behind certain explanations of violence and the events themselves. The research also pays a special attention to the way in which anti-Chinese violence is represented and perceived in Indonesian society as normal, natural and everyday. Furthermore, this study highlights the importance of listening to the voices of the violence victims and seeks to takes into account the moral issues related to scholarly generalizations about violence and suffering in particular.

Aimee Dawis (2009) in her study focuses on Chinese Indonesians and their search for identity. She examines how the Chinese Indonesians who were born after 1966 negotiate meanings about their culture and identity through their collective memory of growing up in a restrictive media environment that specifically restricted Chinese language and culture. Such environment was the result of a series of promulgations enacted during the Suharto era which closed all Chinese-language schools and prohibited the use of Chinese characters in public places, the import of Chinese-language publications, and all public expressions of Chinese culture. Through a series of focus group sessions conducted in Jakarta, Indonesia, Dawis concludes that despite the restrictions, the Chinese participants still can find ways to seek and/or practice aspects of Chinese culture. They enjoy watching Chinese films as they are growing up. In this way, the media provides them with the role models they need as they search to comprehend their identity as young Chinese individuals. She also stresses the interconnection between the politics of everyday identity struggles at the micro level and the politics of structural change at the macro level.

This line of scholarly inquiry, albeit with abundant insights into how Chinese Indonesians have been treated in Indonesia and how changes have taken place, has mainly lacked two important aspects. Firstly, problems concerning Chinese Indonesians are complex and multi-dimensional, yet most research concentrates on one dimension alone or focuses on one type of data. Secondly, to the best of my knowledge, none of those scholarly works examine in detail the practical relevance of their research results, i.e. what strategies can be taken to create a more accommodative environment for ethnic groups, particularly Chinese Indonesians, in Indonesia.

The challenges that constitute the central tasks of this research are to address comprehensively the complexity of the social change embedded in the process from othering to accommodating Chinese Indonesians and to attend to the question of the practical relevance of the research results for the research participants. In doing so, this research proposes that principles of discourse analysis, which have been under-addressed in the

existing research on Chinese Indonesians, can be valuable for addressing these challenges. Accordingly, this research focuses primarily on how issues of ethnic accommodation of Chinese Indonesians can be explored by pursuing a discourse 'thread'.

Among those who endorse the interconnectedness between discourse analysis and social life, Fairclough argues that discourse analysis can be a useful approach for addressing social problems, particularly those in relation to social change and power relations (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). This research views discourses of ethnic accommodation as complex phenomena which can be best described by Foucault's *order of discourse* (Foucault, 1970, 1971) – "the totality of discursive practices within an institution or society, and the relationships between them" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 43). It comprises diverse genres (ways of acting) and discourses (ways of presenting) and styles (ways of being and interpreting) (Fairclough, 2001, p. 232). There is little doubt that discourses of ethnic accommodation, taken as a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon, exhibit many practices in different levels of society embedded in many of the canonical topics of discourse research, such as ethnicity, identity, power and ideology. Given that the practices are multi-dimensional and multi-layered, it is not sufficient to approach them from a single perspective. Discourse analysis can be an effective approach for examining complex discursive phenomenon from multiple perspectives, as like a 'tool box' it can provide a wide range of useful 'guidelines' and 'tools' for theoretical and methodological underpinnings in social research (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

In a nutshell, this study comprises a multi-perspectival analysis of discourses of ethnic accommodation through a discourse-historical approach of the construction of Chinese Other. This is achieved through the semiotic analysis of government policies, and ethnographic and social psychological analysis of participants' narratives of personal experience, which are analyzed and interpreted within their social historical context. These language-in-use data can represent the multi-dimensionality of the research theme because the policies encompass various issues (such as citizenship and Chinese religion and culture) and the narratives represent multiple voices of participants in three key sites (the educational, economic, and religious sites). This multi-perspectival analysis can afford a richer analysis and a more complete picture than a single perspective alone, and in turn can enable the analyst to address the question of 'so what' – how the research results can benefit society.

This chapter aims to explain the objectives of the research (Section 1.1), to illuminate briefly some key notions which are used throughout the research – ethnicity and identity, ethnic othering, and ethnic accommodation (Section 1.2), to provide a brief review of the

ways in which the research problem is approached (Section 1.3), and lastly to provide an overview of the organization of the thesis (Section 1.4).

1.1 Research objectives

This discourse-based research is expected to bring about significant outcomes and to have practical relevance in the addressing the problems and effects of ethnic othering in contemporary Indonesia. With the focus on indications of ethnic accommodation, it is hoped the research will enable the formulation of strategies to reduce the effects of such othering so as to create more an accommodative environment for everyone, regardless of ethnic affiliation. In light of this practical relevance, the objectives of this discourse-based research are twofold:

1) To identify and illuminate discursive indications of ethnic accommodation, and
2) To formulate actions that can be taken to reduce the effects of othering so as to create more accommodative environments, particularly through discursive means.

1.2 Key themes in the study

In order to explain the manifold aspects of the research theme, it is useful to probe into key constructs which are consistently drawn into all the studies in this research. In this section I will provide my prefatory discussion of the key notions – ethnicity and identity, ethnic othering, and ethnic accommodation – and their relevance to this research.

1.2.1 Ethnicity and identity

Ethnicity and identity are interconnected entities, and culture is one of their building blocks. While a variety of conceptualizations of the term ethnicity and identity have been suggested in the literature, this research uses the concept proposed by Barth (1969) who initially articulated and stressed the dynamic and changeable nature of ethnicity and deemphasized its *given* or *static* characteristics or boundaries. In the same vein, Holliday et al., (2010) explain clearly the distinctions between the static and dynamic conceptualization of ethnicity with their dichotomy between the essentialist and the non-essentialist perspectives of culture. The first defines culture as ‘a physical entity’ and the latter defines culture as ‘a social force which is evident where it is significant’ (2010, p. 3). Following constructivism (Barth, 1969), this research embraces the conceptualization of ethnicity as a (re)constructed entity which may undergo changes. Constructivism holds that ethnic or cultural boundaries, which determine who belong to and do not belong to an ethnic group,

cannot be based merely on fixed categories such as language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, or regionality. It is thus not sufficient to characterize Chinese Indonesians with general features, such as bright skin and slanted eyes, or linguistically referring to their Mandarin language.

A constructionist view of ethnicity, ethnic boundaries and ethnic identity is postulated by Nagel:

> Ethnicity is the product of actions undertaken by ethnic groups as they shape and reshape their self-definition and culture; however, ethnicity is also constructed by external social, economic, and political processes and actors as they shape and reshape ethnic categories and definitions (Nagel, 1994, p. 151).

The process of ethnicity and identity construction (see Eder et al., 2002; Nagel, 1994; Norris, 2007) may take place internally (through self-identification) and externally. The external processes of ethnic identity and boundaries are dynamic and interwoven with various external aspects, for instance history, sociology, economics and politics. Chinese Indonesians, for example, have long been characterized as having a leftist political orientation and as an economically strong ethnic group who dominate the Indonesian economy (Blussé, 1991; Chua, 2008). However, the assumptions about the ethnic group have been dynamic, depending on the ideology adopted by particular ruling regimes in the history of Indonesia. This demonstrates the contingent nature of identity: it is "constructed, replaced, transformed and institutionalized" (Eder, Giesen, Schmidtke, & Tambini, 2002, p. 18). In a nutshell, identity is complex and multi-composed in an intricate environment; it is continuously negotiated, (re)defined, and (re)produced through social interaction inside and outside ethnic group, or within ethnic groups and the macro or larger society (Nagel, 1994).

I now move to the discussion of the construction of identity within personal, group, ethnic and national contexts. Holliday's concept of 'small' and 'big' culture (Holliday, 1999) is a helpful approach for explaining the scope of identity construction. According to Holliday, the term 'small cultures' refers to the cultures that are attached to small social groupings (such as family and class rooms) or activities wherever there is cohesive behaviour. The small culture approach emphasizes the premise that culture *emerges* (rather than being assigned) within social processes and that individuals may have disctinctive characteristics. In contrast to small cultures, the term 'big cultures' refers to matters of widely prescribed or stereotyped ethnic or national identity. Big cultures thus often impose ethnic or national identity on individuals and ignore the dynamic nature of identity and thus the complexity and diversity of individual characteristics. One example of focusing on big culture can be seen in De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak's work (1999) particularly in their

analysis of discursive construction of national identities. They highlight the idea of nation as an imagined community which relies to a large extent on national sameness, and argue for the role of common culture as only one aspect of identity construction.

Aspects of ethnic accommodation, such as ethnicity, identity and culture, seen from political, social and psychological points of view may have both 'big' and 'small' properties which may themselves reflect the complexity of ethnic accommodation. Each big and small aspect of culture deserves careful examination in its own right without, *a priori*, subordinating one to the other. The big culture approach is important for providing the macro dimensions of ethnicity, identity, and culture (such as how ethnic identity has been widely constructed and prescribed in society). The small culture approach entails making sense of events as they develop, often implicitly and unconsciously, in whatever circumstances (Holliday, 2013), thus it can help reveal what has been practised and experienced by individuals in daily basis.

Embracing the small and big culture approach to identity is relevant to the conceptualization of identity articulated in Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1974, 1979, 1982, 1978) which postulates that one's identity is composed of personal and social identity and that all individuals do 'identity work' as members of social groups. Social identity here refers to identity constructed and attached to individuals because of their affiliation to certain groupings, such as organisations and ethnic groups. From this point of view, identity can be associated with group self-awareness of common unique characteristics and individual self-awareness of inclusion in such a group, as argued by Tajfel: "... part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his membership of a group or groups together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (1978, p. 61). This personal and social identity is further explored in Chapter 6. These two types of identity are inextricable and sometimes overlapping and can not be isolated from each other. Holliday's concern (1999) is the problem which arises when people assign social identity without considering individual differences. This may result in generalizations or stereotypes which can become the root of ethnic othering, which will be discussed further in the Section 1.2.2.

1.2.2 Ethnic othering: The Self and the Other

The construct 'othering' can be generally conceptualized as the practice in which we "over-generalize, stereotype, and reduce others to something different or less than they are" (Holliday et al., 2010, p. xxi). It further carries the connotation of "imagining someone as alien and different to 'us' in such a way that 'they' are excluded from 'our' 'normal',

'superior' and 'civilized' group" (Holliday et al., 2010, p. 2). Two important points can be discerned from the premise outlined by Holliday et al., i.e. (1) that 'difference' (socially, culturally or politically) constitutes a problem in inter-group relations and becomes resource for justifying the practices of othering; and (2) that the practices of othering involve unequal power relations between the Self (the othering holder) and the Other (the othering victims).

The practice of othering often starts from the way people make inter-group 'comparisons' (Tajfel, 1978; Turner & West, 2010) by specifically positioning the Self as powerful and superior and the Other as powerless and inferior (Boudreau & Polkinghorn, 2008; Holliday, 2011, 2013; Holliday et al., 2010; Riggins, 2007). This practice is often used to affirm the identity of the Self by contrasting it with the negative outsiders' characteristics and by claiming one's own culture as being good according to its norms and seeing those of others as different (Littlewood & Lipsedge, 1997). In the context of the research, the 'negative' identity of Chinese Indonesians is largely shaped by and contrasted to the 'positive' values and attributes of the Indonesian majority. The assumed incompatibility of their identity with national principles has been used for justifying othering practices towards an ethnic group.

Thus, one crucial point to note here is that othering emerges as part of processes of identity formation, both at individual and collective levels (Tekin, 2008). On this premise, the notion of the Other is inseparable from that of the Self, in a way that we make sense of ourselves by defining ourselves in relation to different people, for as Bratlinger (1990) argues, "[i]n order to understand ourselves, the discourses of 'the Other' – of all the others – is what we most urgently need to hear". This is in line with Kelman (1997) who highlights that understanding the Other, such as how they act and what they are like, requires us to project a great deal of ourselves onto others, and onto the world at large, particularly in respect of issues of national identity:

> How a group defines itself has significant consequences for the others … its chosen identity has an impact of the interests, rights, and identity of the other group. Such other groups do, therefore, have a legitimate concern about and a stake in the way in which a given group defines itself. For this reason, national identity, even though it is a psychological fact created by the way the group chooses to define itself, is a legitimate subject for negotiation with other groups … that are affected by this self-definition (Kelman, 1997, p. 337).

As with my conceptualization of ethnic identity, othering or the Other is constructed rather than merely derived from difference in terms of nationalities, ethnicity, religion, political alignment, class, occupation, or gender (Littlewood & Lipsedge, 1997). Holliday (2011) further postulates that the practices of othering are socially and politically or

ideologically motivated. In the same vein, Thurlow emphasizes the representation of ideological production of othering in everyday situations (2009).

> The representation and production of difference occurs in any number of everyday, banal enactments of otherness as a subjectively and socially constituted phenomenon *… to be more about material inequalities, power relations and ideologies of difference*, rather than simply skin color, geographical location, passport, clothing, food, nonverbal behaviour, or, of course, languages (Thurlow, 2009, p. 241 my emphasis).

This construction of the Other is also argued by Fabian: "Awkward and faddish as it may sound, othering expresses the insight that the Other is never simply given, never just found or encountered, *but made*" (2000, p. 208 with my emphasis). Fabian in *Time and the Other* (1983) further opines that the emergence of the Other in society is a temporal, historical, and political act. In cultural theory, otherness is needed to complete human history in a temporal sphere which historically and politically designates the Other as excluded and different (Boudreau & Polkinghorn, 2008). Such an historical perspective of the Other calls for reflexivity that places the analyst in the face of the Other, as argued further by Fabian – "[s]omehow we must be able to share each other's past in order to be knowingly in each other's present" (Fabian, 1983, p. 92). This historical aspect of othering of Chinese Indonesians is explored in detail in Chapter 3.

It is important to note that the literature on Chinese Indonesians has mostly used the term 'discrimination' and 'prejudice' to refer to practices similar to othering. Prejudice has to do with the unjustified or incorrect attitude (usually negative) held by members of one group about another, while discrimination refers to behaviours directed against another group (see Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000). Those two terms may sometimes appear in the research to show the nature of othering practices. Othering is used in this research in the sense that it does not only concern the practices that are 'prejudiced' and 'discriminatory' in nature. More importantly, it emphasizes the notions of 'difference' and 'the constructed Other' which motivate various forms of practices that exclude Chinese Indonesians from the Indonesian 'Self', politically, socially and psychologically. Accordingly, the approach taken for formulating the strategies for achieving ethnic accommodation is, *inter alia*, by considering how 'difference' has been problematized, constructed, and addressed in the data set.

1.2.3 Ethnic accommodation

This study is concerned with how such problems of othering can be addressed by looking at its positive directions, particularly in the areas where othering has emerged, in

order to seek indications of ethnic accommodation so as to seek the appropriate strategies to address problems raised from othering practices. Boudreau and Polkinghorn (2008) for example, in their case study involving Native American Indians, posit a model of identity affirmation to challenge and change the dominant discourses and narratives that go into the in-group's social construction of the othered out-group. The model is designed to 'rehumanize' the ethnic Other which has been progressively degraded in prolonged social conflict by explicitly affirming the identity of the Other, including recognition of their past pain, defeats, collective losses, when appropriate (Boudreau & Polkinghorn, 2008).

The construct 'accommodation' has been investigated in a wide range of research areas, although to the best of my knowledge, there is not yet a consensus on the definition of 'accommodation' when it is used in ethnic contexts. In attempting a working definition of 'ethnic accommodation', this research emphasizes that ethnic accommodation comprises complex *practices* which may emerge within political, social and psychological *processes,* in which ethnic identity and difference become key components. Those processes may be overlapping, yet each process deserves careful examination in its own right without, *a priori*, subordinating one to another.

Ethnic accommodation can thus be understood as social practices through which an ethnic group (usually a minority group) is politically, socially, and psychologically accepted, included, and acknowledged within a larger society. Within a national context, the accommodation process of Chinese Indonesians involves both the majority (the government and the Indonesian majority) and the Chinese minority. The process can be understood as a two-way process, in which (1) the minority group is received, acknowledged and recognized by the elites and the majority group and (2) the minority group is able to maintain group distinctiveness in a positive way while trying to adopt the basic values of the larger society (see Berry, 1997).

> Thus, a *mutual accommodation* is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples. This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g. education, health. labour) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society (Berry, 1997, pp. 10 - 11).

This conceptualization suggests that ethnic accommodation is a multi-layered process taking place at the political or ideological level and at the micro or societal level in every day practices. In other words, ethnic accommodation is the business of the state, the minority ethnic group, and society in general.

In light of such conceptualization, this research holds that the accommodation practices at the state level may influence the practices at the societal level in the everyday contexts. These two layers of accommodation practices are worth exploring systematically because each has its own complexity and characteristics and yet are mutually constructing. In saying so, each needs a close examination on its own using an appropriate approach without subordinating the need for drawing from insights of any other level of accommodation. While the state level of ethnic accommodation is political or ideological, the societal level of accommodation experienced by individuals is characterized by social, cultural, and psychological aspects.

Firstly, the state level of accommodation enacted by the government is politically or ideologically-motivated. In political discourse, ethnic accommodation is often associated with 'ethnic recognition' (Bagaji, Achegbulu, & Shaibu, 2012; Bertrand, 2011; Ejobowah, 1997; Rizvi, 1993) which is then often linked to the notion of ethnic equality and acceptance at the national or state level. The political aspect of ethnic accommodation often takes issue with respect to the status of an ethnic minority, for example that of migrants and the indigenous, within the national context. Holliday's argument (2011, 2013) on the politics of othering is that, while the (minority) Other is needed to support the idealisation of the superior Self, the Self is understood as "understanding and accommodating" (Holliday, 2013, p. 55) the Other. This may have positive or negative connotations. On the one hand, the Self, often the elite, holds the power and control to either accommodate or other the Other. On the other hand, this political accommodation is important as it may give the Other some sense of belonging and being included as members of the nation, which in turn may determine their social and economic development and ability to participate or engage with the larger society.

Secondly, at the societal level accommodation relates to how the minority seeks to be accommodated by the wider society or to create an accommodative environment. In a nutshell, the perception of the minority on social reality and the attitudes and behaviours underlying their ability to cope with the majority are greatly influenced by the social structure. In order to explain such accommodation phenomena, this research draws from principles of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (e.g. Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005; Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991a; Giles & Smith, 1979; McCann & Giles, 2006; Turner & West, 2010), which is concerned with the links between language, context and identity. However, most linguistic and discourse research on inter-ethnic accommodation has largely focused on speech accommodation, for example Zuengler (1991), Callan and Gallois (1982, 1987), and Callan, Gallois and Forbes (1983). This research holds that ethnic

accommodation is more than speech accommodation and thus needs to encompass the role of ideology, power relations and social structure that shape inter-group accommodation (see Giles et al., 1991a; Gudykunst, 2003).

This research is interested in how the minority individual seeks to accommodate with the groups in which he or she is associated, or seeks to associate. Such behaviours may relate to diverse ways and reasons why individuals emphasize or deemphasize social difference between themselves and the others. Two main accommodation processes, i.e. *divergence* and *convergence*, are considered important in this research. Divergence refers to the instances in which individuals accentuate differences between themselves and their interlocutors, so as to strengthen the individual's social identity. In the opposite direction to divergence, convergence refers to the strategies through which individuals adapt to each other's culture, values or norms, in order to reduce these social differences (Giles & Coupland, 1991). Past interactions, between the groups having contact and between the social norms regarding the contact, are likely to influence the current relations (Gudykunst, 2003).

On the premise that ethnicity, identity, and culture are closely interconnected, the social psychological process of convergence and divergence of ethnic identity is often linked to cultural accommodation which has been widely investigated within the framework of 'acculturation' (see Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). Four acculturation strategies – separation, marginalization, assimilation and integration – have been widely used in the context of inter-group interactions (Berry, 1984, 1991, 1992, 1997). In contrast to separation and marginalization which may result in dis-accommodation, inter-group accommodation can be achieved through what we may call assimilation and integration. This research holds that, ideally, accommodation can be achieved through integration, a process which promotes mutual accommodation between two groups.

Integration can be viewed as the process of bringing people from different backgrounds, i.e. racial, ethnic or religious groups, into unrestricted and equal association, as in society and its institutions. The goal is to make connections and develop shared values mutually to create a cohesive and integrated society. Assimilation, by contrast, means absorbing minorities into the ways of the majority and thus requires them to adopt the majority's language, customs and values. On the positive side, newcomers are welcome to become full members of their host community. On the negative side, newcomers tend to lose their original identity as they are required to eradicate all cultural differences or group-identities and are forced to become like the more powerful community.

1.3 Approaching discourses of ethnic accommodation

Investigating discourses of ethnic accommodation of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia is not a simple matter as the social problems embedded in the plural 'discourses' are manifold. The challenge posed by the manifold aspects of ethnic accommodation is how best it can be approached or which methodologies can be used most appropriately to capture the various aspects of ethnic accommodation and their relationships through discourse. To do so, this research adopts the multi-perspectival (MP) approach to discourse analysis (Candlin & Crichton, 2011; Crichton, 2003, 2010), which will be discussed further in Chapter 2, in order to investigate the research theme within its micro and macro dimensions from different angles, theoretically and methodologically. Given the multi-dimensionality of the research theme, this problem-oriented discourse research takes 'interdiscursivity' (e.g. Candlin, 2006; Candlin & Maley, 1997; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003) as a key apparatus, through which the analyst is enabled to bring in and make meaning of different data types representing various discourses, genres, and practices within a common social historical context. For its theoretical and methodological underpinnings, this research will draw from the theories of discourse analysis, ethnography, and social psychology, which are considered relevant for understanding and examining aspects of the research theme.

This discourse-analytic research incorporates and seeks mutual complementariness of five correlated studies linked to four perspectives, the social and historical, semiotic, participants', and analyst's perspectives. The first study takes the social historical perspective which aims to provide the social and historical background for the whole research. The second study covers the semiotic perspective which is grounded in intertextuality analysis of the articulation and production of ethnic accommodation in and through government policies. The third study explores the participants' perspective, which is carried out through linguistic ethnographic analysis of narratives of personal experience, in order to see how participants perceive the social reality and change entailed in the process of ethnic accommodation. The fourth study again examines the participants' perspective, this time through social psychologically-grounded analysis of narratives of personal experience, to illuminate participants' attitudes and behaviours in coping with social reality and change. The last study, the analyst's perspective, aims to seek the 'practical relevance' of the findings of the earlier discourse-based studies so as to formulate discursive and social actions to create a better accommodative environment. In doing so it explores how the results of the studies may be relevant to and implemented in bringing positive social changes for society as a whole in general and more importantly for the othered Chinese Indonesians.

1.4 Overview of chapters

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 2 begins with a discussion of the discoursal ontology, focusing on the need to integrate the micro and macro levels of discourse analysis, which provides the readers with sufficient information to lead to an understanding of the need for a multi-perspectival approach as the driver of the research. It briefly reviews the theoretical and methodological orientations employed in the research – discourse analysis, ethnography, and social psychology; relevant data sets and methods; an interactive process of analysis; and research validity. In Chapter 3, the socio-historical perspective of the research theme seeks to provide adequate background information for the research as a whole. It discusses in detail the historical dimension of the construction of the Chinese Other within three government regimes, namely, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform.

Chapter 4 explores the semiotic perspective of discourses of ethnic accommodation. Drawing from the principles of intertextuality and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the study examines governmental policies in order to reveal the political dimension of ethnic accommodation. Chapters 5 and 6 both attend to the participants' perspective and draw from the same data type, i.e. narratives of personal experience. While Chapter 5 examines the data by way of the linguistic ethnographic analysis in order to explore participants' perceptions of social reality and change, Chapter 6 draws from discursive socio-psychological approach to examine participants' attitudes and behaviours in coping with social reality and in managing their relations with the majority society.

Chapter 7, the analyst's perspective, sets out the analytical interconnections between the insights arising from the socio-historical, semiotic, and participants' perspectives so as to address the question of practical relevance. It addresses specifically the ways in which the outcomes of discourse analysis, yielded through the semiotic and narrative analysis, may bring benefits for the participants, for Chinese Indonesians in particular, and for Indonesian society in general. In doing so, it seeks to formulate strategies that can help achieve accommodative environments. Chapter 8 provides a conclusion by outlining the key findings of all of the studies that have been conducted, explicating the limitations of the research and presenting recommendations for future research avenues emanating from the research as a whole.

Chapter 2 **A multi-perspectival approach to discourses of ethnic accommodation: From ontology to methodology**

This chapter serves two purposes in relation to how theory and methodology can be reconciled in an attempt to approach the main theme of the study delineated in Chapter 1. Firstly, it delineates the conceptualization of discourse and its analysis in order to embrace a fuller understanding of how ethnic accommodation can be understood and examined from the perspective of discourse. It particularly highlights the need to incorporate interdiscursive relations between multiple discursive practices and micro and macro dimensions of discourse, and to integrate multiple social theories so as to reflect and accommodate the multi-dimensionality of the research problem. Secondly, it is concerned with the implementation of the MP approach in the research theme.

This research adopts a multi-perspectival (MP) approach to discourse analysis (Candlin & Crichton, 2011; Candlin & Crichton, 2012; Crichton, 2003, 2010), which was initially developed by Candlin and Crichton in areas of applied linguistics, such as those in classroom and professional discourse. This MP approach was formerly inspired by Layder's multi-strategies methodology (1993) in qualitative social research which allows ample room for grounding data analysis in multiple strategies. The primary reasons for adopting the MP approach in this research are that it encourages the analyst to think 'out of the box', to embrace the given research problem from different windows or entry points, and thus to generate or develop ways of understanding the complexity and context of social phenomena (see Mason, 2006). In saying so, its open and dynamic nature allows for the development of a research framework on the basis of focus, characteristics, and needs of this research. Premised on this, the MP approach is expected to facilitate the uncovering of the multi-dimensionality of discourses of ethnic accommodation (see my conceptualization of ethnic accommodation in Chapter 1) as well as advancing the collaboration of discourse analysis with other social research which particularly addresses issues of ethnicity.

The MP analytical approach is conceptualized as one that consolidates and integrates research practices associated with the study of language, social interaction, the perceptions of the participants and analysts, and the broader socio-historical setting (Crichton, 2010). It incorporates interdiscursive relations between five perspectives, i.e. the semiotic, participants', social action, social/institutional and analyst's perspectives (see Section 2.2 for

further exploration of each perspective in this research). Hocking (2010), for example, uses the approach to explore the discursive construction of creativity as work in the situated context of a tertiary art and design studio environment. Candlin and Crichton (2011) also explore and exemplify the use of such interdiscursive and trans-disciplinary approaches for engaging discourses of 'deficit' across professional sites, i.e. law, social work, health care, management, communication, education, marketing, and institutional appraisal.

While each of these five perspectives is commonly used in discourse studies, the strength of the approach is its capacity to incorporate all the perspectives in a nuanced and all-embracing yet unified framework of analysis of a single research problem, without subordinating any of them. This is made possible through the foregrounding of the key apparatus at the heart of the approach – *interdiscursivity* – through which intimate correlations between discourses that emerge in the different perspectives can be disclosed and untangled systematically. Interdiscursivity holds all perspectives to be mutually informing and "contingently engaged and 'in play'" (Crichton, 2003, p. 60), and thus neither regards a certain perspective to be primary or place a certain perspective to be subordinate to any others (Candlin & Crichton, 2011, p. 10).

This chapter consists of five sections. Section 2.1 explores the ontological approach that can afford insights into the MP approach. Section 2.2 provides a detailed account of data and methods deployed in each perspective in this research. I also discuss the interactive data analysis (Section 2.3) and the research validity (Section 2.4) adopted in this research. The last section (2.5) concludes the chapter.

2.1 On the ontology

This section focuses on the discourse perspective of ethnic accommodation which has constituted the basis for approaching them. In Chapter 1 I have conceptualized key notions which arise in the discourses of ethnic accommodation, namely, ethnicity, identity, othering and accommodation. The constructs share three tenets. The first and central tenet inherent in the concepts of ethnicity and identity (the Self and the Other) is that they are 'constructed' rather than simply 'given' and that, accordingly, practices of othering and accommodation are (re)constructed and (re)produced within manifold environments. The second is that those constructs or practices are dynamic and contingent to social and historical change. The third tenet contends that they are constructed simultaneously within small or micro and big or macro scales: they are lived, experienced, constructed, and produced in everyday interaction

at the societal level; and enacted and institutionalized by the macro, organization or state level.

I now move to foreground how such notions of ethnic accommodation can be viewed and approached from the perspective of discourse. At first I will address issues of how discourse is conceptualized and contextualized in this research (Section 2.1.1) and later I will attend to the question of how issues of discourse problematized in this research can be best approached (Section 2.1.2).

2.1.1 Delineating discourse

As a whole, 'discourse' in this research is chiefly conceptualized within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA). CDA is characterised by its constitutive problem-oriented and interdisciplinary approach of discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Three traditions in CDA are most prominent, namely, van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (1988, 1989, 1993a), Wodak's historical approach (2002, 2007) and Fairclough's textual-based approach (1989, 1992, 1995, 2010). These three CDA methods focus on different aspects of discourse and different ways in which to approach discourse, although they all share a common starting point, i.e. *discourse is a form of social practice*.

The premise postulating discourse as social practice suggests that the constitution of discourse entails linguistic/discursive and non-linguistic/non-discursive aspects. On this premise, discourse thus should not be understood merely as a linguistically constructed entity. Gee (1996, 2001) refers to this conceptualization of discourse as 'big D' Discourse, the construct that emphasizes the non-linguistic or non-discursive aspect or socio-cultural practices which are bound up in a specific domain in language use. Gee contrasts 'big D' Discourse with 'little d' discourse, that is, discourse as 'language in use' or discourse in the linguistic sense. The big D discourse is a countable noun, thus we may have 'a Discourse' and 'Discourses'. Despite such dualism, Fairclough's work (e.g. 1995, 2003, 2010) demonstrates the attempts to reconcile the 'little d' and the 'big D' discourse by bringing in linguistic analysis of text in relation to its cultural and historical contexts.

The notion of big D discourse is in line with the Foucauldian sense of discourse, which is conceptualized by Foucault through the well-known 'order of discourse' (Foucault, 1970, 1971), that is, discourse as "the totality of discursive practices within an institution or society, and the relationships between them" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 43). Accordingly, for Foucault, discourse can be complex and multi-dimensional and may take various genres (ways of acting) and discourses (ways of presenting) and styles (ways of being and interpreting). In

this vein, discourse is conceptualized by Fairclough as "a social structuring of semiotic difference in a particular social ordering of relationships amongst different ways of making meaning, i.e. different discourse and genres and styles" (2001, p. 232). In this system of discourse, the ordered set of discursive practices, with their boundaries and relationships, is associated with a particular social domain or institution where the constraints between orders of discourse are dynamic and become part of socio-cultural change (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). This research stresses that understanding the order of discourse involved in ethnic accommodation is to recognize a particular combination of a thorny set of social practices, social processes, identity production and historical, social and ideological dispositions. Various discourses emerge, constitute and represent the knowledge about the world of the topic which can be useful when considering and discussing particular issues of relevance.

The manifold aspects of discourse in Foucault's conceptualization denotes a complex of discursive formations which is composed of interconnected *statements* (Foucault, 1972). As a basic element of discourse, *statement* or the '*enonce*' can refer to "what may be said or not said, what may be meant or not meant in given contexts" (Candlin & Crichton, 2011, p. 5). Although it cannot be said to have a definitive structure (since it is neither identical with sentence, proposition nor speech act) *statement* enables linguistic structures to be used and understood, as posited by Foucault that "it is not in itself a unit, but a function" which "reveals structures and possible unities" (1972, p. 87). He later associates its definition and function with the entire system of statements which can include ideology, knowledge and value, referred to as 'archive', which can give a certain depth to analyses of discursive surfaces.

> Instead of seeing … [l]ines of words that translate invisible characters' thoughts that were formed on some other time and place, we have the density of discursive practices, systems that establish statements as events (with their own conditions and domain of appearance) and things (with their own possibility and field of use). They are all these systems of statements (whether events or things) that I propose to call archive (Foucault, 1972, p. 128).

The existence of such a broad range of statements about a certain event can only be grasped and understood through 'relations'. First, a body of statements can be defined by certain relatively constant and systematic relations of similarity or 'regularity' between them; as Foucault puts it, "whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say that we are dealing with a *discursive formation*" (Foucault, 1972, p. 38). Second, statements signify relationship between language in use, and social processes which involve participant interaction which is constrained by "systems of

normative behaviour" (Candlin & Crichton, 2011, p. 6). Third, the interconnected statements in a discourse also influence people's style, identity and action, or what and how participants say or write and what they do. This is reflected in Watson's definition of discourse as "connected sets of statements, concepts, terms and expressions, which constitute a way of talking about or writing about a particular issue, thus framing the way people understand and act with respect to that issue" (1994, p. 113).

2.1.2 Approaching discourse

In light of the conceptualization of discourse outlined in Section 2.1.1, this section identifies the points that are worth considering in the investigation of discourse, namely interdiscursivity and trans-disciplinarity.

2.1.2.1 Interdiscursivity: Reconciling micro and macro dimensions of discourse

Two vital premises can be discerned from the exploration of discourse presented in Section 2.1.1. The first is on the importance to engage with the micro (linguistic) and macro (wider socio-historical) dimensions of discourse and the second is on the notion that discourse is comprised of interconnected *statements* and thus can only be understood and investigated through discursive and social *relations*.

The linkage between micro and macro dimensions of discourse will be a persistent topic throughout this research. The ultimate goal of attending to such relations between micro and macro dimensions in discourse is twofold. The first is to provide grounded explanations, rather than simple descriptions and interpretations, of the discursive practices (Candlin, 1997). The second is for achieving what Cicourel (Cicourel, 1992, 2007) calls 'ecological validity' in social research, which will be discussed further in the validity section in this chapter (Section 2.4). Micro-macro dimensions of discourse are central for grounding the understanding of the intimate interconnection between what we may call the interactional order (Goffman, 1972, 1983) and the institutional order (Cicourel, 1992, 2007). The two orders are correlated in a way that the context, site, or institutions where social interaction take place may contribute to inter-personal interactions, which may in turn produce social order. Accordingly, everyday interaction (e.g. students' conversation at school, employer-employees interaction at the workplace) can provide convincing evidence of the macro impact on individual encounters.

The micro dimension of discourses of ethnic accommodation in this research is represented through the linguistic examination of policy texts and participants' narratives.

These data cannot be understood and explained without their relevant macro dimension which is articulated in the socio-historical perspective of the research (see Chapter 3). This macro aspect of discourses of ethnic accommodation in Indonesia is characterised by the role of ideological power in the construction of social structure in which people may feel accommodated or dis-accommodated. Taking such a critical view of discourse, this research involves unpacking the central role of power and ideology in discourse construction and the argument for the role of language and discourse in questioning the creation and maintenance of inequitable social relations. Hall argues that discourses "always operate in relation to power – they are part of the way power circulates and is contested" (Hall, 1992, p. 205). This tenet is also articulated by Fairclough and Fairclough:

> This includes better understanding of relations between discourse and other elements of social life, including social relations (and relations of power), ideologies, social institutions and organizations, and social identities, and better ways of analyzing and researching these relations (2012, p.78).

On this premise, discourse can connect with the social world by being the primary domain of ideology and power struggles, and correlates to social political structures (see also Fairclough, 1989). This tenet on the political dimension of discourse is particularly adopted in the political perspective of ethnic accommodation which highlights the power relations between the ethnic minority and the majority (see Chapter 4).

Fairclough postulates that "[d]iscourse is not simply an entity we can define independently: we can only arrive at an understanding of it by analysing sets of relations" (2010, p. 3). Inter-discourse relations or interdiscursivity as manifested through the multiple perspectives incorporated in this research entails two important tenets. The first is the dialectical correlations between micro and macro, or 'big' and 'little' aspects of discourse, without which discourses cannot be understood as meaningful wholes. Discourse and social structure are *dialectically* interconnected: they are not fully discrete, yet shape and internalize each other. Dialecticality suggests the *constituted and constitutive* nature of discourse, as described by Fairclough and Wodak:

> It is a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but [discourse is also] socially constitutive … it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people (1997, p. 259).

On this premise, discourse can construct society in three ways: construction of social identities, construction of social relationships between people and construction of systems of knowledge and belief (see also Fairclough, 1992). These three constitutive characteristics of

discourse are particularly addressed in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) which groups the identity and relational functions together to form the interpersonal meaning (mood and modality) and realize knowledge and belief systems within the ideational or experiential meaning (transitivity). This research does not draw directly on SFL, however it does share a similar view with SFL in conceiving of the central role of language in social life. Together these three constitutive characteristics of discourse closely mirror the significant effects of discourse in the social structure and offer the possibility of understanding how discourse permeates human affairs in various ways.

The second is on the value of dealing with a set of relations involving manifold dimensions of discourse embedded in aspects of Foucault's order of discourse: "diverse genres (ways of acting) and discourses (ways of presenting) and styles (ways of being and interpreting)" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 232). In this vein, Candlin and Maley conceptualize interdiscurivity in a more concise way: "The use of elements in one discourse and social practice which carry institutional and social meanings from other discourses and social practices" (Candlin & Maley, 1997, p. 212). Drawing from discursive and social elements of one perspective and recontextualizing them into another is at the heart of the MP approach in this research. The emerging discourses in the perspectives thus penetrate into each other, overlap and are sometimes contested, as posited by de Saint-Georges and Morris:

> Several orders of discourse can combine in various configurations: orders of discourse interpenetrate each other, one order of discourse can exist within another, or several orders of discourse can overlap (de Saint Georges & Morris, 2000, pp. 72-73)

2.1.2.2 Engaging with trans-disciplinarity

One of the consequences of engaging with micro and macro dimensions of discourse is the need to integrate discourse theories with other relevant social theories. Its discourses show that ethnic accommodation is in itself a big topic, and thus in order to understand it the analyst needs to be able to draw on multiple relevant theories. To address the research goals presented in Chapter 1, the theoretical and methodological orientations of the studies in this research are derived from the fusion between the principles of discourse analysis, ethnography, and social psychology which are discussed in brief in Section 2.2 and further in the analytical chapters. Decisions about which theories to adopt were made at the early stage of designing this research because the research questions and goals themselves are bounded by certain ontological and epistemological perspectives (Mason, 2006, p. 13). Theories which constitute the analyst's 'motivational relevancies' (Sarangi & Candlin, 2001) are disclosed

explicitly and explained clearly as they reflect the analyst's "assumptions, beliefs, and biases" (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127) and the social, cultural, and historical forces that shape them.

Fairclough (2003, 2010) puts forward that trans-disciplinary research is a particular way of interpreting a commitment to what has been termed 'interdisciplinary' research (Wodak, 2002, 2007; Wodak & Chilton, 2005). Trans-disciplinarity emphasizes that pulling together different fields can inform and enrich an analysis of particular social practices in a *dialogic* way where the logic of one theory is drawn to work within another, as posited by Chiapello and Fairclough:

> We see 'transdisciplinary' research as a particular form of interdisciplinary research. Our concern is not simply to bring together different disciplines and theoretical–analytical frameworks in the hope of thereby producing richer insights into new management ideology. We are also concerned with how a dialogue between two disciplines and frameworks may lead to a development of both through a process of each internally appropriating the logic of the other as a resource for its own development (2002, p. 186).

This research highlights the implications of trans-disciplinarity in a single research project in two points. Firstly, deploying multiple theories in a single piece of analysis inherently allows for cutting across boundaries between disciplines in an attempt to 'transcend the purely linguistic dimension and to include … the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 35). As with micro and macro relationships, this trans-disciplinarity inevitably links discourse analysis to social theory (Coupland, 2001; Van Leeuwen, 2005) in order to strengthen and validate the analysis and findings.

Secondly, such a transdisciplinary commitment in research inevitably requires the analyst to embrace multiple methodological orientations. In doing so, interdiscursivity also contributes to the the decision-making in terms of methodology (types of data and methods) so as to ensure that the methodological orientations facilitate the links between perspectives. In the same vein, Scollon proposes 'methodological interdiscursivity' (Scollon, 2000) which allows for the combination of various forms of data which are crucial for mutual triangulating checks and to "counteract the weaknesses that each methodological and theoretical viewpoint might present individually" (de Saint Georges & Morris, 2000, p. 70). Put simply, methodological interdiscursivity suggests the principle and practice of 'inter-relationality' for engaging and collaborating different methodologies (see also Sarangi & Candlin, 2010). Research of this kind often cuts across methodological boundaries, a practice that can be called 'methodological pluralism' in which the analyst uses different methods and

data to obtain access to different facets of the same social phenomenon (Olsen, 2004). Pragmatically, this methodological interdiscursivity can address Strauss' challenge (1987) that social science research can and should address more complex social problems than it does.

I now move on to the intimate correlation between theories and methodologies (Sarangi & Candlin, 2001, p. 351). Wodak (2002, p. 14) postulates: "[t]he theories as well as the methodologies are eclectic; i.e., theories and methods are integrated which are adequate for an understanding and explanation of the object under investigation". This principle of bridging the ontology and methodology (Candlin & Crichton, 2012) is in accordance with Sarangi and Candlin's (2003b) argument that through the so-called "fusion of reflexivity and relevance" the analyst can revisit and reflect research practices so as to initiate a new methodology or build on an existing one in ways that are most relevant for his or her research problem and setting.

One important point that is worth highlighting is that trans-disciplinarity can give access to various theoretical and methodological "points of entry' from different disciplines to a given research problem (Fairclough, 2010). In other words, a transdisciplinary approach makes particular studies accessible to researchers from more than one discipline, which in turn can foster collaboration. Ethnic accommodation, for example, can be examined from different disciplinary perspectives using various theories and methods. For that reason, this research uses discourse analysis as the analytical entry point.

2.2 On the methodology: Charting the research map

I have laid the theoretical and methodological groundwork of discourse and its analysis to provide a rationale for the application of the MP approach to discourses of ethnic accommodation. The next task is to contextualize and implement the MP approach and any underlying ontology to attend the characteristics and goals of this research. To do so, I endeavour to develop a feasible and manageable analytical framework, in order that interdiscursivity as the heart of the MP approach can be maintained and achieved through principled decisions on the selection of theoretical and methodological underpinnings. It is first of all important to note that I use interdiscursivity as an *apparatus* or machinery which operates and becomes the heart of all the processes of data analysis, interpretation and triangulation throughout the research.

This research focuses on four equally important perspectives – the socio-historical, the semiotic, the participants' and the analyst's perspectives (see Figure 2-1). The overlapping circles demonstrate the interdiscursive relations between the perspectives.

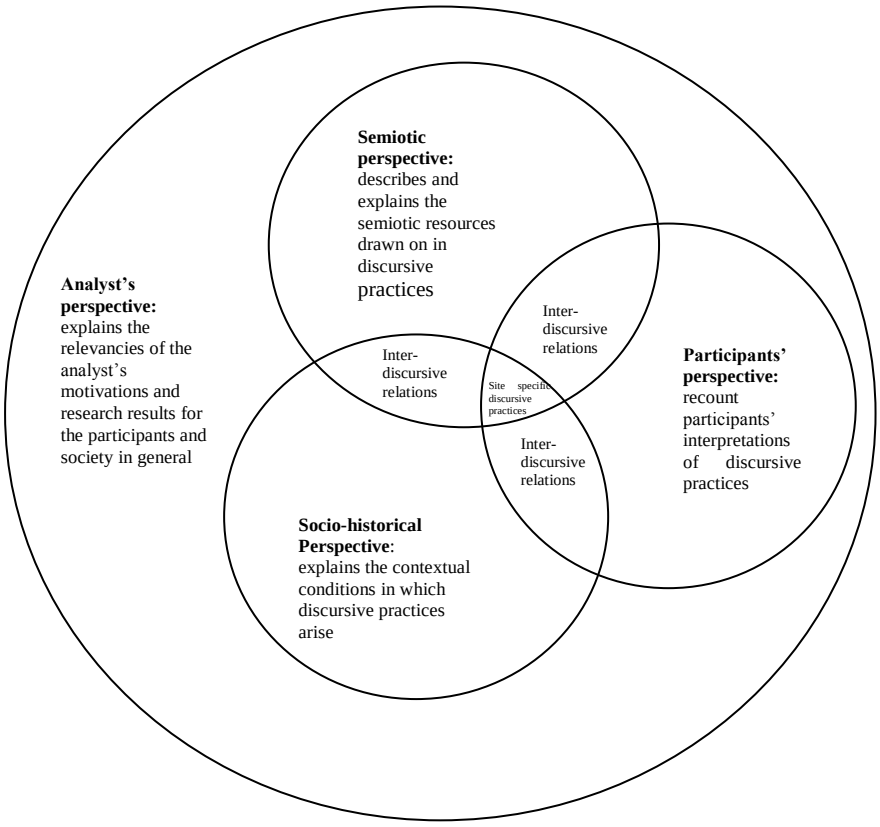

Figure 2-1 The multi-perspectival (MP) analytical approach (adapted from Crichton (2003, 2010) and Candlin and Crichton (2011))

Figure 2-1 is explained in detain in Table 2-1 which shows the detailed mapping and distribution of five studies articulating the four selected perspectives. The five studies demonstrate the trans-disciplinary analytical framework in which the principles of discourse analysis are integrated with those of social history (Chapter 3), social politics (Chapter 4), linguistic ethnography (Chapter 5), and social psychology (Chapter 6). These five studies provide all important insights for providing explanations of the arguments invoked in the analyst's perspective (Chapter 7).

The distribution of the precise data sets and methods for each perspective is summarized in Table 2-1.

Study	Perspectives	Theoretical/Methodological orientation	Types of data	Analytical tool(s)
1	Socio-historical perspective	Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)	Existing research and literature	-
2	Semiotic perspective	Critical Discourse analysis (CDA)	Government policies	Intertextuality
3	Participants' perspective	Linguistic Ethnography (LE)	Narratives of personal experience	Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA)
4	Participants' perspective	Discursive Social Psychology (DSP)	Narratives of personal experience	Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA)
5	Analyst's perspective	-	-	-

Table 2-1 Data sets and methods

On one hand, in this research all studies may be seen as separate studies in which each dataset merits a separate investigation on its own based on the respective theoretical and methodological orientations. On the other hand, they are not 'independent' in a way that, grounded on the principles of the MP approach, they are interconnected and inform each other, and thus interdiscursive in nature. The findings in each study would fall short of explanation without considering the insights emerging from other perspectives. Thus, rather than focusing on the difference, this research should be viewed within its wholeness. While some often claim greater validity of results as a reason for these multi-methodological choices, validity per se is not the reason behind the use of the multi-perspectival methods in this research. Instead, the aim of engaging with different perspectives is to obtain richness and holism which can facilitate revealing the complexity embedded in various aspects of discourse, to provide 'thick descriptions' that are vivid and nested in a real context, and to strengthen the validity of the research results.

While it is believed that bringing together different approaches across different disciplinary traditions to a single research has strengths and benefits, this methods mixing is not without challenges or problems. Different assumptions underlying each method may present issues particularly when several studies are linked. However, these problems can be

minimized by considering two points. Firstly, the methods and data chosen are judged by how well they inform and match the research purposes (see Table 2-1). In this section I have made clear the focus and purpose of each study, particularly in relation to the macro and micro perspectives of the discourse under scrutiny. The underpinning theories, data and methods are carefully selected and deployed in such a way that they can reflect the micro and macro dimensions of discourse and strengthen the interdiscursive relations between them. The ultimate purpose is to provide explanatory account of social change in the process of ethnic accommodation so as to formulate the accommodation strategies which can address macro and micro issues of ethnic accommodation revealed in the studies.

Secondly, by keeping in mind that all perspectives are mutually important, this research considers the contribution of each perspective to the whole research on an equal basis, without subordinating any of them. In doing so, the studies are carried out sequentially so that the findings of the earlier study can inform the later studies. The socio-historical perspective is set out as the first study so as to reveal the socio-historical context of the whole research and is followed by the semiotic perspective which is aimed to corroborate the findings of the first study. These first two studies serve the macro dimension of discourses of ethnic accommodation. The third and fourth studies constitute the micro or interactional dimension of discourse which can be fully explained in light of the findings of the first and second studies. The linguistic ethnographic and social psychological studies use the same data set and method, i.e. participants' personal stories, yet they have different focus and aims. Both studies employ Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA); while the first focuses on the categorizations of events and situation, the later extends the analysis into categorizations of participants' actions and activities. The results of these studies are then reconciled in the last study, the analyst's perspective. It is important to note, however, that these sequential research phases are interactive and thus it is possible for me to go back and forth between the studies in order to ensure their interconnections.

To avoid repetition, each study is discussed in brief in this section and is explored in detail in each respective chapter. In this chapter, methodological issues (methods and procedure of data collection and analysis) are reported in detail, although only a brief and prefatory discussion on the theoretical underpinning of each study is provided. Their theoretical underpinnings will be discussed in detail in the findings chapters in order to particularize and contextualize them appropriately to the concerns and goals of each study.

2.2.1 The socio-historical perspective: The construction of the Chinese Other

> There is always a pre-theoretical understanding of what is going on among the members of society, which is formulated in the descriptions of the self and other which are involved in the institutions and practices of that society (C. Taylor, 1985, pp. 92-93)

Premised on a Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak, 2001a, 2002, 2007), this part of the entire research attempts to integrate much available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which *discursive events* are embedded (De Cillia et al., 1999). DHA, which is aligned with grand social theory linked to the Frankfurt School and Jurgen Habermas, places emphasis on the historical analysis of discourses by means of connecting the original sources of a discursive event with its historical background.

The socio-historical perspective (see Chapter 3) is premised on the assumption that discourses of ethnic accommodation are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations between the Self and the Other are reproduced or contested. Because discourse can only be interpreted and explained in its specific context, the context in which the discursive practice takes place needs to be made explicit and clear from the very beginning. To do so, this socio-historical context is set as the first analytical chapter so as to provide background information for the interpretation and explanation of the findings of the following analytical chapters or perspectives.

This study focuses on the exploration of the construction of the Chinese Other within three governmental regimes, namely, the Old Order (1945–1967), the New Order (1967–1998), and the Reform (1998– now). It draws from an array of studies and publications on Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia from various disciplines (e.g. Aguilar, 2001; Coppel, 1983; Dawis, 2009; Gernet, 1996; Giblin, 2003; Purdey, 2006; Skinner, 1963; Suryadinata, 2008b; Tan, 2005; Winarta, 2004). As a discourse-grounded research project, the study attempts to identify and explore the dominant discourses in each regime on the basis of the constructive view of ethnic identity within manifold orders of discourse involving various social, economic, and political aspects throughout history.

2.2.2 The semiotic perspective: The politics of ethnic accommodation

The semiotic perspective is concerned with the semiotic resources drawn upon to create meaning in relation to discourses of ethnic accommodation. To explore this, the semiotic study reported in Chapter 4 examines governmental policies enacted during the New Order

and the Reform regimes to uncover the articulation and (re)production of ethnic accommodation.

2.2.2.1 A brief account of Critical Discourse Analysis and intertextuality

This section provides a brief discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis and intertextuality and more comprehensive accounts will be presented in relevant chapter (Chapter 4).

Grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (e.g. Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995, 2003, 2010), this study views policies from a genre perspective (see Chapter 4 for my discussion of genre), rather than considering them as mere texts, and scrutinizes them at micro (linguistic), meso (discursive), and macro (social) levels of discourse. On the premise of discourse as social practice, this study seeks to reveal indications of ethnic accommodation which resonate the intimate and dialectical correlations between the three levels in a nuanced way (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2008).

These three levels of analysis of policy genre emphasize two points. Firstly, policies are historical and can only be fully understood and interpreted with recourse to their associated historical contexts. On the other hand their production and circulation also play an important role to make "historically specific social facts become invisible and unquestionable" (Hanks, 1989, p. 118). Secondly, policies are ideological. Viewing policy as genre, this study focuses on analysing how people use language to achieve certain ideological goals; as Martin puts it: "genre is how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them" (1985, p. 248). In the same vein, Olssen, Codd and O'Neill posit that "Policy is about the exercise of political power and the language that is used to legitimate that process" (2004, pp. 71-72). This is to say that such semiotic resources are of value for revealing the ideological grounds that have influenced the discursive practices of ethnic accommodation.

Given the nature of the policy genre as highly intertextual, this study deploys the analytical tools of intertextuality to reveal three levels of intertextuality, i.e. manifest intertextuality, constitutive intertextuality, and ideological intertextuality (see Fairclough, 1992). These three types of intertextuality respectively correspond to three levels of discourse analysis, i.e. micro, meso, and macro levels. The tools hold that texts always draw upon and transform other historical texts (Fairclough, 1992, 2003; Kristeva, 1986) and that texts are interconnected not only within their linguistic aspect, but also within their discursive and social aspects (e.g. Bhatia, 2007; Wodak, 2002). It is hoped that through detailed analysis of the three levels of intertextuality, this policy-motivated study can discover, in an explanatory

way, discursive evidence of social change as well as discursive and ideological indications of national efforts of ethnic accommodation.

2.2.2.2 Data set

Given a large number of policies pursued by the government to address Chinese issues, it was necessary to undertake a principled selection. The selection consisted of two stages. I started from the present day and worked back in reverse chronological order. Firstly, I selected the most current policies issued by the presidents during the Reform regime and went through their content to identify any older policies which might be relevant. Five policies were signed off by the Reform presidents which were particularly relevant for Chinese Indonesians. Secondly, I sought out former policies which were drawn into the current policies by firstly looking at the title and then reading carefully the current policies. Seven policies of the New order were then selected. In total, twelve policies issued by two regimes were gathered (Table 2-2). The policies' length varied from one to four pages and were all readily available to be retrieved from the official website of the Ministry of State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia (www.setneg.go.id) and that of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of Indonesia (www.kemenkumham.go.id).

Issues	The Reform policies	The New Order policies
Treatment of Chinese Indonesians	Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998	Instruction of Presidium Cabinet no. 37/U/IN/6/1967
Citizenship certificate (SKBRI)	Presidential Instruction no. 4/1999	Presidential Decree no. 56/1996, Presidential Decree no. 57/1995, Presidential instruction no. 2/1980
Chinese religion, beliefs and tradition	Presidential Decree no. 6/2000, Presidential Decree no. 19/2002	Presidential Instruction no. 14/1967, Decree of Presidium Cabinet no. 127/KEP/12/1966
The use of the terms 'Cina' / 'Tionghoa'	Presidential Decree no. 12/2014	Circular letter of Presidium Cabinet Ampera no. SE-06/PRES.KAB/6/1967

Table 2-2 Data of governmental policies

Taking into account policies produced in two regimes is of value for two reasons. Firstly, selecting the Reform policies can represent current social problems and discourses and the ideology adopted by the current government in addressing issues of Chinese-ness. Secondly,

incorporating the policies of two different regimes can give us insights about social changes that have taken place discursively. As we can see later in the analysis, the policies under scrutiny can relate to many other relevant polices, although this study concerns the selected policies for their prominent intertextual and interdiscursive capacities for revealing the social change entailed in two regimes.

2.2.3 The participants' perspective: Voices of the minority

In light of the discursive practices of ethnic accommodation examined earlier in the semiotic perspective, this participants' perspective seeks to capture the social phenomenon of ethnic accommodation from the perspectives of the persons involved. Specifically, the study aims to obtain insights into participants' *perception, attitudes* and *behaviours* in relation to the social reality of being Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia. To do so, the participants' accounts are examined in two different studies with two different approaches. Chapter 5 focuses on investigating the socio-cultural world through discourse by drawing from Linguistic Ethnography (LE). Chapter 6 is concerned with the examination of identity, attitudes and behaviours through discourse by drawing from Discursive Social Psychology (DSP). Wetherell (2007) argues that LE needs to open up to social psychological approach. LE and DSP can be used together effectively in approaching socially and culturally situated discourses, as argued by Wetherell (2007, p. 661), "[p]sychological assumptions and presuppositions are unavoidable when language production is studied in its contexts of use".

In terms of data, the linguistic ethnographic and discursive social psychological studies deal with participants' narratives of experience; the narratives that people construct based on experience as well as to give shape to experience (Ochs & Capps, 1996). The narratives can assist the analyst not only to interpret the world, but also to deal with and examine how the world has already been perceived and interpreted by participants (see Schegloff, 1992, 1997). The discourse perspective of participants' social cultural world is also rich with insights which constitute a fruitful resource for not only linguistic ethnographic research, but also for those interested in the social psychological aspect of such a world (Wetherell, 2007). In other words, narratives of experience in this research serve dual functions: they not only serve as a resource through which we can understand the participants' world of experience and their perception of the world; it can also become a means through which we can understand how participants respond or react toward that world.

2.2.3.1 A brief account of Linguistic Ethnography, Discursive Social Psychology and Membership Categorization Analysis

In this section I will provide a prefatory discussion of Linguistic Ethnography (LE), Discursive Social Psychology (DSP) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). More comprehensive accounts will be presented in relevant chapters (Chapters 5 and 6).

As with CDA, LE and DSP embody a conceptualization of language use as social action (Wetherell, 2007) and regard the action-oriented and reality-constructing features of discourse as crucial (Potter & Edwards, 2001). Within the context of the research, LE and DSP are closely linked in three ways. Firstly, participants' perceptions and interpretation within personal and social contexts may affect and be affected by their attitudes and behaviour. Secondly, both LE and DSP are interested in investigating identity and its construction, as articulated by Wetherell (Wetherell, 2007, p. 665): "Identity is one of many topics where an alliance between linguistic ethnography and discursive psychology will be highly productive". Thirdly, both approaches facilitate the understanding of the social world through discursive patterns of social categories, for which this research incorporates Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1972, 1974).

This research argues for the need to undertake the ethnographic investigation of the socio-historical context of the discursive event of ethnic accommodation which is invoked through the critical analysis of semiotic data reported in Chapter 4 (see also Fairclough, 1995). Ethnography itself is a wide approach and its application has developed from time to time. A recent line of ethnographic research in the U.K. – Linguistic Ethnography (LE) – has revisited and consolidated the interconnectedness of language and ethnography (see Rampton, 2006, 2007; Rampton et al., 2004). LE refers to a particular reconfiguration of research interests orienting towards appropriating ethnographic approaches to investigate discursive patterns presented in human daily interactions within situated contexts. It conjoins the relatively standardized empirical research procedures afforded by linguistics with the reflexive sensitivity to the processes intrinsic to ethnography. Such a marriage of linguistics with ethnography affords linguistic ethnography access to benefits from both intellectual fields; as Rampton (2007, p. 596) argues, "ethnography opens linguistics up", while "linguistics ties ethnography down". That said, linguistic ethnography has established for itself a position distinctive enough to stand out from other ethnographically-informed studies. It views language as the primary instrument for gaining access to the complex social issues it seeks to address, a methodological tenet distinctive from one taking culture as its principal point of analytical entry into such issues. The ultimate aim of incorporating LE in this study

is to "produce rigorously grounded linguistic work which at the same time addresses the complexities of social practice" (Tusting & Maybin, 2007, p. 576). In doing so it seeks to construe the discursive and cultural processes in a specific socio-cultural context, with language in use (narratives) as the primary resource for contributing in a distinctive way to the broader enterprise of social science.

This research argues that insights from participants' experience are not sufficient to be approached from LE alone. This is to say that participants' narratives are rich in psychological insights, particularly those relating to issues of attitudes, behaviours and identity. In saying so the research incorporates Discursive Social Psychology (DSP) (e.g. Potter, 1998; Potter & Edwards, 2001; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Wetherell, 2007), an approach which is relatively new in the area of language and social psychology and was developed in 1980s. It advocates the emergence of psychological issues through discourse:

> Through looking at how people talk about mental states, researchers can therefore study something which is hugely significant – the criteria and practices a community develops and through which it recognizes and constitutes its psychological life (Wetherell, 2007, p. 664).

The DSP study reported in Chapter 6 aims to examine participants' behaviours in coping with social reality and change and how such behaviours may reflect their identity. In contrast to the tradition of language and social psychology which is concerned with examining the social psychology of language through experimental research, DSP is conceptualized as the application of principles of discourse analysis to central topics in social psychology (Potter, 1998; Potter & Edwards, 2001). A more extensive overview on works done in language and social psychology can be seen in Giles and St. Clair (1979); and Weatherall, Watson, and Gallois (2007).

LE and DSP are interdiscriplinary fields and they offer much for the analysis of people's perceptions and behaviours, two important components of identity construction within a social situation. One particular tool that is relevant for both approaches is Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1972, 1974) which was initially developed by Sacks. MCA is traditionally used in the identification, description, or referencing of persons and widely used in collaboration with ethnomethodology for approaching the production of categories in talk-in-interaction (see Land & Kitzinger, 2011). MCA is important in this research as it helps deconstruct and identify *discursive patterns* of complex social, cultural and psychological phenomena across a range of contexts through the properties of language and discourse.

In terms of how this analysis can be done, MCA relies on the use of Membership Categorization Devices (MCD). Through his famous example, "The baby cried. The mommy picked it up", Sacks (1972, 1974) explores the possibilities for formal analyses of references to and descriptions of persons. The analysis of this sentence involves MCD, collections of categories (with their features) and rules of application. Here 'mommy' and 'baby' are categories associated with the MCD 'family'. With respect to the rules, one particular concept that Sacks (1992) posits is 'recognizability' (see Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002) which can be construed through the display of categories and MCD and is useful for defining and making sense of the relations between the categories (e.g. 'mommy' and 'baby') and the MCD (e.g. 'family'). This 'recognizability' relates to the shared 'stock of common-sense knowledge', knowledge which is widely accepted by society.

As with the concern of the whole research project on language in use or discourse, rather than focusing on linguistic properties alone, both the LE and DSP studies concern the identification and explanation of *discursive patterns* of categories which may bridge the linguistic and socio-historical elements of the narratives. Categorization work in these two studies is correlated and together facilitates an all-embracing explanation of ethnic accommodation from the perspective of the Chinese Other. MCA in this research was carried out in two ways.

1) In light of LE, the categorization analysis reported in Chapter 5 aimed to reveal participants' perception of social reality. The analysis was carried out thematically to derive categories in the form of focal themes which represent social reality. The focal themes were then analyzed in terms of their temporal context. The unit of analysis of this study was in the form of *events and situations* articulated in the narratives.
2) Drawing from DSP, the purpose of the categorization analysis reported in Chapter 6 was to reveal participants' attitudes, behaviours, and identity, particularly in coping with social reality. To do so, the unit of analysis was in the form of participants' *actions and activities* emerging from narratives.

2.2.3.2 Research sites and participants

In order to derive a wide range of stories, this study collected narratives from different sites, i.e. educational, business and religious sites, which played important roles in shaping personal values, beliefs, and experience that constructed their narratives. The primary reason for collecting data from these three different sites was to obtain a detailed investigation of the empirical phenomenon of ethnic accommodation retained within its various real-life contexts.

The insights from the analysis of the construction of the Chinese Other in Chapter 3 and the findings of the semiotic study of government regulations in Chapter 4 helped the decisions on the selection of the sites. Both studies informed that, among other sites, these three sites constituted important sites where discourses of Chinese-ness were produced and contested.

In terms of selection of participants, the scope of the present study pertained to the Chinese segment of Indonesian society. A purposeful selection (Light, Singer, & Willett, 1990) was employed on the basis of several criteria (criterion-based selection) (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) to select people who were able to give sufficient information because they were expert in an area or were privileged witnesses to an event. The recruitment was done through organizations and by direct contact with individuals. Recruitment through organizations was particularly effective with schools. The participants from the business site were those affiliated in local and national business institutions. The participants recruited from the religious sites (churches) were pastors and leaders; and those from the educational sites (high schools) were teachers and students.

In total, 15 interviews and 3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were carried out (see Table 2-3). The FGDs were particularly conducted at the school site with groups of people consisting of two to five participants. A total of 25 participants were recruited. Demographic and background information on the participants were collected through direct questioning of the study participants before the interview was started. Due to the ethical principles that limit the amount of personal information about the lives of the participants, it is not possible to provide a full picture of the participants. The names of the participants are made pseudonyms in order to make them unidentifiable. Their profile is presented in three categories, namely (1) age range, (2) professional background, and (3) family background.

Participants	Age range	Professional background	Family background
Petrus	40 – 49	Pastor	Chinese parents
Bagus	50 – 59	Pastor	Mixed-parents
Andy	40 – 49	Pastor	Chinese parents
Yoki	50 – 59	Pastor	Chinese parents
Robi	50 – 59	Evangelist	Chinese parents
Bono	50 – 59	Businessman and politician	Chinese parents
Xi Zuan	50 – 59	Businessman	Mixed-parents
Umar	40 – 49	Businessman	Chinese parents
Burhan	50 – 59	Businessman and social activist	Chinese parents
Bambang	50 – 59	Businessman and politician	Mixed-parents
Edo	50 – 59	Businessman	Mixed-parents
Iman	50 – 59	Businessman	Chinese parents
Wahyu	30 – 39	Teacher	Chinese parents
Suantara	50 – 59	Teacher	Chinese parents
Surya	20 – 29	Teacher	Mixed-parents
Tegar	30 – 39	Teacher	Chinese parents
Hasyim	30 – 39	Teacher	Chinese parents
Nina	10 – 19	Student	Chinese parents
David	10 – 19	Student	Chinese parents
Ina	10 – 19	Student	Chinese parents
Clara	10 – 19	Student	Chinese parents
Tesi	10 – 19	Student	Chinese parents
Ova	10 – 19	Student	Chinese parents
Geni	10 – 19	Student	Chinese parents
Lani	10 – 19	Student	Chinese parents

Table 2-3 Research participants

2.2.3.3 Data collection

The narratives upon which the analyses were based were elicited by means of semi-structured interview (e.g. Richards & Talmy, 2011; Riessman, 1993, 2001; Talmy, 2010) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) (Marková, Linell, Grossen, & Orvig, 2007) which were found useful and credible techniques for obtaining and grasping personal histories, perspectives and experiences.

In this research, interviews and FGDs complemented each other in providing empirical data of the explicit and tacit knowledge of everyday experience. Interviews were useful for gathering biographical accounts and to obtain perceptions about sensitive issues that participants might not feel comfortable sharing in front of other people. The FGDs were designed to gain multiple perspectives in an interactive group setting. Most were held at schools in order to obtain more stories in an informal and friendly setting. The issue that I encountered in the field was that students' accounts tended to be normative when they were

interviewed alone. FGDs were then carried out to obtain more actual information because one participant's comment fed off of another's and so on. This way, the FGDs could really dig deep into an issue. The FGDs were framed more like an informal conversation. I met with students and teachers in small groups of two to five. In order to lessen the formality of the recorded interview situation, I started the discussions by asking them how they felt as a Chinese Indonesian minority at school and whether they had interesting experiences that might be worth telling. These questions were sufficient to generate rich stories about different people.

The interviews and FGDs lasted between 20 minutes and 2 hours. Indonesian or Bahasa Indonesia was the language chosen for the interview for it was the common language understood and spoken by myelsef as the interviewer, and the interviewees. My ethnicity is Javanese and I spend most of my time in Java, the island where most Chinese Indonesians live. While I was raised in a Javanese cultural milieu, I now have frequent interaction with Chinese Indonesians, particularly at church and work place. This interaction has helped me learn and understand their social and cultural life. I conducted the interviews and translated the transcript into English myself. Collecting data in one language and presenting the findings in another can be challenging, yet it has become increasingly common among social researchers. I believed that I understood the culture of the people under study and the broader social and political context of the society where the participants lived. This socio-cultural knowledge was useful and central for analyzing and interpreting the interview data.

The interviews and FGDs were conducted within an open and free-flowing format in order to generate valuable and rich accounts in the time allotted. To do so I prepared a set of questions used as my guideline although those questions were flexible enough to fit the situation so as to give participants more space to talk. Because the interviews relied upon personal life stories, I encouraged participants to talk about all aspects of their lives. To start our discussion, my first question was very general, asking the participant to tell me a little bit about her or himself and about her or his school/church/ business. This usually led the participants to share stories of their childhood or other past experience. This was still general enough to allow them to construct their stories, but gave the participants a starting point. I was acutely aware of my role as researcher and tried to make the conversation as dynamic and natural as possible so as to generate rich experience-based stories.

2.2.3.4 Ethics requirement and data storage

The study was approved by the Ethics Committee at Macquarie University. First of all, access to participants was gained by sending them an invitation via email – a means of communication which put much less coerciveness on them compared with face-to-face contact since it gave them time to think about their decision. Brief information about the aims, scope of the research project, the confidentiality and ethics matters was also sent to them. Only after they agreed to participate would the researcher proceed with the subsequent step, i.e. arranging meetings. All participants who contributed their stories participated freely and under no duress; they were duly informed of the components of the instrument, and agreed to the rule respecting their freedom to interrupt their participation at any time. Before the interviews began, participants read and signed an informed consent agreement. All participants were also informed that a pseudonym would be used instead of their real name.

2.2.3.5 Data transcription and coding

All interviews and FGDs were recorded with the full consent of the participants and later transcribed in their entirety. After each interview or FGD I wrote my impressions in memos to track my thoughts throughout the data collection process. Reading notes and initial transcripts informed subsequent data analysis and interpretations. The edited transcripts were stored in NVIVO, a software program that provides assistance with data management, category comparison, and the creation of conceptual maps from the data. The program was useful for organizing and coding data from the transcripts as well as for organizing memos and debriefing notes recorded after each interview or FGD. I developed codes by which to dissect the data according to the key features of the study. Codes were compared and grouped according to themes that emerged from data based on the goals of Chapters 5 and 6.

2.2.4 The analyst's perspective: Envisaging practical relevance

The analyst's perspective is of value for clarifying the researcher's position in the research (Crichton, 2003). According to Sarangi and Candlin (2001, p. 383) the analyst needs to see him or herself in a position between three aspects, the social-historical context of the research, their research practices, and their theoretical assumptions. Premised on this, in turn it is important for the analyst to reflect back and forth between the three so as to address the practical relevance of the research results (Roberts & Sarangi, 1999). Practical relevance relates to the world of participants and, accordingly, the relationship between the analyst and the participants is crucial as the researcher is part of the social world she or he is studying and which is also the world of the participants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 16). Put

simply, the analyst is part of what is going on and also of the research process, to the extent that "[t]he analyst must negotiate the relative weight of participants' and analysts' perspectives in producing representations of the reality under study" (Tusting & Maybin, 2007, p. 579).

This analyst perspective (Chapter 7) is set as the last analytical chapter with the aim that it can be a site of reflection on the perspectives articulated in the earlier analytical chapters. That said, this perspective seeks to reflect on the working of the key notion of interdiscursivity in the whole research process and how it is manifested through the interconnection between perspectives. The analyst's perspective seeks to link the research results showing discursive indications of ethnic accommodation articulated in earlier studies. This is to give meaning to their interconnection in order to address the practical relevance of the research findings. The practical relevance addresses the 'so what' question; that is, how the results of the research findings lead to understandings that can inform decisions that will ultimately have a positive effect on Chinese Indonesians and society as a whole. The practical relevance here will be in the form of practical actions that can be taken to achieve a better and accommodative environment for everyone, regardless of ethnicity, particularly through discursive means.

2.3 On interactive data analysis

Another crucial implication of the operationalization of the MP approach concerns the process of data analysis. Interdiscursivity as an apparatus in this research implies that the decisions on how data will be analyzed need to take into account the balance and interconnection between relevant theories, data, and methods employed in each perspective. One particular construct that can help maintain such interconnection is the notion of 'interactivity' which applies in and between the research components or phases (research goals, theoretical framework, research questions, methodology, and validity) (Maxwell, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994). This interactive research is defined by Maxwell as "an ongoing process that involves 'tacking' back and forth between the different components of the design, assessing the implications of goals, theories, research questions, and validity threats for one another" (2005, p. 3). In this vein, Wodak has made explicit the need for 'abductive' processes in data analysis such that "a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary" (2002, p. 14). The tacking back and forth is similar in some ways to the 'hermeneutic circle' of textual interpretation and meaning (Geertz, 1974). In this interactive process, the analyst's ontological assumptions are

consecutively developed and enhanced (Crichton, 2010, p. 26) as they interact with and are informed by the deployment of the research methodology at hand.

The application and relevance of the interactive analytical process in this research can be synthesized into two points: the first relates to interconnection between the analysis in different perspectives and the second relates to interconnection between the analytical stages in each perspective.

1) Interactivity between perspectives: Data analysis in each perspective was continually redeveloped and modified at any point and any time, in order to decide what to include or discard (see Maxwell, 2005). Adjustment of the aspects of the analysis took place at different times during the analysis process. At the same time I needed consecutively to seek a strategy for constructing and making sense of the interconnectivity between all the perspectives. The perspectives in this research were designed in such a way that the findings in one perspective built up knowledge that could enrich and inform other perspectives. Context also played an important role in building up interactivity. In this context-grounded research the social historical perspective was set as the first analytical chapter so as to facilitate grounding and establishing the interconnection of all the following perspectives and to provide a context-based explanation of the explicit and implicit relationship between them.
2) Interactivity between analytical stages: The analysis was reflexive throughout every analytical stage; one stage had implications for others and served as the basis for further development of other stages (see Maxwell, 2005). Assessment and evaluation on the interconnection between the stages were continually completed to allow for any necessary adjustment based on their "usefulness, soundness, and fitness" (Rossman & Wilson, 1994, p. 317) until the conclusions could be drawn. Because this interactive data analysis involved multiple cycles of processes which were continuous and iterative in nature, at times I needed to operate on several different levels of analysis at the same time.

In the analysis process, three analytical stages – data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing – were carried out in simultaneous, iterative and continuous series of analysis (see Maxwell, 2005; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Every stage was carried out repeatedly in order to refine, revisit, and rework the data under investigation.

1) Data reduction and coding was carried out in the manner that allowed "an iterative, inductive, yet reductive process that organizes data, from which the researcher can then construct themes, essences, descriptions, and theories"

(Walker & Myrick, 2006, p. 549). Interactive data analysis facilitated the handling of different types of data, and allowed me to filter, explore, analyze and communicate the wealth of data and to make sense of them. Accordingly, instead of using predetermined categories (informed by the analyst's motivational relevancies), the data were coded constantly, according to the grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), in order to identify emerging categories.

2) In order to make it easy to read and to make sense of the reduced and coded data, graphs and charts were used to display their distribution and to help find the meaning in their relations. The display informed much about 'what was going on' with the data and thus eventually helped me to draw conclusions systematically.

3) The final step was to draw conclusions, which was carried out by verifying data while the analysis was proceeding and by looking back and forth between data and theories.

2.4 On research validity

Steward proposes two important questions about research: "How do we know that the researcher has gotten it right? How can we develop confidence in research designs and findings?" (Stewart, 1994, p. 65). Hammersley (1987, p. 69) puts forward that the results or conclusions can only be acceptable to the degree to which they are determined to be valid, that is, "if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena, that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise". In a nutshell, being valid is the extent of "the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 106). This credibility here can be understood as "trustworthiness, rigor and quality in qualitative paradigm" (Golafshani, 2003, p. 604). As qualitative research is necessarily inductive and grounded in data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), faithfulness of conclusions to data is thus considered as the central control for determining the extent to which research findings are judged to be true and accurate.

The most common way to achieve validity in multi-strategy research is through triangulation (e.g. Creswell & Miller, 2000; Denzin, 1978; Layder, 1993; Olsen, 2004; Patton, 1990) in which validity claims on the research results are often taken back to the appropriateness of the methodology, or what we may call "methodological soundness or appropriateness" (Graziano & Raulin, 2007, p. 181). An example is the work carried out by

De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (De Cillia et al., 1999) who explore the discursive construction of national identity through different methods and data.

Validity is at the heart of the deployment of multiple perspectives to investigate a single research problem in this research. It constitutes an integral part of this research and, accordingly, by paying attention at interdiscursivity and carrying out interactive data analysis, this research seeks to align the perspectives in such a manner as to provide grounds that would validate interpretation. How validity has been sought through triangulation in this research is articulated in two premises.

1) Drawing from multiple perspectives, triangulation in this research constituted a complex business involving research components such as theory, methodology, researcher and participants (see Cicourel, 1992, 2007). The application of the MP approach facilitated theoretical triangulation to corroborate with methodological triangulation, such that one theory or approach was used in conjunction with others.
2) Triangulation in this research was not only intended for achieving ecological validity but also for measuring research accountability (see Cicourel, 1992, 2007). It was not only to avoid the bias of drawing on conclusions that were too exclusive and narrow from methods or theories that were limited in scope, but also to widen and deepen understanding through diverse standpoints upon a certain topic (see Graziano & Raulin, 2007; Greene & McClintock, 1985; Olsen, 2004). Put simply, triangulation in this research was aimed at capitalizing on the strength of each perspective, thus establishing the depth and wholeness of the findings.

2.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has set out in detail a theoretical understanding of the concept of discourse and its analysis in order to reify and consolidate the ontological and epistemological tenets afforded by the multi-perspectival (MP) approach in the study of discourses of ethnic accommodation. By emphasizing the conceptualization of discourse as social practice, the chapter highlights the importance of engaging with the micro and macro perspectives of discourse and to embrace interdiscursivity as a key machinery in the research. The research incorporates four interdiscursive perspectives which are carried out through five correlated studies. While each perspective merits careful investigation in its own right, separate investigations are likely to lose insight if other perspectives are not considered. The ultimate goal of accounting for their interdiscursive relations is to provide grounded explanations,

rather than simply descriptions or interpretations, of situated discursive practices of ethnic accommodation.

Chapter 3 **The socio-historical perspective: The construction of the Chinese Other**

In light of the concept of the socio-historical perspective articulated in the MP approach (Candlin & Crichton, 2011; Crichton, 2003, 2010), this study concerns the socio-historical context without which discourses of ethnic accommodation cannot be meaningful. The research as a whole primarily focuses on the contemporary world related to discourses of ethnic accommodation, yet I believe that what is taking place now is shaped and constructed by what happened in wider society in the past. The main aim of the study is to explore the construction of the Chinese Other in Indonesian history in order to provide an historical explanation of the process and practice of ethnic accommodation. To do so, it draws from the principles of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) (e.g Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001a; Wodak, 2001b, 2007) which postulates that discourse is socially 'constructed' throughout history and that discourse is a form of social practice.

DHA is usually interdisciplinary and differs from other approaches to CDA as it adheres to the Frankfurt School. It was developed in Vienna through a series of recent studies of political discourse. The central concern of the studies is political issues and seeks to integrate as many of genres of discourse referring to a particular as possible, as well as the historical dimension of the issue (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). One crucial issue in DHA is power relations which are themselves produced and reproduced over time. This resonates in this study in a way that the role of power in the construction of the Chinese Other is investigated through dominant events, situations, and discourses under each ruling regime, i.e. the Old Order (1945 – 1966), the New Order (1966 – 1998), and the Reform (1998 – now). In this vein, Foucault argues

> In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality (Foucault, 1970, p. 52).

In light of this, I seek to foreground the intimate correlations between discourse and power with which I underline two important points that pervade the chapter. The first point is the constructed and constructive nature of discourse. While discourses about this ethnic group are largely constructed by the elites and society at large, such discourses themselves have shaped social structure and have then become the basis for people to other the Chinese

minority. The second point emphasizes that discourses are contested and problematic. This study argues that discourses surrounding this ethnic group are not merely issues regarding their fixed and commonly perceived categories regarding their origins and culture (such as language, religion, and traditions). Rather, discourses emerge and are constituted and contested within political, economic, and social aspects (see Section 3.3).

The principal tenet of DHA is argued by De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak, that is the importance of incorporating "all available information on the historical background and the original sources in which discursive 'events' are embedded and delving into the ways in which particular types and genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change" (1999, p. 156). Thus historical context is always analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts (Wodak, 2001a, p. 70). Drawing on DHA, De Cilia, Reisigl, and Wodak (1999) explores the discursive construction of Austrian identity using multiple data set from different social contexts (political speeches, political advertising campaigns, press articles, group-discussions and interviews). They argue that the discursive construction of national identities is a multidimensional phenomenon. Wodak and Boukala (2015) illustrate the link between discursive constructions of European identities and cultural 'Others' via some recent examples of European and national debates on migration and economic issues. Wodak (2010) examines how a thorough understanding of the *topoi* operating within the complex dialogues and interactions helps to reveal the series' political and didactic objectives, embedded in a longstanding tradition of conveying US American liberal values via films and TV.

DHA has often been criticized for perceived problems with its validity. Thus, one of challenges faced by the analysts is to minimize the risk of critical bias and to avoid simply politicizing, instead of accurately analyzing. One way to do this is through triangulation, that is by working interdisciplinarily, multimethodically and on the basis of a variety of different empirical data including background information. Because DHA pays greater attention to historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis, the linguistic or discourse dimension is often less investigated. To address this issue of validity, I believe that clarification and explicitness are important for approaching the discourses under scrutiny. In doing so, this study highlights how the discursive events in relation to Chinese Indonesians undergo changes throughout the Indonesian history and explores what the existing literature has said about them. Examples are provided to show explicitely the discourses or issues in each regime so as to make the changes visible from time to time. In this chapter, the historical context is examined on its own and, in subsequent chapters, is drawn into the data analysis and interpretation in the studies of relevant discursive practices

in the research. The insights from this study serve as the macro dimension of discourses of ethnic accommodation which are further examined through available textual and narrative data sources in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

This chapter consists of five sections. Section 3.1 discusses ethnicity and its associated discourses in Indonesia in general. Section 3.2 explores the ethnic identity of Chinese Indonesians in terms of origins and culture. Section 3.3 explores dominant events, situations and discourses in relation to Chinese Indonesians during the three regimes. Section 3.4 discusses further social representation of Chinese Indonesians in modern Indonesia and Section 3.5 concludes the discussion of the Chapter.

3.1 Ethnicity and its discourses in Indonesia

With about 1000 ethnic and sub-ethnic groups, Indonesia is undoubtedly one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse countries in the world and thus one of the most ethnically problematized countries. In this section I discuss in general how issues of ethnicity are viewed and handled in Indonesia from time to time.

Drawing from Foucault's term 'the fear of speaking' (1970), I characterize the New Order as the era when the regime determined what could or could not be talked or written about. Heryanto (1998, p. 95) describes it as an environment in which "Ethnicity is already overtly problematic (fragmented, ambiguous, unstable) in the practical experience of post-colonial subjects, to whom the elegantly intellectual problematizing of ethnicity as a concept is *unheard* of". During the New Order era scant attention paid was paid to issues of ethnicity in Indonesia (Van Klinken, 2003) because any discussion related to ethnicity was deemed taboo. The main reason for the ban was the cause of national integration (Ananta, Arifin, & Bakhtiar, 2008), for which Suharto perceived the ethnic pluralism fostered during Sukarno's Old Order as a threat to the nation's development and security. Ananta et al. (2008) posit that ethnic information was also not allowed to be gathered during Suharto's period in the interest of national integration. As a result, there was little agreement on the estimation of the Chinese population in Indonesia. Underlying this was the fear of a self-identifying Chinese identity (Hoon, 2006) and of political or other repercussions that might follow (Ananta et al., 2008; Suryadinata, Arifin, & Ananta, 2003). Only after the Reform was initiated was their ethnic identity recorded in the national census.

The attempts to conceal issues of ethnicity during the Suharto period were undertaken through, *inter alia*, suppressing the ideology of pluralism (whether ethnic, religious or cultural) by introducing the (negative) concept of SARA in the 1970s. SARA was an

acronym which summarized the sensitive issues of differences in ethnicity (*suku*), religion (*agama*), race (*ras*) and inter-class relationships (*antar golongan*), the very issues which were often 'blamed' for inter-group conflicts. Suharto banned all public, written and oral discussions of issues related to SARA. The elites also placed the ideology of ethnic pluralism in opposition to that of nationalism. Nationalism here referred to a sense of belonging to and adopting the national identity, which was long represented in the state philosophy, *Pancasila* (the five principles): "belief in one God, humanitarianism, nationalism expressed in the unity of Indonesia, consultative democracy, and social justice". While it became a hope for the nation for national identity and integration, *Pancasila* was also used to suppress ethnic and cultural difference.

Although discussions of certain topics or issues were prohibited and silenced, some eventually escalated through discourse, e.g through people's talk and in the media, and permeated public knowledge. Ethnic discourse was then inescapably problematized, especially after the series of ethnic massacres at the end of the Suharto era (Bertrand, 2010). In that period, this silenced ethnicity unexpectedly exploded into inter-ethnic conflict and successfully attracted national and international attention. People would not forget the series of continuing bloody communal incidents which shook some regions in Indonesia from the late 1990s to the early 2000s (see Bertrand, 2004; Cahyono, 2008; Colombijn & Lindblad, 2002; Coppel, 2006; Varshney, 2010; Wessel & Wimhofer, 2001). They took place as the democratic transition after the fall of Suharto surprisingly played out into ethnic divergence and conflict (Van Klinken, 2003). More than a million people were displaced from their homes and thousands of lives were lost as the result of such ethnic conflict. Violence in Poso, Central Sulawesi, in 1998-2000, was triggered by spreading and developing religious conflict between Muslims and Christians, and other associated ethnic clashes. A prolonged antipathy between Muslims and Christians also occurred in Maluku from 1999 to 2002 which took almost 5,000 lives and dislocated a third of the population. Another outbreak involved the indigenous ethnic groups, the Dayaks and the Malays, and Madurese migrants in West and Central Kalimantan in 2001. This so called Sampit conflict had actually started in 1997 and brought about more than 600 deaths. Apart from these and many other conflicts, the May riots in 1998 broke out as the most devastating violence targeting the ethnic Chinese in some cities in Java (Purdey, 2006) (see Section 3.3.2.3). The frequency of the unprecedented levels of conflict involving different ethnic groups which rose dramatically during the period coincided with the end of the Suharto regime in 1998.

This study is not intended to probe into such inter-ethnic conflicts, although what I have briefly outlined here has illustrated the relations between ethnic issues, discourse and social life. Various discourses that emerged from issues of ethnicity and SARA proved to be a generator of the riots, which were worsened by complex and combined ingredients of horizontal (power) and socio-economic inequalities. In the sections that follow I will focus on the life of Chinese Indonesians and how discourses shaped their lives throughout history.

3.2 The Chinese Other: Constructed or given?

When reviewing a wide range of issues related to ethnicity in Indonesia raised in scholarly work (see Section 3.1), one question that emerges is why specific problems tend to involve only a certain group in particular situations. In saying so it is worth problematizing the unique story behind why and how the ethnic Chinese stood out among other ethnicities in Indonesia in terms of ethnic othering. If the suggested reason was because Chinese Indonesians were immigrants, then it must be noted that other Asian foreign minorities were also in Indonesia, such as the Indian and Arab Indonesians. Indian and Arab Indonesians were also perceived to be mostly rich, yet their closeness to Indigenous Indonesians in terms of religions likely saved them from potential violence. Premised on this, this study argues that the Chinese Other is *made* rather than given (see Fabian, 2000). This argument is explored in Section 3.3, in which I delineate historically-contested discourses about Chinese Indonesians which constitute the Chinese ethnic Other. However, to address the issue of Chinese otherness, I will begin with some scholars' arguments which define that otherness on the basis of both static and visible differences from which I can argue that these given features are not sufficient to explain the othering of Chinese Indonesians.

Aguilar (2001) bases his argument on the otherness of the ethnic Chinese on their roots or origins:

> the segment of the Indonesian population composed of "Chinese" is often excluded from the moral community of the nation because of their supposed absence of "roots" on Indonesian soil. Sharing formal citizenship status and many cultural practices with other Indonesians, the Chinese are nonetheless ideologically constructed as aliens and often used as scapegoats (Aguilar, 2001, p. 501).

Given differences in terms of origin and thus their absence of indigenous roots, one very familiar way of naming the ethnic Chinese was 'non-pribumi' or non-native, the labelling which placed them in a contrast or binary position with the 'pribumi' or native Self (Heryanto, 1998). Kahn argues that this native – non-native dichotomy is common in Southeast Asian countries: "Throughout Southeast Asia, ethnic politics inevitably calls forth images of conflict between 'indigenous' peoples and the largest immigrant group among

them, the ‘overseas Chinese’” (1998, p. 6). The ancestors of Chinese immigrants belonged to various Chinese ethnic groups, particularly Han, from what were referred as the Fujian and Guangdong provinces in southern China. The first Chinese migrants were mostly descendants of the Han Chinese namely the Hokkien, Teochiu, Hakka, and Cantonese (Ananta et al., 2008). Large numbers of Han Chinese, the largest ethnic group in the world and known for their regional diversity, lived in Southeast Asia.

In general, the ethnic Chinese did not migrate to Indonesia at the same time, to the same place, or for the same purpose (Suryadinata, 2008b). However, they were recorded as arriving in Indonesia for the first time in the fifteenth century and settled along the north coast of Java, with the majority of them still there in the early 17th century when the Dutch arrived (Tan, 2008). Their arrival was marked by the visits of a Muslim Chinese, Zeng He, to Java in 1405 and 1433. In this early period of interaction, this ethnic group played important roles as trade and military advisors throughout the Islamic Kingdoms in Java (Ma, 2005; Tan, 2008). Traders and merchants became their common jobs, yet they also practised agriculture in inland areas. Many of them were skilled artisans and were contracted by the Dutch in the construction of Batavia (Jakarta) (Tan, 2005). Given these facts, it is worth noting that this ethnic group has had a long history and became an integral part of Indonesia over a long period of time.

Chinese descendants are also distinguished into the ‘totok’ (pure-blooded ancestry) and the ‘peranakan’ (mixed-blooded ancestry) (Tan, 2008). Totok is used to describe the foreign-born and new immigrants who are usually either first- or second-generation Chinese and still speak Chinese. The peranakan, which means ‘children of the Indies’, is used to describe those older settlers born locally in Indonesia, who are partially assimilated, speak Indonesian in daily life and behave like the indigenous population. They also differ in terms of their segmentation; totok communities are segmented through division into speech groups such as Hokkien, Mandarin, Cantonese, a pattern that has become less apparent since the beginning of the 21st century and the indigenized peranakan are segmented through all social classes, which are graded according to education and family standing rather than wealth. However, in the 21st century this origin-based distinction between totok and peranakan Chinese is gradually disappearing (Dawis, 2009). The number of totok has gradually been reduced as their descendants have been *peranakanised and more were born in Indonesia.* In addition, inter-ethnic marriage and cultural assimilation result in mixed families which show a mixture of characteristics from both cultures. For them the racial criterion is not the only determinant of group identity.

Nowadays, most of the Indonesian-Chinese people are Indonesian born. They are spread throughout Indonesia, with nearly half of the group's national population living in Java (Ananta et al., 2008). Since the Reform, the ethnic Chinese have become more confident about identifying their ethnic identity. According to the census in 2000, between 4 and 5 percent of Indonesia's total population was estimated to be ethnic Chinese (Suryadinata et al., 2003, p. 73). A decade later, Indonesia's 2010 census reported more than 8.8 million self-identified ethnic Chinese, forming 3.7 percent of the country's population.

In terms of their religion, in a country where nearly 90 percent of the population is Muslim, most Chinese Indonesians are Buddhists, Taoists, Confucianists or a mixture of these three. The 2000 census data recorded that almost 90 percent of them were Buddhist or Christian and small number, 5.41 percent, were Muslims (Ananta et al., 2008). Some religious shifts occurred in response to intolerance against Chinese culture and the withdrawal of Confucianism's status as a recognized religion by the government in the 1970s. Later on, conversion from the Chinese religions to Christianity often took place in the younger generations, especially peranakan youth, as the result of education provided by Catholic and Protestant schools. Thus it was not uncommon to find Christian children whose parents were followers of a traditional religion (Kahin, 1991).

All in all, these features about the ethnic group are important because they can give basic information about their origins, language, and traditions. However, this perspective is not adequate for the examination of discourse and social change which are dynamic in nature. Following constructivism (Barth, 1969), this study argues that ethnicity is the product of a social process and that ethnic boundaries are constructed and reconstructed throughout history within specific social contexts. Section 3.3 delineates the construction of the identity of Chinese Indonesians throughout three regimes.

3.3 The construction of the Chinese Other in different regimes

In this section I highlight the dominant discourses constituted by events and situations during the three governmental periods and how those discourses can explain the construction of the Chinese Other.

3.3.1 The Old Order (1945-1967): Discourses of ethnic segregation

The Old Order under Sukarno's administration was very much affected by the Dutch ideology which dominated Indonesia for about 350 years. The period of Dutch colonialism operated a bureaucratic system for classifying people in a similar manner to the classificatory

distinction between the West and the Orient (see Said, 1979). The system which was well-known as the 'divide and rule' strategy (*divide et impera*) was employed by the Dutch colonial government under State Regulation/Indische Staatsregeling No. 163 IS/1854. The Dutch divided the people in *Netherlands Indisch* (the Dutch colonial name of Indonesia) into three levels of Citizenship: Europeans or Westerners, Foreign Easterners (Chinese-, Indian-, and those of Arab descent), and Indigenous people. The ethnic Chinese were socially positioned in between the dual legal systems, i.e., Western law mainly for the Europeans or Westerners and Customary Law for the indigenous people. The indigenous Indonesians were further segregated into Muslims, who were bound by the Islamic legal system, and non-Muslims who were bound by the Western legal system.

The two-part legal system set in place by the Netherlands was maintained and some racial policies were enforced by legislation like the well-known 'PP 10/1959' which prohibited foreign and Chinese traders from conducting business in the countryside. However, when Indonesia declared independence on 17 August 1945 some political rights of Chinese Indonesians were acknowledged. Some Chinese Indonesians were involved in the drafting of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution and in the preparation for the birth of an independent Republic of Indonesia. Some became legislators, politicians and ministers during Sukarno's administration (Tan, 2008).

3.3.2 The New Order (1967-1998): Discourses of ethnic othering

> The extent to which the New Order Self is premised on the *active and conscious* othering of the Chinese indicates how indispensable this ethnic Other is for the reproduction of the native Self (Heryanto, 1998, p. 101 my emphasis).

Conscious attempts to other Chinese Indonesians by the New Order (Heryanto, 1998) took the form of regulations which excluded them from the 'normal' Indonesian Self in many ways. Those regulations were issued, inter alia, to ban Chinese religions, beliefs, and traditions including Chinese literature and cultures, to prohibit further residency or work permits to new Chinese immigrants, to freeze any capital raised by foreigners in Indonesia, to close foreign schools, and to restrict the building or repairing of Chinese temples (Winarta, 2004).

Heryanto (1998) clearly delineates what I call 'identity in crisis', drawing from Mercer who argues that "Identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (1990, p. 43). In other words, Chinese Indonesians were situated within an uncertain and dubious situation in the way that they were consciously othered through a

series of legal regulations yet were needed to strengthen and support the Indonesian Self, especially those in power. This situation is described by Tan: "To varying degrees, with regime sustenance being the ultimate aim, ethnic cleavages are enforced as a means of mobilizing and securing the allegiance and unity of the indigenous majority (Tan, 2001, p. 951). Put simply, the Chinese ethnic Other became an object in such an order of discourse which was manipulated to legitimate the practices of the Self.

During this time of uncertainty, Chinese identity was questioned, contested and redefined in a complicated and repressed environment (see also Coppel, 1983). I will elaborate on this point under three key topics and their associated discourses – the *cukong* system, identity erasure, and the May riots 1998.

3.3.2.1 The cukong system: The Other that counts

After Suharto came to power, the Chinese were gradually invited into and involved in the *Rencana Pembangunan Semesta Berencana*, or the long-term period of national development. However, unlike Sukarno, Suharto was reluctant to appoint any Chinese to significant political positions. Following the scenario of the Dutch colonial government, Suharto believed that the Chinese were traders and should be confined to that field and not move into other fields.

After 1965 the government became more favourable to economic expansion. In an effort to rehabilitate the economy, the government turned to those who possessed the capability to invest and expand corporate activity. Chinese capitalists, called the *cukong*, were supported by the military who became the dominant political force at that time (Robison, 1986). Suharto created an environment called the '*Cukong* system' in which Chinese Indonesians were given various facilities that supported their businesses and were regarded as personified money-making machines for the nation as well as for some individuals. While keeping them highly accessible so as to strengthen the central authority, for the sake of economic purposes, space was given to them to develop their dominance in this sphere. As a result, Suharto's economic policy during the 1970s and 1980s towards the Chinese contributed to the rapid growth of Chinese economic power as they became greatly involved in national economic production, thus expanding the nation's economy and their own wealth (Chua, 2004, 2008; Farid, 2006; Robison, 1986). Chinese conglomerates then emerged during Suharto's rule and many of them controlled not only the distributive trade but also some of the modern economic sectors.

A patron-client relationship, mainly through the exchange of money for security, became an accepted norm among the ethnic Chinese as they maintained a social contract through which they could claim a sense of belonging in the country. A minority of the economic elite of Indonesian society, both those who were and were not ethnic Chinese, secured relationships with Suharto's family members and members of the military for protection, while small business owners relied on local law enforcement officials (Purdey, 2006). In the 1980s, Suharto's policy towards the Chinese was modified to gain the support of the Muslims by giving a higher priority to Indigenous businessmen. His children/grandchildren and Indigenous cronies greatly benefited from the policy and established conglomerates. Despite this shift, Indonesian Chinese tycoons continued to enjoy the benefits of Suharto's liberal economic policy. This promising position, however, was not in line with their declining political and cultural status (Heryanto, 1998) which is evidenced through, *inter alia*, the enforcement of the assimilation policy which I will discuss in Section 3.3.2.2.

3.3.2.2 Identity erasure: Assimilation and identity politics

Another dominant discourse during the New Order was that of *pembauran total* or total assimilation (Heryanto, 1998; Hoon, 2006). Assimilation is defined as

> a radical, unidirectional process of simplification: ethnic minorities shed themselves of all that makes them distinctive and become carbon copies of the ethnic majority … it sees assimilation as the decline, and only at some ultimate endpoint of disappearance, of an ethnic distinction and its allied differences (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 863).

The consequence of assimilation is, *inter alia*, the disappearance of the identity of the minority as it is suppressed in such a way as to strengthen the majority identity. The *pembauran* program was intended to totally erase vestiges of Chinese identity (e.g. traditional family names) and to urge them to abandon their own identities and to submerge them with the 'legitimate' local identities and cultures (Hoon, 2006; Purdey, 2003).

More importantly, such assimilation practice was legalized through acts and statutes which were resented by the ethnic Chinese. Two of them were the Cabinet Presidium Decision 127 of 1966 (*Keputusan Presidium Kabinet Nomor 127 Tahun 1966*) and the Presidential Decision 240 of 1967 (*Keputusan Presiden Nomor 240 Tahun 1967*) which suggested the adoption of Indonesian-sounding names. Inter-marriage with the local people and conversion to Islam, the religion of the majority population, were also highly recommended for the success of the program (Heryanto, 1998).

The discursive practice of 'identity erasure' (Heryanto, 1998) through such regulations was initiated on the basis of several assumptions. Firstly, it was assumed that as an alien

minority the ethnic Chinese could only be accepted if they were assimilated into the indigenous population. In the eyes of most indigenous Indonesians, the problems of the ethnic Chinese would remain as long as the Chinese descendants were not completely absorbed into indigenous society. Secondly, the Chinese aliens were believed to be potential distractors which could create economic and political instability (Heryanto, 1998). Under the banner of maintaining order and stability, their presence was perceived as degrading the Indonesian authentic Self and thus potentially creating instability. This assimilation policy was thus coercively implemented and used as a tool of oppression by Suharto to legitimize a dominating control over the minorities and to silence potential disputes (Tan, 2001).

This assimilation program became more political than practical because it served to strengthen the ideology of dominance rather than to address the problem of the Chinese minority. It was more about 'identity politics' which aimed at "using (and often abusing) 'identity' to create political constituencies, to exclude or include groups and to pursue specific (legitimate or legitimate) goals" (Hieronymi, 2005, p. 135). Given such a political load, assimilation became problematic during the New Order and issues remained in the years that followed, particularly on the question of whether Chinese Indonesians should retain or relinquish their Chinese identity while immersing themselves into the Indonesian majority population. This situation is described by Blussė (1991):

> The cultural identity and the position of the Chinese population group within Indonesian society is a contentious one. The masalah Cina (Chinese problem) issue has been hotly discussed within Indonesian society itself and has inevitably resulted in such crucial questions as whether the Indonesian Chinese are entitled to maintain their own cultural identity or should instead seek integration or even assimilation into Indonesian culture (Blussé, 1991, p. 2).

The implementation of the program was not only controversial, it was also not consistent. Education and name-changing policies, for example, were aimed at assimilation, yet complete assimilation was prevented (Giblin, 2003) through measures such as the use of special codes in identification cards to show their Chinese identity and by limiting the number of Chinese children in public schools. Put simply, they were forced to assimilate yet kept visible for discrimination and made a scapegoat for social instability (Chua, 2008; Giblin, 2003; Hoon, 2006) as exemplified in Section 3.3.2.3.

3.3.2.3 The May riots 1998: Ethnic identity resurgence

> This othering of the Indonesian Chinese played a role in the horrendous massacres that followed Soeharto's rise to power (Kahn, 1998, p. 6).

Kahn (1998) argues that during Suharto's regime the Chinese Other continually suffered retaliation from many people in various forms of exclusion. The assimilation policy articulated by the government failed to accommodate Chinese Indonesians (Hoon, 2006; Tan, 2001) as eventually they suffered from violent othering even though they had adopted Indonesian-sounding names. The series of violent acts targeting the Chinese community developed in the 1990s and culminated the event well known as the 'May riots 1998'. The riots became a critical moment for the resurgence of ethnicity and identity awareness of the ethnic Chinese, the moment when they started to become aware of the importance of identifying and redefining their ethnic identity (Dawis, 2009; Heryanto, 1998; Purdey, 2003).

Othering practices can lead to social conflicts, as argued by Boudreau & Polkinghorn (2008, p. 176): "The social construction of a dehumanized other is a prevalent practice in intense protracted social conflicts". The term 'dehumanized other' might be too strong, yet it was relevant in the context of Chinese Indonesians who were often treated as less than they should be during the New Order (see also Holliday et al., 2010 for definition of othering). History has evidenced that Indonesian society developed and enforced hostile and objectified images of the Chinese Other as well as making them highly vulnerable (Purdey, 2003).

A purported political attachment to communism was often used to justify violent othering of the Chinese ethnic group, although this could hardly be generalized and justified. The aborted Communist coup of 30 September 1965 heightened anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia and occasioned a diplomatic split between Indonesia and China. The military and the New Order government of Suharto accused the People's Republic of China of supporting the failed communist coup. There was also a general belief that leftist politics had always been supported by a large portion of Chinese Indonesians. Chinese Indonesians were then seen as either communists or communist sympathizers, as posited by Heryanto: "The stigma of being Chinese and hence ideologically 'unclean', or that of being Chinese and hence having been 'involved in the 1965 communist coup' were declared contagious and hereditary" (Heryanto, 1998, p. 99). Those who were not killed during the 1965-1967 communist coup continued to be subject to discrimination. Later on, following the freezing of diplomatic ties between the two countries, anti-Chinese riots across the country soared. The series of riots in the 1990s and their peak in the 1998 riots were undoubtedly crucial in the history of the ethnic Chinese in contemporary Indonesia. Major riots broke out prior to the

resignation of Suharto; in Situbondo (October 1996), Tasikmalaya (December 1996), and Rengasdengklok (January 1997) (Purdey, 2006). During the riots, the Chinese were clearly targeted: Chinese shops were looted, their houses burned down, their women raped and killed.

The riots were used by some political groups to divert attention away from political attitudes towards racial issues, although the unrest was always much more than ethnic turmoil (Farid, 2006). The political disturbance was partly the result of the movement initiated by students to force Suharto to leave his presidency after 32 years of ruling the country. Chinese Indonesians were then made scapegoats and were blamed for the instability. As a matter of fact, at first, many eye-witnesses suggested that the riots were organized (Coppel, 2006; Purdey, 2006) as also argued by Tan (2001, p. 966):

> The stereotyped depiction of the citizen-Chinese as alien, disloyal, diasporic exploiters renders them natural displacement targets … The instrumentalism of riots can be revealing in politically uncertain times. To distract the population from the regime's weakness and declining legitimacy, the Chinese-Indonesians were conveniently targeted.

In addition to the political loading, many observers maintained that the incidents were the result of a complex interaction between the economic, social and political situation during the period. The source of conflict lay in, *inter alia*, the economic disparity between the indigenous and Chinese population; as Heryanto noted, "Chinese economy denomination reinforces the long-standing antagonism of the native population" (1998, p. 102). Social discontentment arose among the majority of the population because of the success stories of those groups of Chinese, in turn serving to widen the social gap between the two groups. This resentment of their economic success could explain why it was the properties of ethnic Chinese which were often the focus of destruction, rather than the Indonesian Chinese people themselves (Coppel, 2006; Purdey, 2006). Even after the conflicts, national racial unrest left behind a number of serious problems, i.e. the exit of capital wealth, the hindrance of national as well as foreign investment, prolonged economic stagnation, and the placement of a stigma on the Indonesian social order.

Overall, the May 1998 riots gave rise to different narratives or stories wherein the truth was fractured to satisfy certain parties (Min, 2006). To many observers, it appeared that the political elite wanted amnesia rather than a seeking of truth and justice (e.g. Farid, 2006; Purdey, 2006; Suryadinata, 1999). The full story was not revealed for some time, including the persons or perpetrators involved and their victims. Investigations were carried out without any clear conclusions as the people involved, the institutions, and even the government did

not share a common commitment to uncover what had been happening. Although a task force was indeed established by President Habibie to investigate the violence, they did not have the support of the police and their report to the government was dismissed without ever being made public.

3.3.3 The Reform (1998-now): Discourse of ethnic accommodation

The period between the fall of the New Order's 32 years of authoritarian rule and the commencement of the Reform era highlighted a 'critical juncture' (Bertrand, 2010) between their ideologies. The downfall of Suharto triggered a reformation and democratization movement across the country, followed by the government introducing more transparent democracy which uncovered a wide spectrum of political and social attitudes toward questions of nationality. For Chinese Indonesians, that euphoria not only ended the New Order's ideology of othering; it also opened up a new space for the resurgence and awakening of ethnic identity and awareness.

The Reform, as the name suggests, can be seen as an era of reformation which was supported by the legal actions of ending the othering regulations and enacting new accommodative regulations which addressed many aspects of the lives of ethnic Chinese citizens. The government under the Reform made prompt efforts to accede to the demands of the reformation movement initiated by students demanding a clean and transparent government (Panggabean, 2006). The government ruled by Habibie (1998-1999) introduced transparent democracy, including self-determination for the people of East Timor which resulted in the independence of Timor Leste. Symbolic reforms to Chinese Indonesian rights under Habibie's administration (1998-1999) were made through two Presidential Instructions. The first abolished the use of the terms *pribumi* (indigenous) and *non-pribumi* (non-indigenous) in official documents. The second removed the ban on the study of Mandarin Chinese and reaffirmed a 1996 instruction that abolished the use of the SBKRI (the citizenship certificate) to identify citizens of Chinese descent. As an additional legal gesture Indonesia ratified the 1965 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination on 25 May 1999 (Purdey, 2006).

During the Abdurahman Wahid administration (1999-2001), Chinese liberation became more visible particularly through new regulations, despite the fact that serious conflicts arose between the executive and the legislative bodies, resulting in almost no legislation being produced or policies implemented, and economic stagnation dragged on. President Wahid annulled one of the regulations on Chinese religion, beliefs, and traditions, abolished the ban

on public displays of Chinese culture, eradicated policies restricting Indonesian Chinese, and allowed Chinese traditions to be practised freely, without the need of a permit. President Megawati (2001-2004) further declared Chinese New Year as a national holiday. During her period a Chinese minister was appointed and more Chinese politicians were allowed to run in parliamentary elections. In addition to Habibie's directive on the term 'pribumi', the legislature passed a new citizenship law in 2006 defining the word 'asli' (indigenous) in the Constitution as an Indonesian-born person, allowing Chinese Indonesians to be eligible to run for president. The law further stipulated that children of foreigners born in Indonesia are eligible to apply for Indonesian citizenship (Suryadinata, 2008b).

This process was then followed up by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004 - 2014) who addressed issues of Chinese identity, mandating the use of 'Tionghoa' instead of 'Cina' to refer to the ethnic members and 'Tiongkok' (from the Hokkian word 'Tiong-Kok' or middle kingdom) to refer to the Republic of China. In doing so Yudhoyono annulled the Cabinet Presidium issued Circular no. SE-06 (1967), which asked all Indonesian publications to use 'Tjina' (the old spelling of Cina) to replace 'Tiongkok' or 'Tionghoa'. Since the term 'Cina' was introduced by the forces of Western civilization which once tore China apart, it bore a continuing sense of insult to Chinese Indonesians because it implied they were 'inlander' or 'uncivilized'. The shift from 'Cina' to 'Tionghoa' has thus ideologically marked acceptance of the ethnic Chinese as an integral ethnic group in Indonesia.

3.4 Chinese Indonesians in the contemporary Indonesia

In this section I seek to discuss the challenges faced by Chinese Indonesians nowadays as a result of what was practised in the past. First of all, it can be discerned that during the Old Order and the New Order othering of Chinese Indonesians was dominant and manifested in many forms of discursive and social practices, one of which was through regulations. The practices were part of mass consciousness, from everyday practices to governmental statutes. The elite or dominant Indonesian majority, with their power and ideology, played a central role in the reproduction of othering. The dichotomy between Indigenous Indonesians and non-indigenous Chinese Indonesians constructed by the elites was strong and continued to exercise a profound influence on people's perspectives of the Chinese Other, thereby often causing tangible and intangible pain, particularly to Chinese Indonesians. Such deeply rooted practices of othering simultaneously penetrated prolonged and destructive sentiments between Chinese Indonesians and the Indonesian majority.

In this section I address how stereotypes about Chinese Indonesians have developed through time and how they may pose challenges in the modern Indonesian society. These stereotypical statements or formulations, or 'topoi' (Karim, 1999), are worth exploring given that they constitute the maintenance of othering, have succeeded in perpetuating intergroup conflicts in the past and can affect inter-group relations (Tan, 2001). The stereotypes that I discuss here were somehow reproduced despite the questionable basis and lack of evidence for these perceptions in contemporary Indonesia. What is true about these stereotypes is that they cannot be understood without understanding the past.

Giblin (2003) argued that the stereotypes developed during the New Order as described by Coppel (1983) were in some respects still relevant in the Reform-era Indonesian society.

> These stereotypes include a belief that the ethnic Chinese are aloof from society, that they follow the culture of their ancestral homeland, and that they do not identify with Indonesia, or if they do, it is only for opportunistic reasons. In addition, they are only interested in money and their domination of the Indonesian economy and dubious business methods oppress the 'real' Indonesian people (Giblin, 2003, p. 353).

Given the fact that most Chinese Indonesians are now Indonesian-born and thus Indonesian citizens, the perception built upon their attachment to communism in particular is lessening. However, they are still perceived by some as disloyal citizens, especially as capitalists and heads of conglomerates who accumulated wealth without any sense of patriotism (Tan, 2008).

Chinese Indonesians are generally perceived as resilient and hard-working people. It is thus reasonable to see many Chinese Indonesians as economically-established. While it might be true that their success also partly resulted from the access given to them by Suharto, the othering in many areas of life itself led the ethnic Chinese to focus on economic activities (Tan, 2001; Tan, 2008). Their resilience is built on the discriminative environment which forces them to do what they need to survive. However, their economic and social status is perceived as wrong in the eyes of mainstream Indonesian society, as described by Heryanto (1998, p. 102):

> The dominant position of the Chinese in the nation's economy has been widely perceived to be a national problem. This has explained predominantly in psychologically or culturally essentialist terms, hence the popular myth of being superior work, industrious, thrift or perseverance; asocial and unpatriotic… As such, the Chinese have been branded asocial and unpatriotic, and blamed for supposedly pursuing selfish interests and for remaining aloof from much of national life.

In the past, given their role as the middlemen during the Dutch colonial era and thus their access to a monopoly over trade, Chinese Indonesians were regarded as pro-Dutch and anti-Indonesian. During the New Order, they were still perceived as profiteers who continued to

exploit the poor indigenous Indonesian masses. Chinese Indonesians were generally believed to control 70 percent of the Indonesian economy and had primarily been tied to indigenous populations as economic stake holders or investors (Chua, 2008; Dawis, 2009).

After the Reform, the image of Chinese Indonesians as an economically powerful ethnic group is still strong and this image tends to be viewed negatively by the Indonesian society. More recently Chinese Indonesians have been associated (in the perceptions of some) with unclean business practices and judged to be creating a corrupt environment in Indonesia. They are assumed to have initiated bribery practices when dealing with official matters in order to smooth over their administrative issues such as obtaining business permits (Chua, 2008; Giblin, 2003). This is a vicious circle because it also indicates that the government has failed to provide a safe environment for the Chinese community. Chinese dependence on state protection seems to have become one root of corrupt bribery practices (see also Section 3.3.2.1 on my discussion on the patron-client relationship in the *cukong* system). Put simply, Chinese Indonesians are often the ones being blamed for developing this corrupt culture, although they themselves struggle with being situated in such a corrupt environment.

Another popular stereotype is that Chinese Indonesians are exclusive in their attitudes and behaviours. However, it is important to note that the environment and the attitudes of the Indonesian majority contribute to the ability of Chinese Indonesians to engage and build social contact with that majority. Giblin (2003) in particular addresses the attempts taken through a number of organizations by Chinese Indonesians to overcome this particular stereotype which has proliferated in Indonesia. In contemporary Indonesia, the economic gap between the ethnic Chinese and the Indonesians is still prevalent and is one of the causes of the widely-differing degrees of social structure within local communities where they live. As an urban-based minority, they form the major component of the Indonesian middle class. It is still common to find Chinese Indonesian women and children accompanied by a ‘pribumi’ nanny and driver (Dawis, 2009, p. 113). However, not all Chinese Indonesians are rich, and many of them struggle to survive just like other Indonesians.

3.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have documented the social and historical context of discourses of ethnic accommodation which is important for data analysis and interpretation for the whole research project. Throughout the chapter I have illuminated dominant discourses which are embedded in the social life of Chinese Indonesians during the three regimes. It has been revealed that, firstly, examining the social process of accommodation of the ethnic Chinese

articulated by the Reform government cannot be done without looking back at the historical events in the New Order and the Old Order which were characterized by othering of the ethnic group. Secondly, throughout history the identity of the Chinese Other and the practices of othering and accommodation are historically constructed involving economic, social, and political aspects. Thirdly, what happened in the past plays an important role in shaping the contemporary social structure and inter-group relations between the ethnic Chinese and the Indonesian majority. One key piece of evidence for the presence of the past in the present situation which constitutes a challenge for Chinese Indonesians is a number of 'stereotypes' which are maintained even nowadays.

To sum up, discourse has played in important role in shaping the history of Chinese Indonesians and in the construction of the Chinese other throughout the regimes. To investigate the prominence of discourse and its analysis in explaining the social issues examined in this study, the next four analytical chapters will base the analysis of ethnic accommodation on available discourse resources, i.e. textual and narrative data.

Chapter 4 **The semiotic perspective: The politics of ethnic accommodation**

Drawing on the concept of the semiotic perspective proposed in the multi-perspectival (MP) approach to discourse analysis (Candlin & Crichton, 2011; Crichton, 2003, 2010), this chapter examines the semiotic resources for understanding discursive and social practices of ethnic accommodation. It particularly seeks to demystify indications of ethnic accommodation produced in and through historical policy texts in the context of ethnic othering of Chinese Indonesians (see Chapter 3). Such a research concern requires a close examination of discursive representation of Chinese Indonesians in those texts and how discursive resources index wider aspects of social practice (e.g. Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995, 2003, 2010; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Based on the tenet that all texts are historically linked to other texts (e.g. Kristeva, 1986; Wodak, 2008), the concept and analytical tool which is considered effective for the purpose of this study is intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992).

Given the significant role they play in conditioning the social practices of people in a society, government policy documents are chosen for analysis to understand how discourses manifested in policy change over time from the New Order to the Reform Regimes. During these three main periods, a range of regulations was passed and modified by the government concerned to address issues related to Chinese Indonesians in many aspects traversing culture, politics, education, and social life (e.g. public service and employment) (e.g. Hoon, 2008; Suryadinata, 1999, 2008b, 2004). To date, the policies have received scholarly examination mainly in disciplines like politics, economics, anthropology, sociology and history rather than linguistics (e.g. Chua, 2004; Freedman, 2003; Hoon, 2006; Suryadinata, 2003). Despite the insights provided by each approach into understanding the discourses of ethnic accommodation in Indonesia, the research literature has largely ignored the substantial role played by language in sustaining and changing the discourses. Hence, this study attempts to fill this research gap by presenting a detailed examination of the linguistic and discursive aspects of the administrative policies. To do so, the study augments a detailed discourse analysis of the policy texts so as to make clearer the connection between textual realizations and social reality of othering Chinese Indonesians. It is expected that the research findings expect to shed light on the social reality of the accommodation of Chinese

Indonesians in the context of constant social changes and, on the other hand, provide insights into understanding the distinctive ways that identities of Chinese Indonesians changed over time in their pursuit of ethnic accommodation.

In discussing the accommodation of Chinese Indonesians, it is necessary to be aware of the historical, social and political conditions in Indonesia which generated the discriminatory policies. Detailed socio-historical information can be seen in Chapter 3 in which I concentrate on the construction of the Chinese Other in relation to the social and political events during three important periods, namely, the Old Order (1945 – 1967), the New Order (1967 – 1998), and the Reform (1998 – now). Solidaritas Nusa Bangsa (SNB), an organisation which is concerned with combating discrimination, claimed (in 2004) that about sixty-four laws and regulations were discriminatory in nature in Indonesia (Winarta, 2004). Those regulations might be relevant to ethnic immigrants other than Chinese Indonesians, such as those of Arabic and Indian descent; however, in many cases the regulations explicitly mentioned that they were meant to address particular problems regarding Chinese Indonesians. This study aims to analyze those laws and regulations specifically related to Chinese Indonesians.

This chapter is organized into four sections. The first section covers the study's theoretical underpinnings: Section 4.1.1 covers discourse and ideology, Section 4.1.2 concerns discourse and genre, and Section 4.1.3 explores the methodological tenet of the study – intertextuality – in which I argue for three dimensions of intertextuality, i.e. manifest, constitutive, and ideological intertextuality. In Section 4.2 I provide a detailed account of the data set and why intertextuality matters in this data set. In Section 4.3 I discuss the findings of the study and in the last section (4.4) I draw some conclusions from the analysis presented.

4.1 Understanding discourse in relation to ideology, genre, and intertextuality

4.1.1 Discourse and ideology

The ways in which discourses produce and reproduce social reality through the issue of government policies may be interrogated from various theoretical viewpoints and analyzed by means of diverse methods. Theoretically, in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (e.g Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995, 2003, 2010; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), policy is critically seen and examined as embodying both discursive and social practices which contribute to the formation, sustainment and change of the social world, including social identities and social

relations, particularly with respect to power relations. In saying so, this study stresses that the study of policy texts should not be carried out merely within formal and abstract linguistic description but, rather, it demands a close examination of their roles in the reproduction or reformation of the wider social world. This is particularly true as this study deals with political documents which are historically produced in order to attain the hegemony of a particular point of view with the explicit purpose of creating change within other non-discursive aspects of social practice.

The concepts of hegemony and ideology are intimately connected and are both preeminent constructs in the analysis of political discourse. Hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) is a concept that situates a discourse in relation to an existing socio-political order, and the historical context that gives rise to its particular form. Crucially, for Gramsci, the development of hegemony within a society entails a process whereby counter-hegemonic politics takes place between two oppositional groups with different ideologies. In this vein, Fairclough (2003, p. 58) posits that "[s]eeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance, and this is ideological work". Discourses of ethnic accommodation are heavily loaded with ideology. The political orientation of each regime in producing its policy has made policy and its language ideologically invested. Policies thus play a role in producing, maintaining and transforming ideological power and social reality in a given regime. This ideology operates on both discursive and non-discursive levels, particularly within relevant topics entailed in this research such as inequality, othering, and oppression. There are two major tenets worth highlighting in this study in relation to discourse and ideology.

The first tenet concerns language as a means of domination and ideological struggle. Here I refer to the role of language as a means of controlling the minority by the elites. Habermas has made a clear link between domination and ideology in and through language by arguing that "language is also a *medium* of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimizations of power relations, … are not articulated, … language is also ideological" (Habermas, 1977, p. 360 my emphasis). Ideologies, according to van Dijk (1993b), is defined as complex and articulated systems of ideas shared by the members of groups in competition with other groups and aims to maintain status quo in the interests of certain groups over others. It is thus obvious that language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use that powerful people (the producers) make of it (Fairclough, 1992). The elites enact the symbolic power latent in the use of language to support their political goals. Bourdieu has made a similar point by

emphasizing that power does not reside in language itself but elsewhere in symbolic capital/resources (Bourdieu, 1986, 2001). This domination can be seen in the way that, through time, the lives of Chinese Indonesians have been significantly shaped by the regulations passed by the state. Domination over the ethnic group is often thought to be right and legitimate; however, many instances have shown that the domination has become a form of repression (see Chapter 3).

The second tenet relates to texts and discourse as ideological means of identity construction. Here I focus on the constructive nature of discourse. This is in line with the concept of ideology delineated by Chiapello and Fairclough (2002, p. 187), "a system of ideas, values and beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimizing existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities". Domination or control over other groups (see Hodge & Kress, 1993) by the dominant group creates unequal relations in a society and can in turn determine the identity construction of the majority and minority. This is consonant with Said's (1979) position that the power to define the Other also implies controlling the Other.

4.1.2 Discourse and genre

In Section 4.1.1 I primarily discuss the (re)production of ideology in and through political discourse with a focus on the contested, dominating, and constructive nature of discourses. Put simply, my intention in incorporating those concepts about discourse and ideology and the wider social, historical, and political context of discourse is, as Bhatia (2004, p. 11) observes, to uncover "how discourse is used as a powerful instrument of social control …, to establish identities, to communicate ideology, or to influence and maintain social processes, social structure and social relations".

Giving prominence to the premise that regards policy as discursive and social practice that goes beyond policy as text is relevant to the genre theory. As Bhatia (2004, p. 20) puts it:

> Discourse as genre, in contrast, extends the analysis beyond the textual product to incorporate context in a broader sense to account for not only the way text is constructed, but also for the way it is often interpreted, used and exploited in specific institutional or more narrowly professional contexts to achieve specific disciplinary goals.

In a nutshell, analysing discourse as genre can make it possible to access the exercise of power and ideology in the production of the policy, the area which cannot be sufficiently approached through the study of policy as texts. Having said this, genre analysis stands between linguistic analysis, which tends to be formal and standardized, and real world

discourse, which is complex, dynamic, and often less predictable (Bhatia, 2004). Approaching the policies under scrutiny as genre can enable the examination of how they are interpreted, used and exploited as a discursive means that produces social reality and social change in a social and historical context.

I now move to discuss several principles in genre theory necessary for policy analysis. Three characteristics attached to genre that need to be borne in mind when analysing policy are *purpose, conventions,* and *interconnection.* Firstly, to analyze a text as a genre is to understand the purpose of its production. Martin (1984, p. 25) conceptualizes genre as "a staged, goal-orientated, and purposeful social activity that people engage in as members of their culture" (see also Martin & Rose, 2003). This purpose should be understood within the tenet that the policies are constituted amidst a discursive upheaval of unequal power relationships. As political texts, the policies under scrutiny are meant to control and influence public life and have a mainly regulative purpose, as Chua posits: "[t]he policies towards the Chinese were purposeful and for the most part perfectly orchestrated" (2004, p. 470). It should also be understood that policymaking is a state activity and policy outcomes are created by a compromise between the competing viewpoints of various policy players (S. Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard, & Henry, 1997). It is thus important to consider the key policy players and their ideological purposes in producing the policy texts as central facets in policy analysis.

Secondly, analyzing a genre is not possible without paying due attention to the generally-accepted conventions of its construction. Hanks (1987, p. 668) has conceptualized genre as "elements of linguistic habitus, consisting of stylistic, thematic, and indexical schemata on which actors improvise in the course of linguistic production". In the same vein, according to Bakhtin (1986), genre comprises "relatively stable thematic, compositional, and stylistic types of utterances". These 'conventions' (Hanks, 1989, p. 670) set up interpretive expectations that readers may use to understand, unfold, and interpret them. Put simply, authoritative texts such as governmental policies rely heavily on the genre conventions associated with fixed and formal procedures of composing them which are highly recognizable and standardized. They have their own stereotypical format, are generally written in legal language and usually contain one or more legal speech acts (see Figure 4.2).

Thirdly, through genre analysis it is possible to examine several types of genre which belong to the same genre system or family in the same study. This study stresses that the analysis should be carried out by focusing on their interconnection rather than seeing types of genre as separate independent genres. A genre system (Bazerman, 1994) refers to genres that

are dependent on and interact each other in certain situations. Those genres are bounded at the discursive level involving the aspects of production and the purpose of the issuance and social historical context of the policy production (see Briggs & Bauman, 1992). Drawing on the concept of a 'genre colony' (Bhatia, 2004), Bhatia discusses the groupings of closely related genres which share similar communicative purposes, such as promotional genres consisting of advertisements, brochures, advertorials, etc. The data for this study consist of different types of genre (i.e. presidential instructions, presidential decrees, parliamentary instructions and parliamentary circular letters) which belong to the same genre system as government regulations. These policies interact with each other and share a unity and boundedness within their discursive and social dimensions. The policies are also highly formulaic in structure and thus have a high degree of intertextuality (see Figure 4.2 for the description of the structure).

4.1.3 Discourse and intertextuality

In Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 I have foregrounded the interconnections between ideology, discourse, and genre which constitute the analytical points of entry into investigating social change and reality through historical policies. This section addresses the analytical tool which is considered as the most fruitful and appropriate method to address the challenge posed, i.e intertextuality. The main purpose of the deployment of such tool is for understanding social change (Fairclough, 1992) involving various genres and discourses produced in different points of time in Indonesian history.

Intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992) has been popular in the study of literature as well as in the study of language and discourse. The origin of its concept is based on the tenet that a text is constructed by its relationship with other texts. Thus, broadly speaking, intertextuality can be defined as the relationship that exists between one text and other texts. Drawn from Bakhtin's notion of dialogism (1981, 1986), that is, how multiple voices are transformed and reused each time a new text is produced, the concept of intertextuality was coined by Kristeva to argue that texts incorporate within themselves evidences of histories of other texts: "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the *absorption* and *transformation* of another" (Kristeva, 1986, p. 37 my emphasis). Her notions of absorption and transformation are crucial for understanding how discourses embedded within and across texts are subject to change. This conceptualization of intertextuality is important for tracing and grasping the continuities of discourses about Chinese Indonesians from one regime to another. The policies of the Reform are produced to renew, replace, or revisit earlier texts produced by the New Order regime. Such 'old and new' intertextual relations among policies

articulate that every policy is made up of snatches of prior policy texts which are used to build a new policy. Such historical correlations are in line with Wodak's observation that "[a]ll texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present" (2008, p. 3), making it meaningless to analyze such historical texts in isolation from one another. Without intertextuality, I believe it is difficult to understand a historical text, where an original piece of text came from and how it developed into becoming a current version of that original. In other words, it is not possible to interpret a text merely by its words; it should be studied in light of other works it has adapted or drawn upon.

Controversies surrounding the concept of intertextuality as an analysitical tool concern both its promises and limitations in relation to its meanings and uses. For many intertextuality has come to serve as an umbrella word for many critical investigation of an interconnection between two or more texts, while some others question the application. Some critics have questioned the depth of the analysis, such as in the research done by Bazerman (2004) and those after him which tend to be technical and standardized. Bazerman uses the so-called 'techniques of intertextual representation' which consist of certain procedures, such as the use of direct/indirect quotation, recognizable phrasing, and names or places, which can be practically implemented by those wishing to conduct intertextuality analysis. Also, in earlier research in genre analysis, the focus has been on the text level analysis while the context of the text production which interconnects the texts has received less attention. In other words, because intertextuality analysis tends to be conventionalized and standardized, it has under examined the features and resources shared with other genres, discourses, practices and cultures.

Following Fairclough (1992) who has introduced a more systematic approach to intertextuality, this study considers different types of intertextuality designed to make the basic concept easier to apply so as to encompass not only the linguistic aspects of the texts but also their discursive and social context. These types are based on the conceptualization of discourse forwarded earlier in this study, i.e. discourse within its linguistic, discursive and social aspects. These three aspects of discourse have been illuminated comprehensively in Fairclough's (Fairclough, 1995, 2003, 2010) three levels of discourse analysis – a micro perspective involving linguistic or semiotic elements; a meso perspective involving the discursive elements, i.e. text production and interpretation; and a macro/grand perspective involving social formation.

To engage with the micro, meso, and macro dimensions of discourse, this study adopts three interconnected dimensions of intertextuality (Figure 4-1) which are adapted from

Fairclough's concept of intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1992) argues for a perspective that sees a string of interconnectedness between different levels of intertextuality, namely, manifest intertextuality (a text-level interconnection) and constitutive intertextuality or interdiscursivity (a more abstract kind of borrowing features of discourses or genres in text). To these two I add ideological intertextuality in order to reveal the social structure and power relations underlying the first two levels of intertextuality so as to foreground the interconnections across multiple discursive encounters where discourses and ideology are contested. This addition is necessary as there is a need to focus on the unveiling of the hidden ideology. These facets of intertextuality come into play as tools with which to link policy texts with their discursive, historical and ideological antecedents within particular orders of discourse where many values are integrated to exceed the textual level.

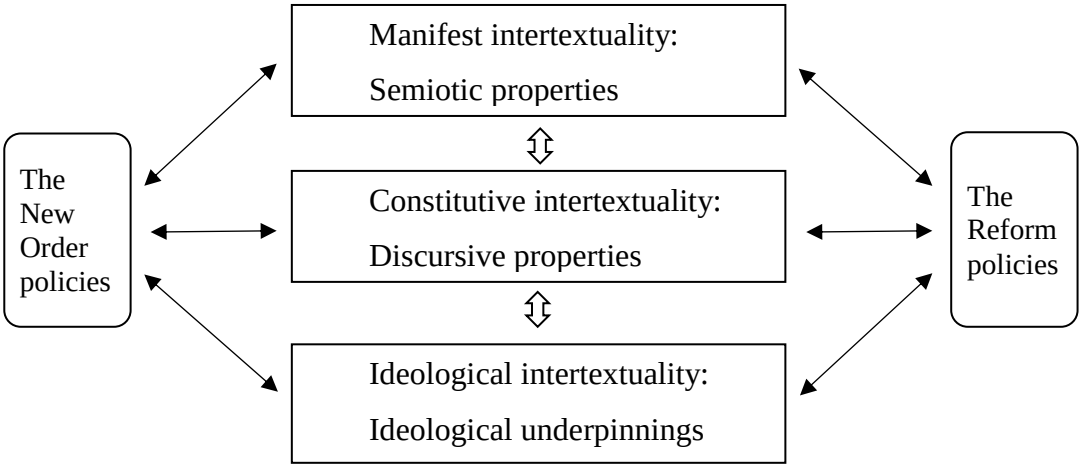

Figure 4-1Three dimensions of intertextuality of policy texts (adapted from Fairclough (1992))

Each aspect of discourse deserves a careful investigation in its own right against a specific type of intertextuality. It should be noted, however, that interpreting one without recourse to the other can render the interpretation inadequate. In saying this, analyses of manifest and constitutive intertextuality are intended to make more visible and transparent the ideological assumptions underlying the policies. Incorporating these three dimensions of intertextuality demonstrates "textual order, unity, and boundedness" (Briggs & Bauman, 1992, p. 148) in discourse and social practice and can be an effective tool to attend the challenge posed by Weiss and Wodak (2003, p. 23), that is, "to transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include more or less systematically the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimensions in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion".

Manifest intertextuality refers to "how texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualize and dialogue with other texts" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 17). Furthermore, Fairclough (1992, p. 104) argues that "[i]n manifest intertextuality, other texts are explicitly presented in the text under analysis; they are 'manifestly' marked or cued by features on the surface of the text, such as quotation marks". One way to trace manifest intertextuality is through key words and phrases (see Williams, 1985) that express central concepts within particular texts and discourses and form the so-called 'chains of speech communication' (Bakhtin, 1986). Key words are considered highly salient words within a discourse that are intimately linked to the issues that are central to that discourse. Referring to Williams (1985), Fairclough (1992, p. 186) uses key words to refer to the extent to which "words and meanings are implicated in processes of social or cultural contestation and change". Such examination of related links in the intertextual chain can enable us to understand how several texts reproduce and/or transform the meaning of a certain discourse within historical context.

Constitutive intertextuality or 'interdiscursivity' implies the inclusion of external properties of genre, which is inadequately addressed by manifest intertextuality (Bhatia, 2010). It refers to the configuration of the complex relation of genres or discourse types convention embedded in the text production (Fairclough, 1992, p. 105). It is central in this study as the policy texts at hand are the results of a combination of a complex range of resources provided by genres and are historically interconnected. Here, it is possible to trace particular expressions or language of the old texts which are repeated and reshaped to some degree in the new ones according to the widely-accepted genre conventions. In other words, the policies under scrutiny enter into such a chain of connections whereby expressions or language from the policies of the New Order are taken up and recontextualized in the policies of the Reform.

Text production and ideology are intimately related as ideology affects discursive manifestations of policy. Premised on this, understanding who the text producers are and how their power is exercised in the production process is important for understanding the ideological 'intentions' behind the text production, that is, to maintain control, as in Wodak's assertion that, "power is signalled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's control of a social occasion by means of the genre of a text" (2002, p. 11). Text production thus involves the reformation of existing social, cultural, and ideological values and moluding them in a way that serves the producer's goals.

Ideological intertextuality is one aspect of constitutive intertextuality or interdiscursivity however the essence of the ideological dimension of intertextuality is predicated on

advocating the presuppositions that intertextual/interdiscursive context might also have ideological functions. Simply put, I seek to delve more deeply and get to the ideological level rather than merely investigating genre or discourse conventions entailed in the production and interpretation of the policies. Ideology remains unspoken within texts and is not easy to grasp. However, it is accessible through an examination of the interconnection between linguistic properties, discursive context of the texts, and embedded power relations (Fairclough, 2010). The salience of a combination of intertextuality and theory of power is posited by Fairclough (1992, p. 103):

> The relationship between intertextuality and hegemony is important. The concept of intertextuality points to the productivity of texts, to how texts transform prior texts and restructure existing conventions (genres, discourses) to generate new ones. This productivity is not in practice available to people as a limitless space for textual innovation and play: it is socially limited and constrained, and conditional upon relations of power. The theory of intertextuality cannot itself account for these social limitations, so it needs to be combined with a theory of power relations and how they shape (and are shaped by) social structures and practices.

Ideological intertextuality deals with social order and ideological struggle marking off power relations involving the state and society as a whole. These discursive and ideological struggles constitute the ultimate goal and focus of the study, to the extent it can reveal the social change involved in the process of ethnic accommodation. Such struggles can be seen through the implicit relations between the policies and how they may assimilate, contradict, or ironically echo old discourse or ideology.

Leitch and Davenport (2007) analyze the intertextual relationships between five documents enacted by the New Zealand government to guide the development of biotechnology in the country. They particularly examine the ways in which strategic ambiguity in the use of keywords serves an enabling function within a discourse marked by conflict and ideological divisions. The study identifies the word ‘sustainability’ as a keyword and explores three major roles for the deployment of the discourse strategy of strategic ambiguity in the use of this keyword. Dunmaire (2009) in her work “’9/11 changed everything': An intertextual analysis of the Bush Doctrine” undertakes an intertextual analysis of the `Bush Doctrine,' the security strategy response to 9/11 which sanctions a policy of preventive war. The Doctrine is examined diachronically by situating it within the context of earlier texts in order to demonstrate the paradigmatic choices and linguistic transformations that occur across each document's security strategy. The discourses embedded in the examined texts comprise an intertextual system which is ideologically loaded and can only be explained within the socio-political context underlying the texts.

This section concludes that the three dimensions of intertextuality comprising textual, discursive, and ideological aspects of texts are central in understanding and examining the series of promulgation genre scrutinized in this study. These dimensions can also be summarized into what Briggs and Bauman (1992) call syncronic and diachronic intertextuality of genres. Synchronically, "genres provide powerful means of shaping discourse into ordered, unified, and bounded texts" (p. 147); diachronically, genres have strong historical and ideological interconnections.

> Genres have strong historical associations – proverbs and fairy tales have the ring of the traditional past, whereas electronic mail (E-mail) is associated with the ultramodern. Genres also bear social, ideological, and political-economic connections; genres may thus be associated with distinct groups as defined by gender, age, social class, occupation, and the like. Invoking a genre thus creates indexical connections that extend far beyond the present setting of production or reception, thereby linking a particular act to other times, places, and persons (p. 147-148).

4.2 Materials

This study deals with a total of twelve policies; seven policies produced by the New Order regime (1967 – 1998) and five policies produced by the Reform regime (1998 – now). The details of the policies and how they were collected can be seen in Chapter 2, Table 2-2. The convention of their construction, which I present in Figure 4-2, includes the anatomy or structure of the policies and the speech acts used in every section, such as 'menimbang' (considering), 'mengingat ' (in view of), 'menginstruksikan' (has instructed), and 'memutuskan' (has decided).

KEPUTUSAN PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA
NOMOR 6 TAHUN 2000
(DECREE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA NO.6 YEAR 2000)

TENTANG
(REGARDING)
PENCABUTAN INSTRUKSI PRESIDEN NOMOR 14 TAHUN 1967 TENTANG AGAMA, KEPERCAYAAN, DAN ADAT ISTIADAT CINA
REVOCATION OF PRESIDENTIAL INSTRUCTION NO. 14 YEAR 1967 ON CHINESE RELIGIONS, BELIEFS AND TRADITIONS)

Title

PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA,

The issuer of the policy

Menimbang **(considering)*:***

a. bahwa penyelenggaraan kegiatan agama, kepercayaan, dan adat istiadat, pada hakekatnya merupakan bagian tidak terpisahkan dari hak asasi manusia;
(whereas any activity associated with religions, beliefs and traditions are inseparable from human rights)

b. bahwa pelaksanaan Instruksi Presiden Nomor 14 Tahun 1967 tentang Agama, Kepercayaan, dan Adat Istiadat Cina, dirasakan oleh warga negara Indonesia keturunan Cina telah membatasi ruang-geraknya dalam menyelenggarakan kegiatan keagamaan, kepercayaan, dan adat istiadatnya;
(whereas the execution of presidential instruction no. 14 year 1967 on Chinese religion, belief and tradition has restricted Chinese Indonesians in practising their activities in relation to their religions, beliefs and traditions)

c. ----------

Philosophical, sociological, and juridical considerations

Mengingat (in view of) *:*

1. Pasal 4 ayat (1) dan Pasal 29 Undang-Undang Dasar 1945;
(Chapter 4 verse 29 of the 1945 Constitution)

2. ----------

Legal basis for the enactment of the policy

MEMUTUSKAN **(has decided):**

Menetapkan (to stipulate)*: KEPUTUSAN PRESIDEN TENTANG PENCABUTAN INSTRUKSI PRESIDEN NOMOR 14 TAHUN 1967 TENTANG AGAMA, KEPERCAYAAN, DAN ADAT ISTIADAT CINA.*
(PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ON THE REVOCATION OF PRESIDENTIAL INSTRUCTION NO. 14 YEAR 1967 ON CHINESE RELIGION, BELIEFS AND TRADITION)

PERTAMA (FIRST): *Mencabut Instruksi Presiden Nomor 14 Tahun 1967 tentang Agama, Kepercayaan, dan Adat Istiadat Cina.* (to revoke Presidential Instruction no. 14 year 1967 on Chinese religions, beliefs and traditions)

KEDUA (SECOND) *:* ----------

KETIGA (THIRD) *:* ----------

Main body consisting of stipulations or instructions

Ditetapkan di Jakarta (issued in Jakarta)
pada tanggal 17 Januari 2000 (17 January 2000)
PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA, (The President of the Republic of Indonesia)

Ttd (signature)
ABDURRAHMAN WAHID

Closing and signature

Figure 4-2 Structure of government policies

In this section I provide background information about the policies so as to argue that intertextuality matters in these selected official documents. The central role of intertextuality for understanding the data can be based on two central points, i.e. that the policies are bound to the Indonesian legal system and that they are thematically correlated. These two points themselves are obvious indications of intertextuality and, with the help of the convention of the policy construction, serve a useful departure point for canvassing intertextuality in policies.

In general, all legal policies in Indonesia are hierarchically and structurally interconnected with the Indonesian legal system, in which a submissive or derivative law should be in line with higher laws and any points passed in the policy should not breach any higher law. Under the subheading 'mengingat' (in view of) (see Figure 4-2), the policy lists the higher laws which are considered in line with the message and ideology of the policy. The laws drawn into the new policy provide legal and ideological support to it, as can be seen in Presidential Decree no. 12/2014. The policy refers to four higher policies which accord with and provide foundations for the president's decision in relation to the use of the terms 'Tionghoa' instead of 'Cina' to refer to Chinese people and 'Tiongkok' instead of 'Republik Rakyat Cina' to refer the People's Republic of China. These higher policies are the 1945 constitution; Law no. 39/1999 on human rights; Law no. 40/2008 on the eradication of racial and ethnic discrimination; and Government regulation no. 56/2010 on the monitoring of the implementation of eradicating racial and ethnic discrimination. Identifying structural interconnection of this kind can derive numerous texts from different areas of coverage, and keeping the scope of this study manageable necessitates some limits on the investigation of the interconnections of each of the policies examined.

Thematic correlations have become the basis of data selection and have led to taking intertextuality as the main methodological orientation. The data selection started from choosing the latest presidential documents produced during the Reform and was followed by finding documents produced by the New Order regime which are thematically correlated with the Reform policies selected earlier. The title of the Reform policies gives a preliminary indication of intertextuality in which it mentions the prior (New Order) policy text(s) (with and without their content) as a source of meanings as well as to indicate the purpose of the issuance of the current policy. The quotation of the name of a former policy or its content in the title of a current policy constitutes the most effective way to inform readers directly about what the policy is intended to address. The title consists of key words representing the

content of the policy, which is intended to give a concise summary and to help those interested in the policy to recall what the policy is about.

Here I provide a brief overview of the policies that I have analyzed based on the issues or themes being addressed. The policies cover four main themes, namely, treatment of Chinese Indonesians; citizenship certificate, Chinese cultures, tradition, and religions; and the use of the terms ‘Cina’ and ‘Tionghoa’ (see Figure 4-3).

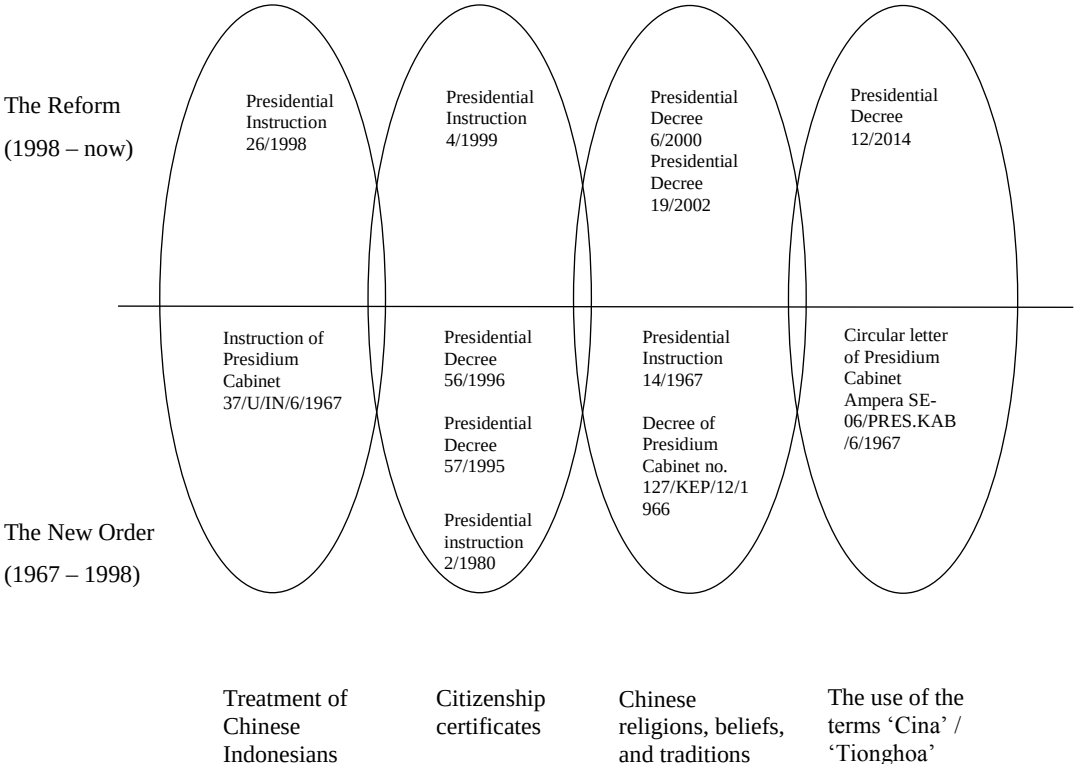

Figure 4-3 Thematic correlation between the policies across regimes

1) Treatment of Chinese Indonesians: Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998, Instruction of Presidium Cabinet no. 37/U/IN/6/1967

Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998 brings to an end discriminatory practices in many areas of life such as those postulated in detail in Instruction of Presidium Cabinet no. 37/U/IN/6/1967. Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998 brought a breakthrough in terms of equality regardless of origin, such as in terms of employment, education, and business and residency permit. It also mandates the annulment of the segregating terms ‘pribumi’ (indigenous) and ‘non-pribumi’ (non-indigenous) in all official policies. During the New Order regime, the ‘non-pribumi’ labelling became a form of ethnic dichotomy which placed

the ethnic Chinese in a contrasted or binary position with the 'pribumi' or native Self (Heryanto, 1998). The ethnic Chinese, as the largest immigrant group, were considered aliens for not inheriting indigenous blood and, under the banner of maintaining order and stability, their presence was perceived as degrading to the Indonesian authentic Self (Aguilar, 2001).

2) Citizenship certificate: Presidential Instruction no. 4/1999, Presidential Decree no. 56/1996, Presidential Decree no. 57/1995, and Presidential instruction no. 2/1980

Presidential Instruction no. 4/1999 and Presidential Decree no. 56/1996 supersede Presidential Decree no. 57/1995 and annul the need to produce a citizenship certificate (SKBRI) mandated in Presidential instruction no. 2/1980. In this theme, Presidential Decree no. 56/1996 marked the transition from the New Order to the Reform as it was signed off by President Suharto close to his fall. This annulment of the citizenship certificate is a further legal support for the earlier law (Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998) which abrogates discriminatory practices (see the first theme, treatment of Chinese Indonesians). The certificate of citizenship (widely known as SKBRI) was a symbolic paper without which ethnic Chinese, either Indonesian- or non-Indonesian-born, would not be considered as Indonesians. Citizenship status itself has been central in determining the life of Chinese Indonesians in the country as it "encompasses the right of belonging to a nation-state and is a potentially powerful symbol of equality, entitlement and inclusion" (Tan, 2001, p. 598).

3) Chinese religions, cultures and traditions: Presidential Decree no. 19/2002, Presidential Decree no. 6/2000, Presidential Instruction no. 14/1967, and Decree of Presidium Cabinet no. 127/KEP/12/1966

Presidential Decree no. 19/2002 and Presidential Decree no. 6/2000 mark a breakthrough in the history of the ethnic Chinese in terms of religions, cultures and traditions. While the first acknowledges Chinese New Year as a public holiday, the second eradicates Presidential Instruction no. 14/1967 that banned the display of Chinese culture. Another anti-Chinese culture decree passed by the New Order is Decree of Presidium Cabinet no. 127/KEP/12/1966 on assimilation, which was widely resented by the Chinese community because it forced them to lose traditional family names. During the New Order period, any form and practice of Chinese culture was rejected and not given space at all in Indonesia, for such practices were considered incompatible with Indonesia's identity (*kepribadian* Indonesia). Since the liberation of their culture and traditions after the Reform, members of the Chinese community have become more confident in showing their identity and became generally exposed to more choices in expressing their identity proactively without fear.

4) The term ‘Cina’ and ‘Tionghoa’: Presidential Decree no. 12/2014 and Circular letter of Presidium Cabinet Ampera no. SE-06/PRES.KAB/6/1967

Presidential Decree no. 12/2014 revokes Circular letter of Presidium Cabinet Ampera no. SE-06/PRES.KAB/6/1967 on the term ‘Cina’ and ‘Tionghoa’. President Yudhoyono, just months before his term ended, mandated the use of ‘Tionghoa’ instead of ‘Cina’. While the term ‘Cina’ (China) is strongly associated with the rejection of this ethnic group as it would remind them of their attachment to their origins, ‘Tionghoa’ brings Chinese Indonesians hope for a better future in Indonesia and indicates greater acceptance of their ethnic group in the state. Since the term ‘Cina’ was introduced by the forces of Western civilization which once tore China apart, it bore a continuing sense of insult to Chinese Indonesians. Mandated in 1967, the derogatory term ‘Cina’ was perceived as having similar negative connotations to ‘inlander’ for native Indonesians and ‘nigger’ for people of African descent. The shift from ‘Cina’ to ‘Tionghoa’ has thus ideologically marked the acceptance of the ethnic Chinese as an integral ethnic group in Indonesia.

4.3 Findings and Discussion

In Section 4.2 I have provided my prefatory explanation in terms of the significance of intertextuality, given the available structural and thematic interconnections between the policies, for construing the policies at hand. Such interconnections provide useful information for the analysis and are thus taken seriously in this study. In this section, I seek to scrutinize intertextuality further through key words which can explain interconnections involving the given themes, emerging discourses and ideological assumptions.

It is first of all important to note that key words in the policies operate and manifest in all three dimensions of intertextuality. Accordingly it was not possible to analyze three dimensions of the intertextuality – manifest, constitutive, and ideological intertextuality – separately because they are intertwined and reside in each other such that omitting to take into account either or both of the others may lead to loss of crucial insights. Accordingly, I decided to interpret and explicate them concurrently in a nuanced way without reducing the importance of each dimension so as to provide an overarching explanation of a unified whole of the discursive event of ethnic accommodation. The identification of these three facets of intertextuality was also facilitated by the genre conventions of the formation of the given policies. Secondly, intertextuality through key words in the policies can be explained in two types of interconnections, i.e. within a regime and across regimes. Carrying out a comprehensive analysis both within regimes and across them has been effective for

identifying and explaining the specific discourses undergoing changes from one regime to another and for providing clear and transparent evidence of social transformation in and through discourse. The ultimate goal is to illuminate indications of ethnic accommodation from the perspective of political discourse.

In Section 4.3.1 I report the insights of intertextuality analysis of key words and relate them with their ideological underpinnings. In Section 4.3.2 I further illuminate how such key words can help reveal social change. In Section 4.3.3 I discuss how such struggles relate to the construction of the Chinese identity.

4.3.1 Key words and the ideological underpinnings

Key words or phrases play a central role in showing not only text-level intertextuality, but also constitutive and ideological intertextuality. In this section I focus to seek key words that emerge from the policies of each regime and their ideological underpinning.

A common phrase that appears in the Reform policies, although absent in the New Order policies, is HAK ASASI MANUSIA (HUMAN RIGHTS). The phrase links all the four themes raised in the policies and indicates the ultimate goal of addressing those themes in the Reform policies – to protect human rights (see Figure 4-4).

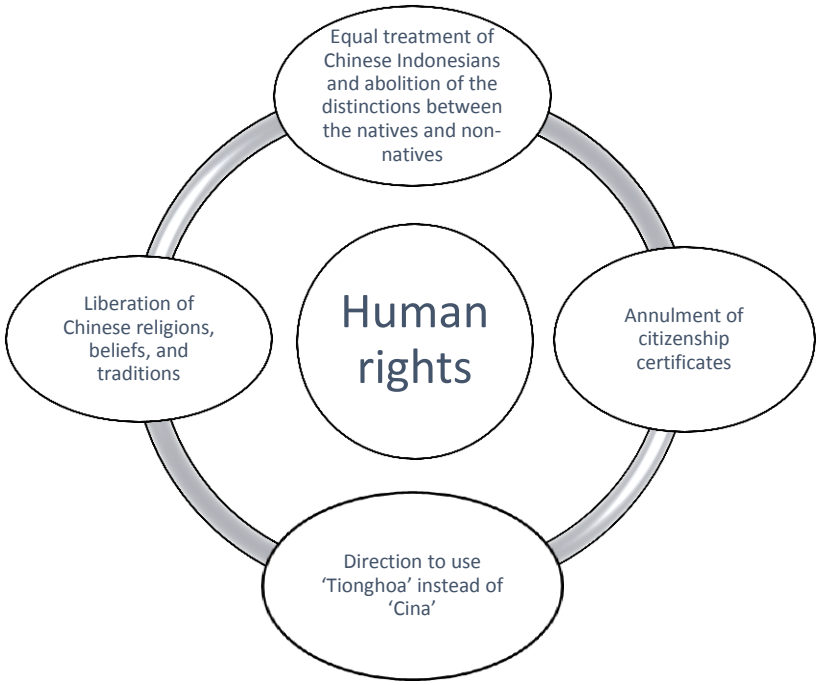

Figure 4-4 Key words in the Reform policies

The discourse on human rights has been growing through government policies since the Reform was initiated in 1998 and eventually accommodated in Law no. 39/1999 concerning human rights which adopts the United Nations' Universal Declarations of Human Rights (UDHR). The law sets out the functions of the National Commission which aims to enhance the promotion and protection of human rights in order to help achieve national development goals such as the full development of the Indonesian people and the overall development of Indonesian society. Law no. 39/1999 defines human rights as basic rights bestowed by God on human beings, and are universal and eternal in nature. Human rights are commonly understood as inalienable fundamental rights to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being, and which are inherent in all human beings regardless of their background or socio-political status. For this reason they must be protected, respected and upheld, and may not be disregarded, diminished, or appropriated.

The phrase HUMAN RIGHTS can be found in the section of the policies subtitled 'menimbang' or 'considering', which consists of philosophical, sociological, and juridical considerations of the issuance of the policies. As can be seen in Figure 4-4 and clauses 1 – 5 below, human rights protection constitutes a core political message of the Reform regime and is supported by the legitimate attempts taken by the regime to accommodate multi-faceted social issues faced by the ethnic Chinese. The social issues entailed in the protection of human rights are equal treatment regardless of ethnicity (such as education, employment, and political rights), freedom to observe ethnic cultural practices, equal citizenship status, and acceptance of the perceived ethnic Other as an integral part of the nation (represented, for instance, in issues surrounding the use of 'Tionghoa' versus 'Cina'). It is also important to note that in clauses 1–2 human rights are associated with 'persamaan kedudukan' (equality) and 'hak dan kewajiban warga negara Indonesia' (rights and responsibilities of Indonesian citizenship). They are interconnected to the extent that all human beings are born free and equal and thus have the same rights and deserve the same level of respect and protection. In a nutshell, the state uses the slogan HUMAN RIGHTS to deliver on its promise of equality, security and prosperity for citizens (see clause 1).

1) *Bahwa untuk lebih meningkatkan perwujudan persamaan kedudukan di dalam hukum dan pemerintahan, persamaan hak atas pekerjaan dan penghidupan, hak dan kewajiban warga negara, dan perlindungan HAK ASASI MANUSIA, serta lebih memperkokoh persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa, dipandang perlu memberi arahan bagi upaya pelaksanaannya (Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998)*

   (whereas in order to achieve equal status before the law, equality in employment and welfare, rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and HUMAN RIGHTS protection, so as to strengthen the state's unity, it is

necessary to produce guideliness for the enforcement of the policy)

2) *Bahwa untuk lebih mempercepat terciptanya dan memperkokoh persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa serta meningkatkan perwujudan persamaan kedudukan di dalam hukum dan pemerintahan,persamaan hak atas pekerjaan dan penghidupan, hak dan kewajiban warga negara, dan perlindungan HAK ASASI MANUSIA, Pemerintah telah mengeluarkan kebijakan melalui Keputusan Presiden Nomor 56 Tahun 1996 dan Instruksi Presiden Nomor 26 Tahun 1998 (Presidential Instruction no. 4/1999)*

   (whereas in order to accelerate and strengthen national unity and to achieve equal status before the law and government, equal rights in employment and public life, rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and protection of HUMAN RIGHTS, the government has passed Presidential Decree no. 56/1996 and Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998)

3) *Bahwa penyelenggaraan kegiatan agama, kepercayaan, dan adat istiadat, pada hakekatnya merupakan bagian tidak terpisahkan dari HAK ASASI MANUSIA (Presidential Decree no. 19/2002)*

   (whereas any activity associated with religions, beliefs and traditions is inseparable from HUMAN RIGHTS)

4) *Bahwa pandangan dan perlakuan diskriminatif terhadap seseorang, kelompok, komunitas dan atau ras tertentu pada dasarnya melanggar nilai, prinsip, perlindungan HAK ASASI MANUSIA, karena itu bertentangan dengan Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia tahun 1945, Undang-Undang tentang Hak Asasi Manusia, dan Undang-Undang tentang Penghapusan Diskriminasi Ras dan Etnis (Presidential Decree no. 12/2014)*

   (whereas any discriminatory stereotype and conduct against a certain person, group or race is fundamentally opposed to the values, principles, and protection of HUMAN RIGHTS, accordingly they are contrary to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and the eradication of racial and ethnic discrimination law)

Instead of HUMAN RIGHTS, the key words found in the New Order policies are ASING (foreign) and CINA (China/Chinese). Within the contexts of the policies these two words refer to each other in such a way that the Chinese group is considered as the most significant foreign group. The use of these key words denotes how important, or precisely problematic, the presence of issues of Chinese-ness in the Indonesian discourse was during the New Order. As we can see in clauses 5–10, the New Order government explicitly asserts that the Chinese group has been a source of social problems that need to be handled in order to strengthen national stability and security. Such a political claim to promote and strengthen existing national unity and identity can be viewed as a performance of power for maintaining the status quo of the regime. This sort of unity undermines the tenet that a political society consists of multiple interests and identities that ought not to be reduced as a single shared identity.

5) *Bahwa dalam rangka pembanguan pada sa'at ini perlu dihimpun dan dimanfa'atkan segala daja dan dana nasional, termasuk jang ada ditangan penduduk warga negara ASING (Instruction of Presidium Cabinet no. 37/U/IN/6/1967)*

(whereas for the sake of national development, it is necessary at the moment to make use all national resources and funds, including those managed/owned by FOREIGN citizens)

6) *Bahwa untuk memperjelas dan mempertegas kedudukan serta kepastian hukum bagi setiap penduduk Indonesia dalam rangka memantapkan stabilitas nasional dan memperkokoh ketahanan nasional, dipandang perlu menyederhanakan tatacara dan persyaratan administrasi penyelesaian permohonan pewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia oleh orang ASING di Indonesia (Presidential Decree no. 57/1995)*

(whereas in order to ensure and affirm the legal status of every Indonesian citizen so as to strengthen national stability and security, it is of necessity to simplify the administrative procedure and requirement of naturalization of FOREIGNers in Indonesia)

7) *Bahwa demi kepastian hukum bagi warganegara keturunan ASING yang belum mempunyai bukti kewarganegaraan republic Indonesia, perlu diberikan suatu Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Indonesia (Presidential Insturction no. 2/1980)*

(whereas for the sake of providing a legal assurance for the FOREIGN citizens who do not possess an Indonesian citizenship certificate, they need to be given an Indonesian citizenship certificate)

8) *Bahwa agama, kepercayaan dan adat istiadat CINA di Indonesia yang berpusat pada negeri leluhurnya, yang dalam manifestasinya dapat menimbulkan pengaruh psychologis, mental dan moril yang kurang wajar terhadap warganegara Indonesia sehingga merupakan hambatan terhadap proses asimilasi, perlu diatur serta ditempatkan fungsinya pada proporsi yang wajar. (Presidential Instruction no. 14/1967)*

(whereas CHINESE associated with their ancestors may have mental, moral, and psychological effects which are not relevant for Indonesian citizens, accordingly they can be barriers for the success of the assimilation process. Chinese religions, beliefs and traditions need to be regulated and returned to their proper roles)

9) *Bahwa dalam rangka nation dan character building Indonesia, proses asimilasi warga negara Indonesia "keturunan ASING" dalam tubuh bangsa Indonesia harus dipertjepat (Decree of Presidium Cabinet no. 127/KEP/12/1966)*

(whereas in order to sustain Indonesian national and character building, the assimilation of Indonesians of FOREIGN descents into the Indonesian body needs to be accelerated)

10) *Dilihat dari sudut nilai-nilai ethologis-politis dan etimologis-historis, maka istilah "Tionghoa/Tiongkok" mengandung nilai-nilai yang memberi assosiasi-psykopolitis yang negatif bagi rakyat Indonesia, sedang istilah "CINA" tidak lain hanya mengandung arti nama dari suatu dynasti dari mana ras CINA tersebut datang, dan bagi kita umumnya kedua istilah itupun tidak lepas dari aspek-aspek psykologis dan emosionil (Circular letter of Presidium Cabinet Ampera no. SE-06/PRES.KAB/6/1966)*

(seen from the ethnological-political and etymological-historical perspectives, the terms 'Tionghoa/Tiongkok' psycho-politically contain negative associations for the Indonesian society, whereas the term 'CINA' is no more

than the name of a dynasty in the place the Chinese race came from, and for us generally the two terms are not isolated from psychological and emotional aspects)

In the New Order policies the discourses surrounding ASING and CINA are positioned and contested with the NATIONAL / INDONESIAN discourse. Regarded as the Other, any issue in relation to Chinese descent is considered out of line with the national principles, thus any postulation made through the policies aimed to regulate it in such a way that it does not interfere with national economic, social, and political stability and supports the existing power. In clause 5 the New Order regime seeks to make use of any capital owned or managed by foreigners to support national development. Also, in clause 6 the illegal status of foreigners is perceived to corrode national stability and, in clause 8, any association with China is considered to contaminate national culture. The determination of the New Order to stick to 'Cina' rather than 'Tionghoa' is also part of its politics to other the ethnic group and to retain negative connotations associated with it (see clause 10).

The words CINA and ASING appear much less frequently in the Reform policies, and where they do appear in them they are generally used to affirm the acceptance of Indonesians of Chinese or foreign descents and their cultures (clauses 11 and 12). This constitutes a positive indication of the political will of government to treat the Chinese group as equal to other groups of Indonesian citizens.

11) *Bahwa Tahun Baru Imlek merupakan tradisi masyarakat CINA yang dirayakan secara turun temurun di berbagai daerah di Indonesia (Presidential Decree no. 19/2002)*

(whereas Chinese New Year has been part of the traditions of the Chinese communities which has been observed thorugh generations in many parts of Indonesia)

12) *… dipandang perlu mencabut Instruksi Presiden nomor 14 tahun 1967 tentang Agama, Kepercayaan, dan Adat Istiadat CINA dengan Keputusan Presiden (Presidential Decree no. 6/2000)*

(… it is necessary to annul Presidential Instruction no. 14/1967 on Chinese religions, beliefs, and traditions with a presidential decree)

Such a dramatic shift at the legal level can be described as a social process 'from othering to accommodating Chinese Indonesians'. It is a transformation from the ideology that oppress the Chinese to the ideology that fosters human rights protection. This change can be seen in Table 4-1, in which I explore the aforementioned ideologies underlying the

policies of both regimes, as they are articulated through key words or phrases, to determine their political attitudes or response towards the discourses or issues raised in each policy.

Themes	The Reform policies	The New Order policies
Treatment of Chinese Indonesians	Equal treatment of the natives and non-natives is important to achieve equality, to protect human rights, and to strengthen the country's unity	Policies addressing how Chinese Indonesians should be treated need to be enacted to enhance and facilitate the country's development, to empower the Indonesian people and to maintain international relations
Chinese cultures, beliefs and traditions	Practices of Chinese cultures, beliefs and traditions are part of human rights	Chinese cultures, beliefs and traditions may introduce negative emotional, moral and psychological effects to Indonesian society
Citizenship certificate	The certificate needs to be abolished in order to protect human rights and assure equal rights and duties of citizens	The certificate needs to be produced to give legal status to Chinese Indonesians
The use of 'Tionghoa' and 'Cina'	The word 'Cina' contains social and psychological discrimination which may affect social relations between Chinese Indonesians and the Indonesian majority. The word 'Tionghoa' or 'Tiongkok' may give Chinese Indonesians a greater sense of belonging to Indonesia.	The word 'Cina' is no more than a word referring to the country of origin of Chinese Indonesians. The word 'Tionghoa' or 'Tiongkok' may have a negative connotation for Indonesian national identity psychologically and politically

Table 4-1 Political attitudes towards the social issues raised in the policies

Table 4-1 demonstrates that, while both regimes treat issues surrounding the ethnic Chinese as crucial matters, substantially they adopt different ideologies in approaching them. While the Reform adopts an ideology that respects and protects human rights, the New Order adopts an ideology that views Chinese Indonesians as a threat that may endanger national stability and aimed to strengthen governmental dominance and control over the Chinese minority. As a result, any postulation made in the Reform policies is an expression that welcomes and accommodates Chinese Indonesians regardless of their origins and history. In contrast, the New Order tries to subjugate and other Chinese Indonesians in such a way that they are not given a place in Indonesia. What is lacking in the New Order is a legal system which respects and supports human rights. As a result of this there were many concerns over allegations of serious human rights violations and no significant action was taken to tackle them (see Chapter 3 for more examples of the violations). An obvious example of this was

the May Riots of 1998, when the Chinese minority did not know where to seek protection while mass violence was targeting them. There was simply no legal protection for them in laws passed by the government.

4.3.2 Key words and social change

Section 4.3.1 has reported how intertextual relations are manifested through key words or phrases and how such key words or phrases play a role in distinguishing the discourses and ideology of the Reform from those of the New Order. In this section I seek to develop the insights to understand how the key words can reveal social change. It is based on the premise that the presence and absence of a key word in one or several policies articulate what Williams calls 'continuity' and 'discontinuity' (1985) in intertextual relations. This continuity or discontinuity of discourse is central for construing social change manifested in historical texts and discourse. In this case, by explicitly advocating HUMAN RIGHTS the Reform does not seek to sustain othering practices postulated and legitimized by the New Order elites.

The discontinuity of othering discourses and the foregrounding human rights by the Reform regime constitutes the first indication of ethnic accommodation, explored earlier in Section 4.3.1. It is also found in the Reform policy texts that the Reform government discursively undertakes legal actions to end social practices that other Indonesians of foreign or Chinese descents. Such discursive actions which strengthen the legal protection of human rights constitute the second indication of ethnic accommodation, which I will explore further in this section.Table 4-2 shows the actions taken by the Reform government to end discriminatory practices passed during the New Order era. The use of these actions in the Reform documents demonstrates intertextuality across regimes. These actions are discursively stated in the main body of the Reform documents subtitled 'memutuskan' (to decide) in the presidential decree or 'menginstruksikan' (to instruct) in the presidential instruction.

The Reform Policies	Actions	Othering practices
1	2	3
Presidential Instruction 26/1998	*menghentikan* (to bring to an end)	the use of the terms 'pribumi' and 'non-pribumi' in all official policies
	meninjau kembali dan menyesuaikan (to review and adjust)	all regulations and programs such as those regarding business permits, banking, civil life, education, health, job opportunities, and employee welfare
Presidential Instruction 26/1998	*meniadakan* (to eliminate)	all forms and levels of discrimination against ethnicity, religion, race, and origins
Presidential Instruction 4/1999	*meninjau kembali* (to review)	all regulations that ban or restrict Mandarin studies
	dinyatakan tidak berlaku (is declared no longer valid)	all regulations that state the need to produce a citizenship certificate (SBKRI)
Presidential Decree 6/2000	*mencabut* (to revoke)	Presidential Instruction 14/1967 on Chinese religion, beliefs and traditions
	dinyatakan tidak berlaku (is declared no longer valid)	all derivative regulations of Presidential Instruction 14/1967
Presidential Decree 12/2014	*mencabut dan menyatakan tidak berlaku* (to annul and declare no longer valid)	Circular letter of Presidium Cabinet Ampera nomor SE-06/Pres.Kab/6/1967 on the term 'Cina'

Table 4-2 Intertextuality across regimes

Table 4-2 shows that inherent in the texts of the Reform are resonances of the New Order texts. They are connected by the presence of action verbs.

1) The action verbs used are 'meniadakan' (to eliminate), 'menghentikan' (to bring to an end), 'mencabut' (to annul), and 'menyatakan tidak berlaku' (to declare no longer valid). These verbs imply political actions of the Reform for bringing to an end the New Order othering practices. The action verb 'meninjau kembali' (to review) implies that further actions will be taken to address social wrongs exhibited in old documents. The actions most likely would be those of annulling it.

2) The verbs are followed by the name of a New Order policy which becomes the target of the action, such as 'Presidential Instruction no. 14/1967' and 'Circular letter or Presidium Cabinet SE-06/Pres.Kab/6/1967'; or the content or discourse associated

with a certain policy or several policies, such as *'*Chinese New Year', 'equal treatment and service to all Indonesian citizens', *'*all regulations and program' and 'all laws forbidding Mandarin studies'.

Clauses 13 – 15 are examples showing intertextual relations which reveal the actions of ending othering practices summarized in Table 4-2.

13) *President Republik Indonesia … memutuskan mencabut Instruksi Presiden nomon 14 tahun 1967 tentang agama, kepercayaan, dan adat istiadat Cina (Presidential Decree no. 6/2000)*

(The President of Republic of Indonesia … has decided to annul Presidential Instruction no. 14/1967 on Chinese religions, beliefs, and cultures.)

14) *… segala peraturan perundang-undangan yang untuk kepentingan tertentu mempersyaratkan Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan republic Indonesia (SKBRI), dinyatakan tidak berlaku (Presidential Decree no. 56/1996)*

(… all regulations which mandated the need to produce a citizenship certificate for certain official matters are no longer valid.)

15) *Presiden Republik Indonesia … menginstruksikan … menghentikan penggunaan istilah pribumi dan non-pribumi dalam semua perumusan dan penyelenggaraan kebijaksanaan, perencanaan program, ataupun pelaksanaan kegiatan penyelenggaraan pemerintahan (Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998)*

(The President of Republic of Indonesia … has instructed … to abolish the use of the terms native and non-native in all drafts and implementation of governmental policies and program.)

Discontinuity of key words which is supported by the use of action words of ending othering when understood within discursive and ideological contexts constitutes an effective tool for revealing social change. As a whole such ideologically driven intertextual borrowings (see Table 4-2) articulate positive social changes at the state level aligned with different governmental phases. Social change manifested through the historical interconnection between the policies articulates discursive and ideological contestations in discourse. The ideology of ethnic accommodation embedded in the Reform policies legally replaces and supersedes the ideology of othering produced by the New Order. The changes in policies are inherent with the socio-political shift started in the 1990s, when Indonesia was shaken by social and economic turbulence which motivated social movements all over Indonesia demanding 'changes' by the government (see Chapter 3). Under the Reform, Indonesia is now moving towards a more accommodative society for Chinese Indonesians, particularly in terms of the issues covered in the policies examined in this study. Indonesia is undergoing a momentous transition: the Reform Presidents have made human rights a central priority.

Tan (2001) describes the historical journey of the ethnic Chinese to be accepted in Indonesian society in her phrase 'from sojourners to citizens' and stresses that citizenship is their assertion of their acceptance of Indonesia as their home. This historical journey is articulated in the policies. The annulment of regulations on SKBRI through Presidential Instruction no. 4/1999 addresses the most serious legal concern facing Chinese Indonesians in terms of citizenship. Equal treatment of all citizens, regardless of origins, is also manifested through the eradication of the terms 'pribumi' (native) and 'non-pribumi' (non-native) (Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998). The terms had become great barriers between the two groups suggesting that the Chinese minority was not part of the nation. In relation to the terms 'Tionghoa' instead of 'Cina', although the two terms refer to the same ethnic group, word choice between the two seems vital in relation to the construction of Chinese identity. The most intriguing debate over the generations is addressed and institutionalized in the latest policy on Chinese Indonesians by President Yudhoyono through Presidential Decree no. 12/2014 in 2014. Cultural freedom is another major concern of the Reform mandated through Presidential Decree no. 6/2000 on Chinese religions, beliefs and traditions and Presidential Decree no. 19/2002 on Chinese New Year as a public holiday. Acknowledgement of their religions, cultures and traditions is part of the growing tolerance which gives Chinese Indonesians the space to freely observe and enjoy their cultural heritage, such as *Barongsai* or the dragon dance, which adds to the joy of the Chinese New Year celebration.

Overall, intertextuality has perpetuated traces of dominant discourses and evidence of ideological struggle in the system of power (see Foucault, 1972) whereby different discourses compete for ascendancy. Such close interconnection between discourse and ideology is traceable in the sense that the way dominant or less dominant discourses are categorized, characterized and constructed depends considerably on the ideology adopted by the ruling regimes throughout history. The political discourse of Chinese-ness has witnessed an ideological dynamism governing, and embedded in, the production of political documents. The policies have undergone changes throughout different regimes and rulers and such political pace and fluctuations have an impact on the intensity and contents of the Chinese discourse. The changes constitute the discursive frame of ethnic accommodation from one historical and political period to another.

The dynamics and contestation of discourse and ideological power articulated in the policies have evidenced that there is no particular discourse or ideology or hegemony which remains dominant forever. As Mouffe (2009, p. 549) has put it: "Every order is the temporary

and precarious articulation of contingent practices … Every hegemonic order is susceptible of being challenged by counter-hegemonic practices which attempt to disarticulate it in order to install another form of hegemony."

4.3.3 Politics and identity construction

The insights of the analysis reported in Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 have unveiled that policies have the virtue of openly representing ideological struggles. In this section I pay particular attention to the correlations between historical ideology struggles and identity construction as indicated through the intertextual relations. Here I emphasize that ethnic categories encoded in and through officially statutes are political (see also Nagel, 1994) and are reconstructed, altered, and negotiated to serve the interests of those in power.

The examination of intertextual relations across the official government promulgations of successive regimes has yielded that the political aspect of constructing Chinese identity (see also Freedman, 2003) is manifested through the contestation between two antagonistic discourses and ideologies, in the name of the New Order and the Reform, in various terrains of life. Aspects of life articulated through the themes of the policies under scrutiny have demonstrated that identity in discourse is the result of myriad social, economic and cultural constraints coupled by hidden political agendas. The ideology of the state encompasses and determines, for example, how Chinese Indonesians should be called, how they should practise their religions and cultures and how they can be included in state membership. These instances can explain the degree of inclusion and acceptance of the Chinese group which is historically associated to its alliances with and membership in the nation. In the New Order this membership was measured by criteria which were not easy to fulfil and were meant to other the Chinese minority. The degree of the acceptance of an ethnic group in the country was determined by, *inter alia*, how closely its members related to national identity and culture and their ability to meet a political requirement (i.e. the citizenship certificate). These were all aimed to place the Chinese minority as aliens who did not deserve equal rights and status in the state. It is safe to interpret that, during the New Order, for safeguarding the ideological status quo, discourse was often used and 'manipulated' by the political elites to 'assign' identity by defining the boundaries of the minority. Identity for the ethnic Chinese was thus not about self-identification or self-revelation but rather an assignment given by the powerful majority group for the sake of the majority's status quo (see also Chapter 3 on the historical perspective of the ethnic Chinese). Within the system of power, the assignment of identity in discourse during the New Order was further complicated due to multiple and

competing minority and majority identities, such as through the use of ‘pribumi’ and ‘non-pribumi’, Chinese and national identities, and ‘Cina’ and ‘Tionghoa’ identities.

All in all, it can be discerned that ethnic identity within a national discourse is double-edged: it can indicate whether an ethnic group is accommodated or othered. Identity thus constitutes a key feature of the political dimension of accommodation and relates to the recognition and acceptance of the ethnic group within the wider Indonesian society (the political aspect of ethnic accommodation in various research contexts can also be seen in Bagaji et al., 2012; Bertrand, 2011; Ejobowah, 1997; Rizvi, 1993). This study has demonstrated that recognition entails multiple discourses and is concerned with how two powers – the New Order and the Reform – confront each other in rhetorical contestation in terms of how Chinese identity should be defined within the given discourses.

4.4 Concluding remarks

Throughout the analysis, intertextuality has been pertinent for revealing how the manifold aspects of ideology underlying ethnic accommodation are brought into being, negotiated, and reinforced through policy discourse within Indonesian history. The deployment of three dimensions of intertextuality – manifest, constitutive, and ideological intertextuality – within the understanding of discourse as genre has provided useful insights into understanding discourse within its semiotic, discursive, and social/ideological dimensions. The integration of these three dimensions of intertextuality has illuminated more than text level interconnection; it provides evidence of discursive and ideological struggles so as to understand the political processes of ethnic accommodation. Such discursive and ideological struggles also ascribe great significance to identity construction. Identity construction in political discourse is eminently ideological.

Ideologically, Indonesia has moved away from othering to accommodating the Chinese minority – the ideological reformation which has been the quest of Chinese Indonesians for generations. This positive transformation can be seen from the shift of discourse and ideology suppressing and excluding the Chinese minority to those fostering protection of human rights. That said, the realization of inclusive and accommodative environments should be predicated on a human rights approach to discriminatory practice. Further strong evidence of ethnic accommodation is the political actions taken by the Reform government to bring to an end the New Order policies which othered the Chinese minority.

The findings are significant for unravelling the social change represented through language and discourse and for uncovering the functions of language in policies in creating,

sustaining and transforming social orders. These roles of ideology in shaping social order will be examined further in the subsequent chapters. The findings in this chapter will be further augmented by linguistic ethnographic analysis (Chapter 5) and discursive social psychological analysis (Chapter 6) of narratives of personal experience. Overall, this research aims to investigate the correlations between changes in three major domains surrounding the political sphere, social structure and the construction of people's perceptions, behaviours and identity. That said, I now move to examine the changes in the domain of social structure by means of conducting linguistic ethnographic analysis.

Chapter 5 The participants' perspective: The social reality of ethnic accommodation

Drawing from the conceptualization of the participants' perspective articulated in the multi-perspectival (MP) analytical approach (Candlin & Crichton, 2011; Crichton, 2003, 2010), this study seeks to examine participants' perceptions on social reality and change so as to identify indications of ethnic accommodation at the societal level. To do so, this study integrates the principles of Linguistic Ethnography (LE) (e.g. Blommaert, 2007; Hammersley, 2007; Rampton, 2007; Tusting & Maybin, 2007) with the analytical tool afforded by Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks, 1972, 1974). The integration is effective for categorizing socio-cultural world through language or discourse. To reveal indications of ethnic accommodation, the categorization analysis in this study focuses on identifying (1) key focal themes emerging from the narratives; and (2) social change articulated through the emerging focal themes. While the first is examined through thematic categorizations, the latter is scrutinized through diachronic categorizations of the emerging themes.

In this study, narratives become the main data source; however, the analysis and interpretation processes are also informed by the insights from the semiotic perspective explored in Chapter 4 and the socio-historical context (Chapter 3). Chapter 4 has provided insights into how ethnic accommodation is produced and reinforced through government policies and has highlighted that Indonesia has ideologically and politically moved away from othering towards accommodating Chinese Indonesians. Through such textual analysis Chapter 4 has uncovered the 'intentionality' (Wodak, 2008) or purpose of regulation production through which we may understand how ethnic accommodation has been made political. However, what is absent in the semiotic perspective is the participants' voices (see Bakhtin, 1986), which can be useful for representing 'acceptability' (Wodak, 2008) – how such discursive practices of ethnic accommodation are perceived by participants in a given situation. Participants' voices are believed to be crucial here as they provide a critical point of view of the problem 'from the inside' (Wodak, 2002, p. 14) or from the perspective of people situated in such a social problem.

The study deals with narratives of personal experience drawn from 15 interviews and 3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) involving Chinese participants in three key sites, namely,

church, school, and business sites. Chapter 2 Section 2.2.3 has provided a detailed account of the data and how they were collected. In the interviews and FGDs, the questions were delivered in such a way as to elicit participants' personal stories given their identity as individuals of Chinese descent in Indonesia. This was accomplished by using open-ended questions and a semi-structured interview format, allowing each interviewee to construct his or her narrative in the manner she or he was comfortable with.

This chapter consists of four main parts: theoretical underpinnings (Section 5.1) which encompass issues surrounding narratives of personal experience (Sections 5.1.1) and Linguistic Ethnography (LE) (Section 5.1.2); methodological orientation, i.e. Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA (Section 5.2); findings and discussion (Section 5.3); and conclusions (Section 5.4).

5.1 Understanding social reality through discourse

5.1.1 Engaging with voices from multiple sites

> Today's ethnic minorities are not content to remain mute; they, too, seek to be heard (De Vos, 1995, p. 16).
> … letting the oppressed speak for themselves (Spivak, 1988, p. 292).

Critical studies of language or discourse in social life, particularly those addressing topics of identity, power and inequality in discourse, emphasise the importance of accounting for the voices of the marginalized Other (De Vos, 1995; Spivak, 1988). The aim is to provide empirical and grounded analysis of the perception of those, particularly the marginalized, situated in the social problem.

In order to unveil any possibly hidden aspect of the minority's perspective, this study takes into account narratives in the form of life stories that articulate personal experience given their ethnic identity within the wider society. The value of narratives as the primary source for people to capture and make meaning of their own and others' experience is argued by Ricoeur (1991a, 1991b). These narratives are believed to be important not just because they reflect what is going on in the history of people's lives but also because they provide insights into the ways in which people, individually and collectively, understand and interpret the world.

The narratives collected for this study are simultaneously born out of experience and give shape to experience (see Ochs & Capps, 1996). As a means for recounting past events (Labov, 1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Ochs & Capps, 1996), narratives of experience reflect what is going on in the history of people's lives within its temporal sequence and

exhibit how people understand and interpret an historical event. The significance of the temporal aspect of narratives of experience can be understood through Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977), which foregrounds that the construction of such narratives involves digging into memory. On this premise Bourdieu argues that people's present identity is embedded in cultural and social currents, constructed through social histories, and internalized by the individual as habitus.

The narratives of experience this study deals with were collected from three *sites of engagement*, i.e. schools, churches and businesses. Sites of engagement (Scollon, 1997, 2001) can be understood as moments in time and points in space where social interaction takes place. Engaging with narratives from different sites is valuable in this study for two reasons. Firstly, it can tap into a wide range of experience retained within various real-life contexts (Schell, 1992). The main tenet here is that participants' experience is intimately linked to their sites of engagement and those sites can become influential resources in the construction of their narratives. Using Bourdieu's concept of 'the linguistic market' (Bourdieu, 1972) what is going on from the participants' perspectives can be conceptualized as a situation where different 'goods' (e.g. messages, meanings, beliefs, or attitudes) from different sites or sources are exchanged. Secondly, engaging with narratives from different sites can help achieve validation and complementarity of the discourses raised in the individual narratives. Bakhtin (1986) argues that the social world is made up of multiple voices, perspectives, and subjectivity. This subjectivity correlates with the validity or accountability of a person's account, given that people are likely to express, resist, or make meaning on a particular object or topic in different ways. These different expressions can occur because, *inter alia*, when storying or remembering events in the past people can be notoriously selective and have different perceptions of which parts of their life are worth telling.

In terms of how to deal with and make meaning of multiple voices while seeking to account for the uniqueness of every single voice, this study argues that it is important to capture the 'interconnection' of any practices embedded in narratives, as argued by Somers (1994, p. 616):

> Indeed, the chief characteristic of narrative is that it renders understanding only by *connecting* (however unstably) *parts* to a constructed *configuration* or a *social network* of relationships (however incoherent or unrealizable) composed of symbolic, institutional, and material practices.

In the same vein, through his notion of 'dialogism' and his phrase "chain of speech communion" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 94), Bakhtin has posited that individual voices are

interconnected through ongoing socio-cultural moments. These socially situated voices undergo dialectic or reciprocal relations and constant dialogical inclusion; they are mixed in an ongoing chain or network of shared expressions. This dialogism is particular important in this study to reveal shared areas in which issues of ethnic accommodation emerge as well as to delineate the dynamic nature of the accommodation across time and place.

5.1.2 Linguistic Ethnography

In Section 5.1.1 I have highlighted the importance of incorporating participants' voices within a "real world setting" (Patton, 2002, p. 39). The 'real world' is one of the key focuses in ethnography, the approach which social scholars widely refer to for its capacity to untangle or deconstruct social complexity by conducting the principled selection of particular features without trying to reduce the value of the complexity (Blommaert, 2007). Among a wide range of ethnographically-motivated approaches (Blommaert, 2009, 2013), this study particularly highlights the relevance of Linguistic Ethnography (LE) in providing access to complex social issues of ethnic accommodation through language and discourse. LE is well-suited to an exploration of intricate social issues and practices embedded in the discourses of ethnic accommodation such as those related to ethnicity and identity (see Chapter 1) and makes it possible to access and observe such manifold social problems through the narratives of the Chinese minority. In a nutshell, LE, when its epistemological insights are integrated into research into discourses of ethnic accommodation, may assist to bridge the gap between the viewpoints of the government (represented through policies) and those of Chinese Indonesians (through narratives). While the first tends to be formal, ideal, and normative, the second comprises contingent, dynamic, and emergent elements manifested in daily practices.

LE has revisited and consolidated the interconnectedness of language and ethnography (Blommaert, 2007; Rampton, 2007; Tusting & Maybin, 2007). It is rooted in linguistics and thus views language, instead of culture, as the primary instrument and principal point of analytical entry for gaining access to complex social issues. While LE has been widely used in combination with ethnomethodology, it has now become inter-disciplinary and often goes beyond linguistics and ethnography (Tusting & Maybin, 2007), as exemplified by studies investigating political issues of social inequality.

Blommaert (2007) argues that language and culture are one entity; accordingly, for him, the object of investigation of linguistic ethnographers should be the fusion of language and culture. This fusion requires the analyst to embrace 'reflexive sensitivity', as argued by Rampton (Rampton, 2007, p. 596)

> *ethnography opens linguistics up*, inviting reflexive sensitivity to the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims and to the potential importance of what gets left out, encouraging a willingness to accept (and run with) the fact that beyond the reach of standardised falsification procedures …

Rampton's notion of reflexive sensitivity has answered the challenge to handle 'language' and 'ethnography' as two interconnected entities (see also Blommaert, 2007). This reflexive sensitivity entails a process in which 'ethnography opens linguistics up' and 'linguistics (and discourse analysis) ties ethnography down' (Rampton, 2007, p. 596). While the first may imply an improved explanatory warrant for statements about language on the basis of its real social and cultural context, the later may signify "a linguistic 'reality' to which ideas about culture could be pinned and clarified" (Tusting & Maybin, 2007, p. 581).

Drawing on this marriage between language and the sociocultural world, this study focuses on identifying *discursive patterns* in the narratives and situating them in particular wider sociocultural contexts. Having said this, rather than focusing on the dualism between linguistics and ethnography, the study seeks to bridge language and social context through 'discourse'. The dominant discursive patterns that this study focuses on are those in the form of focal themes (Roberts & Sarangi, 2005). Those themes emanate through what Somers calls 'selective appropriation' (Somers, 1994, p. 617). He posits "in the face of a potentially limitless array of social experiences deriving from social contact with events, institutions, and people, the evaluative capacity of emplotment demands and enables *selective appropriation* in constructing narratives" (Somers, 1994, p. 617).

Such discursive patterns of focal themes need to be approached through an appropriate tool that allows for exploring the detail of situated practices in terms of themes and issues associated with wider conceptualizations of social structure. However, LE itself is just an approach and does not specify any tools. In order to systematically analyze the social complexity emerging from narratives and produce strong yet grounded conclusions, this study seeks to employ Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) which will be discussed in Section 5.2.

5.2 Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA)

In Section 5.1.2 I have made clear that analysis of focal themes involves observation, identification and categorization of discursive patterns and their broader meanings and implications (see also Braun & Clarke, 2006). The patterns are constituted by classification and organisation of the seeming relevant facts in the narratives which articulate social reality

in discourse. These categorizations and patterns can thus only be meaningful within a specific socio-historical context.

To carry out such categorization, this study adopts Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1972, 1974) with the primary goal of generating shared discursive patterns of such socially situated narratives thematically and diachronically across sites. This categorization can assist in understanding the complex social world of ethnicity and identity which become the focus in this study in a systematic way. The prime relevance of categorization analysis as a method adopted in this linguistic ethnographic study is its reliability for making claims about the world and its categorical arrangements through properties of language or discourse (Fitzgerald, Housley, & Butler, 2009; Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002).

MCA and CA as tools have been sometimes been used together in the same studies because both approaches have their origins in the work of Harvey Sacks. The two methods, however, have had somewhat divergent trajectories and, in terms of their popularity, there are far more highly cited CA journal articles and books than MCA publications. Its status relative to CA suggests (Stokoe, 2012) that MCA is unlikely to develop fully and survive as a distinct discipline. The application of CA work on person reference and membership categorization can be said as one of the most significant areas in contemporary CA (Stokoe, 2012). Recently, as indicated in Sacks's lectures, there has been a continuing interest and refinement in categorization analysis, together with the continued study of the sequential organization of talk (Housley and Fitzerland, 2002). It is thus safe to say that the two methods can actually serve as the two sides of the same coin in examining the accomplishment of social order. More recent works on MCA (e.g. Day, 1998; Eglin, 2002; Eglin & Hester, 1999; Fitzgerald, 2012; Hester & Eglin, 1997b; Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002; McHoul & Watson, 1984), provide evidence that MCA can prove itself as a method in its own right, without recourse to CA, for interrogating culture, reality and society. This study thus considers MCA as a fruitful tool in itself for examining issues of social realities and change embedded in narratives.

As noted above, MCA was initially developed by Sacks (1972, 1974) and has traditionally been used in the identification, description, or referencing of persons and relied on the use of Membership Categorization Devices (MCD). Using MCD, through his famous example, "The baby cried. The mommy picked it up", Sacks (1972, 1974) argues for the possibilities for formal and systematic analyses of references to and descriptions of persons. Three components are involved in the sentence, i.e. MCD, collections of categories (with their features) and rules of application. Here 'mommy' and 'baby' are categories associated

with the MCD ‘family’. With respect to the rules, one particular concept that Sacks (1992) posits is ‘recognizability’ (see Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002) which can be construed through the display of categories and MCD and is useful for defining and making sense of the relations between the categories (e.g. ‘mommy’ and ‘baby’) and the MCD (e.g. ‘family’). This ‘recognizability’ relates to the shared ‘stock of common-sense knowledge’, knowledge which is widely accepted by society.

One of the contemporary developments of MCA is the extended focus of its analysis – from person to non-person categorizations. McHoul and Watson (1984) and Coulter (1983), for examples, have extended the analytic role of MCA into the domain of non-personalized categories, as opposed to Sacks’s early emphasis on the descriptive categories of person. McHoul and Watson (1984) investigate how the term ‘public buildings’ serves as an MCD, while categories like ‘fire station’ and ‘courthouse’ can serve as membership categories. Coulter (1983) attempts to extend the application of MCA by locating categories of social structure within both institutional and organizational conversational contexts as well as day to day interactional contexts.

Sacks’s famous example itself – ‘The baby cried. The mommy picked it up’ – can give a clue to how MCA can be and has been developed. It can be said that the analytical considerations to make sense of the sentence seem not to rely merely on the person categories or actors (the ‘baby’ and the ‘mommy’), but also on their roles in the story. In other words, the story can be fully understood by considering the events and situations that make up the story – the ‘mommy’ ‘picking up’ the ‘baby’ in response to ‘what happens’ to the baby, ‘crying’. In saying so, the association between the categories of ‘baby’ and ‘mommy’ with the membership categorization device ‘the family’ is also signified through the ‘situation’ which interconnects them. Accordingly, in categorization work it is central for the analysts to take into account not only the person categories but also the relationship between them which is indicated by the events or situation. It is believed that this kind of analysis can make categorization analysis more comprehensive and can contribute to the development of the existing traditional MCA.

The importance of categorizations of events or situations constitutes one of Sarangi’s and Candlin’s (2003a) concerns in their commentary on working on discourse analysis in health care setting. Drawing on MCA, in their editorial in a special issue of *Health, Risk, and Society*, Sarangi and Candlin (2003a) foreground how language and discourse play a significant part in how we categorize events and things in discipline-specific ways. Using various theoretical and methodological underpinnings, the papers presented in the volume

can be seen as a research practice of the so-called 'non-person' categorization work and show instances of categorizations of events and situation in health care context. They deal with data taken from diverse research sites; clinical consultations between physicians and patients, clinical decision-making meetings, counselling clinics, online newsgroups, and narrative diary entries. They principally focus on issues surrounding the formulation and the discoursal management of the explanation of risk and risk behaviour in a range of health and social care sites, such as genetics, cancer, hormone replacement therapy, and HIV/AIDS. Grounding on the perspective of discourse analysis, Sarangi and Candlin are concerned with the identification or the categorization of 'risk' which emerges as the main theme constituted by various events and situations articulated in health care setting.

Another example of non-person categorizations which also involves events categorizations is the work of Drew (1978), reported in his paper entitled 'Accusations: The occasioned use of members' knowledge of "religious geography". He scrutinizes transcripts from the Scarman Tribunal into violence and civil disorder in Northern Ireland during 1969. From the witnesses' accounts, he shows how specific geographical place names are employed to categorize the religious orientation of 'people involved' and thereby make further inferences on the actions and nature of the events that such persons were seen to be a part.

In light of these previous studies, this study seeks to extend the application of MCA from the traditional concern about persons per se as the object of investigation into the categorizations of *situations* or *events* (see Sarangi & Candlin, 2003a) associated to persons embedded in narratives. According to Sarangi and Candlin (2003, p. 117), "categories are spectacles through which we routinely, albeit largely unconsciously, observe and classify events and experiences". Categories are thus sequentially organised in and through observable structures of situations and events in everyday lives.

> Categorization – generally understood as definition of *situations* (including events, actions, roles, identities, knowledge claims, etc) in everyday and professional and institutional settings – is a meaning-making activity, deeply embodied in human experience and understanding (Sarangi & Candlin, 2003a, p. 115 my emphasis).

Participants' narratives are full of biographical life events taking place at different stages of life or era. Through these historical events, we can understand who they were, the situation they are facing, and how they respond to such events. The main concern of this study is to reveal the extent to which social change can be explained through categorizations of such events. In doing so, focal themes seem to be the most relevant MCDs for these categories of events so as to identify to what extent social change has taken place. The insights from the

analysis in this study will be useful for explaining categorizations of participants which will be based on their respond to such events, which will be explored in Chapter 6.

I now move to discuss MCD and categories. This study views categories as discursively constructed rather than given. In discourse analytical research like this study, categories and MCDs may 'emerge' (rather than being assigned) concurrently and thus the analyst may be challenged to derive correlations among the emerging categories and their associated MCD. This may raise issues of whether it is the categories or the MCD that need to be identified first. The common-sense underlying the categories or the MCD of "The baby cried. The mommy picked it up" is uncontroversial and relatively static in society. To attend this issue of the dynamic nature of categories or the MCD, while this present study allows for the emergence of categories and MCDs in such a natural way, it has also benefited from the insights from the earlier semiotic study of government policies and social historical context of the study.

This study sees MCDs as an *apparatus* or "a set of resources and practices" (Schegloff, 2007b, p. 467) and, accordingly, argues that they serve as both *object or subject matter* and *the means of analysis* (Eglin & Hester, 1999; Sarangi & Candlin, 2003a). The analyst needs to fully understand participants' MCDs articulated in the narratives as well as to have a sufficient stock of MCDs in order to be able to examine participants' accounts. The consequence of this is that there are possibilities in which the analysis involves "deploying concepts other than those used by participants themselves, and, often, adjudicating between the different descriptions of similar things provided by different participants" (Sealey, 2007, p. 643). Joint categorization between the analyst and the participants is thus common in categorization analysis. It is thus important for the analyst to understand the world of the participants, i.e. how their world is categorized and how they categorize their world.

In line with the principle of LE, this study strongly emphasises the need to investigate categories and MCDs within their context, as posited by Hester and Eglin (1997a) with their central concept of 'categories in context'. As with the argument that the production of categories is not context-free, in the analysis and interpretation it is crucial to take into account the real situations in which categories emerge. Context here is important for explaining and understanding the locally shared knowledge about what features a given category seems to carry. Incorporating the micro and macro dimensions of the categories (see Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002), this study seeks to provide explanatory and evaluative account of such situations and events categories (see Schegloff, 2007a).

> However, non-personal objects and their categorization clearly display a normative organisation in the sense that utterances often *not only derive their sense from 'stocks of common-sense knowledge' but can also, in terms of categories in context, be mapped and tied to other categories in terms of locally situated conditions of relevance, activity and context* (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002, p. 66 my emphasis).

In this vein, this study holds that categorization of discourse needs to embrace both the specific discursive and social properties that underlie categories. Without subordinating the importance of structural and formal linguistic analysis, to explain social practice it is not sufficient to deal only with the linguistic analysis of what is literally said or written. It is indeed possible to do viable MCD analysis of the kind conducted by McHoul and Watson (1984), in which they break down and examine fragments in a sentence. However, this kind of analysis should also deal with common-sense knowledge underlying the fragments, which is itself complex, dynamic and socially situated.

In order to understand from where common sense knowledge arises', Sacks invokes two rules of application, namely the economy rule and the consistency rule. Sacks (1992) defines the economy rule as the process by which 'if a member uses a single category from any device then he/she can be recognized to be doing adequate reference to a person'. The consistency rule states that if a member of a certain population has been categorized within a particular device then other members of that population can be categorized in terms of the same collection. Sacks (1992) derives a corollary known as the hearer's maxim which states:

> If two or more categories are used to categorise two or more members of some population and those categories can be heard as categories from the same collection then: hear them that way (p. 221).

It is also important to note that when dealing with the common-sense that underlies recognisability of the categories, people may have different perspectives with respect to the same issue. Thus this study holds that (1) common-sense knowledge is local and thus cannot be generalised, and (2) common-sense knowledge is contingent and subject to changes.

In this study, data were coded at multiple levels of complexity. Recurring instances were noted and served to inform the thematic findings of the study. In the light of this interactive process of analysis, there was a process of going back and forth between the available information (theories and findings of earlier studies in this thesis) and available data. This iterative process was important for making meaning of the events so as to provide in-depth discussions. The process of analysis involved single voice or case and cross-voice/case analysis. Transcripts were read and re-read, especially to identify and code patterns or themes that typically emerged in each narrative. Once an in-depth understanding had been achieved

of the individual cases, I began a broader analysis involving cross-case analysis to identify discursive patterns.

5.3 Findings and Discussion

The discussion that follows covers two main insights from the categorization analysis, namely, thematic and temporal categorizations of *situations and events* articulated in participants' narratives.

5.3.1 Thematic categorizations

This section addresses the first concern of this study, to identify the themes emerging from participants' narratives of experience. To do so, it focuses on the identification of Membership Categorization Devices (MCDs) and their categories. In the rest of the chapter I consider *themes* as MCDs, *events and situations* as categories, and between them are the areas where the categories emerge. The event when a participant had difficulty in joining a school activity, for example, is a category that belongs to the MCD 'equality' in the area of 'education'. In general, the categories (situations and events) and the MCDs (themes) were analyzed concurrently without subordinating the importance of any of them.

With respect to the categories, two important points emerged from the data. Firstly, the events or situations invoked by participants were not limited about those that took place in their site. They brought various instances of political, religious, and social issues. Secondly, it was found that cross referencing commonly occurred in a way that, while some categories were site specific, in most cases the categories were shared across sites. The situation when participants were treated equally or unequally at schools, for example, did not emerge from the school site data only, but also from the narratives of participants drawn from business and church sites. Such shared events, which are repeatedly invoked by participants, constitute dominant events or discourses which interconnect discourses across sites.

In a nutshell, the categorization analysis of events and situations across voices and sites in this study was a complex process, but generated rich insights and a variety of thematic MCDs. However, principled selection needed to be carried out in order to provide more detailed and deliberate explanations rather than presenting mere descriptive accounts of scattered themes. To achieve this, the analysis sought to prioritize the themes which could help link participants' experiences with the discursive practices of ethnic accommodation yielded from the semiotic study in Chapter 4. The interdiscursive correlations between the discourses emerging from different perspectives serve to bridge the macro and micro

perspective of the discursive practice as well as to link the perspective of the government and that of the minority Chinese. As can be seen later in participants' accounts, discursive practices of ethnic accommodation through the policies constitute one of the important resources participants used in constructing their narratives. They drew several instances which interconnected what they experienced and what was practised in society to what had been enshrined in the government policies. It thus can be discerned that participants were generally aware of the changes that the government had brought about through its promulgations.

The MCDs emerging from narratives can be distilled into four key focal themes – equality, acceptance, tolerance, and trust. In the discussion that follows, how the themes serve as MCDs is first of all explained and contextualized according to the shared common-sense about the themes within the context of the study. Such definitions of the themes are important for making meaning of and for seeking the relevance of the emerging categories. In order to illuminate each theme, relevant examples are taken from the narratives and all names of participants are made pseudonyms. The data are in Indonesian, but English translations are provided directly after each extract.

5.3.1.1 Theme 1: Equality

Equality can be understood as the extent to which citizens have equal rights and duties before the law, regardless of their ethnic origins, and have access to, and share in, available resources. According to Lamont & Molnár (2002), such access to resources is often determined by social segmentation and differences which are widely perceived and accepted by society and shaped by the state's politics with respect to the minority. The instances participants invoked in this theme reveal their expectations that, given their political status as Indonesian citizens, they could enjoy equal quality of life with other Indonesian citizens. Issues of citizenship are not perceived as problematic anymore in the data, given that the participants are all Indonesian-born and thus Indonesian citizens. What matters is their entitlement to the rights and responsibilities of Indonesian citizenship. There are three areas where equality becomes an issue in the narratives, namely, education, employment, and politics.

Extract 1 is an example showcasing the theme of equality which suggests that, first of all, significant changes have taken place in many ways. While in the past many opportunities were closed for Chinese Indonesians (1.1-2), more job opportunities have now been opened up for them. Suantara himself is now a senior teacher at a high school.

Extract 1 Suantara, a Chinese teacher, p. 4

1. *Dulu karena iklimnya sendiri yang tidak mengkondisikan. Misalnya Cina mau*
2. *jadi militer, mau duduk di pemerintahan kan susah. Pada umumnya ada*
3. *perubahan, jelas. Hanya saja, sekarang perubahannya lebih ke mana. …*
4. *Sekarang kan siapa saja boleh, meskipun secara tidak tertulis mungkin sudah*
5. *ada 'dosa asal'. Misalnya lagi, Kristiani mau menduduki sekolah-sekolah*
6. *negeri yang favorit kan juga susah karena secara tidak langsung mungkin ada*
7. *'dosa asal'. Mau kerja di pemerintahan juga saringannya ketat. Memang tidak*
8. *tertulis, tapi faktanya begitu.*

(In the past the situation did not support us. Let's say, it was not easy for the Chinese to get jobs in the military and to hold a government office. In general, there have been changes, for sure. However, we are not sure to what extent the changes will take place … Now everyone may [get jobs], although this is unwritten but probably because of 'original sin'. Another example, it is not easy for a Christian to go to a preferred public school. It is probably the indirect effect of 'original sin'. The selection process is highly restrictive if we wish to apply for governmental jobs. It is not written, but that is the fact)

However, it should be noted that, while asserting such positive changes, Suantara also raised some points that illustrate the degree to which changes have flowed through to real life situations. While many opportunities are now widely available for them compared to the past, in many instances the access to these opportunities (in Suantara's view) is still "restrictive" (1.7), preventing many Chinese Indonesians from taking maximum advantage of them. In terms of employment, while more job opportunities are now available for them, government jobs are still not easy to obtain (1.7). In terms of education, while schools are now more open to students from any ethnic and religious background, it is not easy to enter good quality schools (1.5-6). These situations suggest that Chinese Indonesians are *not fully* accorded the access to employment and educational resources equally with other Indonesian citizens yet. He also associated the Chinese group with Christianity (1.5), another identity which has considerably heightened the othering of this ethnic group. Christians are another minority group in this largest Muslim populated country in the world. Here, Chinese Indonesians are more likely to be Christian than are other ethnic groups in Indonesia, so that the two (ethnicity and religion) are sometimes associated in people's minds.

It is interesting that Suantara used the terms 'not written' and 'original sin' to describe the practices (1.5-7). The use of these terms can imply that, firstly, these forms of discriminatory practices are not recommended by the policies enacted by the Reform that have postulated equal treatment to Chinese Indonesians (see Chapter 4). Secondly, Suantara was trying to compare that situation with the othering of Chinese Indonesians during the New Order which was legally written into policies. The discourse underlying and emerging from the use of 'unwritten' and 'original sin' is worth deeper explanation and will be further discussed in Section 5.3.2, the historical perspective of the emerging themes.

With respect to such 'unwritten practices' at schools, I was able to talk to some Chinese students of a public high school. Given insights from extract 1 about how restrictive it is to be able to go to a public school in the current context, I was interested to hear their stories of being a minority in the education context. In extract 2, I specifically present an experience encountered by David. He explained that not every student has full access to the enjoyment of equal learning opportunities, for example, for joining the Red Cross and the science club.

Extract 2 David, a Chinese student, p. 3

9. *Itu sudah menjadi rahasia umum. Kita tidak diperbolehkan. Tapi kayak*
10. *lambang PMR bukan lagi red cros tapi red crasy (sabit merah). Dan itu kami*
11. *memaklumi, ya silahkan kami tidak masalah. Tapi yang jadi masalah adalah*
12. *KIR, sebab kir itu kan ilmiah, tidak ada hubungannya dengan ilmiah*

(It has been a public secret. We are not allowed, say, to join the Red Cross. They have changed it to Red Crescent though. That's okay, we can understand the name changing. We are alright [with not joining the Red Cross]. But the problem is with the science club, because it's about science … [Ethnicity] has nothing to do with science.)

It might be premature to conclude that David's school has restricted Chinese students' participation in academic activities. However, David's account implied that it has been not surprising to find Chinese students having limited access to engagement in those activities compared to other Indonesian students (2.9). His particular concern was that education should be immune from any forms of practices that other ethnic minorities and in which ethnicity should be irrelevant in determining how far they can engage in the learning process (2.12).

In terms of access to politics, in extract 3, Xi Zuan used the term "terbuka" or "open" (3.13) to characterize the political situation after the Reform. To the best to my knowledge, the number of Chinese politicians has increased dramatically given the small percentage of the total Chinese community in the country. Xi Zuan spoke positively about this new accommodative environment, although he felt that power and dominance over the minorities are still maintained (3.14-16).

Extract 3 Xi Zuan, a Chinese businesman, p.5-6

13. *Cuma, sekarang ini kan situasi politik sudah sedemikian terbukanya dan*
14. *situasi ini menyebabkan kadang-kadang ada satu kelompok yang merasa kuat,*
15. *terus menekan kelompok lain yang minoritas. Minoritas itu bisa macam-*
16. *macam ya, bukan dari etnis saja, tapi dari agama dan sebagainya.*

(The political situation is now more open, although there are groups of people who think that they are more powerful and thus can suppress other minority groups. The minorities can be various, not only ethnic groups, but also religious ones, and so on)

Another account, of a Chinese pastor, explains precisely how political freedom has taken place (extract 4). While the situation is now much better than the past, the remaining issue is about how far Chinese Indonesians could go. Petrus said 'it is not easy' in an ironical way (4.21-22). Ethnicity, within the context of minority and majority, seems to be a major issue determining how far a person can engage in the Indonesian politics (4.21-22).

Extract 4 Petrus, a Chinese pastor, p. 3

17. *Kita bisa lebih masuk ke, misalnya, tingkat pemerintahan yang lebih*
18. *tinggi. Istilah kata kita mau mencalonkan presiden juga boleh*
19. *sekarang, kan? Mau gubernur juga boleh, kan? Tapi kalau dulu,*
20. *kan, waduh, rasanya jauh bener. Dalam segala segi kita bisa masuk,*
21. *walaupun, maaf, tanda kutip, tidak semudah itu lolosnya. Tetapi,*
22. *etnis kan kita sudah dilihat, diperhitungkan, begitu.*

(We also have more opportunities to work for the government. Let's say we can run for presidential election now, right? We can become a governor too. In the past this was far from being possible. In everything we now have access, but, sorry, in quotation, "it is not easy". They look at our ethnicity)

Similarly, Bambang, a successful businessman and politician, stated that political freedom is relatively secure in general, given that there is an increasing number of Chinese Indonesians in the Indonesian political platform nowadays. His appointment to lead one of mostly Muslim populated districts has been called as a milestone in Indonesia. However, for him it is not easy to deal with the political elites who, for some reasons, may not support him (extract 5). Regardless of the changes in political dynamics nationally and among Chinese Indonesians, He is pushing the nation forward and want to prove that Chinese Indonesians can do and be something in the country. His political life has shown that Chinese Indonesians are moving forward by breaking barriers that had defined Indonesia's socio-political environment. He is one of those who has changed the game by having voters appraise politicians on their merits (5.24) instead of ethnic and religious markers.

Extract 5 Bambang, a Chinese businessman and politician, p. 7

23. *Saya rasa tidak masalah. Saya bisa jadi pemimpin dengan 93%*
24. *muslim. Kita buktikan kita lebih berguna. Yang masalah justru elit-*
25. *elit politik.*

(I don't think it's a problem. I became a leader of a 93% Muslim populated district. Let's prove that we can be more useful. The problem is with the political elites)

5.3.1.2 Theme 2: Acceptance

Acceptance refers to issues in relation to acknowledgement of an ethnic group and its identity as part of the wider society or the state. To represent issues of acceptance, I use participants' accounts which reflect their feelings and desires about being accepted,

respected, and acknowledged as they are of Chinese descent. In general, participants perceived that there has been a shift from overt rejection in the past to a more inclusive environment after the Reform. Their participation in various organizations and even some of them are in the leadership have shown their social engagement and acknowledgement of their role by society.

One interesting issue which was consistently raised in the narratives is about ethnic labelling (see De Cillia et al., 1999) or, in a more negative sense, has been referred to as the practice of name-calling (see Spivak, 1987). Not only has ethnic labeling become a political agenda of the state (see Chapter 4), this identity attribute constitutes a major concern for participants in everyday contexts. This discursive means of ethnic labelling has proven to be an obvious evidence of acceptance, or non-acceptance in some cases, of ethnic identity which also plays a role in building people's self-esteem as an ethnic group. Extract 6 provides a more detailed example of issues surrounding labelling of the ethnic group.

Extract 6 Tegar, Chinese Mandarin teacher, p. 2

26. *Begini saja, kalau you bertanya kepada saya, "Bapak etnis apa?" itu*
27. *sebenarnya saya kurang suka. Kalau di pemerintahan misalnya, "Bapak suku*
28. *Tionghoa?" saya katakan jujur saja, orang tua saya lahir dan besar di sini.*
29. *Setelah beberapa puluh tahun, saya lahir di sini juga. Tapi kenapa masih ada*
30. *perbedaan itu? Begitu saja sih. Saya juga pernah belajar di Beijing. Di sini*
31. *dulu waktu kecil masih banyak yang memanggil saya, "Eh, Cina! Eh, Cina!"*
32. *Jadi memang di sini berkembang suatu mindset bahwa kami memang tidak*
33. *seperti orang Indonesia. Jadi, kami hanya orang luar yang berada di sini*

(If someone asks me, "which ethnic group do you belong to?", actually I don't like it. When government officials asked me "Are you a Tionghoa?" Let me tell the truth, my parents were born and raised here [in Indonesia]. After some decades, I was born here too. But why are there still distinctions? That's it. I studied in Beijing too. When I was a child there were many calling me "Hey Cina! Hey Cina!" So there has been a *mindset* here that we are not like other Indonesians. So we are just strangers here)

Extract 6 can be highlighted with respect to two events or situations experienced by Tegar, namely, when he was called 'Cina' – the feeling of being rejected during childhood; and when he was asked about his ethnicity – the feeling of doubt and of being considered as a stranger in his home country. While the first demonstrates rejection in the past, the second shows persisting doubts with respect to inclusion into the wider Indonesian society in the current context. The first event when he was called 'Cina' was also experienced by some other participants, for example, Edo (extract 7), Iman (extract 8) and Yoki (extract 9).

Extract 7 Edo, a Chinese businessman, p.3

34. *Biasa, kalau dulu tahun segitu ya—mungkin tahun '70-an—itu masih sering di-*
35. *Cina-Cina-kan. Tidak tahu dulu sejarahnya bagaimana, tapi kalau dulu kita di*
36. *kampung ada beberapa juga yang men-Cina-Cina-kan*

(It was common. In the 70s – people called us Cina. I did not know how it happened in the past, but in the country side, some people called us Cina)

Extract 8 Iman, a Chinese businessman, p. 1

37. *Pada waktu itu, sejak kecil yang saya rasakan ketika tahun baru Imlek*
38. *orang2 bilang " ee... Cina lu, Cina..". Saya kan sering main layang2 tiap*
39. *hari dilempari dari belakang. Itu kan peristiwa sebelum tahun 1965 ya*

(At that time, when I was a child, during Chinese New Year celebrations people said "Hey … Cina, you Cina". I was playing with my kite every day and they threw stones at me from behind. But that was before 1965)

Extract 9 Yoki, a Chinese pastor, p. 4

40. *Cuma hanya ejekan-ejekan anak yang 'haram' karena makan babi, kita*
41. *disebut-sebut 'Cina', pernah ada yang bilang satu dua orang menyebut kami*
42. *PKI.*

(They just mocked me and called me as a 'haram' child because I ate pork. We were called 'Cina'. One or two people even called us PKI (the communist party))

These participants, i.e. Tegar, Edo, Iman, and Yoki recalled the moments when they were called 'Cina' as traumatic events (extracts 6, 7, 8 and 9) during the Old Order and the New Order periods. These moments of being called 'Cina' were frightful and remained in the participants' memories decades later. For them, it was not just a matter of ethnic attributes; this discursive practice of labelling brought with it violent psychological and sometimes physical consequences. For Chinese Indonesians in general, the use of 'Cina' would remind them of their attachment to their origins and thus became part of the rejection of this ethnic group by the Indonesian community. Yoki (extract 9) invoked that in addition to the labelling 'Cina', he was assigned with the atttibute of 'haram' (eating pork is forbidden according to the Islamic norms) and was assumed to have affiliations with the communist party. These attributes add the impression of how different they are from the mainstream. As mandated in 1967 (see Chapter 4), the term 'Cina' was perceived as having similar negative connotations to 'inlander' for native Indonesians and 'nigger' for people of African descent. 'Cina' thus became the most common racist term and a form of a verbal abuse and harassment. It was a derogatory term referring to a negative stereotype implying that the Chinese were greedy, unclean, weak and immoral (see Aguilar, 2001).

The second event recounted by Tegar was when more recently he was dealing with official matters and was asked by a government officer whether he was of Chinese descent. The question was not to find out what his ethnicity was, but about whether he was of specifically Chinese descent (6.26-28). It seemed for some reason that Chinese faces have attracted particular attention among officials. Whatever the motives of the official asking the question, Tegar felt offended particularly because he and his parents were Indonesian-born and had been integral part of the country for decades (6.28-30). Directly after recounting this event, he expressed his doubts by asking "[b]ut why are there still distinctions" (6.29-30). He later said, "[s]o there has been a *mindset* here that we are not like other Indonesians. So we are just strangers here" (6.32-33). For him this question was not relevant given that official service was meant to be given to all citizens regardless of ethnicity. Such prejudiced behaviours have been planted in the mind of people and affected the way they treat others from ethnic groups other than their own. He had the feeling of what Hui (2011) described by the phrase "Strangers at home". Hui posits that, as strangers, Chinese Indonesians feel that their lives have been filled with struggles regarding their place in the making of their own history, and with questions or doubts about about ethnic identity, nationality, and nationalism.

5.3.1.3 Theme 3: Tolerance

Issues of tolerance are those frequently associated with giving place to and not interfering with practices or forms of life of a person or a group even if one disapproves of them. It is an important concept which advocates pluralism or recognition of different cultures and implies "mutual respect between the various groups in a society for one another's cultures, a respect that allows minorities to express their own culture without suffering prejudice or hostility" (Schaefer, 1990, p. 47).

In extract 10, Robi used the word "freedom" to categorize the current situation with respect to the practice of Chinese cultures and traditions as the era of "no more discrimination" (10.43).

Extract 10 Robi, a Chinese church activist, p. 7

43. *Merasakan satu kebebasan, sudah tidak merasakan diskriminasi. Bahkan sekarang*
44. *ada hari-hari orang Chinese, sudah boleh merayakan. Barongsai di setiap kota*
45. *sudah boleh. Ada Imlek, sudah boleh merayakan. Sekolah sekarang sudah ada*
46. *bahasa Mandarinnya, negeri atau swasta, Kristen atau umum. Semakin baik.*

(I can feel freedom now, there is no more discrimination. Even now people can enjoy Chinese celebrations. *Barongsai* can be performed in every city. Mandarin is taught at state and private or Christian and public schools, … Much better)

Three events were used by Robi to illuminate to what extent freedom has been given to and enjoyed by Chinese Indonesians (10.44-46) – *Barongsai* (dragon dance) performance, Chinese New Year celebration, and the use and teaching of Mandarin language. These instances exhibit various significant breakthroughs in the Indonesian history given that the New Order officially banned any form of Chinese culture (see Chapter 4).

Similarly, Petrus, the Chinese pastor, also showed his optimism towards social change embedded in this discourse of tolerance of Chinese cultures. He said "I think there has been a really positive change" (11.47). Petrus detailed the same social practices (i.e. regarding Chinese New Year and Mandarin language) which have marked this cultural liberation.

Extract 11 Petrus, a Chinese pastor, p. 3

47. *Saya pikir sangat bagus perubahannya… Kalau dari sudut situ, kita boleh*
48. *berbangga, kita boleh senang karena sejak pemerintahan Gus Dur terutama*
49. *itu—kita kan kental dengan perayaan Imlek—itu sudah bisa bebas. Ya?*
50. *Kemudian bahasa-bahasa yang kita gunakan, pengantar di sekolah juga,*
51. *Mandarin, sudah mulai bisa.*

(I think there has been a really positive change … From that perspective [of change], we can feel proud, we can feel happy because since the era of Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid) particularly – we can celebrate Imlek (Chinese new year) – it is now free. Also about the language that we use, Mandarin can be taught at schools.)

Petrus particularly mentioned that the turning point was the presidency of Abdurrahman Wahid (well-known in Indonesia as Gus Dur) (11.48). It has been generally acknowledged that unquestionably Gus Dur has influenced public discourses surrounding issues of difference in terms of ethnicity, cultures and religions. He is known as 'the father of pluralism' in Indonesia, the one who is poured with praise and respect for his achievements in promoting democracy, humanity and multiculturalism.

Tolerance seems to be the most uncontroversial discourse in the narratives. Unlike the discourses of equality and acceptance, the discourse of tolerance emerges as the most affirmative and convincing evidence of ethnic accommodation. It is perceived positively and is least problematized by participants. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, the growing tolerance in Indonesia is part of the impact of the issuance of several promulgations accommodating Chinese culture and traditions. They are Presidential Instruction no. 4/1999 (on Mandarin language), Presidential Decree no 6/2000 (on Chinese culture and traditions) and Presidential Decree no 19/2002 (on Chinese New Year) (see Chapter 4).

5.3.1.4 Theme 4: Trust

Trust can be defined as the attitude of having confidence or belief in the behaviour, truth, and reliability of other persons or groups. It is an intricate construct which is established through inter-personal or inter-group relationships, built through time, and involves manifold social aspects (see Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006). Issues of trust which emerged in the narratives are those particularly with respect to participants' perceptions of the government and their commitment in providing equal treatment to all citizens. It can be discerned from the earlier discussion of particularly equality and acceptance that there have been various gaps in the implementation of the policies. Simply put, participants questioned why they are somehow still regarded as the 'Chinese Other' while the government has mandated equality and acceptance. As a result, the Chinese participants started developing assumptions about the government, particularly about its willingness to create an accommodative environment. I now move to provide more events which specifically give rise to issues of trust so as to exhibit participants' questions about equal treatment for every citizen put forward earlier by participants. In some accounts, this issue of unequal treatment of Chinese Indonesians is linked to the corrupt behaviour of officials. In extract 12, Bono was more specific about such corrupt behaviour of the officials when providing civil services to citizens.

Extract 12 Bono, a Chinese businessman, p. 2

52. *Coba-coba, itu urusannya jadi korupsi. Pengen uang, uang kopi, uang apa.*
53. *Tapi itu kalau dilawan, ditolak, saya kira mereka juga akan bisa lagi. Saya*
54. *rasa semua orang kalau mengurus KTP ya biasalah dimintai uang, polisi*
55. *minta [uang] SIM.*

(You know, it's all about corruption. They want money, coffee money, whatever. Even though their request is rejected, I think they will still continue the practice. I think everyone is asked to pay some money when applying for an identity card. The same with the police, they ask for money when we want to apply for a driver's licence)

The events that Bono invoked were all about unfair behaviours of public officials who often asked for money from those who were seeking their services, for example, when applying for an identity card and driver's licence. Such phenomena, when a public official dishonestly and improperly exercises official functions and breaches public trust for personal gain, could occur anytime. By saying that "everyone is asked to pay some money" (12.54), Bono highlighted that corruption has been a regular practice and that it is the officials who are corrupt. He said: "[e]ven though their request is rejected, I think they will still continue the practice." (12.53). Bono's account can be seen as an expression of distrust, that he did not

have faith in the behaviour of the officials which, he thought, should reflect and practise fairness and justice.

Many participants were aware that as a result of such corrupt practices there have been negative stereotypes imposed on particularly Chinese Indonesians, while they themselves feel that they are the group that has become the victims of such practices. In extract 13, Iman was straightforward and resists the identity assigned to them in relation to their attitudes to the government officials. He first said that "I don't agree with what people say, that Chinese Indonesians like to bribe" (13.56). By saying that "So then people (officers) like to have business with the Chinese" (13.59-60), Iman argued that the Chinese community has become a target for those seeking more money as they believe that the Chinese people has a lot of financial resources.

Extract 13 Iman, a Chinese businessman, p. 4

56. *Saya tidak setuju kalau dikatakan orang China itu suka menyuap. Kalau*
57. *orang Jawa lihat orang China biasa, pasti disuap. Temen saya di luar negeri*
58. *tidak ada yang menyuap. Di negeri ini, menyuap karena semua kepengin*
59. *yang minta disuap. Jadi cocok seperti istilah 'tumbu entuk tutup'. Makanya*
60. *paling senang cocok berbisnis dengan Chinese. … Jadi tidak benar kalau*
61. *orang Chinese suka menyuap. Itu hal yang harus diluruskan. Kalau orang*
62. *Cina hidupnya mencari uang karena merasa hidupnya tidak aman. Karena*
63. *latar belakang diskriminasi, kalau sewaktu-waktu diusir harus punya uang.*

(I don't agree with what people say, that Chinese Indonesians like to bribe. When a Javanese person sees a Chinese one, the Chinese would bribe him for sure. None of my friends who live abroad give bribes. In this country (Chinese) people bribe because (Indonesian) people want to be bribed. So it is good business. So then people (officers) like to have a business with the Chinese … So, it is not true that Chinese people like to bribe. This must be clarified. Chinese people like to make money as their lives were not secure here. Because they were discriminated against. In case we were deported anytime, they had to have some money with them)

He invoked that it was the history that in the past Chinese Indonesians like to collect money for survival, because they were afraid of being deported (13.61-63). This story in the past is not relevant anymore nowadays. However, there are still some beliefs that Chinese Indonesians need to secure their life and that they would do anything (including paying extra money) to make their life easier in Indonesia. In the current context it has been common that officials take bribes, or people give them bribes, either in the hope of reciprocation or as reciprocation for an earlier favour (13.58-59). It has been common knowledge that it is sometimes not easy to deal with bureaucratic hurdles when wishing to start a new business in Indonesia. While Chinese slanted eyes and white skin would be targets for officials seeking money, paying something to officials seemed to be the only way to avoid problems and to

secure the Chinese their peaceful lives. In describing the situation and comparing this situation with the practice in other countries (13.57-58), Iman argued that it is the environment or the surrounding people, particularly the officials, that triggers such dishonest behaviours.

Another issue of trust can be seen in extract 14.

Extract 14 Edo, a Chinese businessman, p. 2-3

64. *... bahkan dulu ada teman saya di kuliah pun cerita bahwa sebelum kenal*
65. *saya dia tidak suka sama Cina, karena eyangnya dia pernah ditipu Cina. Ada*
66. *tiga teman saya sama-sama di fakultas itu, satu angkatan, ... Dia juga*
67. *bilang, "Mbiyen aku sengit banget lho karo Cina." "Kenapa?" "Lha*
68. *mbahku mbiyen diapusi Cina." .... "Tapi setelah kenal kamu, kok ternyata*
69. *lain ya?"*

(I had a university friend who told me that before he knew me he hated Chinese Indonesians. It was because his grandpa got deceived by a Chinese man. Three other friends in at the same faculty, in the same year, … also said, "I used to hate Chinese people" "Why" "My grandpa got deceived by a Chinese man" … "But after I knew you, I found you different")

Extract 14 shows that an event in the past can affect people's perception and relations in the present. The event was only experienced by one person yet Edo generalized it and assumed that all Chinese Indonesians would behave the same. His trust was breached and he then used the event to justify his perceptions and actions which were actually based on stereotypes shaped by an event he personally did not experience. He did not believe that Chinese Indonesians could be honest instead of deceiveful; he instead relied on his own long lasting assumptions about the bad characteristics of Chinese Indonesians. His personal relations with Edo have now changed the way he sees Chinese Indonesians.

Trust is a complex business and is a major topic on its own. Trust has been described in this study as a process that involves the vicious circle that has recurred throughout history. The practices described in extracts 12 and 13 are examples of how (dis)trust grows in a vicious circle involving ethnic appeals in discourses of bribery and corruption in Indonesian history. All in all, the big challenge for modern Indonesian society is thus about establishing trust in a generally distrustful and corrupt environment within this issue of ethnicity. The inconsistency of the implementation of the policies and the developing corrupt behaviours are heightened by the developing stereotypes about each group – Chinese Indonesians and officers. Chinese Indonesians are aware of the stereotype about their ethnic group which generalizes that all Chinese Indonesians have a lot of money and practice bribes. On the other hand they also assume that it is the other group who like to make use of them for corrupt

purposes. He mentioned a particular ethnic group – Javanese – the biggest ethnic group which dominate the Indonesia politics and economy.

5.3.2 Temporal categorizations

In this section, I examine the historical perspective of the thematic MCDs explored earlier in Section 5.3.1 in order to delineate how social change has been perceived by paricipants, particularly with respect to those four themes. This perception of social change can be discerned through the way participants interpret current events in relation to what happened in the past, or frame the themes within the framework of the 'old' or the New Order and the 'new' or the Reform.

It can be discerned that, in general, participants perceive and categorize the situation during the Reform era as more accommodative towards Chinese Indonesians, compared to what happened during the New Order era. They have enjoyed various opportunities to access public resources, have felt more accepted, and have enjoyed more freedom to observe their cultures and traditions. I now move to delineate in more detail how participants experienced being accommodated in such 'better' environments after the Reform started, as stated earlier. To illustrate and synthesize the situation explained earlier, I use Suantara's remarks 'unwritten' and 'original sin' (extract 1) from which different levels of ethnic accommodation can be captured. Other extracts are also drawn to support my explanation. The metaphor 'unwritten' can be associated with the negative connotations of 'written' or discursive practices of othering passed in the New Order policies. Moreover, by saying that "It is not written, but that is the fact" (1.8), Suantara made the point that some covert practices after the Reform are still evident, despite the fact that such discrimination is no longer officially mandated in the policies.

Three points can thus be highlighted about the situation faced by participants at the time of interview. Firstly, any form of othering Chinese Indonesians should be no longer relevant or valid after the Reform was initiated. In saying so, because ideologically Indonesia has become more accommodative to ethnic difference, any practice that is against the new policies should not be maintained. Secondly, the subtle practices that characterize the Reform are part of the effect of the 'original sin' or the othering practices which are explicitly 'written' in the New Order policies. This demonstrates that it is not easy to establish such an accommodative environment because people tend to inherit negative behaviours shaped in the past. To describe this phenomenon, Barnes uses the metaphorical term 'virus' (Barnes, 2000) which spreads out through time and space. We may also see it like erosion; it has a

huge impact and may take thousands of years to fix the damage socially and psychologically on the side of both the victims and perpetrator.

Thirdly, the metaphor 'unwritten' also demonstrates that the practices are subtle and covert in nature, and are sometimes *unintentionally* and *unconsciously* held by the holders. The school that David attended, I believe, did not purposely other Chinese students in terms of their participation in school activities (extract 2). However, Chinese students might feel they were not welcome, but in fact the other students/teachers would have no problem with them joining. Tegar (extract 6) also had the feeling of being othered although the officer might recognize his Chinese face and just intend to know or make sure whether he is a Chinese person. The same is true with other situations demonstrating *limited* access to governmental jobs, public schools and politics which have not realized the government's commitment of providing *equal* treatment as prescribed in the policies (extract 1). Suantara asserted that there might no longer be policies that regulate who can or cannot work as civil servants, yet in practice Chinese Indonesians are not given priority for taking such job (extract 1). Petrus in extract 4 also said ironically, "In everything we now have a chance, but, sorry, in quotation, 'it is not easy'. They look at our ethnicity" (4.20-22).

As a result of these dynamics of social change, participants were left with feelings of doubt and uncertainty with respect to the direction and future of ethnic accommodation (extract 1), as asserted by Suantara, "However, we are not sure to what extent the changes will take place" (1.2-3). This uncertainty is also exhibited in Tegar's account (extract 6) in which he questioned why officials still asked him about his ethnic identity. In the political context (extracts 3 and 4), it should be noted, however, that the increasing number of Chinese politicians has marked a watershed in ethnic othering in Indonesia. Even so, participants revealed that Chinese Indonesians have not enjoyed equal access to politics, particularly in terms of how far they can go.

All in all, participants' accounts have shown that Indonesia has moved away from the written or 'conscious, active and intended' othering and towards a more accommodative environment in which traces of subtle forms of othering are still evident. Such intended othering of the New Order is described by Heryanto: "The extent to which the New Order Self is premised on the *active* and *conscious othering* of the Chinese indicates how indispensable this ethnic Other is for the reproduction of the native Self" (1998, pp. 101, my emphasis) (see also my Chapter 3 for more examples of concious and even violent forms of othering). Chapter 4 has also shown the written forms of othering enacted by the New Order

with respect to citizenship certificates; the use of the term ‘Cina’; Chinese cultures and traditions; and treatment of Chinese Indonesians.

The forms of ‘unwritten’ types of othering that are still practised after the Reform are subtle and can occur in any aspect of life just like in the past. The difference is that in the past othering was blatant, direct, and detectable, while contemporary othering is subttle, indirect and ambiguous (see Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). However, due to its covertness, people should be aware that subtle othering can become a fertile ground for othering by individuals. In other words, such opaque practices of othering can be more dangerous as they are often difficult to detect and those who continue to hold views which regard certain groups as ‘Other’, as well as those that are targets of othering, may not have realized they were occurring.

5.3.3 Envisaging ethnic accommodation through focal themes and history

In this section I seek to link insights from the thematic and historical categorization analysis, reported in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, and to address the extent to which they can contribute to providing an explanatory warrant of discourses of ethnic accommodation. First of all, the themes are interdiscursive, mutually informing and sometimes overlapping, and it would be simplistic to regard each theme as independent from the others. These focal themes refer to the narrator’s orientation on the dominant strands in their life given their ethnic membership throughout Indonesian history. Dominant themes are constituted through repetition of and variations on the same theme by the same or different participants. Their interconnection can be explained in two ways. The first focuses particularly on the interconnection between the first three themes (equality, acceptance, and tolerance) and the second concerns how the three themes may relate to issues of trust.

In social studies, the first three themes are relatively common topics in the discussion of discourses of an ethnic minority within any context and are often referred to as the basis for indicating the status of a minority or its submission. Discussion pertaining to these three themes, i.e. on equality (e.g. Liao, 2000; Palmer, 2007; Zhiyong, 2010), on acceptance (e.g. Eshel & Dicker, 1995; LaBelle, 2007; Schwarzwald & Cohen, 1982), and on tolerance (e.g. Jha, 2013; McIntosh, Iver, Abele, & Nolle, 1995; Weldon, 2006) mostly take into account issues of power relations and social structure. Within the conceptualization of ethnicity adopted in this research, the interplay between identity, culture, and ethnic boundaries as building blocks of ethnicity (Nagel, 1994) (see Chapter 1) respectively imply that ethnic accommodation requires acceptance of ethnic identity, tolerance of ethnic culture, and

equality regardless of ethnic boundaries. Ideally, equality requires people to treat others with fairness, acceptance requires people to accept others as they are (with their cultural attributes), and tolerance requires people not to judge others' cultural differences.

In this study, participants have demonstrated that equality, acceptance, and tolerance have become their concerns and quests for generations in Indonesia. The events and associated discourses participants raised in these themes relate to the issues addressed by the state through policies. The policies determine the boundaries between who can be included or excluded (i.e. the policies on the need for the citizenship certificate and equal treatment of Chinese Indonesians), accepted (i.e. the policies on the annulment of the terms native and non-native and the instruction regarding the use of 'Tionghoa' and 'Cina'), and tolerated (i.e. the policies on Chinese cultures) in the country (see Chapter 4). However, when it comes to the societal level, these three themes are all about the implementation and effects of the laws, not merely about how the laws should ideally be implemented.

The last theme (trust) is more dynamic as it is about the consequences that may arise from the current practices and implementation of the policies. Firstly, the government's commitment in promoting and maintaining equality, acceptance and tolerance has much to do with how much trust can be established between the ethnic Chinese and the elites. Secondly, discriminatory practices (of the officers in this case) may affect the people's perception, attitudes and behaviours of the Chinese minority. This in turn may result in their inter-group behaviours and their ability to engage in the wider community. Thirdly, inter-group distrust can be even more complex and can manifest itself in many forms. Stereotypes (see extract 13 for examples of stereotypes regarding corruption and bribery), whether rooted in history or developed from inconsistent implementation of the policies, can be considered as the main sources of distrustful social relations. Such unproductive and prolonged stereotypes rooted in the past have interfered with the development of positive relations between the ethnic Chinese and the Indonesian majority.

In light of this, the relations between equality, acceptance, tolerance, and trust in the process of ethnic accommodation can be illustrated in Figure 5-1.

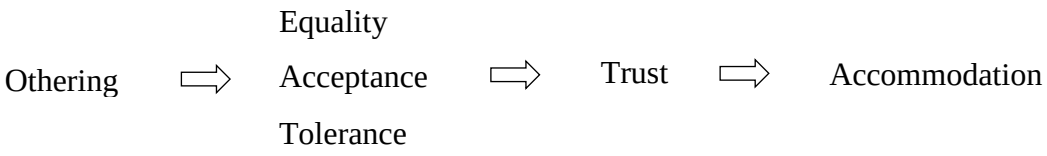

Figure 5-1 Focal themes in discourses of ethnic accommodation

Figure 5-1 highlights that the more society seeks and practises equality, acceptance, and tolerance, the more trust can be achieved. Ultimately, when those four themes are collectively and continuously maintained in society, negative effects of othering can be minimized and ethnic accommodation can be easier to achieve. Conversely, the lack of understanding and practising these four themes in society would appear to be the main driving force behind ethnic othering. People who hold such discriminatory attitudes or engage in discriminatory practices tend to justify in their own mind their unfairness, rejection, intolerance, and distrust to other ethnic group. In contrast, when members of a society treat each other equally and together embrace the same goal to the betterment of the country, practices that prejudice each other group can be reduced (Allport, 1954).

Trust in this study emerges as an intricate construct with two important premises, namely, it is relational and it is accomplished through time (see also Lewicki et al., 2006). It is relational because it entails relations between two conflicting groups and involves manifold socio-historical factors that shape the relations or interactions between them. In other words, trust is an inter-group business and is ‘a mutual achievement’ (O’Grady, Dahm, Roger, & Yates, 2014, p. 66); accordingly, it can only be achieved when both groups embrace trustworthy behaviours. It is the result of the interaction between those who trust and who can be trusted and the social structure (economy, politics, history, and other social factors) in which trust is being established.

The study has also evidenced that building trust is a time-consuming process. In the same vein, O’Grady et al. argue that, in discourse, trust is “a dynamic, interactive and co-constructed process” (O’Grady et al., 2014, p. 67). This implies that understanding the problems of trust and their roots can help untangle existing and prolonged inter-group misunderstanding. Given such a complicated web of trust, recovering distrustful relationships rooted in practices and beliefs from the past would help create more harmonious inter-group relationships which in turn can help enhance ethnic accommodation. The long-term relationship and knowledge about the out-group contribute to the development of trust that often increases over time and may, in turn, strengthen the relationship.

5.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter begins by arguing for the importance of accounting for participants' voices from different sites in examining participants' perceptions of social reality and change. It then draws on an integration of the principles of LE and MCA in order to identify and offer explanations of such social reality through the use of properties of language or discourse.

Indications of ethnic accommodation at the societal level are articulated and distilled into four thematic MCDs – equality, acceptance, tolerance, and trust – which are discursively interconnected and represent the multidimensionality of discourses of ethnic accommodation. Within these themes, participants perceive and experience more positive and accommodative environments after the Reform although they still report that othering in opaque and covert subtle forms is still evident. The findings are significant for understanding the societal and modern level of the practices of ethnic accommodation and in informing what needs to be done to achieve ethnic accommodation. Given that othering practices are still evident after the Reform, albeit in more subtle and opaque ways, society needs to increase its awareness of it. The realization of more inclusive and accommodative environments predicated on a societal approach to subtle forms of othering needs to be pursued together by all members of society. This chapter has also demonstrated the strong correlations between the emerging themes which can constitute a framework of ethnic accommodation in contemporary Indonesian society.

To probe more fully into the participants' perspectives, this research argues for the need to examine closely participants' attitudes and behaviours in responding to social reality which has been partly discussed in this chapter. In Chapter 6, I will address this social psychological issues by re-examining the same narrative data.

Chapter 6 The participants' perspective: The social psychology of ethnic accommodation

This study is part of the participants' perspective conceptualized in the multi-perspectival (MP) approach (Candlin & Crichton, 2011; Crichton, 2003, 2010) which primarily deals with 'the subjective experience of participants' (Crichton, 2010, p. 36) entailed in discourses of ethnic accommodation. It particularly aims at revealing participants' behaviours in coping with social reality and the majority group, and how such behaviours may in turn play a role in fostering ethnic accommodation. Drawing from Discursive Social Psychology (DSP) (e.g. Potter, 1998; Potter & Edwards, 2001; Wetherell, 2007) this study focuses on revealing the discursive patterns of the emerging social psychological issues, i.e. attitudes, behaviours and identity, from socially-situated narratives. The discursive patterns are identified systematically through Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks, 1972, 1974) of actions and activities that constitute the behaviours and identity of the doer.

This study is closely linked to the linguistic ethnographic study and is designed to go a step further by examining the social psychological state of participants in responding to social reality and change explored earlier in Chapter 5. The insights from the linguistic ethnographic study in Chapter 5 can be synthesized into two important points. Firstly, four key focal themes emerge from the narratives, namely, equality, acceptance, tolerance, and trust. These four themes are interconnected and demonstrate the multi-dimensionality of discourses of ethnic accommodation at the societal level. Secondly, participants perceive that the social practices after the Reform in relation to those four themes are better than the New Order practices, although subtle forms of ethnic othering can still be found. In light of these insights, this study pinpoints that participants' struggles did not cease once ethnic accommodation is politically enacted by the Reform government. While politically accommodation has been mandated by the Reform government (Chapter 4), social change has also been manifested in social reality at the societal level (Chapter 5). What is still missing from the semiotic and linguistic ethnographic studies is how such change is embodied in and influences people's behaviours. This study argues that social psychological aspects of ethnic accommodation such as attitudes, behaviours and identity play a crucial role in explaining the processes of ethnic accommodation.

The categorization analysis in this study was conducted concurrently with that in the linguistic ethnographic study reported in Chapter 5. It examined 15 interviews and 3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) which were drawn from three sites, namely, school, church, and business sites. Firstly, the analysis was carried out through in depth analysis of each participant's life story and across participants' stories. It privileged the singularity and uniqueness of each narrated story and sought to maintain faithfulness to historical details in biographical narratives (Somers, 1994). Secondly, a cross-case examination was also adopted, allowing me to see discursive patterns constructed by recurrences and emergences of discourses in the singular phase so as to provide overarching explanatory illumination of the issues being addressed in the study.

In this study, the findings are exemplified through stories of three participants (one participant from each site) in order to provide a detailed exploration of their lives from childhood to adolescence. This has also enabled me to look at how a particular action at one point in time is linked to later action(s) of the same participant, which is important for revealing how each participant constructed their identity within a historical context. The participants have been given pseudonyms in line with the ethics requirements of my research: Xi Zuan (a Chinese businesman), Suantara (a Chinese teacher), and Petrus (a Chinese pastor).

In the first section (6.1), I will discuss theoretical concerns of social psychology issues such as behaviours, identity and accommodation (Section 6.1.1) and how such issues can be approached through the principles of Discursive Social Psychology (DSP) (Section 6.1.2). The analytical affordances of the study will be discussed in Section 6.2with a focus on the relevance of category-bound activities (CBA), a device in Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), to examine action and activities which construct the identity of the doer. Section 6.3 will explore and discuss the findings of the study and Section 6.4 concludes with insights emanating from the study.

6.1 Approaching social psychological issues through discourse

6.1.1 Behaviours, identity, and accommodation

Attitudes and behaviours of individuals within a given social context have become a research interest for social psychologists. In this study the terms 'attitudes' and 'behaviours' are used hand in hand on the basis that attitudes and behaviours are interconnected and can influence each other (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). 'Attitude' can be conceptualized as a relatively stable organization of beliefs, feelings, and behavioural tendencies towards socially

significant objects, groups, events or symbols (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). This is to say that the way people judge these things can determine whether people react or behave favourably or unfavourably to them (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). For example, people are likely to avoid meeting people they dislike, and spend more time and money on things they like.

I now move to the role of these attitudes and behaviours in revealing a person's identity in an inter-group or inter-ethnic context: who he/she is and how he/she comes to be in responding to a certain situation and to people, given their ethnic identity. Identity itself is at once personal and social (Tajfel, 1974, 1979, 1982, 1978). In other words, identity can refer to group self-awareness of common unique characteristics and individual self-awareness of inclusion in a group. Participants of the study have their own self-attributions, yet they also share some common characteristics that can distinguish them from people in ethnic groups. Social identity of participants in this study can be associated with the sites of engagement (e.g. work place) and their Chinese ethnic membership. Sites of engagement (Scollon, 1997, 2001) refers to the real-time, unique social space in which engagement occurs. Such personal and social identity is discursively constructed in participants' life stories: while speaking about themselves they insert their profession or ethnicity as their resource to construct their narratives so as to make meaning of their life experience.

In an inter-group context, social or collective identity is constructed through the way people perceive and compare their own group with other groups (Turner & West, 2010). Tajfel (1974, 1978) argues that people show tendencies to evaluate their ethnic in-group positively and ethnic out-groups negatively, in order to build their own in-group self-esteem and positive social identity. Such positive or negative categorization and perceptions of in-groups or out-groups may affect attitudes and behaviours in inter-group relations. Put simply, people may choose to maintain distance from the other group or to accommodate them depending on how they perceive the identity of their own group and that of the other group.

Premised on this inter-group context, identity constitutes a crucial aspect in the social psychological process of ethnic accommodation. Drawing from the principles of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Gallois et al., 2005; Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991b; Giles & Smith, 1979), this study is concerned with exploring how issues of identity relate to the process of ethnic accommodation within a specific social context (see also my conceptualization of accommodation in Chapter 1). CAT offers a robust framework for explaining two possibilities for people's reactions when faced with an identity different from theirs; they can be called *convergence* and *divergence* (see Giles et al., 1991a; Giles & Smith, 1979). Convergence can be conceptualized as a strategy where individuals adapt to

another group's identity (e.g. culture and values) in order to reduce or minimize inter-group difference. It signals attitudes such as 'liking' and the 'desire' to be socially closer to the out-group. One particular motive for convergence is the desire to obtain approval or acceptance from the dominant group in particular (Giles et al., 2007). Divergence can be defined as the way individuals seek to retain their group identity so as to accentuate social and cultural difference between themselves and others.

This study highlights two important points. Firstly, any choice of strategies can have consequences for one's identity; and may lead to either stronger maintenance or possible loss of aspects of one's personal or social identity (Giles et al., 1991a). Phinney et al. (2001) believe that there are strong correlations between ethnic identity, acceptance of cultural difference and adaptation to the national identity. In other words, convergence and divergence are not only about a person's response to the other group's identity, they also explain how people engage with their own identity while seeking to dis-accommodate or accommodate the other group's identity. Secondly, these two processes are not necessarily exclusive of each other as people may have a concurrent commitment to both the heritage identity and the dominant culture practised in the wider society. Accordingly, in socio-cultural interaction, boundaries between in-group and out-group identity or between ethnic and national identity are sometimes contested.

6.1.2 Discursive Social Psychology

> "All we have access to is language-in-use. We do not have access to people's mental states, only to how they describe these states moment to moment" (Wetherell, 2007, p. 671).

Drawing from Discursive Social Psychology (DSP) (Potter, 1998; Potter & Edwards, 2001), this study is concerned with how attitudes, behaviours, and identity can be observed through language in use. In discourse studies, identity is seen as an emerging product in and through discursive processes rather than as a source of linguistic practices (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006). Narratives of experience are some of the many discursive means for disclosing inaccessible and implicit psychological issues. They are considered to be important expressions of one's identity through expressions of feelings, perceptions, and interpretations of life events within personal, social, and cultural contexts and, as argued by Titon, life stories tell "who one thinks one is and how one came to be that way" (Titon, 1980, p. 290). Put simply, narratives contain insights not only about realities of life but also about people's identity, i.e. how they

behave to cope with such reality, both as an individual and as members of a social group (see McAdams, 1993).

DSP is a discoursal enterprise within which the central topic of social psychology can be observed systematically through the voices of social actors (Potter, 1998; Potter & Edwards, 2001). As argued by Gibson: "Advocates of DSP typically argue for a focus on the ways in which social psychological topics and concerns are managed in discourse by social actors themselves" (Gibson, 2009, p. 396). Premised on this, DSP should not be understood as the social psychology of language. It eschews traditional research practices drawing from the approach of language and social psychology (e.g. Giles & St. Clair, 1979; Weatherall et al., 2007) which seeks to apply the methods and theories of social psychology to the study of language in society such as through experiments, surveys, or interview to derive empirical insights of natural interaction.

The relevance of DSP can be outlined in two premises, namely, DSP is constructed and bound to context and it is action-oriented. Firstly, DSP holds that both social reality and psychological issues such as memory, attitudes, behaviour, and identity constructs, are constructed through discourse (Gibson, 2009). On this premise, DSP is considered constructionist (Potter, 1996, 1998) in two ways: while people construct their worlds and reality through their descriptions and categorizations, those descriptions and categorizations are themselves constructed within a specific context. Participants' accounts, behaviours and identity emerging in discourse are not instantly shaped but are rather developed internally through experience and acquired and learned externally from the environment. Thus, in short, understanding the personal and social environment where behaviours and identity are produced is pivotal. Secondly, DSP is interested in discourse as social action and focuses on "situated activity" (Wetherell, 2007, p. 663) through which we can gain access to a person's psychological state, as explained clearly by Wetherell:

> Discursive psychologists study discourse as a practical, social activity, located in settings, occurring between people and used in practices. We usually take *discursive practices*, rather than the individual, as our unit of analysis. And, because we are psychologists, we are interested in studying how people do psychological things – emotions, memory, gender, identity, knowledge – in talk and texts, as discourse (Wetherell, 2007, p. 663 my emphasis).

Premised on this, Section 6.2 concerns the analytical tool that affords the examination of discursive practices in which individuals' psychological states of attitudes, behaviours, and identity can emerge. In this vein, Potter argues that DSP has a strong empirical focus with a close attention to a systemic analytical approach (Potter, 1998). To do that, this study deploys

Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) which has proven to be fruitful in the linguistic ethnographic study in Chapter 5.

6.2 A step further on Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA)

Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (Jayyusi, 1984; Sacks, 1972, 1974) is a useful methodological apparatus for discursive social psychologists wishing to examine the deployment of identity categories and social practices that (re)produce identity in discourse. While in general MCA can be a means through which a social phenomenon can be identified or categorized through the use of properties of language, this section seeks to explore further how this tool can be extended to examine social psychological issues of attitudes, behaviours, and identity. This extended exploration demonstrates that MCA is remarkably resilient over time and adaptable and applicable to the analysis of a range of categorization practices and interaction (Fitzgerald, 2012).

It has been stated in Chapter 5 that at the heart of MCA are the tools Sacks developed through his exploration and analysis the child's story ('The baby cried. The mommy picked it up') and the insight he gathers from that analysis. The chapter has also provided detailed information about the basic principles of MCA and emphasizes that categories can emerge through discourse and that categories are bound to context. I have also explored some controversies in relation to CA and MCA and stressed that MCA can be a fruitful method in its own right. I have also provided examples of how the application can be extended to particularly non-person categorizations so as to address and identify social and cultural issues.

This section will not restate what has been explained earlier; instead I focus here on 'category-bound activities' (CBA) which relates to person categorizations. A central concept within Sacks's conceptual machinery is that of 'category boundedness', for which he claims

> Many activities are taken by members to be done by some particular or several particular categories of members where the categories are categories from membership categorization devices (1974, p. 222)

Sacks further posits that through such 'category boundedness' actions and activities can routinely or normally be expected from members of this or that categorization. Hence, through Sacks' famous elucidation of the phrase, "The baby cried. The mommy picked it up" (Sacks, 1992), people can infer that the mommy is the mother of the baby as people have conventional expectations about what constitutes the normative behaviours of a 'baby' and a 'mommy'. Any device can be heard to carry with it certain expectable activities (predicates or CBA). Thus baby carries the expectable CBA 'crying'.

CBA refers to the way in which different kinds of activities are commonsensically associated to certain membership categories. It helps relate identities to their associated activities. In other words, this device is useful for recognizing a person through activities or actions, as defined by Sacks: "the category to which the activity is bound has a special relevance for formulating an *identification of its doer*" (Sacks, 1995, p. 259 my emphasis). In this vein, Stokoe (2003) argues that the categorization process makes available a frame of reference within which the actions and activities of a person can be interpreted. In commenting person categories of the MCD 'family', particularly the crying baby, Housley and Fitzerland (2002, p. 62) claim

> In addition, this category machinery was complemented by the notion of category-bound activities which attempted to describe how certain activities were common-sensically tied to specific categories and devices (e.g. the tying of the activity of crying to the category 'baby').

Similarly, Drew (1978) states:

> An importance of Membership Categories is that they are a conventional basis for ascribing activities (and other characteristics) to persons. Given that a person, group etc., may be characterized in an indefinite number of ways, in someone's activity a speaker may depict that person with that category which is, conventionally, especially relevant to doing that activity (p. 3).

Bartesaghi and Bowen (2009) draw on CBA in their discourse analysis of how memory acquires and is acquired in interview exchanges. The aim is to investigate remembering as a category-bound activity, both a tensional and collaborative process of moral ratification of 'survivor' as membership category. Masouleh, Keevalik, Majlesi, and Broth (2014) investigate the ways speakers within and between interactional turns build and resist gender category by resisting its activities/predicates. Its purpose is twofold. Firstly it seeks to explore how a sex-reassigned child's identity is pertinent to the construction of membership categorization and the doing of resistance towards category-tied activities/predicates. Secondly, it seeks to illuminate how the child tries to design her answers in a way that resist both the gender membership categorization assigned to her and its ties (predicates/activities) she is being asked to accomplish.

Activities in this study refers not only to everyday actions as part of people's daily routines, it also includes what participants do or how they react or behave in responding to certain situations. "How a situation is 'framed' is important because it influences how people think, feel and act towards that situation" (Whittle, Housley, Gilchrist, Mueller, & Lenney, 2015, p. 378). This is in line with Widdicombe who argues that "[t]he fact that categories are conventionally associated with activities, attributes, motives and so on makes them a

powerful cultural resource in warranting, explaining, and justifying behaviours" (Widdicombe, 1998, p. 53). Such behavioural categories can in turn provide explanations of identity and its construction as argued by Butcholtz and Hall (2005) that identity is composed of a collection of social categories. The interconnection between activities, behaviours and identity is illustrated in Figure 6-1. The figure shows the analytical framework adopted in this study in which the interpretation of participants' behaviours starts from the examination of the unit of analysis in the form of activities or actions.

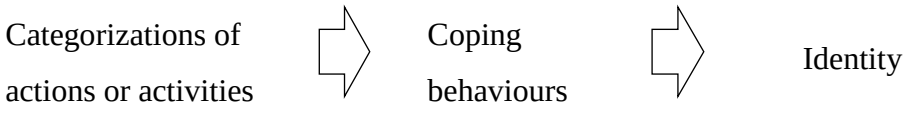

Figure 6-1 The category-bound activities (CBA) analytical approach

In carrying out CBA, some scholars have examined 'predicates' which refers to actions as well as rights and obligations, as a unit of analysis (e.g. Watson, 1978; Whittle et al., 2015). Whittle et al. (2015) argue for the flexible and dynamic nature of predicates as linguistic resources for practical use in social actions; and as a result posit that "category predicates need to be examined for what they *practically achieve* in certain specific contexts" (p. 379). In saying so, those predicates should not be seen as fixed, prescribed and already available for the analyst, yet they emerge naturally from the available discourse data.

In line with the principles of MCA explored in Chapter 5, it is important to highlight again that CBA entails normativity or expectation (Jayyusi, 1991), i.e. categories are bound up with expectable activities and features, and this allows cultural members to identify actors and evaluate their performance. Normativity – or, in Watson's (1978) term, 'incumbency' – refers to how categories relate to common-sense knowledge, as also posited by Hester and Eglin in describing activities which are "expectably and properly done by persons who are the incumbents of particular categories" (1997b, p. 5). Such a mutually constitutive and reflexive relationship between people's activities or actions and normativity is explained clearly by Jayyusi (1991, p. 240):

> Sacks' notion of category bound actions, rights and obligations not only points out the moral features of our category concepts, but also provides thus for the very moral accountability of certain actions of omissions. His elucidation of the notion of certain categories as standardised relational pairs . . . not only uncovers features of the organization of members' conventional knowledge of the social world, but clearly demonstrates via empirical analysis, how that knowledge is both morally constituted and constitutive of moral praxis – it provides for

> a variety of ascriptions, discoveries, imputations, conclusions, judgements etc. on the part of mundane reasoners.

Premised on the relationship between categories and context to illustrate how the CBA may contribute to the explanation of the identity of the doer, this study bases its data interpretation on the ethnographic knowledge underlying participants' actions or activities (see Chapter 5), the political context (see Chapter 4) and the wider socio-historical context explored in Chapter 3.

6.3 Findings and discussion

In what follows I will discuss the insights from the CBA analysis by presenting narratives of three participants – Xi Zuan, Suantara, and Petrus. Section 6.3.1 provides detailed discussion of the experiences of each participant in turn in order to gain insights into how their behaviours and identity develop, alter, and are reconstructed throughout different periods of life under the different ruling regimes. As I have made clear at the outset, each story merits an in depth analysis and discussion and it is important to remain faithful to the biographical nature of each participant's narrative. I will then discuss the results of inter-case analysis in order to provide an overarching explanation of the emerging discourses informed by an in depth analysis of each participant's account explored earlier in this section. This cross-case examination has yielded the general tendency of participants' behaviours which can be distilled into two categories – how they cope with social reality (Section 6.3.1.1) and how they manage their relations with the Indonesian majority (Section 6.3.1.2). While the first is more about how to overcome discriminatory environments, the latter concerns specifically how to deal with problems pertaining to negotiating their place within the wider Indonesian society. These two are mutually informing and intertwined. However, I intend to discuss them separately, particularly because I am interested in revealing power relations between the two groups in shaping inter-group behaviours. Lastly I will develop the findings in order to disclose and explore the relations between attitudes, behaviours and identity within the socio-historical context of their construction (Section 6.3.2).

6.3.1 Behaviours towards social reality and the majority group

Participants' stories are similarly biographical and lengthy, although the manner in which participants told their stories varied. In general, they moved flexibly back and forth between stories about the past, reflections of the present, and thoughts about the future. Petrus's and Suantara's narratives of the past are not as detailed as Xi Zuan's, but this does not necessarily mean that we cannot infer sufficient accounts of their past, because their past

is clearly displayed and reflected in their story of the present. The stories of these three participants are derived from similar journeys in life as Chinese Indonesians: from experiencing various instances of othering during the New Order period to facing challenges during the Reform. They contain various illustrative instances of how they struggled and tried to cope with everyday situations from time to time, from childhood until they became who they are now.

1) Xi Zuan, a determined businessman

Xi Zuan (in his 50s) is a Chinese businessman who has run a quite big advertising company since the 1980s. His narrative contains details of important events in his life starting from his childhood to adolescence that reveals his past experience, such as what he did, what happened to him and how he responded to various life events. Extract 1 is lengthy and rich with Xi Zuan's perspective of his world. He firstly categorized his own life as an example of the Chinese community in Indonesia, by saying "[f]or example me" (1.1). When saying this, he asserted that his life was part of what was experienced collectively by his ethnic group. Here he spoke about himself and his personal identity but at the same time showed his social identity and ethnic membership.

Extract 1 Xi Zuan, a Chinese businesman, p. 1, 3, 4, 6

1. *Contohnya saya. Saya ini mulai dari nol. Pada waktu saya beranjak dewasa,*
2. *keluarga saya benar-benar keluarga miskin, ya makan hanya sekedar pas-*
3. *pasan. Lalu sekolah saya pun terganggu—walaupun saya sekolah dari SD*
4. *sampai SMA nggak pernah mogok, tapi pindah-pindah. SD kelas 3 sekolah*
5. *diserang dan ditutup oleh Soeharto. Bahkan sekolah kita disita sampai hari*
6. *ini. Terus saya pindah ke sekolah nasional sampai dengan kelas 6, karena*
7. *bayarannya makin mahal saya cari sekolah yang murah. ... Saya kurang*
8. *lebih waktu itu umur 9, kalau tidak salah, umur 10. Saya sudah mengalami*
9. *yang namanya antri beras, antri minyak, terus demonstrasi di mana-mana*
10. *marak. Saya dari SMP sebenarnya sudah mulai kerja, karena kondisi*
11. *ekonomi keluarga saya tidak mendukung. Saya mulai SMP kerja tapi*
12. *uangnya, hasilnya, waktu itu saya kasih ke ibu saya semua…Saya nyablon*
13. *sampai akhirnya kelas 2 SMA itu saya stop sekolahnya, karena sudah bawa*
14. *duit. Saya pikir toh sama sama saja, akhirnya toh cari duit juga. Waktu itu*
15. *tidak berpikir bahwa kalau punya pengetahuan lebih tinggi pasti akan*
16. *lebih….Yang penting adalah fight, waktu itu. Sudah, mulai kerja saya. Ya*
17. *kerja sama orang, dulu kita pernah jadi—dulu bilangnya verkoper, sekarang*
18. *ini sales ya—sales obat yang keliling sampai Jawa, Bali, Madura. Setelah*
19. *tinggal di Jogja, lalu saya kerja di perusahaan minyak. Itu minyak goreng*
20. *ya, bukan minyak lepas pantai. Lalu dapat pekerjaan dari sales, canvasser*
21. *lah. Setelah itu, perusahaannya dibakar pada tahun '80, di Semarang,*
22. *kerusuhan. Anda pernah dengar perusahaan 80, rekanan Cina? Nah, itu*
23. *saya sudah dewasa, tapi kan tetap kita tidak berani melawan ya. Ya sudah*
24. *kita sembunyi saja. ... Saya sebenarnya mulai usaha setelah '80.*

(For instance, me. I started from zero. When I was little, my family was really poor, yeah, we did not have enough food to eat …. Then I had problems with my schools - although I never quit school from elementary to high school, I had to move from one school to another. My school was attacked and closed down by Suharto. It was taken over (by the government) up to the present. I moved (from a Chinese school) to a national school, until grade 6 but then because the fee was too high I moved to a cheaper one. … When I was 9 or 10, I had to queue for rice, oil. There were fires and riots everywhere. I started working when I was in junior high school as my family suffered from financial problems. I gave my wage to my mother. I started screen printing then left school when I was in the second grade of high school. I did that because I thought that we eventually had to seek money. I did not think at that time that I could have had a better life if I had had a better education. What was more important was to fight. I started working with somebody as a roundsman selling medicine around Java, Bali, and Madura. Then I worked at a (vegetable) oil company in Yogyakarta. And then the company was burnt in Semarang, in 1980. Have you heard about that incident with the company in 1980, a Chinese one? I was young adult by then, but we were powerless at that time. We did not fight them back. We hid ourselves… I had started this business after 1980.)

Through his sequence of life and details of his childhood (extract 1), Xi Zuan brought to memory the regimes he went through. Being born under the Old Order regime and growing up in the New Order, he personally experienced how hard it was to be Chinese in times of social unrest. He vividly depicted what he did throughout that period, which he evidently thought worth telling, and characterized his everyday situation within the political and social disturbances. Fires and riots were everywhere, his school was shut down and attacked, and

the company he worked for was destroyed. He particularly highlighted the incidents when Chinese business sites became targets of violence and the premises where he worked were burnt down. The Chinese group was powerless and could not do anything to stop the violence targeting them (1.23) when the state was in chaos socially and politically (see also Chapter 3 for a complete description of the plight). That was the time when the stereotype that the ethnic Chinese controlled the Indonesian economy made them simply scapegoats when things were not going well socially and economically (see Heryanto, 1998; Purdey, 2006).

He faced the double problem – poverty and othering (1.1-2). He relentlessly struggled during ups and downs to cope with life difficulties and challenges. His remark "[s]aya ini mulai dari nol" or "I started from zero" (1.1) revealed so much about his identity as a person who was and had nothing at the beginning and started his business from scratch. Given the situation which did not support him socially and economically, it was hard for him to start a life. Given his inability to pay for school fees, he chose to drop out of school so that he could be able to afford a life of his own and to support his family (1.3-14). This was heightened by the fact that the school he went to was shut down by the government. He grew up in a discriminory environment and was shaped by hard work and persistence in pursuing his dream despite his obstacles and discouragement. It is also interesting to note that he assumed that it was money that people eventually needed, thus once he got money from his jobs he decided not to finish his study. However, he then realized that his life could have been better if he had undertaken higher education (1.13-16).

His discourse was at first all about the difficulties he faced but then he shifted to a more positive and self-motivating expression. His remark "[y]ang penting adalah fight" (what was more important was to fight) (1.15) is particularly insightful. Here he characterized himself as a 'fighter'. All he did (1.12-21) – as a person who had nothing, queuing to get something to eat, and dropping out of school, and then deciding to take the necessary actions to get over these things – characterized him as a fighter. After experiencing many bad incidents, he started to realize that he had to stand up for himself and his family. Moreover, although it was not a safe time for Chinese Indonesians especially for those in business, Xi Zuan was determined and still chose to start his business from scratch. His decision could be part of the Chinese tradition which regarded retail business as a key life path. However, it could also be the only choice the Chinese could take because they were othered in other aspects of life, such as politics, education and employment (see Chapter 3 and issues of equality in Chapter 5 Section 5.3.1.1). His success was surely not achieved easily. Extract 1 has shown in detail

that there were times when he was jobless and had to take odd jobs from one place or island to another (1.16-21).

While describing his situation during the New Order period and how difficult it was for him to survive (extract 2), he questioned why his ethnic group were treated so badly just like an enemy during that period of time: "I don't know why Chinese people were hated" (1.25). His question was contradicted by the fact that he and his family had tried hard to interact with the Indonesian majority and adapt to their cultures (extract 2). That said, no matter how hard the Chinese communities tried to assimilate, they were always overlooked, made aliens, and called 'Cina' (China/Chinese) due to their Chinese roots (2.28-29) (see also my discussion of the theme acceptance in Chapter 5 Section 0).

Extract 2 Xi Zuan, a Chinese businesman, p. 4

25. *Saya juga tidak tahu kenapa kok orang Cina ini dibenci. Saya berpikir begitu.*
26. *Lho, padahal saya ini kan di kampung dengan masyarakat Jawa di sana itu ya*
27. *baik—saya ini hobinya nonton wayang … Karena, saya hafal cerita wayang,*
28. *kebudayaan itu sampai nglothok di otak. Lalu timbul pertanyaan: kenapa sih*
29. *kok saya disebut Cina? Padahal engkong saya itu sahabatnya orang-orang*
30. *Indonesia semua, Jawa. Kakek saya itu bersahabat sama kebanyakan orang*
31. *Jawa, terus sama orang Arab—keturunan Arab, maksudnya …*

(I don't know why Chinese people were hated. That was what I asked. Because at the village where I lived I had good interactions with the Javanese people. My hobby was watching puppetry shows. I memorized all the stories in wayang (Javanese puppetry). I knew the culture very well. Then I started asking: why did they call me Cina? My grandfather's friends were all Indonesians, Javanese. My grandfather made friends with the Javanese the most, and then with the Arabs – people of Arab descent, I mean.)

Remarkably, he managed to overcome his difficulties and, at the time of the interview, Xi Zuan was running a successful advertising company (extract 3). In extract 3 he asserted that he is able to settle his psychological issues of possible hatred or trauma resulting from the past. By saying "I don't have any problems" (3.32), he particularly referred to his relations with the Indonesian majority. As a consequence of his being accommodative to non-Chinese people, he said elsewhere in the interview that the local people protected his family and workplace from the mobs during the May Riots in 1998. His positive outlook towards life and people can also be seen from the non-Chinese (Javanese) workforce he has recruited without discriminating against them. His hard work has paid off and he is liked by his workers (3.34-35).

Extract 3 Xi Zuan, a Chinese businesman, p. 5

32. *Saya juga tidak ada masalah, anak buah saya orang Jawa semua. Ada yang*
33. *orang Sunda ya. Orang Tionghoa juga ada. Tapi saya tidak pernah membeda-*
34. *bedakan. Sampeyan kalau mau tahu, anak buah saya itu kerja sama saya bisa*
35. *betah*

(I don't have problems, my staff are all Javanese. Some are Sundanese, some are Tionghoa. I never discriminate against them .... If you want to know, they like working with me.)

Extract 4 confirms his positive attitude in working with people from culturally and ethnically diverse backgrounds. His willingness to create an inclusive environment positively strengthens his relationships with his own employess and with the local community. His positive perspective encourages him to create a workplace that reflects the composition of ethnically diverse Indonesians. He also expressed a cynical view towards people, including his own ethnic group, who tend to be exclusive (4.36-41) and thus favor only people from their ethnic group.

Extract 4 Xi Zuan, a Chinese businesman, p. 7

36. *Saya tidak senang dengan orang-orang Tionghoa yang hanya mementingkan*
37. *karyawannya harus semuanya Tionghoa. Saya tidak senang. Bahkan saya*
38. *dalam tanda petik, benci. Kenapa sih harus seperti itu? Dan saya juga tidak*
39. *senang dengan pengusaha, katakanlah yang etnis lain, yang juga*
40. *mementingkan etnisnya sendiri, atau tidak mau punya karyawan orang*
41. *Tionghoa. Itu ada. Banyak juga orang Tionghoa yang seperti itu.*

I don't like it when Chinese people only recruit Chinese employees. I don't like it. Even, in quotation, I hate them. Why should we be like that? And I also don't like employers, say from other ethnic groups, who also prioritize their own ethnic group or do not have Chinese employees. There are some. Many of them are Chinese people.

While trying to maintain his social contact with the majority, he has been faced with the challenge to retain aspects of his Chinese identity (5.42-46). He showed me his name card with his three Chinese traditional names written on it, a strong indication of his firm attitude to fight for and stand by his ethnic identity and to reject the suggested national identity. Even now he carries his ethnic background with pride. His firm response to the cultural suppression could be the result of a long experience of being othered and somehow could be a strategy to reduce the effects of the rejection so as to build self-esteem. One reason for Xi Zuan not adopting a new Indonesian-sounding name was because it would cost money (5.46). However, more importantly, for him, changing name was not important because "changing names does not reflect people's sense of nationalism … right?" (5.43-44). For him, his strong commitment to ethnic identity does not necessarily mean that he does not love Indonesia and that he withdraws himself from the wider community.

Extract 5 Xi Zuan, a Chinese businesman, p. 1

42. *Ini kartu nama saya. Di sini you akan melihat nama saya ada tiga nama dan*
43. *saya tidak ganti nama. Karena ganti nama pun tidak mencerminkan*
44. *nasionalisme…Betul kan? … Tapi, waktu itu orang secara represif oleh*
45. *pemerintah ditekan untuk ganti nama semua. …. Akhirnya saya mengambil*
46. *bentuk melawan apa pun, karena memang tidak punya duit.*

(This is my business card. Here you can see I have three [Chinese] names, I did not change my name. Because changing names does not reflect people's sense of nationalism… right? At that time everyone was forced to change their name. Eventually I decided to reject it, anyway I did not have the money [to do it].)

The context of his account about name-changing was the assimmilation policy enacted by the New Order administration (see Chapters 3 and 4). When Suharto came to power, anti-Chinese regulations were enacted to erase or restrict any practice or form of Chinese culture in the state, such as Decree of Presidium Cabinet 127/U/12/1966 which forced the ethnic Chinese to adopt an Indonesian-sounding name instead of the standard Chinese names (see e.g. Heryanto, 1998; Hoon, 2006).

2) Suantara, an open-minded teacher

Suantara (in his 50s) is a Chinese man born in a business-minded family who decided to be a teacher as his life path. He described his childhood as being raised in a family with strong Chinese business values, with a retail business as their core money source (extract 6). During that period, retail business became the most promising way for Chinese Indonesians to survive in Indonesia, where other opportunities seemed unavailable to them (Tan, 2001). In extract 6 his memory went back to how his family tried to plant this business mind in him from when he was young, yet he insisted on becoming a teacher. "It is a long story" (6.47), he started.

Extract 6 Suantara, a Chinese teacher, p. 5, 6, 7

47. *Ini ceritanya panjang. Orang tua saya pengusaha semua. Adik-adik, kakak-*
48. *kakak juga begitu. Saya sejak SD kelas 4 juga sudah dididik untuk jadi*
49. *pengusaha. Suatu ketika saya merenung, "Hidup saya kok seperti ini terus?*
50. *Padahal hidup seseorang terbatas. Maka hidup harus saya nikmati, tidak*
51. *hanya cari uang terus." Dari situ, saya terinspirasi. Kalau saya mau*
52. *menikmati hidup, saya harus bekerja sebagai apa? … Ya, saya mau cari*
53. *dunia lain. Saya mau ke pendidikan. Mungkin itu juga sudah panggilan,*
54. *karena di dalam pendidikan saya lebih suka melayani orang yang berbeda-*
55. *beda setiap tahun. Itu suatu kepuasan…. Saya waktu lulus SMP juga*
56. *ditawari, "Bagaimana? Selesai sekolah mau buka toko?" "Tidak, saya*
57. *masih mau sekolah." Selesai SMA juga ditawari lagi. Selesai kuliah juga*
58. *masih ditawari lagi. Sebetulnya saya sekolah waktu SMA, kuliah di sini*
59. *dikirimi berlebihan menurut ukuran saya. Mungkin menurut orang tua itu*
60. *tidak seberapa. Jadi pada tahun '75 itu saya kos sama makan hanya 15 ribu.*
61. *Setiap bulan dikirimi 100 ribu.*

> (It's a long story. My parents were all traders. All my brothers and sisters too. Since I was in grade 4 elementary school I was taught to be a businessman. But then I thought, "How could my life always be like this? In fact people's life is just limited. I have to enjoy my life, not just seek money". From then on, I was inspired. … I wanted to work in a different world. I wanted to work in education. It might be a life calling. Because in education I could serve different people every year. When I finished my junior high, my parents asked, "Do you want to open a new shop?" "No, I still want to continue my study." After finishing high school, they asked me again. After finishing university they asked again. When I was at university, my parents sent me a lot of money, but for my parents that was just a small amount. So, in 1975, for my rent, fees and food I just needed IDR 15,000. But every month I got IDR 100,000 from my parents.)

It can be discerned that Suantara had to deal with making a decision between achieving his personal dream to be a teacher and fulfilling his parents' wish for him to be a retailer. As a Chinese family, his parents had taught him about business since he was in year 4 primary school and kept pushing him to run a business of the kind conducted by his brothers and sisters. He himself categorized his family as well-established as they supported him and gave him more than he needed until he went to university (6.58-61). Thus it would have been easy for him to enjoy a good life as he had had more than enough from his family business. However, Suantara thought that life was not just about money (6.50-51). As the result of this reflection about life, he took some actions: (1) he went to university instead of opening a retail shop; and (2) he worked as a teacher so that he could serve people through education. He took this teaching job for pride and satisfaction, not for money (6.52-55). The business tradition held by his family was literally more promising, although he chose to adopt the identity of a life-time learner and teacher. While for his family life was about spending their time for collecting money, for him it was about the satisfaction of enjoying life, about being useful to other people, and about making a difference in the world through education (extract 6). With his teaching career path, he could experience incredible joy when meeting students and seeing them gaining new knowledge (6.54-55).

Suantara is now an experienced educator as he has been teaching at several schools. At the time of interview, he had become a senior teacher and a curriculum coordinator. However, it should be noted that his decision to leave his family business and press ahead with his teaching passion was not easy, especially at the early stage of his career. At his first school, he had to face stereotyping assumptions about his teaching because people tried to connect his teaching materials with his ethnic background (7.62-63).

Extract 7 Suantara, a Chinese teacher, p. 6

62. *Lain sekali. Saya pertama mengajar di sana mereka terkesan, "Wah ini*
63. *matematika Cina."*

(It (his first school) was so different. I first taught there, and they said like "Oh no, this is Chinese math".)

He also faced financial problems due to the low salary (extract 8). However he could accept it, felt happy and enjoyed his profession, he said "That's okay" (8.66). His first salary was less than the amount he received from his parents when he was at university. Compared to business, teaching was not a financially rewarding job.

Extract 8 Suantara, a Chinese teacher, p. 7.

64. *Pengalaman mengajar dulu saya mengajar satu bulan di sekolah A, di sekolah*
65. *B, di sekolah C, di sekolah D. Pertama 62 ribu gajinya. Padahal kiriman saya*
66. *waktu kuliah 100 ribu. Tidak apa-apa.*

(I taught for a month at High School A, then at High School B, then at High School C, and then High School D. My first salary was IDR 62,000. Whereas I got IDR 100,000 from my parents when I was at university. That's okay.)

In terms of his attitudes towards the mainstream, he indicated that his school encourages a more ethnically diverse environment (extract 9). His school supports the creation of a positive environment where students and teachers are respectful of different backgrounds in such a way that harmonious relationships can be built. The way he argues that Indonesians in general should look his school as a good example of ethnically harmonious environment reflect his position as someone who respects multiculturalism. At his previous schools he has also been able to interact with students and teachers from different ethnic groups. Ethnically diverse schools have presented him with many choices in areas such as cultural practices, language use, and friendship. That environment has also given him a lot of opportunities to interact intensively with the non-Chinese people and to become part of the mainstream.

Extract 9 Suantara, a Chinese teacher, p. 1.

67. *Bersyukur bahwa di sini dapat dipakai sebagai contoh Indonesia mini. Sekolah*
68. *ini dapat dijadikan sebagai percontohan kalau perlu, karena relasi mereka*
69. *satu dengan yang lain kita lihat tidak seperti yang ada di Indonesia sekarang.*
70. *Mereka di sini kekeluargaannya lebih dekat.*

(I am glad that this school can reflect the mini Indonesia. It can be a model for other schools, if necessary, because the relationship between one another is unlike what is taking place in indonesia in general. Here, we have closer relationships)

Suantara himself married an Indonesian woman who runs a catering business. What is interesting is, given that he has chosen not to go into business as suggested by his family, he

still retains and believes in Chinese business values (extract 10). This can be seen through the way he criticized his wife's ineffective way of doing business and compared it with Chinese business values.

Extract 10 Suantara, a Chinese teacher, p. 12.

71. *Prinsip yang harus kita tanamkan: pelanggan adalah raja. Saya memberi*
72. *contoh istri saya, misalnya kalau sudah hebat, kebanyakan kan orang begitu,*
73. *"Alah, besok saja. Saya mau libur dulu." Konsep Cina tidak begitu. Sudah*
74. *telanjur datang, layani.*

(The principle that we have to hold is: the customer is king. For example my wife. When she succeeded, just like other people, [she said] "Ah, just come back tomorrow. I want to take a day off." The Chinese principle is not like that. If a customer comes, you have to serve him.)

Suantara has also adopted an Indonesian-sounding name. Here he asserted the centrality of being able to adapt to and assimilate with the host society (extract 11) as a way to be accepted in that society. For him it would be a mistake if he, as a Chinese Indonesian, was not able to adapt into the wider society (11.76). This is to say that he is gradually adapting to the customs and tradition of the mainstream. Name indicates identity, yet for him it does not seem to be an issue as along as he can live together with the others harmoniously.

Extract 11 Suantara, a Chinese teacher, p. 6, 7

75. *Kita harus bisa menyesuaikan diri. Karena saya lama merantau. Kalau saya*
76. *tidak bisa menyesuaikan diri, saya yang salah…. Mungkin karena saya punya*
77. *prinsip di mana pun saya berada, sesama manusia pasti menghargai. Perkara*
78. *nanti orang bertentangan dengan konsep saya, saya anggap itu tidak ada.*
79. *Yang penting tujuan kita baik dan pasti diterima baik.*

(We have to be able to adapt. I have been long wandering here. If I am not able to adapt, I am wrong. This is my principle, wherever we are, we have to respect each other. Whether people later are against me, I don't care. Most importantly, I have good intentions and I believe they will accept me.)

3) Petrus, an inclusive pastor

Petrus (in his 40s) can be described as an educated and experienced person in secular jobs who has the calling to be a pastor. He has completed his postgraduate degree and gained good experience and rewards from his career as a management trainer at a well-known private bank and as a sales representative at an automotive company. The company was one of the largest automotive distributors and producers in Indonesia founded by Chinese Indonesians, so it was no wonder its workforce was dominated by Chinese Indonesians. The bank he worked for was also dominated by a Chinese workforce. He left his jobs in the promising secular marketplace for a full-time ministry. This study is interested in how his ministry calling has shaped his perception and behaviours towards ethnicity in Indonesia.

He started to have the feeling of being in a minority in childhood (extract 12), particularly because he went to public schools. He implied that it was not common for Chinese children to go to or to be accepted at public schools by saying, "[a]s a result, in one class there were only two or three Chinese students, the rest were native Indonesians". What he did was: he made friends and assimilated with them. His openness towards the members of the non-Chinese Indonesian ethnic groups has been shaped since he was a child. Since then, he has enjoyed friendships with non-Chinese people right up to the present (12.82-84).

Extract 12 Petrus, a Chinese pastor, p. 3

80. *Betul. Bahkan saya kebanyakan mengecap pendidikan SD, SMP, SMU itu di*
81. *negeri … Akibatnya yang satu kelas itu yang Chinese itu bisa dua-tiga anak,*
82. *sisanya itu pribumi. Nah justru temen sahabat saya kebanyakan sampai hari*
83. *ini ya bukan orang Chinese…Yang saya alami itu begitu di sana…Betul,*
84. *sangat membaur.*

(That's right. Even I mostly went to public elementary school, junior and high schools … As a result in one class there were only two or three Chinese students, the rest were native Indonesians. That's why my friends are mostly non-Chinese up to now … That's what I experienced … It's true, I really blended with them)

His memories also took him back to his university and work life, when he was trying to obtain his degree and a job (extract 13). His discourse of being a minority continued as he told his university life, in which there would be very limited number of Chinese students in a faculty at state universities (13.87-88)

Extract 13 Petrus, a Chinese pastor, p. 1-2

85. *Yang paling saya rasakan itu kalau di sekolah. Dulu kita tetap ingin masuk*
86. *ke perguruan tinggi negeri. Iya, tetapi menurut berita yang berkembang itu*
87. *kalau etnis Tionghoa, kemudian beragama Kristen, katanya sudah dibatasi*
88. *banget. Satu fakultas, satu jurusan, hanya untuk jatah berapa orang. Itu*
89. *tahun '90-an awal, '91 ya. Nah, yang saya dapat informasi seperti itu,*
90. *sehingga ya kita tetap prepare sekolah swasta, dong. Begitu. Nah, untuk*
91. *pekerjaan, kebetulan saya kan tidak melamar sebagai pegawai negeri. Saya*
92. *bekerja di swasta semuanya, sehingga itu tidak ada hambatan. Kita diterima*
93. *sesuai dengan kualifikasi buat kita. Ya sepengetahuan kami kalau untuk*
94. *pegawai negeri, walaupun peraturan tertulisnya saya nggak pernah periksa*
95. *itu, tetapi untuk etnis Tionghoa itu untuk jadi pegawai negeri itu*
96. *kelihatannya nggak diprioritaskan ya.*

(The most memorable incident was when I was at school. I wanted to go to public university. But it was widely known that the Chinese, who happened to be Christian, were not given much opportunity. Only a very small number of them were allowed in a faculty or a study program. That was in the early '90s, '91 yeah. About jobs, I happened not to apply for civil servant jobs. The companies I worked for were all private. So I did not have any problems. We were accepted based on our competence. To the best of my knowledge, about becoming a civil servant, although I never checked the written regulation, it seemed that Chinese Indonesians were not given priority.)

The period that Petrus described in extract 13 was the 1990s, a time of social and economic instability in Indonesia nearly the end of the New Order regime (see Chapter 3). Petrus described that Chinese Indonesians were othered in the education and employment context during that time. In those education and employment sites (especially public schools and government offices), he personally dealt with the situation given his 'double minority' identity, as a Chinese and as a Christian (13.87). In a country in which almost 90 percent of the population is Muslim, Christians are another minority group which has had to undergo intolerance and violence. As part of his response to discrimination in public sectors and his fear of rejection, he chose to go to a private university and to apply for jobs at private companies rather than as a civil servant. He was happy that he was accepted at private companies that recruited staff based on competence (13.91-93). His account of subtle forms of othering in terms of job opportunities in government offices (13.93-96) for Chinese Indonesians is relevant to my discussion in Chapter 5, which I will not repeat here.

At the time of the interview, Petrus had left his secular jobs, and graduated in his postgraduate degree in theology. He has now become a church leader in an ethnically-mixed church and a lecturer at a theological college. His intensive interaction with multi-ethnic congregations and college students and colleagues has shaped his sensitivity towards socio-cultural difference. Petrus himself has adopted an Indonesian sounding name and has consistently made connections with the non-Chinese communities. In extract 14 it can be seen that his values on managing relations with the Indonesian majority are very also much constructed by his Christian beliefs.

Extract 14 Petrus, a Chinese pastor, p. 12

97. *Harus inklusif, dong, ya? Kita hidup di masyarakat mana pun, kita harus*
98. *bisa masuk dalam masyarakat, berbaur, bertetangga dengan baik, kita hidup*
99. *sesuai dengan budaya yang berlaku, kemudian kita bisa saling menolong,*
100. *kita berteman dengan siapa saja. Rasanya nggak ada yang sulit sih, kalau*
101. *kita bisa membawa diri ya? … Sebagai leader, kita akan terus mengajarkan*
102. *mereka, istilahnya memberikan doktrin buat mereka bahwa siapa pun di*
103. *hadapan Tuhan kan sama, dan Tuhan itu, Tuhan mati untuk semua orang*
104. *berdosa, sehingga kita tidak berhak mendiskreditkan salah satu, mengotak-*
105. *ngotakkan suku tertentu. Kita semuanya sama. Nah, makanya Tuhan Yesus*
106. *mengajarkan kasih. Hal yang utama di dalam kekristenan adalah kasih.*

(We should be inclusive, right? Wherever we are, we have to be able to assimilate and to become good neighbours, and live according to the widely-accepted culture. We have to help each other, make friends with anyone. We should not have any problem if we are able to adapt to each other, right? … As (church) leaders, we have to be able to teach them, let's say, the doctrine that everyone is equal in God's eyes. God died for all sinners. Thus we have no rights to discriminate against a certain ethnic group. We are all the same. Ah … that's why Jesus teaches us about love. The most important thing in Christianity is love.)

His perceptions on how to behave and cope with the wider society are obvious in extract 14 in which he emphasized that Chinese Indonesians should (1) be inclusive; (2) build social contacts within their neighbourhood; (3) immerse themselves in the society they live in; (4) adapt to the local culture; (5) make friends with everyone; and (6) help each other (14.97-101). He also stressed the role of church leaders in spreading the message of equality and love (14.101-106). Here, his narrative is constructed by the mixture of his personal values (which are shaped by his personal experience) and his Christian beliefs on inter-personal or inter-group living, which regard love and equality as important aspects of peaceful and harmonious relations.

Petrus has embraced a positive outlook towards his environment and expressed his happiness towards the positive change that has taken place, particularly in terms of the growing tolerance towards Chinese cultures, such as the celebration of Chinese New Year and the use of Mandarin language at schools (extract 15). This issue of tolerance has been discussed in Chapter 5 Section 5.3.1.3, and I will not repeat it here. My aim in including this extract is to provide Petrus's view on Chinese cultures and traditions so as to show that he feels part of these cultures and thus shares the contentment that the Chinese group collectively has due to cultural liberation.

Extract 15 Petrus, a Chinese pastor, p. 4

107. *... Kalau dari sudut situ, kita boleh berbangga, kita boleh senang karena*
108. *sejak pemerintahan Gus Dur terutama itu—kita kan kental dengan perayaan*
109. *Imlek—itu sudah bisa bebas. Ya? Kemudian bahasa-bahasa yang kita*
110. *gunakan, pengantar di sekolah juga, Mandarin, sudah mulai bisa. Puji*
111. *Tuhan.*

(I think there has been a really positive change … From that perspective (of change), we can feel proud, we can feel happy because since the era of Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid) particularly – we can celebrate Imlek (Chinese new year) – it is now free. Also about the language that we use, Mandarin can be used at schools. Thank God …)

6.3.1.1 Coping with social reality

In presenting a detailed analysis of participants' actions – what they did within a particular situation – I have demonstrated that each participant faces a different range of challenges depending on their contexts and unique ways of dealing and coping with them. I now move, by looking at interdiscusive relations between participants' accounts, to disclose and discuss the patterns or tendencies of their actions in terms of how they cope with social reality due to othering.

It can be discerned that, despite the negative practices and effects of othering (both in overt and covert forms), the three narrators showed their efforts to survive and refusal to allow themselves to be drawn into social crisis. Participants alternatively described othering as something they needed to act upon, get through and overcome. No matter how tragic and traumatic their life was, in such supportive stories they carefully framed each event in their life in a positive manner. It needed considerable efforts for participants to stay positive and optimistic in the situations that discouraged them. Xi Zuan (extract 1) personally experienced othering in many forms yet he did not give up and kept working hard. His internal challenge of 'being and having nothing' and external obstacles imposed by society did not stop him taking steps to realize his dreams. Suantara (extract 6) pursued his personal dream to be an educator and dealt with challenges due to financial issues (extract 8) and discriminatory assumptions about his teaching materials (extract 7). Petrus (extract 13) strove for his university life and jobs while environments were still discriminatory, and was happy with the jobs he obtained at private companies.

Such positive behaviours sustain the identity of these participants as resilient people in the face of crisis and pressure in many forms. In general they embrace optimism, although their life difficulties might not be the same in terms of forms and levels. Resilience is defined as "a process of or capacity for, or the outcome of successful adaptation despite challenges and threatening circumstances" (Garmezy & Maston, 1991, p. 159). For Heryanto (1998), this character of Chinese Indonesians is the result of being hard working, industrious, and perseverant. Constituting one of the strengths of Chinese Indonesians, resilience has helped them survive in such prejudiced environment. It is shaped through time and has allowed participants to have positive life outcomes under adversity due to othering. The narratives show that resilience is generally built by personal self-esteem (pride and confidence), attitudes and experience; shaped by institutional values (e.g. family and workplace); and largely constructed by ethnic awareness (shared ethnic values and feelings of being othered). From the way they contextualized their stories within their ethnic context, we can understand that they shared the feeling and experience that other members of the Chinese group might have. In extract 1, for example, Xi Zuan made an explicit remark, by saying "For example me" (1.1) that his life could be a representation of the life of Chinese Indonesians in general.

Their positive attitudes and optimism towards their current life in Indonesia are apparent in the narratives as their stories move from stories of the past to their perceptions of the present situation. They are now happy that they have been able to enjoy life in the way they desired, which might not have been possible to achieve in the New Order era. Xi Zuan has

enjoyed his success with his advertising company as the return for the hard work he has invested, Petrus has been blessed with his leadership role in his church, and Suantara has satisfied his longing to serve others through education. That said, despite various adversities they have faced throughout their lives, they stay positive and open as the years advance and hope to continue to enjoy an environment which can accommodate them in the future. This hope is articulated, *inter alia*, through the way they made connections with the majority group, which I will discuss in Section 6.3.1.2.

6.3.1.2 Managing relations with the majority group

The way participants look at their life has affected their view, attitudes and behaviours to people around them. That said, their life trajectory, what happened to them during their childhood and how they became what they are now, has largely shaped their ability to deal and engage with the Indonesian majority.

First of all, participants' behaviours in engaging with the Indonesian majority can be understood within three realities: that the relations between Chinese Indonesians and the Indonesian majority are shaped within unequal power relations (see Chapter 4); that the positive change to the regulations did not necessarily guarantee that they would be totally accepted within Indonesian society (see Chapter 5); and that socio-cultural differences between them and the Indonesian majority (see Chapter 3) are a challenge to achieving accommodation of their ethnic group in society. In light of these points, they are aware that they need to be involved actively or to initiate necessary actions to be accommodated in the wider society. Put simply, they believe that one of key factors to be accommodated in Indonesia is their attitudes and behaviours in coping with the majority group.

Participants' accounts have showed various instances in which they have actively built social interaction with the majority group. Such interaction or contact with non-Chinese people from time to time have become meaningful opportunities for them to have (positive) experiences with people from other ethnic groups. This interaction in turn shapes their inter-group behaviours. Their openness to people from different ethnic groups has been manifested in their everyday context in the neighbourhood (e.g. extract 1) and in organizations or workplaces (company, school and church).

During the process of social interaction, participants encountered cultural challenges due to differences in various aspects of group identity such as values, culture, beliefs, and practices. In dealing with this, participants embrace two behaviours concurrently – *convergence* and *divergence* – which are manifested in various practices. In saying so, they

adapt into the wider society while trying to retain aspects of their ethnic identity. They are examples of Chinese Indonesians who constantly struggle with acceptance while trying to maintain aspects of their ethnic identity. Two behaviours are inseparable as participants are faced with two realities throughout their life: that they are required and expected to blend with the mainstream (as part of the effect of the assimilation program mandated by the New Order regime) if they wish to be accepted in the wider society and that they naturally have a close connection to their ethnic values. The strategy of embracing these two behaviours has been called integration or mutual accommodation (Berry, 1997). This strategy of accommodation requires acceptance by both groups and acknowledges different aspects of identity.

Xi Zuan keeps practising the balance between convergence and divergence. Given the hostility and identity threat he has faced, it could be difficult for him to maintain his ethnic identity. He, however, is able to retain aspects of his cultural and ethnic identity while emphasizing solidarity in dealing with the majority. By sticking to his Chinese name (extract 5), Xi Zuan has accentuated the difference between himself and the Indonesian majority in a positive manner. Nevertheless, he has also been able to build a close interaction with the Indonesian communities in his neighbourhood (extract 2) and with the workers in his advertising company who come from different ethnic groups (extract 3). Elsewhere in the interview, he also repeatedly mentioned his closeness to non-Chinese people around him who protected him from the mob during the 1998 riots. His good understanding of Javanese culture, particularly the stories in Javanese puppetry, also demonstrates his openness to cultures outside his ethnic group (extract 2).

Similarly, Suantara (extract 11) and Petrus (extracts 12 and 14) embrace a close interaction with the Indonesian society, while maintaining aspects of their ethnicity. Different from Xi Zuan, both have adopted Indonesian sounding names. Petrus and Suantara work in areas (church and school) which give them wide opportunities to interact with the Indonesian majority. Suantara has worked in some schools which allowed him to interact with students, teachers or colleagues from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Petrus is now leading an ethnically-mixed congregation and has become used to dealing with church members from different ethnic groups. In a nutshell, these sites have helped them to minimize cultural difference and to immerse themselves into Indonesian culture. However, it should also be noted that they have not entirely relinquished their Chinese cultural roots. They retain some aspects of their Chinese identity. From the way he critized the manner in which his wife and the non-Chinese in general run their businesses, Suantara has shown his belief in Chinese

business principles (extract 10). Another indication of attachment to Chinese culture is the pleasure shown by Petrus at the fact that Chinese New Year has now been acknowledged and that Mandarin is being taught at school (extract 15).

All in all, there are two points that can be highlighted here. Firstly, their attitudes towards the Indonesian majority and how far they should adapt to the majority cultures or maintain aspects of their ethnic identity are largely constructed by their sites. Xi Zuan's experience with poverty and his perseverance in building his business during difficult times have established his inter-group solidarity; and have built his self-esteem and confidence in interacting with non-Chinese people and in keeping his Chinese name. Suantara and Petrus were situated within environments (church and schools) dominated by non-Chinese people, and accordingly they assume that it would be wrong if they were not able to assimilate into mainstream society. Secondly, it is also crucial to highlight that convergence and divergence are not necessarily mutually exclusive. When individuals seek to build social contact, aspects of divergence and/or convergence can concurrently take place depending on the situation and the need for accommodation. This is to say that there is no pure convergence or divergence and the two are intertwined in the social psychological process of ethnic accommodation.

6.3.2 A framework for the construction of behaviours and identity

The insights of category-bound activities (CBA) analysis have revealed that behaviours constitute an integral part of identity. These behaviours and identity are constructed through dynamic and ongoing processes along an individual's entire life cycle within a particular social structure.

First of all, the emergence of coping behaviours through the narratives can be synthesized into two important points which are illustrated in Figure 6-2.

1) Coping behaviours are constructed and contested within a web of manifold relationships involving internal and external factors. While personal attitudes and experience are fundamental, behaviours are also externally shaped by social structure and the attitudes of the majority group. In this sense, sites of engagement play a crucial role in affecting one's behaviours as well as in linking the personal and external factors of one's behaviours.
2) Coping behaviours are the results of the marriage between self and social identity. While behaviours articulate an individual's subjective perspective on the world, they are continually shaped by shared ethnic or social values. Both personal and social identity underpins the ability of Chinese Indonesians to cope with the world,

accordingly these personal and social aspects of identity are not to be seen as different entities.

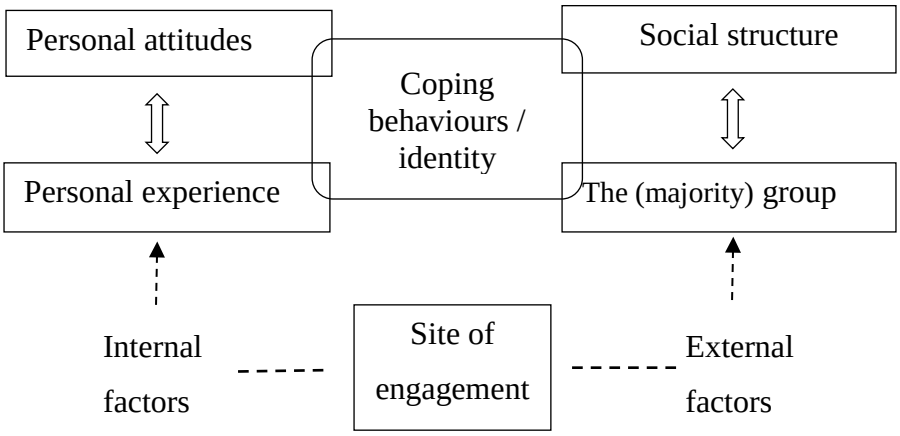

Figure 6-2 A framework of coping behaviours and identity construction

Figure 6-2 shows the close interconnection between behaviours and identity and the factors that construct them. This preliminary framework is based on my data which merits further examination and development in future.

6.3.2.1 Internal factors: Personal attitudes and experience

The internal factors that shape behaviours are personal attitudes or beliefs and personal experience. Attitudes are innate (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) and drive behaviours. Personal beliefs or values determine participants' behaviours in acting upon social problems. Participants' positive attitudes in seeing adversities in various points in time have motivated them to move away from oppressive conditions and to take some brave actions to overcome barriers they faced given their identity as a marginalized minority throughout their lives.

Personal experience is another internal factor shaping behaviours. Xi Zuan's experience (particularly extract 1) during his childhood and adolescence has considerably altered his outlook towards his life and determined his actions. Suantara's personal day to day life in a business-minded and well-established family has brought him to his reflection about life and money and has made him get out of his comfort zone so as to experience something different, to be a teacher. Petrus's experience as a minority in his schools has shaped his outlook towards the majority group and he has managed to build good relations with them in his life.

6.3.2.2 Sites of engagement

Sites of engagement is a salient factor in shaping participants' attitudes and experience and in bridging internal and external factors of coping behaviours. Personal attitudes and experiences can be highly subjective. However, what is revealing in this study is that personal attitudes and experience are site-specific or are considerably affected by the site or profession people are engaged in. This is indicated in the way participants project and characterize their self-perception and values based on their professional backgrounds. In the case of the three participants discussed here, it can be seen that sites of engagement or profession can be a meeting point between the internal and external dimensions of behaviour. That said, identity is individually experienced, professionally practised, and socially constructed (see Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2006). A site of engagement is where personal subjectiveness meets socially shared values, implying that there are no purely personal beliefs as long as people engage with the social world.

6.3.2.3 External factors: Social structure and the attitudes of majority group

The external factors that shape coping behaviours are social structure and the majority group – two entities which are mutually shaping. Social structure shapes how the majority group behaves towards Chinese Indonesians and the Indonesian majority also has the power to shape social structure. In this social structure, identity is imputed, claimed, ratified or contested and cannot be understood without reference to the past or history which has shaped the social structure and relationship between the two groups.

Firstly, the ideology of the state projected through its regulations has created unequal power relations and a social gap between the majority and minority groups and has taken effect in the relations between the two groups (see Chapter 4 for my explanation of the state's politics regarding Chinese Indonesians). Secondly, throughout history, the majority's attitudes towards Chinese Indonesians have affected the ethnic Chinese population's behaviours and abilities to accommodate further with the Indonesian society, for example, in engaging in various social activities in civic life. Events in the past often cast long shadows on current inter-group relations (Pettigrew, Wagner, & Christ, 2010), as a result of which certain people may chose to avoid or to build social contacts, as argued by Pettigrew: "[p]rior attitudes and experiences influence whether people seek or avoid inter-group contact, and the effects of the contact" (1998, p. 77). In Chapter 3 I highlight that while in the New Order era the relationship between the two groups was damaged by othering and violence, their relationship remains substantially constituted by stereotypes perpetuated in society. The

stereotype that Chinese Indonesians are all rich and exclusive, for example, has created a social gap between the two groups and influenced the ability of Chinese Indonesians to establish social contact. The stereotype on the incompatibility of Chinese cultures with Indonesian cultures has also influenced the participants' choices about whether to retain their ethnic identity or to adjust to the majority mainstream.

6.4 Concluding remarks

Deploying category-bound activities (CBA) to analyze participants' actions embedded in narratives, this discourse study has demonstrated the social psychological state of individuals when seeking to make meaning of, cope with, and overcome social problems, given their identity as a minority group. After analyzing in depth each participant's account, the study categorizes participants' actions into two categories of behaviours – how to cope with social reality and how to deal with the majority group. It ultimately explores how such behaviours construct the identity of the doer, as articulated by the concept of CBA, within the given socio-historical context and illuminate how such behaviours relates to the fostering of ethnic accommodation.

This study has argued that participants' positive behaviours in dealing with social reality and in engaging with the Indonesian majority play an important role in enhancing ethnic accommodation. It has been revealed that in coping with social reality, participants view social reality due to othering in a very positive manner and try hard to overcome it. In order to manage their relations with the Indonesian majority and to negotiate their place within the wider society, they take various actions to adapt into the mainstream while retaining aspects of their ethnic identity. They understand that they need to take necessary actions to be accommodated in the wider society so as to build harmonious inter-group relations.

Insights of the study have enabled me to draw a preliminary framework of behaviours and identity construction which calls for further refinement. The framework highlights the internal and external factors that shape behaviours. Internally, behaviours are shaped by personal attitudes and experience; and, externally, are constructed by social structure and the majority group. It also highlights the role of site of engagement where personal experiences interact with the social structure and personal values meet social values; and the role of power in shaping social structure and people's attitudes and behaviours. The ideological power exercised in different regimes has obviously constructed social structure, shaped

relations between the two groups and in turn determined the ability of the minority group to cope with social reality and to engage with the majority group.

The sole argument of this study has been that behaviours of individuals are a crucial determinant of the creation of accommodative environments. Premised on this, it can be argued that political change of accommodation (see Chapter 4) and societal change (see Chapter 5) alone cannot be effective and efficient without change of individual behaviours. This is to say that ethnic accommodation can be effectively achieved when it is politically supported, when it carries positive social change, and when it alters and is manifested in people's behaviours. The correlations between all these aspects of ethnic accommodation will be addressed in chapter 7, the analyst's perspective of ethnic accommodation.

Chapter 7 **The analyst's perspective: The integrated strategies of ethnic accommodation**

Drawing on the concept of the analyst's perspective articulated in the multi-perspectival (MP) approach, this chapter explicates the 'practical relevance' (Roberts & Sarangi, 1999) of the research as a whole. This practical relevance relates to the question 'so what?' which is expected to address the applicability of the research findings (Crichton, 2003). To be precise it concerns how the results of the research can inform the formulation of further actions that can bring beneficial effects for the research participants, Chinese Indonesians in particular and Indonesian society in general. The actions that will be proposed here are particularly those which can be taken through discursive means. They are formulated on the basis of insights of earlier studies, and are aimed at minimizing the effects of othering so as eventually to achieve ethnic accommodation.

The analyst's perspective reflects the analyst's position in the research (Crichton, 2003), indeed within three of its aspects, that is the context of the research, the research practices, and the motivational relevancies (Sarangi & Candlin, 2001). Motivational relevancies (Sarangi & Candlin, 2001) are constituted by values, assumptions and theories which I drew on in my research and I have disclosed explicitly in my introduction (see Chapter 1), methodology (see Chapter 2) and analytical chapters (see Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6). In this discourse-informed research, while my motivational relevancies have given me as much information as I need to analyze and interpret my data, I have been able to explore and describe social reality without over-identifying with them and forgetting that they are a socio-cultural construction throughout history. Put simply, while my own values and interests motivate and are reflected in the research process and methods, my concern is primarily with the discursive outcomes that are achieved and emerge through my data throughout the research. In the analysis of participants' narratives particularly, it is important to preserve adequate critical distance while integrating my motivational relevancies with the participants' knowledge and beliefs about the way their world works.

Incorporating the multi-perspectival (MP) analytical approach, the whole research reported in this thesis aims to reveal various ways of perceiving social reality from different analytical windows. Accordingly, it requires me as an analyst to search for converging perspectives, as well as shared focus, perception and understanding. The challenges that are

posed by an analysis of this kind are those surrounding the issues of developing collaborative interpretation and aligning different views and levels of understanding of discourses and social reality as well as positioning myself in a balanced position within all perspectives. Within the concept of interdiscursivity, I seek, as far as possible, to maintain an analytical manner in which all perspectives are treated as equally important and mutually informing and to avoid privileging the relevances of any particular perspective. This neutral position can help me avoid essentialising or objectivising discourses from one perspective and to maintain a balance of engagement with micro and macro dimensions of discourse so as to keep up with the relations between what is 'written', assigned or enacted by the government and what is in reality experienced by participants.

This chapter consists of five sections. Sections 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3 primarily provide background information which constitutes the basis of the formulation of discursive actions of ethnic accommodation discussed in detail in Section 7.4. Section 7.1 revisits the centrality of the concept of identity in the production of ethnic accommodation in discourse. Section 7.2 concerns issues surrounding the failure of ethnic accommodation during the New Order era, a failure that can be an important lesson for the current regime. Section 7.3 aims to appraise the gaps and challenges faced by contemporary Indonesians in terms of building accommodative environments. These gaps and challenges are informed by insights of earlier studies reported in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6. Section 7.4 discusses the discursive strategies of ethnic accommodation and Section 7.5 concludes the study.

7.1 Revisiting identity and its construction

Identity has been one of the most contentious concepts in discourses of ethnic accommodation in this research. It constitutes a central concept for explaning the correlations between ethnic othering and accommodation in historical discourse examined in this research. Throughout the research, issues of ethnic othering emerged when I was seeking to identify indications of ethnic accommodation as well to explain the process of ethnic accommodation in its historical dimension. This is to say, the social processes of ethnic othering and accommodation both deal with issues of identity, a concept which is important for explaining *difference* (see Hall, 2001) – boundaries between the Indonesian Self and Chinese Other. Accordingly, it can be argued that struggles over ethnic accommodation are struggles over identity.

In Chapter 3 particularly it has been argued that the ethnic boundaries which constitute the identity of the Chinese Other are *constructed*: they entail social, economic and political

aspects and are profoundly determined by the exercise of power. Premised on this, before engaging in further discussion of how issues of difference are situated within discourses of ethnic accommodation from time to time, I will briefly review the issues of identity construction which have emerged in this research. Throughout the studies involved in this research, the construction of identity (both personal and social) can be synthesized into three main points.

1) Identity is provisional: Identity undergoes constant transformation and is contingent to the environment in which one lives. At the state level, Chinese identity is socio-politically constituted and reconstituted over time through government policies under different regimes (see Chapter 4). Simply put, their identity is largely dependent on how the state, acting politically, treats Indonesians of Chinese ethnicity. From the personal perspective, participants' biographical or chronological narratives reveal that individual identities develop through time (see Chapter 6). Their life stories constitute a dynamic trajectory of self-defining memories which are organized with respect to major lifetime periods and reflect how their identity is altered from time to time.

2) Identity is contested between the internal and external processes: Identity is the result of the interaction between various elements which make identity highly contested and problematized. Throughout history, ethnic identity is contested within the national discourse in which each ruling regime has its own politics and ideology in handling issues of Chinese Indonesians. In Chapter 6 I specifically discuss how (1) identity is the product of a negotiation between the (Indonesian) Self and (Chinese) Other and (2) it is shaped and contested in a dialectical process involving internal and external factors (see also Nagel, 1994). Internally it is shaped by personal attitudes, values and experience; externally it is constructed by social reality or structure and interaction with the majority group.

3) Identity is relational and relates to social positioning: Socio-cultural difference between the minority and majority groups determines the nature of relations between them. The relations between Chinese Indonesians and Indonesians in the past have a strong influence over the current identity and self-esteem of Chinese Indonesians. The attitudes and dominance of the majority have also shaped the ability of the Chinese community to cope with social life and to engage with the wider society. Within such unequal power relations, the majority group continually maintains power over the minority and uses their dominance and control to assign identity to the Chinese minority group. The attempt to control the identity of the minority group is often

problematic; in Chapter 3, for example, I particularly stress the so-called 'identity in crisis' in which legitimacy of the minority group as members of Indonesian society was questioned and rejected while there was a need to boost both national politics and economy.

7.2 Learning from the past

In light of my critical review of identity construction in Section 7.1, I now move to revisit briefly struggles over identity, that is, how the difference between the Indonesian Self and the Chinese Other have been constructed and handled by the New Order regime. To do so I do not mean to repeat what I have concluded about the New Order regime in Chapter 3; rather, I focus on how this situation is perceived by participants so as to obtain insights into what can be learnt from the past and applied constructively in the future. These participants' perspectives are important to understanding the discourse that emerges at the micro level so as to reveal the effectiveness of the efforts taken by the New Order regime.

To do so I focus on critically reviewing the assimilation program which was mandated through Decree of Presidium Cabinet no. 127/KEP/12/1966 which was further enforced by Presidential Decision 240 of 1967 (see also Chapter 3 Section 3.3.2.2 on my elaborate discussion of assimilation). The program forced Chinese Indonesians to abandon their traditional Chinese names and to adopt new Indonesian-sounding names. Hoon argues that:

> The dominant discourse in *accommodating* the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia during Suharto's regime was one of assimilation, which *forcefully* aimed to absorb this minority into the national body. However, continuous official discrimination towards the Chinese placed them in a paradoxical position that made them an easy target of racial and class hostility (Hoon, 2006, p. 149 my emphasis).

This study argues that assimilation is not in line with the spirit of accommodation. Accommodation should be understood as a two-way process, in which (1) the minority group is received, acknowledged and recognized by the elites and the majority group and (2) the minority group is able to maintain group distinctiveness in a positive way while trying to adopt the basic values of the larger society (see my conceptualization of ethnic accommodation in Chapter 1 Section 1.2.3). Premised on this conceptualization and what has been practised through the assimilation program, I highlight two important issues.

The first is that ethnic accommodation cannot be measured from the degree of socio-cultural *sameness*. In other words, this research argues that accommodation cannot be measured alone from the degree of the closeness to or distance from the ideal majority values and culture and that ethnic difference cannot be simply submerged to achieve peaceful

relations. The assimilation policy was based on a general belief that the nation could be ideologically strong if Chinese Indonesians conformed to dominant values and ideas and abandoned their minority group identity. In other words, ethnic difference was seen as a social *problem* that might cause national instability; accordingly the approach that was taken aimed to achieve national sameness which was believed to be the only way to create a harmonious and strong nation. Moreover, while the New Order regime sought to create a single and uniform Indonesian culture it failed to consider that, given more than a thousand tribes or ethnic groups, Indonesian cultures were themselves heterogeneous.

The second lesson is that the failure of the policy to accommodate the ethnic Chinese has evidenced that top-down approaches of this kind are not effective without addressing the real problem at the grass root level. In other words, the program which was supported by strong military backup and was heavily loaded with politics was not effective because it was not parallel with the fulfilling of the rights of the minority. Xi Zuan was one of those who rejected the push to adopt an Indonesian-sounding name. The program expected Chinese Indonesians to take responsibility for becoming the same as the Indonesian majority, although some participants were denied basic rights such as equal access to public services even after they had assimilated during the New Order era. Simply put, they were not treated as equal as the Indonesian majority by virtue of the adopted national identity.

All in all, socio-psychologically, this political effort towards assimilation did not guarantee the acceptance of the Chinese minority in the country. Rather, it gave a stronger impression of otherness of their ethnicity, destroyed their self-esteem as people of Chinese descent and damaged their ability to cope with the wider society. That said, the problem entailed in the assimilation policy was not simple – it was not just a matter of having an Indonesian name. The underlying factors involve economic, social, cultural, and ideological dimensions. This has evidenced that accommodating Chinese Indonesians would need much greater effort than merely suggesting the adoption of the national identity.

7.3 Identifying the gaps between the ideal and real world of ethnic accommodation

In Section 7.2 I have critically reviewed the failure of the New Order's strategy of accommodation; in this section I discuss the accommodation of Chinese Indonesians after the Reform was initiated so as to provide a more current picture of challenges faced by society in dealing with issues of ethnic difference. To do so, I link the legal enactment of ethnic accommodation by the government (informed by the semiotic perspective in Chapter 4) and

its related social practices in society as perceived by participants (informed by the studies of the participants' perspective reported in Chapters 5 and 6). In trying to provide an overarching explanation of accommodation, it is important to understand how discourses that emerge in one perspective are appropriated within discourses that emerge in another (see de Saint Georges & Morris, 2000). Addressing the interdiscursive relations have helped me connect discursive and social actions and to bridge societal to state level practices, a recurring challenge in language and social life research.

In light of the insights of the semiotic and participants' perspectives, this study argues that ethnic accommodation is contested and negotiated between two interconnected worlds – the ideal world, or the world constructed by the fixed ideology and based on what is written in policies; and the real world, that is, the world built upon dynamic aspects of everyday interactions, or what is experienced and practised by society (see Figure 7-1). This argument on discourse and social reality has been made possible by collaborating critical textual analysis with the linguistic ethnographic and discursive socio-psychological studies of the same discursive practice.

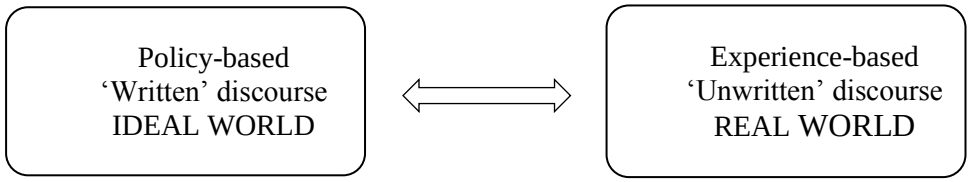

Figure 7-1 Negotiation between the ideal and real world of discourses of ethnic accommodation

Figure 7-1 describes the negotiation between the ideology (as reflected in policy) and the social practice of ethnic accommodation, or between the ideal of ethnic accommodation and its earthly incarnation. The ideal world constitutes and is constituted by a mixture between the idealistic and political modes of discourse, while the real world constitutes and is constituted by the factual and interactional realization of discourse. These ambiguities between the real and the ideal of accommodation have become issues that emerge in discourses of Chinese-ness since the Reform. To explore this issue about the written and unwritten, two extracts that I have included in Chapter 5 is worth revisiting.

Extract 1 Suantara, a Chinese teacher, p. 4

1. *Dulu karena iklimnya sendiri yang tidak mengkondisikan. Misalnya Cina*
2. *mau jadi militer, mau duduk di pemerintahan kan susah. Pada umumnya ada*
3. *perubahan, jelas. Hanya saja, sekarang perubahannya lebih ke mana. …*
4. *Sekarang kan siapa saja boleh. Meskipun secara tidak tertulis mungkin*
5. *sudah ada 'dosa asal'. Misalnya lagi, Kristiani mau menduduki sekolah-*
6. *sekolah negeri yang favorit kan juga susah karena secara tidak langsung*
7. *mungkin ada 'dosa asal'. Mau kerja di pemerintahan juga saringannya ketat.*
8. *Memang tidak tertulis, tapi faktanya begitu*

(In the past the situation did not support us. Let's say, it was not easy for the Chinese to get jobs in the military and to hold a government office. In general, there have been changes, for sure. However, we are not sure to what extent the changes will take place … Now everyone may [get jobs], although this is unwritten but probably because of 'original sin'. Another example, it is not easy for a Christian to go to a preferred public school. It is probably the indirect effect of 'original sin'. The selection process is highly restrictive if we wish to apply for governmental jobs. It is not written, but that is the fact.)

Extract 1 illustrates how the real and ideal world are constructed in and through discourse. Two situations are problematized by Suantara in explaining social change – the written and the unwritten. The written refers to something that is fixed and prescribed by the regulations; the unwritten refers to the dynamic nature of social reality which is sometimes not parallel with the fixed categories. In Suantara's words, for this reason, "[i]n general, there have been changes, for sure. However, now we are not sure to what extent the changes will take place" (1.2-3). In saying so, the massive changes in society especially in the areas addressed in the policies also entail 'uncertainties'. These doubts are the results of othering prescribed in the policies in the past, which Suantara refers as 'the original sin' (1.5, 6). It therefore can be understood why he said "[i]t is not written, but that is the fact" (1.7-8) when talking about the current practices in relation to othering in the education and employment context. This kind of situation is also articulated in Petrus's account (extract 2) which implies that there are instances in which the Chinese minority feel that "it is not easy" (2.10) while in general positive social transformation has taken place. All in all, Participants are aware that the Reform government has prescribed ethnic accommodation and claim that there have been significant changes. What they emphasize is the political accommodation is not fully practiced and implemented in society.

Extract 2 Petrus, a Chinese pastor, p. 3

9. *Dalam segala segi kita bisa masuk, walaupun, maaf, tanda kutip,*
10. *"tidak semudah itu lolosnya". Tetapi, etnis kan kita sudah dilihat,*
11. *diperhitungkan, begitu.*

(In everything we now have access, but, sorry, in quotation, "it is not easy". They look at our ethnicity)

In my discussion that follows, it is first of all important to note that this study is not intended to propose a dichotomy between the two worlds or to argue that they are completely against each other. It is rather meant to critically seek the contested nature of the relationship between the two worlds in a positive manner so as to gain insights for formulating the actions that can be taken to fill in the gaps.

1) The ideal world: Ideological change at the state level

From the legal and political perspective, it is without question that the Reform government has made a significant shift in their political will towards Chinese Indonesians by accommodating them in many ways. Premised on such legal actions, the Reform regime views ethnic difference as *uniqueness* and considers ethnic minorities as part of the country. The Regime also approaches ethnic problems from the human rights perspective. Ethnic othering or exclusion or discrimination is thus no longer given place in the state's promulgations. In other words, the government approaches its diverse population with a multicultural outlook and thus accepts and treats the ethnic Chinese just as equally as any other Indonesian ethnic groups.

Chapter 4 in this research has disclosed strong intertextual relations between the New Order and the Reform policies at the linguistic, discursive and ideological levels. It is true that historically there was evidence of such negative othering of Chinese Indonesians which resulted in prolonged conflict, yet the current institutional order, under Presidents Habibie, Abdurahman Wahid, Megawati, and Yudhoyono, has legislated against obvious negative othering towards the ethnic Chinese. Presidential Instruction no. 26/1998, for example, has brought a breakthrough in terms of acceptance and equality and has abolished the segregating terms 'pribumi' (indigenous) and 'non-pribumi' (non-indigenous) in all official policies. The instruction also eradicates Instruction of Presidium Cabinet no. 37/U/IN/6/1967 enacted by the New Order and postulates fair and equal services to all citizens regardless of ethnicity in terms of, *inter alia*, employment, education, and business and residency permits.

The Reform is designed to put aside and reform the conditions of the old discriminatory order so as to create a new ethnically tolerant Indonesia (see also Crouch, 2010). In short, the speed and extent to which the situation for the ethnic Chinese minority improved legally and politically is truly remarkable. While more than thirty years of discriminatory policies and social conditioning rendered Chinese Other, Chinese Indonesians now gradually feel welcomed into the Indonesian nation. Of a significant note is that the policy order of discourse is pervasive not only in shaping social structure but also in identity construction and inter-group relations.

2) The real world: Social practice by individuals at the societal level

Participants' narratives of personal experience have articulated instances of the successes and failures of practising the ideology of accommodation passed in the regulations, from which we can identify the remaining challenges and problems faced by the Chinese minority after Reform. The linguistic ethnographic study (see Chapter 5) has suggested that participants categorized the situation after the Reform as more accommodative. Their experiences with the current environment with respect to equality, acceptance, tolerance, and trust should be highlighted as positive indications of ethnic accommodation, albeit some traces of modern forms of othering are still evident. Extract 1 and 2 have explained clearly about this phenomenon. In responding challenges posed by discriminatory environments, it is interesting that participants showed positive behaviours (see Chapter 6) by trying hard to overcome the suppression and building social interaction with the Indonesian majority.

Positive social change is real, although the Indonesian society in some ways do not readily accommodate Chinese Indonesians as part of the country as would have been suggested by the policy. This gap between the state and societal levels of ethnic accommodation constitutes a challenge in modern Indonesia and suggests that accommodation is still on the road and needs to be further sought. In what follows I briefly discuss the real world challenges faced by modern Indonesian society after the Reform was initiated which I have identified throughout the discourse studies in this research. These challenges will become important considerations in formulating further actions for achieving accommodation. When proposing these issues I assume that there are no more significant issues at the state level of accommodation considering that the government has made significant moves or transformation. The remaining issues deal with the implementation of the policies and what is actually practised in society. Accordingly, I focus on three challenges that emerge from the grass roots level or from the persons who directly experience the social phenomena, as revealed in the linguistic ethnographic and discursive socio-psychological studies reported in Chapters 5 and 6. The first relates to subtle forms of othering which are closely linked to the development of stereotypes; the second concerns distrustful relationships; and the third addresses the socio-cultural gaps which have become boundaries in building harmonious relationships.

7.3.1 Dealing with subtle forms of othering and stereotypes

Subtle forms of othering continue to prevail and do not always manifest in overtly hostile behaviors. They are often enacted through subtle behaviors that are ambiguous with respect to their intent (or not) to harm. In Chapter 5 examples of these subtle forms of

othering were discussed particularly those in relation to the themes of equality, acceptance, and trust. It can be discerned from the insights of Chapter 5 that stereotypes constitute a vital source of modern forms of othering. Despite the questionable basis, stereotypes or assumptions still develop in contemporary Indonesia, create boundaries between the Indonesian Self and the Chinese Other, and continue to foster practices that unconsciously devalue the Chinese Other. In modern contexts, people are often not conscious that they hold stereotypes that drive their inter-group behaviours. Such stereotypes are deep down in people's minds and in most cases manifest in negative attitudes and behaviours and impact profoundly in their interaction with the out-group members. When stereotyping, people have sets of beliefs (which are sometimes difficult to change) that lead them to impose certain characteristics on the out-group members which in turn create expectancies about the type of interactions that can be anticipated with out-group members (Fiske, Gilbert, & Lindzey, 2010).

To understand the stereotypes we need to see the vicious circle in the relationships between the two groups throughout history. The past practices that other the Chinese minority irrevocably carry massive implications for social structure, in the ways people think, behave and act. What is often misleading is that people often make assumptions about the behaviours of Chinese Indonesians without acknowledging the context that drives the behaviours. Provided these stereotypes are deeply and historically constructed, it might not be easy to combat stereotypes that have been planted in the minds of people over the generations. Those who have been accustomed to the ideology that prevailed under Suharto are not going to change overnight. It took 32 years to forge Indonesian discriminatory attitudes, and it may take another 32 years to change the national state of mind.

7.3.2 Dealing with distrustful relationships

The second challenge posed by the real world discourses of ethnic accommodation is related to distrust. Stereotypes and distrust are correlated: trust is not easy to establish if people maintain negative assumptions about each other. Trust has been defined as "the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms" (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 26).

In Chapter 5 I discuss this issue of trust to the extent that trust is dynamic and remains a constant issue in the Chinese minority – the Indonesian majority relationships. In Figure 5-1 I illustrate a strong correlation between the themes of equality, acceptance, and tolerance and the issue of trust. In the figure, trust is conceptualized within a vicious cycle involving

complex historical processes, stereotypes, and current practices (such as those of corruption). Such environment is described by Uslaner: "Segregation and ethnic appeals are prime conditions for corruption, which in turn leads to less trust. So we have the makings of a vicious cycle of ethnic segregation, inequality, low trust, corruption, and continuing low trust in the majority" (2006, p. 3). I have argued in this chapter that the more the society embraces behaviours that support inter-group equality, acceptance, and tolerance, the more trust can be established and maintained in society. I have also provided evidence that the seed of distrust that remains in modern Indonesian society involves inter-group assumptions that prevail in the stereotyping and prejudicial relationships between three parties, i.e. Chinese Indonesians, the Indonesian majority and the elites. In addition, Chinese Indonesians tend to distrust the government due to the inconsistency of the implementation of its policies, i.e. the incompatibility between what is legislated by the government and what is practised by public officers.

Issues of trust in the context of Chinese-ness in Indonesia can be understood in two ways. Firstly, trust operates both at the level of perception and behaviours which influence each other. The way a person categorizes or perceives members of other groups (negatively or positively) may influence his or her attitudes towards them. Secondly, it is interpersonal and social (See O'Grady & Candlin, 2013). Being untrustworthy can be a personal issue but can collectively develop into a collective matter, such as through the way people generalize and impose such negative attributes on a group. Once it is imposed on a group and ignores individual differences, communal distrust may develop. The stereotype that Chinese Indonesians are all rich and thus an exclusive group has made many in the Indonesian majority reluctant to interact with them. Another example is that Chinese Indonesians have generally believed that government officials are all corrupt, while on the other hand Chinese Indonesians have been judged as a group of people who often practise bribery in order to smooth their lives and businesses (see Chapter 5 for detailed examples). These negatively viewed practices might be carried out by a small number of people, yet society has generalized them. These examples are all issues of distrust.

All in all, stereotypes can be reduced and trust can be established through intensive inter-group interaction. For Uslaner (2006) and Putnam (2007), ethnic and cultural difference can be a trigger of a distrustful environment: the more ethnically diverse a society the more difficult trust is to maintain. Although people tend to be ethnocentric and feel more comfortable interacting with people of the same ethnic group (Tajfel, 1974, 1982), people must develop the so-called 'social contact' (Allport, 1954) if they wish to survive in such a

multi-ethnic society. Developing social contact with people from different ethnic groups may soften feelings of threat, reduce inter-group negative perceptions or stereotypes, and mitigate othering and conflict (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2010). This mitigation of othering can be achieved if social contact is conducted on a regular basis until people can develop mutual confidence and trust (see Fukuyama, 1995). The more people establish contact the more the social and cultural gap between the minority and the majority can be mitigated, and increase inter-group acceptance, equality, and tolerance, as argued by Pettigrew: "when a society embraces inter-group harmony, equal-status contact between groups is no longer subversive" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 79). The less stereotypes are held by society the greater the inter-group trust that is built in society. The more accommodative the institution and the society, the more trust can be established. Thus, although current development has shown positive change, establishing mutual trust should be considered as a lifelong process to be sought continually by both groups.

7.3.3 Dealing with socio-cultural difference in inter-group interaction

One important issue that prevails in participants' stories (see Chapter 6) is the problems due to socio-cultural difference which arise when participants are trying to interact with and seek acceptance from the wider society. In the modern multi-ethnic country where inter-group contact is intense and unavoidable, certain minor cultural adaptations may take place. In responding to cultural difference, as has been informed by insights from the discursive social psychological study (Chapter 6), participants demonstrate various degrees and instances of trying to adapt to the wider society while seeking to maintain aspects of their ethnic identity. As the result of this combination of cultural convergence and divergence, people may partly lose or retain aspects of their ethnic identity. In saying so, there are moments where ethnic identity is contested within the binary relationship between the ethnic Chinese Other and the native Indonesian Self. Verkuyten and Martinovic (2006) argue that the majority and minority groups may have different preferences in terms of whether the minority should retain aspects of their ethnic identity or adapt to the majority identity. It was clear that the government preferred an assimilationist perspective over integration or multiculturalism (for more discussion on issues between assimmilation and multiculaturalism see also Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998), while the Chinese participants' attitudes varied depending on their personal values, experience, and socio-cultural exposure.

Accordingly, as informed by the insights of Chapter 6, this study argues for a balance between convergence and divergence, or between adapting to the larger society and encouraging ethnic cultural maintenance. In other words, it is expected that Chinese

Indonesians are able to retain aspects of their ethnic identity while integrating with the larger society. This is in line with Berry's notion of *integration* (Berry, 1991) which he refers as *mutual accommodation*.

> Thus, a *mutual accommodation* is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples. This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g. education, health, labour) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society (Berry, 1997, pp. 10 - 11).

In this vein, Allport (1954) argues that inter-group contact can have positive effects if the two groups are cooperative and are willing to build mutual contact; if they share common goals of creating an accommodative environment; if they treat each other equally; and if the elites support the inter-group process. It can thus be argued that a nation is likely to be culturally and politically strong when minorities have a strong desire to retain aspects of their identity and when ethnic-based difference is retained or accepted. In other words, accommodation of the ethnic Chinese can be promoted only when their long-suppressed identity and cultural heritage is liberated and at the same time Indonesian national identity is embraced. This is in line with the position advanced by Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder:

> The strengths of ethnic and national identity vary depending on the support for ethnic maintenance and the pressure for assimilation. Most studies show that the combination of a strong ethnic identity and a strong national identity promotes the best adaptation (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 493).

A key point from Berry's and Allport's arguments is that accommodation can only be achieved when there is a mutual relationship between the need for the minority to adapt to the majority group and the urgency for the majority (with their power) to protect and guarantee the minority's rights. In this kind of environment ethnic differences are recognized and considered important in society and an ethnic minority can feel more confident with their identity without the fear of being forced to abandon aspects of traditional identity and assimilate with the majority (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010). It is expected that when cultural difference is liberated, people can have more positive inter-group attitudes and a stronger sense of belonging to each other as one country.

7.4 Formulating actions for accommodating the ethnic minority: The integrated strategies

In Section 7.3 I have highlighted the gaps between the ideal and real world, or the state level and the societal level of ethnic accommodation, to the extent that in everyday contexts

people still practise the New Order ideology of othering although the ideology of ethnic accommodation has been reinforced through the Reform policies. Such gaps highlight potential social problems which can emerge when policies do not readily translate into people's behaviour. That said, the implementation of political accommodation is weak without wholehearted support by the whole of society. It is also worth noting that creating an accommodative environment is not merely about people's willingness and behaviours. Issues of 'time' are of significant relevance here as social change in relation to people's attitudes and behaviours is time-consuming.

The actions that I propose are primarily focused on achieving accommodative environments by, firstly, addressing the three current issues or challenges I have discussed in Section 7.3 – combating subtle forms of othering; building trustful relationships; and enhancing the balance between adopting the identity of the majority and retaining the ethnic culture of the minority. Secondly, the formulation of these actions should consider that ethnic accommodation is a complex phenomenon involving political, social, and psychological aspects; multiple layers of society; and different groups of people. The ultimate goal of the strategies is to contribute to bettering society and the world for both the minority and majority, in which:

1) The Chinese minority can achieve their full potential as human beings and make their fullest contribution to society.
2) The majority or the state can benefit from the potential contributions of the minority, and, as a result, strengthen the community as a whole.

To work towards these goals, this discourse-based research argues for the 'integrated strategies' of ethnic accommodation. When translated into practical actions, it is important to note at the outset that my sole focus is on how such a model can be carried out through discursive means as well as to demonstrate the role of language and discourse in addressing social problems. For Foucault (1971), discourse constitutes social reality, and thus it would be illuminating to talk about social reality from a position inside discourse as discourse theories and research offer so many theoretical and practical underpinnings for understanding and addressing social issues.

The strategies proposed in this study are premised on two key aspects:

1) The actions should be implemented and practised by the state, through organizations, and by individuals. The results of the actions can only be effective if these three levels have the same commitment for ensuring that eveybody, regardless of ethnic

group, is welcome and accepted. This implies that the responsibility of pursuing accommodative environments does not rest solely on the shoulders of the government; the burden should also fall on social organizations and individuals.

2) The actions need to be undertaken by and targeted to two groups of people: the minority and the majority, or the victims and holders of othering practices. In general, for the majority who are othering the strategies should be aimed at dispelling stereotypes and changing attitudes. For the minority who have been othered the strategies should be aimed at empowerment to enable them to more fully participate as equals in the wider community.

These two premises make up the model of the integrated strategies of ethnic accommodation which are intended to work together and reach the same common goal (see Figure 7-2). In the model I group the actions into the governmental, organizational and societal level, in the sense that the model can only be fully appreciated with each element being carefully executed. Those levels are not necessarily exclusive from each other, for example, actions through organisations or society can be enacted and promoted by the government as well to give the actions legal force; and behaviours of individuals can be carried collectively through the organizations they are affiliated with.

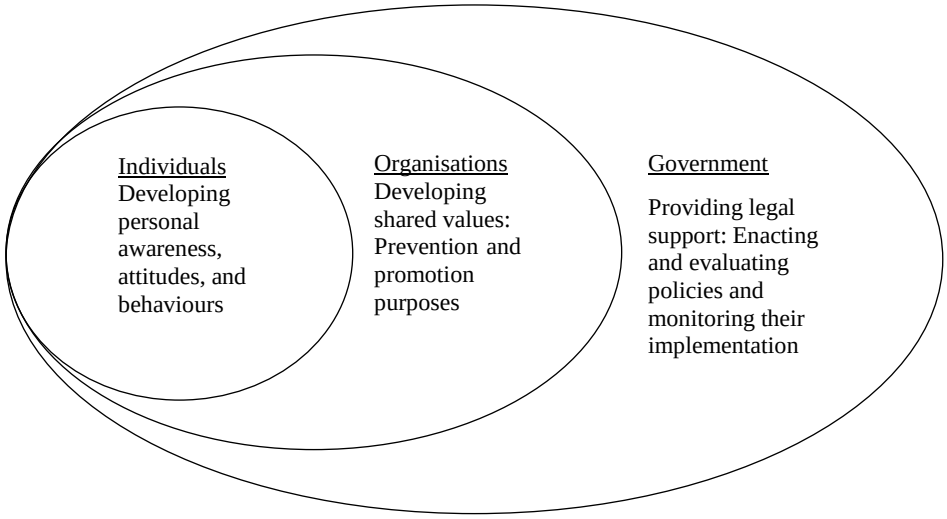

Figure 7-2 A model of the integrated strategies of ethnic accommodation

When implemented effectively, the effects can take place in two ways. Firstly, personal behavioural changes when undertaken collectively can result in social changes. This implies that, when individuals embrace a common goal and together strive to incorporate values of inter-group relationship on a daily basis, a more equitable and peaceful world can be created

on a wider scale (Allport, 1954). It is thus important for society to have the required qualities, such as strong and functioning social connections, that empower its members to lead/initiate positive change in their workplaces and communities. Secondly, the institutional order (government and organization) can largely shape interactional order. The government should have a strong political commitment to treat citizens equally and not to deprive them of their human rights. Their policies go a long way to affecting general social life and, thus, it is central that such policies incorporate the real social problems faced by the minorities.

7.4.1 Actions by the government

At the goverment level, legal actions through anti-discrimination laws and decrees have been the most powerful discursive strategy for accommodating the Chinese minority within the state. This kind of action can be an effective means for the Indonesian majority and the elites (with their power) to deliver positive social change in the country. More importantly, these policies can provide legal protection for people from discriminatory practices and can become the ground for establishing social norms. The role of policies in transforming several key areas in the lives of Chinese Indonesians and the embedded ideology in shaping social structure and in affecting the lives of Chinese Indonesians has been examined in detail in Chapter 4. Chapters 5 and 6 have also demonstrated how positively the participants perceive those political changes and the effects of the policies in their lives. In politics, for example, the increasing number of Chinese politicians sitting in the legislative and executive institutions marks a watershed in ethnic acceptance and indicates that Indonesian democracy has progressed and is more inclusive.

Considering that language and the power people accord to it can produce either othering or accommodation, policy makers need to consider the *language* of the policies, in addition to their content. The language needs to be sensitive to ethnic and cultural differences and express appreciation for ethnic diversity so that everyone can be at least accommodated within the policies. The writers of the policies should ensure that their language and linguistic construction do not trigger ambiguities, confusion, or conflicts in society. The language must be carefully used so that initiatives which aim to improve social cohesion do not inadvertently further marginalize certain groups. To put it simply, because such public statements can be an extraordinarily powerful discursive means of social change, they should be used effectively to send a positive and unifying symbolic message to the community that Indonesia is a country in which diverse groups feel accepted.

However, producing regulations is not enough. The government needs to guarantee that the non-othering regulations that have been passed are implemented consistently at every social level and that no discrimination is given place in society. Participants have highlighted that some behaviours that are not written in the regulations people keep practising (Chapter 5 and 6), for example, limited access to governmental jobs. Accordingly the task of the government is to monitor, and where necessary investigate, what has been taking place in real life situations so as to further address any emerging issues that have not been covered in the regulations. Such continuous efforts to monitor what is happening in real life in turn may inform what is to be reviewed, updated, and amended in the current and subsequent policies.

7.4.2 Actions by organizations or institutions

The linguistic ethnographic and discursive socio-psychological studies in this research have highlighted the role of sites of engagement or organizations such as religious organizations, work places, and schools in shaping the values, attitudes, and behaviours of participants as well as their ability to cope with and accommodate the Indonesian majority. Those places are also important sites where participants can intensively interact with people from different ethnic groups. My primary argument is that those organizations can be effective sites for spreading and establishing shared values about ethnic difference and how to deal with it. The organizations can be a real model of an environment in which everyone regardless of ethnicity feels welcomed and included. More specifically, they can serve prevention and development purposes, i.e. for preventing discriminatory behaviours and for promoting accommodative behaviours. In what follows I propose several discursive actions that can be carried out depending on the context of each site.

At religious sites, in the current climate of potential religious and ethnic othering, religious leaders from all faiths have a vital role to play in speaking out against othering and in promoting the principles of social inclusion and tolerance. Petrus, a participant from a church site, highlighted that religious sites can also be melting pots as people, regardless of their groups, have common needs on religious values and support (see Chapter 6). The leaders can speak to their congregations about the importance of the values and practices of accepting, welcoming, and loving people regardless of ethnic group in everyday context. Word-of-mouth about what has been taught at churches, for example, in turn will spread positive words or messages to society.

In the workplace, writing an equal-opportunity policy for hiring and promoting staff can be an effective strategy to ensure everyone feels welcome. To the best of my knowledge this

has not been tried intensively to date in the Indonesian workplace context. This policy should support the attempts to actively recruit and hire an ethnically diverse staff, board members, executives, and managers. In order to move beyond othering and ensure inclusiveness, a company's board members and executives should reflect the communities or constituencies that the company serves. Sharing of power by the multi-ethnic leadership is important to reduce othering which may influence the atmosphere of the workplace. At the staff level, equal opportunities should be given to everyone based on competence and skills, rather than on the basis of who they are and where they come from ethnically. This kind of selection can attract a wider pool of talent applicants. In turn, othering can be reduced if the staff becomes diverse and raises the awareness of each other and thus learns to understand other cultures and have a mutual respect for all team members. In my discussion of the theme equality in Chapter 5, participants expressed their lack of confidence and fear of rejection in applying for jobs at public institutions. One of them gained political prominence and some were active in building their communities through non-government organizations. They either did their own business or worked for private companies. Specifically, Petrus decided to go to companies which hired a large number of Chinese workers and executives. Learning from these two extremes, public institutions should actively promote and create more inclusive environments in which persons of Chinese descent can feel self-assured that they are welcomed there. On the other hand, the companies which are run by Chinese conglomerates should become more inclusive to potentially non-Chinese job seekers.

The initial stages of the selection process, such as the details on what to write and include in an application letter and the questions interviewers may ask to the applicants at the interview are worth attention. Application letters and interview questions can be discursive means of either including or excluding the minority group. Details expected in letters of application and interview questions should not include those of ethnic and religious background, which to the best of my knowledge remains a common practice in Indonesia. Perceptions of discrimination still persist, and if questions about ethnicity and religion are part of the selection process, this naturally leads applicants to believe that the answers are important as to whether or not they will be offered the job. Although the situation after the Reform is much better compared to the situation during the New Order when the identification card of Chinese Indonesians was given a special code, some participants felt insecure about being known as Chinese Indonesians when applying for jobs or enrolling at universities or schools. In a more recent context after the Reform, Danu was an example of people feeling uncomfortable about being asked directly about his ethnicity when dealing with the bureaucracy at a government office (see Chapter 5).

At the educational sites, schools and classes are some of the best places for preventions purpose, that is, by educating society members about the danger of subtle forms of othering and the importance of maintaining peaceful environments for different ethnic groups and cultures. This can be done even from early childhood education. The point is that educators need to be aware that adults provide important role models for children because the way that children behave towards people from other ethnic groups depends a lot on how the adults in society behave. In terms of the use of slurs, for example, in the past some of the participants (for example, Iman, Edo, Tegar, and Xi Zuan) experienced anti-Chinese sentiments from childhood; their 'friends' hurt them physically and verbally (by calling them 'Cina') during play-time (see Chapter 5). This discriminatory language is an example of attitudes that parents could consciously and unconsciously pass on to their children. From the perspective of developing intercultural awareness, education can also be an agent of enculturation through which learners are imparted not only with knowledge but also with beliefs, know-how, and values. If schools can help foster an environment of tolerance which is free of othering, then schools can be a major step in creating a whole community in which othering is fought. From the perspective of equality, it is important to note that limiting the number of Chinese students in public schools in the past, and the trend among exclusive schools to be dominated by Chinese students nowadays, are not at all helpful for achieving equality. The incident experienced by David illustrated in Chapter 5 when he was not able to join his school's club should not be given place anymore. Schools are places where everyone deserves equal learning opportunities and should not be interfered with by ethnic issues.

The practical actions that can be taken to maximize the roles of schools in particular I have listed earlier can be exemplified as follows.

1) Examine the existing policies in relation to recruitment, application, and admissions processes for students, teachers, and staff from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. School policies that perpetuate othering of some cultural or ethnic groups need to be re-examined and amended.

2) Empower educators as they play as a key figure in the learning process, for example in terms of their communication style and the way the treat their students. Their language is central during the learning process as what students read and listen to in class may influence what they talk about and in turn can constitute their social practices.

3) Develop school curricula that foster ethnic inclusion and promote awareness and celebration of ethnic difference. This change of curriculum can consequently require

new educational approaches, elaboration of teaching materials and establishment of indicators that accommodate issues of ethnic difference. At the elementary shools, the principles and values of appreciating ethnic difference can be inserted in literacy and language classes, particularly through reading and writing tasks. At the university level, Linguistics Departments in Indonesia as well as English Departments offer courses under the heading of Cross Cultural Understanding (CCU). A close look at the curriculum of such courses may well offer positive affordances in developing inter-group accommodation. Topics that this course has offerred include linguistic differences, the role of language in social behaviour, the relationship between language and some particular aspects of cultures, such as kinship relations, folk classification, and the relationship between language structure and perception, and cognitive categories.

4) Recognize and promote holidays and traditions of the minority ethnic groups and make them public events through public writing or posters. This can be done creatively in the form of writing competitions, for example. Observing and conducting educational activities through events like Chinese New Year is also of significance to provide an opportunity for students to learn about the history of different ethnic groups and to reduce misinformed or inaccurate perceptions.

7.4.3 Actions by individuals

This study argues that providing accommodative environments is not just the responsibility of law makers or indeed organizations. It is also the responsibility of all members of society. Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that accommodation is a two-way process requiring mutual accommodation from both groups, the minority and the majority. The minority particularly may be reluctant to fight discriminatory conduct, yet failing to address the conduct has negative consequences that are just as harmful.

Individuals should increase their awareness of the beliefs and behaviours that constitute subtle forms of othering, either as the victims or the holders. What is more important is that, due to their covertness, subtle forms of othering are often not appreciated either by the holders or the victims and are thus difficult to address. The school where David went (see Chapter 5), I believe, did not intend to limit the participation of Chinese students in certain extracurricular activities. The same is true with the situation faced by Danu (see Chapter 5) when the official asked him about his ethnicity. The official may not have been aware that that kind of question could create a feeling of being othered.

Individuals need to have the courage to speak out against othering even when it is socially unpopular or politically unacceptable to do so. This may include making a commitment to speak up when one hears slurs or remarks that signal othering. Slurs have proven to be hurtful for the Chinese participants and have made them feel inferior as a minority Other. Another way of doing this is through the media as they play a powerful role in conveying messages to the public. The scope of the research did not permit an indepth investigation of the media represention of othering, but this is an interesting point for future work. People can write letters to the editor of local newspaper or contact their local TV and radio stations when the coverage is biased or when there is no coverage at all. This can in turn help increase their staffs' awareness about the implications of the prejudiced way in which they cover the news. Media itself can trigger public sentiments against negative behaviour if, for instance, reporters reveal the cultural or ethnic background of a group behind social conflict. People can write articles about different cultures and traditions in newspapers and place advertisements about different cultural celebrations that can also help increase society's awareness about cultural difference in society.

It is also important for individuals to develop positive inter-group attitudes and behaviours through everyday interaction. Inter-group interaction can both exacerbate and minimize the negative effects of the threat of stereotyping the more people make social contact the more they are exposed to other groups' cultures and values. During this kind of interaction, individuals need to monitor their own utterances in order to avoid labelling people based on ethnicity.

Overall, positive behaviours can affect one another's ability to engage in various social activities, to accommodate futher with other groups and to build inter-group relations (see Chapter 6) in which people positivily accept and tolerate cultural difference. All participants experienced traumatic treatment by the Indonesians. However, they were able to rectify their unfavourable situations by believing that they had to interact with the wider community so as to seek acceptance from them. Xi Zuan, for example, has been rejected by his friends, neighbours, schools, and society since he was a child, yet his positive outlook in seeing things and his community enabled him to embrace his workforce which is dominated by non-Chinese. When supported by the wider society, participants' willingness to interact with non-Chinese people in any community they live in and their positive behaviours towards the Indonesian majority, I believe, can facilitate and accelerate the accommodation of their ethnic group into the wider society (see Chapter 6).

7.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has addressed the practical relevance of the study, that is, how results of the whole research can inform further discursive actions to be carried out for the benefit of the participants and society. To do so, it first of all links and critically reviews insights from the semiotic, linguistic ethnographic and discursive social psychological studies within the given social historical contexts. Those studies have inherently demonstrated that discourses of ethnic accommodation entail political, social, and psychological dimensions. Based on the interdiscurive relations between the insights of those studies, this study argues that ethnic accommodation can be achieved when it is politically supported at the state level, when it is manifested in social change at the societal level, and it is manifested and practiced in individuals' behaviours.

This discourse-based research has highlighted the role of studies of language and social life in addressing the gaps between the ideal and real world of a discursive event. I have also foregrounded the role of discursive actions in addressing social problems of ethnic accommodation. Ultimately, the study has argued that only by addressing othering can we create a truly inclusive and respectful society. It has proposed the adoption of 'integrated strategies' of ethnic accommodation, particularly through discursive means, which integrate multiple levels of actions, namely, by the government, through organizations, and by individuals; and are directed to both the majority and minority groups, or the holders and the victims of othering. In a nutshell, the scourge of othering can be faced and ethnic accommodation can be effectively achieved when the government can enact and produce accommodative regulations to legally protect society from othering practices; when organizations can play their role in bringing people together, preventing discriminative behaviours, and promoting ethnic accommodation; and when individuals, in both minority and majority groups, can engage in combating ethnic othering and practising positive inter-group behaviours in everyday contexts. These actions need to be sustained until they are manifested in people's attitudes and behaviours. Ethnic accommodation is not built in one day. Hence, stepwise actions are required for all social actors towards making a difference, a better one. These small steps build the foundation for more organized, deeper, and larger efforts to build inclusive communities.

Chapter 8 **Conclusions**

In this chapter, the main findings with regard to the research questions are summarized (Section 8.1). Furthermore, the limitations of the studies are considered (Section 8.2) and suggestions for further research are presented (Section 8.3). Final remarks are presented in Section 8.4.

8.1 Key findings

In general, the results of the studies conducted in this research have evidenced the role of discourse analysis and its integration with other social disciplines in understanding, with a view to addressing, social problems, particularly those concerning issues of ethnicity and identity within power relations. The overriding purposes of this discourse-based research were to identify and illuminate discursive indications of ethnic accommodation; and to formulate actions that can be taken to reduce the effects of othering so as to create accommodative environments, particularly through discursive means. While the first four studies conducted in this research addressed the first research goal, the last study attended the second research goal.

In a nutshell, the interdiscursive relations between all perspectives in this research have provided an overarching explanation of discourses of ethnic accommodation as a unified whole within their micro and macro dimensions. The socio-historical perspective has provided valuable information for interpreting and explaining the insights of the semiotic and participants' perspectives. The semiotic perspective has yielded the state level of discursive indications of ethnic accommodation which is dominated by issues of politics and ideology. The participants' perspectives – by way of linguistic ethnographic and discursive psychological studies – have shown the societal level of ethnic accommodation. The first has revealed the indications of ethnic accommodation through themes representing the areas which become the concerns of participants as they made meaning of the social change they observed. The latter has revealed individuals' behaviours in coping with social reality due to othering and in dealing with the Indonesian majority. The analyst's perspective, by linking all the insights from all the studies conducted earlier, has been able to identify how ethnic accommodation has been enacted, constructed, and negotiated through various discourses. A critical analysis of interdiscursive relations between all the perspectives has made transparent

the gaps that exist between the ideal and real worlds, or the manifestation of the state and societal levels, of the discourses under scrutiny. Such gaps have given vital information for the formulation of further actions to be taken to reduce the effects of ethnic othering so as to create accommodative environments for everyone, regardless of their ethnicity.

All in all, discourses of ethnic accommodation in this research have emerged as a multi-faceted, co-constructed, and negotiated social practice. It has argued that ethnic accommodation entails social change in the politics of the state, within social practice in society, and within behaviours of individuals. The key findings are summarized as follows.

8.1.1 Study 1 The socio-historical perspective: The construction of the Chinese Other

Drawing from the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) the first study (Chapter 3) explored the socio-historical context of discourses of ethnic accommodation of Chinese Indonesians. The context is closely linked to the construction of the Chinese Other within three governmental regimes, namely, the Old Order (1945 – 1967), the New Order (1967 – 1998), and the Reform (1998 – now). Historical events and associated discourses during the regimes have revealed that the history of Chinese Indonesians was constructed predominantly through the application of the ideologies of successive regimes which have significantly affected social structure. The Old Order was mainly characterized by the influence of the Dutch ideology which placed Chinese Indonesians as the middle men between the Europeans and the native Indonesians. The New Order was principally characterized with othering practices by the authoritarian administration under Suharto who ruled for 32 years. Chinese identity was questioned, contested and redefined in a complex and repressive environment, as manifested through, *inter alia*, the *cukong* system, the assimilation program, and the resurgence of Chinese identity after the May 1998 riots. The Reform, by contrast, has been characterised mainly by the production of accommodative regulations.

All in all, throughout history the construction of the identity of the Chinese Other entailed complex economic, social, and political aspects. Understanding this social historical context has helped explain why certain discourses are dominant in a certain regime, how stereotypes and assumptions about Chinese Indonesians have developed, and how identities of Chinese Indonesians are constructed and altered through time. This social and historical context provides a useful backdrop against which the data of the following four studies can be interpreted and explained.

8.1.2 Study 2 The semiotic perspective: The politics of ethnic accommodation

Drawing on the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the selected policies of the Reform and the New Order were critically scrutinized in order to identify discursive indications of ethnic accommodation. Given the significant role they play in conditioning and altering the social practices of people in a society and in constructing social identities and social relations, particularly with respect to power relations, government policy documents were chosen for analysis to understand how discourses and underlying ideology articulated in policy change over time. This study (Chapter 4) involved a close examination of three dimensions of intertextuality, i.e. manifest, constitutive, and ideological intertextuality, which internalize and are interconnected to each other.

Two discursive indications of ethnic accommodation have been found. The first indication is the foregrounding of human rights protection by the Reform regime. This is articulated through the key phrase HUMAN RIGHTS found in the Reform policies, and absent from the New Order policies, and the key words ASING (foreign) and CINA (China or Chinese) that are prominent the New Order promulgations, but occur much less frequently in the Reform policies. Where they do occur in these latter policy documents, the context is the annulment of previous regulations. The second indication is the annulment of policies that other Chinese Indonesians. The discursive actions strengthen the tenet invoked by the first indication, emphasizing that the presence or absence of a keyword in the documents demonstrates the continuity and discontinuity, or the sustaining and changing, of a discourse or ideology. By advocating HUMAN RIGHTS, the Reform does not seek to sustain the othering practices legitimized by the New Order elites.

Both indications demonstrate traces of dominant discourses and evidence of discursive and ideological struggles involving two counter powers, the Reform and the New Order. Such struggles are also important for explaining identity construction in political discourse. All in all, the study has suggested that Indonesia has moved away from othering and towards accommodating Chinese Indonesians, particularly in the themes covered in the selected policies.

8.1.3 Study 3 The participants' perspective: The social reality of ethnic accommodation

Deploying Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) onto narratives of personal experience drawn from three key sites (i.e. businesses, schools, and churches), this study (Chapter 5) sought to illuminate participants' perceptions of social reality and change embedded in the process of ethnic accommodation. The analysis focused on thematic and diachronic categorizations of events and situations experienced by Chinese participants.

It has been revealed that, firstly, ethnic accommodation can be understood through categories of social reality which can be distilled into four key focal themes – equality, acceptance, tolerance, and trust. These focal themes are interconnected and articulate the multi-dimensionality of processes of ethnic accommodation at the societal level. Secondly, within these themes, the Reform is perceived and categorized as the era of ethnic accommodation, although some subtle forms of othering are still evident.

The study has argued that, firstly, the lack of understanding and the practising of these four themes in society by both the Chinese minority and the Indonesian majority, which is also heightened by stereotypes, seems to be one of main driving forces behind both subtle forms of othering and the barriers for achieving ethnic accommodation. The contemporary problems embedded in these themes are more about the implementation of the policies and everyday practices by society, rather than about the policies themselves. Secondly, it is consequently important to be aware of subtle forms of othering, as their covertness can make them become a fertile ground for discrimination against individuals, without being realized by the holders or the victims of the practices.

8.1.4 Study 4 The participants' perspective: The social psychology of ethnic accommodation

Deploying Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) of participants' actions and activities embedded in narratives of personal experience, the fourth study (Chapter 6) sought to explore participants' attitudes and behaviours in coping with social reality and change embedded in the processes of ethnic accommodation. The study has demonstrated the social psychological state of individuals when seeking to make meaning of, cope with, and overcome social problems, given their identity as a minority group.

The results of the study have shown that participants deal with two entities, i.e. social reality and the Indonesian majority. Firstly, in terms of how to cope with the social reality,

participants take various actions to respond to ethnic othering at various points in time. However, in general they react in a positive manner (e.g. through hard work and resilience) and thus view adversities due to othering as something to overcome. In terms of how to manage their relations with the majority society and negotiate their place within it, they embrace various ways of adapting into mainstream society while maintaining aspects of their ethnic identity.

This study has argued that, firstly, participants' positive behaviours in coping with social reality and in engaging with the Indonesian majority play an important role in enhancing the accommodation of the Chinese community in the wider Indonesian society. Secondly, these behaviours, which form part of a person's identity, are internally shaped by personal attitudes and experience, and externally constructed by social structures and the attitudes of the majority. The study also highlights the role of sites of engagement whereby personal experiences interact with social structure and foregrounds the role of power in shaping social structure, people's attitudes and behaviours, and people's abilities to engage with members of other ethnic groups. The study has proposed a preliminary framework illustrating the relations between these complex factors of behaviours and identity construction which merits further development.

8.1.5 Study 5 The analyst's perspective: The integrated strategies of ethnic accommodation

This perspective (Chapter 7) reflected the analyst's position in the research, within the context of the research, research practices, and motivational relevancies. It sought particularly to address the question of 'so what', or the practical relevance of the results of the research as a whole. In doing so it explained how the results of the studies may be relevant to and inform further actions which can bring positive social change for the whole of society in general and more importantly for the othered Chinese Indonesians.

Understanding the political dimension of ethnic accommodation (see Chapter 4) and how ethnic accommodation is perceived and responded to by Chinese participants (see Chapters 5 and 6) have informed the ideal and real world of discourses of ethnic accommodation. The results have demonstrated the gaps between the state level and societal level on issues of ethnic accommodation. Accordingly, further actions need to be carried out to create more accommodative environments for everyone, regardless of ethnic group, particularly through discursive means. The study has argued that only by addressing othering can we create a truly accommodative, inclusive and respectful society.

The discursive means for creating accommodative environments are framed within 'the integrated strategies of ethnic accommodation', which are argued to be effective if implemented or practised by various levels of society, namely, the state, organisations, and individuals; and targeted at and implemented by both the minority and majority groups, or between the holders and victims of the practices of othering. The government can play its regulatory and political role in producing accommodative regulations to protect human rights and hinder society from pursuing othering practices. Organizations can play their role in bringing people together, preventing discriminative behaviours, and promoting ethnic accommodation. Individuals, in both minority and majority groups, can engage in combating ethnic othering and in practising positive inter-group behaviours in everyday contexts. Examples of the kinds of discursive actions that could promote ethnic accommodation in each of these levels have been discussed. All in all, the multi-perspectival (MP) approach has made it possible to draw a premise that achieving ethnic accommodation entails a number of factors – political support by the state, positive social change in the practices in society, and change of personal behaviours.

8.2 Limitations of the study

The following limitations have been found in the research and thus need to be addressed in further studies in the area. Firstly, in relation to its overall context, this study has made clear that it focuses on Chinese Indonesians as an ethnic group and individuals within a national discourse and context. Thus the Self refers to the Indonesian majority in general, regardless of ethnic group, and the Other refers to Chinese Indonesians as the minority ethnic group. This focus is derived from the general assumption that this ethnic group has long been positioned within their history as a non-native or immigrant group in contrast to native Indonesians. However, within the current context in which Chinese Indonesians or Tionghoa have been acknowledged as an ethnic group in Indonesia, people may ask which (groups of) Indonesians these Chinese Indonesians interact with. This question is critical since Indonesia consists of thousands of ethnic groups with different values, customs, and cultures.

Secondly, problems regarding data types may need attention, particularly in terms of the lack of media data and possible biases due to the selected samples of participants. On one hand, textual analysis of policies has been useful for providing information about what has been institutionally constructed and produced. On the other hand, it has left unexplored the role of media in covering, for example, the implementation and effects of the policies. Media can indeed become an important and rich data source of discourse study and offered numerous research problems which may interest discourse and social scholars.

The study has also taken participants' narratives of experience to voice personal accounts that represent social reality and change experienced by individuals. The narratives, which have been analyzed within the frameworks of linguistic ethnographic and discursive social psychological studies, were drawn particularly from Chinese Indonesians and were valuable in the insights that they provided from the target minority and othered group. However, in terms of the samples of the informants recruited in the study, biases may arise due to the number of participants and the selected sites of engagement. Firstly, there might be biases in participants' account because the study only recruited Chinese Indonesians. When telling about themselves, their personal perceptions of being othered might be too dominant. When this is the case, there are possibilities in which the analyst positions herself within the perspective of the minority Other and thus may favor some outcomes over others. It is thus advisable that we could consider the voices of the majority in order to give perspectives from the mainstream so as to enrich the outcomes of the analysis. Secondly, drawing participants from three important sites (business, school, and church) has become one of the strengths of this research. Multiple voices from different sites have provided different dimensions of experience to produce site-grounded findings so as to avoid generalization. However, in the current context, Chinese Indonesians are everywhere and thus not limited within those three types of sites. Thus it must be acknowledged that there are limitations on the degree to which the three chosen sites can provide a representative picture of issues facing Chinese Indonesians in general. Therefore, in order to reduce the biases and generalization, this study has made clear the context of each participant's account before interpreting and explaining the findings of the study.

Thirdly, methodologically, the multi-perspectival agenda has been effective for providing a framework for untangling complex social problems embedded in discourses of ethnic accommodation by drawing from various theories, methods and data types. In doing so, this study incorporated four perspectives which were accomplished in five studies – the findings were explained earlier in this Chapter. However, none of these studies has captured the details of actual interaction in everyday contexts in which accommodation processes may take place. The daily practice of accommodation could not be sufficiently discerned from participants' voices which were collected through interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

8.3 Recommendations for future research

This research has significantly contributed to the research on discourses of ethnic accommodation of Chinese Indonesians from the perspective of discourse or language-in-use,

which to the best of my knowledge has not been done before. Building on the existing research on Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), the the inter-disciplinary work reported here has the potential to contribute to CAT in terms of the theory, methodology, and practical relevance. Theoretically, while existing discourse research on inter-ethnic accommodation has largely focused on speech accommodation, for example Zuengler (1991), Callan and Gallois (1982, 1987), and Callan, Gallois and Forbes (1983), this thesis has widen its scope into the macro socio-cultural aspects of inter-ethnic relations. I argue that the process of accommodation is not about speech or language accommodation per se, but rather has to be understood within the role of ideology, power relations and social structure that shape inter-group accommodation. This research has thus demonstrated that CAT can be a more over-arching approach which is applicable in social research addressing particularly issues or discourses of identity and inter-group or inter-ethnic relations (see Giles et al., 1991a; Gudykust, 2003). In relation to the two types of accommodation, i.e. convergence and divergence, one of the important findings in the study stresses that, firstly, power relations play an important role in determining which type of accommodation people may take. Secondly, these two types are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as people may have a concurrent commitment to both the heritage identity and the dominant culture practised in the wider society.

Regarding the methodology, this thesis has underlined and elaborated the multi-dimensionality of the process of ethnic accommodation. It believes that ethnic accommodation can only be understood within its wider socio-political context not only involving the ethnic groups being investigated but also the broader national context. Given such complexity, the thesis has highlighted the need to approach it through a research agenda drawing from multiple perspectives, which has not been applied before. The five perspectives deployed in this research have made it possible to generate comprehensive explanations of the documented social problems of ethnic accommodation.

In terms of the practical relevance, this research can be an empirical example of how discourse analysis can be relevant for addressing social and political issues in societies. It has also shown that CAT, when used to approach social problems from various angles by taking into account the socio-political dimensions, can make a significant contribution to attempts to solve interethnic conflicts. Importantly, his discourse-based research has enabled me to formulate strategies of ethnic accommodation. While it has been generally known that people may converge into or diverge from other groups, this research has explored the value of approaching interethnic problems through various levels, i.e. through government,

organisations, and individuals. The thesis has also suggested some practical ideas in the form of discursive actions that can be undertaken in each level.

The results open the door to a number of interesting avenues for future research. In what follows, a number of suggestions on where further research would be beneficial are put forward. The recommendations include further research which may address certain research limitations in this study and develop its results. Firstly, addressing limitations of the study in terms of its context, data types and coverage and methodology may help improve the results, significance and contributions of future studies of this nature. With regard to the context of the study, it is crucial to consider that Indonesian society is very complex and multi-ethnic. The context of the study has been made clear, that is, the accommodation of Chinese Indonesian in the Indonesian society in general (i.e. the national context). However, when talking about inter-ethnic contexts, it is important to specify which group(s) Chinese Indonesians interact with in the accommodation process. Outcomes of future research in this area should be context-specific and generalizations minimized. The reason for this is that Chinese Indonesians may have a different nature or history of relationships with different ethnic groups and that each ethnic group may have their own language, culture, and identity. The other reason is that, within the current context, given that most of them are now Indonesian born, Chinese Indonesians should be and have been officially regarded as both an ethnic group and an integral part of Indonesia. Research on current Chinese Indonesians thus should not regard them as immigrants anymore – although this kind of historical information is useful for providing meaningful background.

With respect to data types and coverage, this research suggests that it is of value to account for media coverage as it can provide rich data, for example, news values, identity construction and varied representations of Chinese Indonesians. In relation to the narrative data, on the basis that othering and the accommodation process involve at least two groups referred to as the Self and the Other, it is important to account for the voices of the Indonesian majority as well. This can help provide more balanced views of the social problem as well as produce insights which can help formulate strategies that can be implemented by both groups. In relation to sites of the study, sites other than schools, businesses, and religious sites can be useful to provide different dimensions of the lives of Chinese Indonesians. The reason is that, as we speak about Chinese Indonesians, both as individuals and as an ethnic group, we need to consider critically whether voices in the chosen sites represent most, if not all, Chinese Indonesians. However, we also need to

acknowledge that voices in research of this kind will never be able to represent all Chinese Indonesians, no matter how may sites of engagement we draw participants from.

Methodologically, in regard to the implementation of the multi-perspectival (MP) agenda, this study proposes the value of incorporating the 'social practice' perspective through which we can be enabled to investigate ethnic accommodation in everyday social practice. This perspective can be accomplished through an ethnomethodology framework, such as field notes on participants' behaviours and interaction and conversation analysis. Conversation analysis in particular may lead us to aspects or topics of speech (verbal and non-verbal) accommodation, which can be a huge research topic on its own. A focus on speech accommodation has been widely applied in inter-ethnic accommodation research to look particularly at how individuals diverge or converge in their language and speech within inter-group encounters (see Gallois & Callan, 1991).

Secondly, in light of the insights and results of the study, other key areas can be further developed and applied in future research. One of the arguments in the research is that processes of ethnic accommodation are heavily loaded with issues of identity and its construction within different sites, contexts and perspectives. While research on identities of Chinese Indonesians has been done through an analysis of their portrayal in media and film, for example, Dawis (2009) and Hoon (2008), following the insights of this study identity and its construction can be approached from a number of additional perspectives. These include, for example, identity in everyday inter-ethnic interaction, how identity is contested within Self and Other, and identity construction within personal, site, ethnic, and national contexts.

For the argument that research needs to attend current issues of ethnicity and discrimination in Indonesia, this research has proposed that research on and approaches to the social problems of othering of the minority need to shift attention from blatant forms of othering to more subtle forms of othering practices, so as to elucidate more fully the contemporary debates about the given ethnic group and to advance our understanding of modern forms of othering. This can be fertile ground for new research topics, including those that examine othering and accommodation processes in the workplace and in educational and political contexts. The results in turn may yield the appropriate strategies which are suitable for the current nature of each situation. This kind of approach would address modern discriminative behaviour which might vary depending on the context of and ideology held by individuals. Given the covert, ambiguous, and indirect nature of subtle forms of othering in the contemporary world, different micro and macro variables may become involved in the practice. This would leave a greater challenge in seeking appropriate and relevant data, other

than the already available data such as official documents and media. Incorporating ethnographic and social psychological data could help in seeking a more accurate and up-to-date explanation based on the current context of the research themes.

Strategies which have been proposed in this study need to be further investigated, particularly in terms of how they can be practically implemented in and through society. Society can promote peaceful inter-ethnic relations and can be involved in activities that enhance inter-ethnic relations. Within the sites adopted in this study, for example, we can further explore the role of each site in promoting ethnic accommodation. Through education, for example, investigation can be undertaken to understand how education and training programs can serve as important channels to raise inter-ethnic awareness.

With regard to insights from the social-psychologically motivated study on participants' attitudes and behaviours, it was found that participants accommodate with the Indonesian majority through convergence and divergence. Using mixed-method research, insights from interviews can be further developed into a quantitative survey. The survey can effectively help measure people's preferences in making social contact with people from other ethnic group(s). Convergence and divergence, which are categorized as social psychological processes in this study, can be measured further within intercultural encounters through the concept of 'acculturation'. Acculturation (Berry, 1992, 1997) is conceptualized as the process by which individuals change because of cultural interaction, either by accommodating or being influenced by other cultures. The 'acculturation strategies' (Berry, 1984, 1991, 1992, 1997) are marginalisation (avoiding social contact and little possibility of retaining ethnic identity), separation (avoiding social contact and retaining ethnic identity), assimilation (seeking social contact and leaving behind ethnic identity), and integration (seeking social contact and retaining ethnic identity).

8.4 Final remarks

As a whole, this discourse-based research has highlighted the role of studies of language and social life in addressing social problems. In all the examined discourses, ethnic accommodation of Chinese Indonesians has emerged as a complex process involving various discursive and social practices; various dimensions; and various groups, namely the government, the Indonesian majority, and Chinese Indonesians themselves. The exploration of micro and macro dimensions of discourse has allowed me to understand how ethnic accommodation is realized, (re)produced and contested through various discursive and social

practices and to formulate discursive strategies to create accommodative environments for everyone regardless of ethnicity.

While arguing that Indonesia is now on the road to ethnic accommodation, the research has emphasized that there are many more actions to be undertaken to create a more accommodative environment for ethnic (and cultural) differences. Arguing that accommodation strategies should be applied at every level of discourse and society, I propose that now is the time to implement such strategies and invite people to contribute to improving the current situation within their specific context and role.

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Appendix

Interview and Focus Group Discussion Questions

1. Could you tell me about your childhood? Where did you grow up and what was it like there?
2. Could you tell me about your family, parents or grandparents?
3. Could you tell me about the neighbourhood where you grew up?
4. Could you tell me about your friends when you were young?
5. Did you make friends with people other than Chinese people?
6. What are some of your fondest memories of your schools?
7. How old were you when you got your first job?
8. What were some of your first jobs? Did you like them?
9. Could you tell me about a memorable moment in your life; a time you will never forget?
10. What events you have experienced in your lifetime involving non-Chinese people?
11. What are some of the changes in our society that you have seen in your lifetime?
12. What do you think about the life of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia now?
13. What challenges do you still face as a Chinese person in Indonesian society?
14. Do you make friends with people other than Chinese Indonesians?
15. Do you participate in any social or political organization? Can you tell me about when your started joining them?
16. How do you manage your relationships with people there?

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

SUSANA WIDYASTUTI <susana.widyastuti@students.mq.edu.au>

RE: HS Ethics Final Approval (5201200311)

Fhs Ethics <fhs.ethics@mq.edu.au> Mon, May 21, 2012 at 1:09 PM
To: Prof Chris Candlin <chris.candlin@mq.edu.au>, ccandlin@optusnet.com.au
Cc: Mrs Susana Widyastuti <susana.widyastuti@students.mq.edu.au>, Dr Peter Roger <peter.roger@mq.edu.au>

Dear Prof Candlin,

Re: "Discourses of Conflict Resolution: Issues of Ethnic Othering in Indonesia"

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee and you may now commence your research.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Dr Peter Roger
Mrs Susana Widyastuti
Prof Chris Candlin

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 1st June 2013
Progress Report 2 Due: 1st June 2014
Progress Report 3 Due: 1st June 2015
Progress Report 4 Due: 1st June 2016
Final Report Due: 1st June 2017

NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit

on renewal of approvals allows the Sub-Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Sub-Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5. Please notify the Sub-Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

http://www.mq.edu.au/policy

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of Final Approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have Final Approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat at the address below.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Peter Whiteman
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