

*Masyarakat Tionghoa:
Singaraja's Chinese
Community*

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Chapter One: Introduction

A Short Description of Chinese Indonesians¹ and Singaraja

Possibly more than any other ethnic group, Chinese have spread out and relocated to many diverse areas across the globe, and the archipelago of Indonesia is no exception. There has been movement between China and the nation now known as Indonesia for over a thousand years, but only within the last 150 years has Chinese immigration really taken off. Mackie and Coppel (1976:4) estimate the Chinese population increased from a quarter of a million in the mid-nineteenth century to over one million by 1930. There are no solid numbers on the percentage of Chinese because the census up until the year 2000 did not include a question on ethnicity, but it is estimated at two and a half to three percent of the total population, which would be around five or six million. The 2000 census, which did include information on ethnicity, may also yield incorrect results because it uses self-identification (Suryadinata 2004: 33). There may be ethnic Chinese who do not identify as Chinese, and this would give a lower figure than what actually exists.

There are two groups of Chinese Indonesians: *peranakan* and *totok*. *Peranakan* is used to refer to a person of Chinese descent who was born and has been raised in Indonesia. *Totok* is the name for Chinese born in China but now living in Indonesia, and who may use a native Chinese language at home (Purdey 2006: 4). However, the use of these terms may be decreasing as Chinese are here for more and more generations and are

¹ I am using the term Chinese Indonesians as opposed to Indonesian Chinese because I feel all the people I met orient themselves towards Indonesia more than China. Just as I would say Asian Americans to describe many of the Asians in the U.S. (not American Asians), Indonesia is more crucial in the lives of these people than China.

obviously *peranakan*. I will also be using the term *Tionghoa*, a more polite way to refer to Chinese than *orang Cina*.

During my experience in Bali, I have not visited an area more diverse than that of Singaraja, located on the Northern coast. Compared to the region of South-Central Bali and places like Ubud or Gianyar, Singaraja stands in its own category. Though I was only there for a couple of weeks, I feel that I was able to gain a general understanding of my surroundings. There are people of many different religions. Of course there are Balinese Hindus, but there are also Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Daoists, and Confucianists. There also exists an obvious presence of ethnic Chinese within the city. Perhaps it is the diversity of religion *and* ethnicity in Singaraja, the fact that so many people are different from the Balinese Hindu norm, that all have been able to come together to live in harmony (at least for the most part). The environment of heterogeneity has meant that there is no obvious dominant culture, and thus, fewer conflicts. A main effect of the environment is that it is also conducive to a strong sense of Chinese identity. Because there are so many Chinese and there is a Chinese culture that is present in one's everyday life, it is easier to identify with one's ethnic heritage.

Methodology

For three weeks, I lived with a Chinese Balinese family in the center of Singaraja. Our class had previously met with Lie Mei Lan, an Indonesian university student who worked with the Chinese community in the area. She generously took me into her home for this project, and I lived with her, her Chinese father, and her Balinese mother.

I conducted interviews with various people in Singaraja, all of whom are of part or whole Chinese descent and in touch with the Chinese community to different degrees.

I also attended meetings, ceremonies, and general get-togethers in which all or most of the people present were Chinese Balinese and the events centered on Chinese issues, such as religion or the Chinese New Year. I went to Mandarin Chinese class with Mei Lan several times, in which all students are Chinese. I visited all the places in Singaraja where people who practice Chinese religion go to worship. Along with my observations of Singaraja and living in Mei Lan's home, I was provided with a wealth of information.

My aims for this project were to speak to Chinese Balinese about their Chinese identity and experiences living as a Chinese in Balinese society. I wanted to know if they felt like a marginalized population, or if integration into Balinese society has been achieved (and if this integration was desirable in the first place). I was curious about Chinese religion and traditions as well, and if people thought it was important to keep these intact, regardless of assimilation. Additionally, I wanted to explore the idea of a community. I knew there were many Chinese people in Singaraja, but I wanted to see if a cohesive, communicative Chinese community existed, in which people knew each other and came together for events or issues that pertained to a Chinese population.

At this point I must acknowledge my own subjectivity in this project. I am coming into this as a highly socialized American college student, and I am not sure if what I perceive as important to these people is in truth what means the most to them, but I hope at the very least some common aims and issues were achieved.

Brief Description of Findings and Plan of the Paper

Through my study, I found that the Chinese in Singaraja do live in peace with others in the city, whether it is with Balinese, Christians, Muslims, or any others. Most of the people I spoke to stated that their Chinese identity was very important to them,

regardless of if their ethnic status had created any problems. Most of the discrimination that seems to occur is with the government, not others in society, and everyone brushed off the idea of real racial conflict.

The people I spoke to were a diverse group of Chinese women and men, young and old, of different religions and positions of wealth. The majority was under the age of thirty, but I conducted a long and thorough interview with Mei Lan's father, who is 71 years of age. Nearly all were born in Indonesia, and those who were not are visibly integrated into Balinese society. Their families' reason for leaving China range from political problems to a search for a better life. All have seemed to reach a certain level of success in Indonesia.

The paper begins with a discussion of religion in Singaraja: Chinese religion, Christianity, Hinduism, mixed religion, and Islam. After this follows information about Chinese identity. Chapter Four covers the integration of Tionghoa into Singaraja and the Chinese community that exists there. The next section focuses on language, both the use of native Chinese languages, and the issue of names. Afterwards is an examination of discrimination against the Chinese and their relations with the Indonesian government. I conclude with the life history of Lie Ho Toeng, whose story of immigration I hold to be of universal interest.

Chapter Two: Religion and Traditions for Tionghoa in Singaraja

Chinese Religion

The term Chinese religion refers to Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism². These may work together as one entity, but there are also worshippers who adhere to only one of the religions. In Singaraja there are places that celebrate all three, as well as settings for the sole worship of Buddha.

The most central of all these establishments is probably the klenteng, located along the harbor in central Singaraja. All of the three Chinese religions are practiced in the klenteng. There are many different deities, ones for knowledge, medicine, justice, love, the ocean and water, and others. When one prays, there is an order to everything, complete with numbers in front of each shrine to each deity to tell you the sequence in which to pray. One uses incense, held in both hands. For each deity one will leave at least one stick of incense (but sometimes three) in the pot left for that purpose. Before leaving, one will also pray to some of the gods by getting down on hands and knees. With hands on the ground, palms facing up to symbolize asking for something from the gods, one will touch forehead to ground. This is repeated three times for each deity.

The klenteng is usually an active place, even more so at night. People hang around the area, eating and talking, and there are children running in and out. On the Chinese calendar, there are certain days that occur every two weeks in which Chinese will set out more offerings than normal, and give thanks to one's ancestors. People will usually go to the klenteng on these days as well, and it seems to be the first places to go for Chinese religion, before any of the other places of worship. It is obvious that the klenteng holds a special importance for many Tionghoa in Singaraja. Mei Lan stated that when she feels 'not nice' in her life, she comes to the klenteng to pray and it helps resolve whatever may be going on (personal communication, 17 Nov 2007).

² Also known as *KongHuCu* in bahasa Indonesia

There is a second Chinese temple in Singaraja, named Seng Hong Ya, which is also along the water and in which many of the same religious practices are down. The reason for the location along the water of the klenteng and Seng Hong Ya is because many Chinese traveled by the ocean and arrived at their new countries through the harbors (Mei Lan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007). Just as in the klenteng, there are many deities and a sequence to how one prays. All three Chinese religions are worshipped here as well. While I was there, I also took part in burning paper money that will be received by the gods for prosperity. Seng Hong Ya did not appear to be as active as the klenteng, though there were other people there when I was present. It is located down a side road and is far less visible than the klenteng.

There are also two places in Singaraja that are centered around Buddhism. One is Happy Buddha Temple, where people come three times each day for prayers. Interestingly enough, it had one similarity with a mosque in that there is a specific space for women to pray, behind the men. One of the leaders of the temple also told me that Muslims can pray in the temple as well (Yao Cong Ming, personal communication, 13 Nov 2007). In the front was a large, smiling Buddha and offerings of fruit. Prominently displayed on the wall was the character mu, meaning mother in relation to the gods.

The other place for Buddhist worship is Buddha Vangsa, Singaraja's Buddhist monastery. Built in 2001, it is still under construction in a three-floor structure. There are prayers here every 15 days, the aforementioned days during which people give extra offerings. The monastery also takes part in education and holds meditation and language classes.

The day that I visited was the biggest ceremony of the year, called Kathiana Day. The purpose of the day is to come together and give thanks for one's ancestors. The entire environment was amazing, with an estimated 200 or more people attending. Prayers were said by the six Buddhist priests, and people made a process to donate money and other material goods. Afterwards, many people sat and ate the food that was provided, a mix of Chinese and Balinese cuisine. The ceremony began at 3:30 in the afternoon and many were still around when I left four hours later.

More than any other setting I had experienced in Singaraja, the harmonious community was visible during the ceremony. There were Chinese of course, but also many Balinese. I noticed one woman who attended in her complete pakaian adapt. Some of the Buddhist priests appeared to be of mixed Indonesian/Chinese parentage, and the majority of the crowd was *orang campur*³ as well. It was sort of extraordinary to participate in this large event, in which, regardless of the number of people, everyone seemed to know each other and were very friendly. It was a real melting pot and everyone was accepted regardless of ethnicity. What mattered was people's allegiance to Buddhism, to come to the ceremony to give thanks, and nothing besides that.

The final place that I visited relating to Chinese religion is located in the center of Singaraja, within walking distance from the klenteng. The building more of a Tionghoa community gathering place than religious organization, but prayers are done there as well. I visited two times for two separate occasions. The first was KONG, a practice done for someone in the community who has recently died. Between when a person dies and their date of burial or cremation, the body is put in a closed coffin and left in this building for several days. There are offerings set out and people will come to pay their

³ *Orang campur* is a term in bahasa Indonesia used to refer to people of mixed parentage.

respects to the person and pray. For 24 hours a day until the final arrangements are carried out, the body will stay in the place of KONG and somebody will be present. The building never closes during these periods.

The second occasion that I visited this Tionghoa meeting place was for something called *rumah rumahan*. This optional practice is done three years after a person dies. It entails having a miniature house built for the person who has passed away. The house is like a dollhouse in terms of details, even including cans of soda being served on a tray. Built by a Chinese man in Singaraja, the cost is around four juta, so it is understandable that only some families choose to do this. People from the community come and pray for the deceased person and then eat and chat for a couple of hours. Unlike KONG, *rumah rumahan* ends at night. After two or three days, the house is carried to the beach and the entire thing is burned. This symbolizes giving the person this house and prosperity in heaven.

It is worth noting that at each of these places of worship, there was a mix of Balinese, Tionghoa, and *orang campur*. Regardless of ethnicity, what mattered was that people wanted to come together for these religious and community services. The Balinese that attended held allegiance to Chinese religion or the Chinese community. For instance, I once joined Mei Lan's Balinese ibu in praying at the klenteng, a practice directly influenced by her marriage to a Chinese man.

Many people that I talked to mentioned that Balinese and Chinese traditions are similar (Faksin et al.⁴, personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). There are of course

⁴ One of the interviews that I did was after one of the meetings that I attended. It was a group interview with 20 people, so for the sake of convenience I will use 'Faksin, et al.' to refer to this group interview. I will use individual names for any quotes or information that differs from the general group opinion. The names of each person will also be included in the bibliography.

many differences as well, but some of the same elements are used, such as incense, flowers, and offerings. There is also a sense of balance in both Balinese Hinduism and Chinese religion. An important element of Hinduism is a mixture of both good and bad, and this can be seen in Chinese religion as well, with symbols like the yin and yang. The meaning behind the yin and yang is that anything good also has some darkness in it, just as anything bad also has good qualities. There are also the entities of the phoenix and dragon in Chinese religion, two complementing forces. The phoenix represents the female and is usually on the left; the dragon represents the male and is usually on the right. Again we can see that everything has an equal and opposing power.

There is also Chinese religion practiced at home in the form of ancestor worship. Most of the people I spoke to had a *nyolo*, an ancestral shrine, in their home. There are also in some stores in Singaraja. A *nyolo* consists of a picture or pictures of a family's ancestors that have passed away, usually grandparents and/or great-grandparents. It is decorated with Chinese characters and flowers. In front of the pictures is a porcelain pot decorated with characters. In this pot are placed sticks of incense after prayers, which are done twice a day.

A few people that I met practiced what I would call *agama campur*, mixed religion. Nina's home has a Hindu family temple, in which simple offerings are placed. However, she also stated that her grandmother's home has a *nyolo* where her grandmother prays at each day (Nina Karina Candra, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007). Mei Lan's family also practices *agama campur*. Hindu offerings are laid out each day, including one on the *nyolo* in their house. They have two Hindu shrines as well. Each evening before eating, I would notice Mei Lan light a big batch of incense and do

her prayers for her Chinese ancestors. She would then put on her *selendang*, and with the remaining sticks of incense, do her Hindu prayers and place this incense in the shrines.

Christianity

Several of the people that I met had converted to Christianity, and regularly attended church. It appears that there is a large Christian Chinese population in Singaraja, and I was told that many of the people who go to church are Chinese (Lisa Setiawan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007). Both Lisa and Mr. Yenata (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) had grown up in Buddhist households, but they and some of their other family members had converted to Christianity. Interestingly enough, Mr. Yenata's home, though a Christian household, also had a *nyolo*. During my short time in Singaraja, I saw much less of the Christian Tionghoa than some of the other people. There were certain members of the community who I saw everywhere—meetings, the Buddhist temple, community get-togethers, etc. It was not so for Lisa, Mr. Yenata, or Xiao Xue Ming, Mei Lan's Chinese language teacher, who is Christian. The only time I saw these people were during our interviews and at their jobs (in their stores or in class). They did not seem to be as active in the Chinese community as some of the others, but this may be an incorrect assumption because I was in the area for so short a time and cannot really guess their true involvement. There may also be an entire Christian Chinese community that I am unaware of.

Islam?

There is a noticeably absent discussion of Muslim Chinese, because I did not meet any and am unsure if there are any in Singaraja. In Bali this has not created any problems because there is a Muslim minority. In the rest of Indonesia, however, the failure of

Islam to attract Chinese has compounded with other problems with Chinese as ethnically different and supposedly wealthier. This combination of religious, economic, and ethnic difference has created riots and violence throughout the archipelago, but has remained outside of Bali (Friend, 2003: 301).

Chinese New Year

One of the biggest productions for the Tionghoa community in Singaraja is Chinese New Year. Last year was the first large, organized celebration, complete with singing, children's performance, barong dance, and food. The same is planned for this year and meetings have already begun three months in advance. The group that plans everything is called Persatuan Remaja Tionghoa Singaraja, PRTS⁵. It is one of Singaraja's important community groups and at least twenty people were at the two meetings that I attended.

Chinese New Year was important to every person I spoke with. Regardless of religion, each Tionghoa would celebrate in some way, and many attended the celebration last year. For many families it is a time to gather all together. Mei Lan has siblings in Jakarta and Denpasar, and they do not return to Singaraja very often but will come back sometimes for the new year.

The celebration of Chinese New Year, the sheer number of people who attended Kathiana Day at the monastery, and open religious expression for Tionghoa in Singaraja is extraordinary in light of past repression by the national government of anything visibly Chinese. Jemma Purdey (2006: 99) writes:

Given, however, that Chinese New Year celebrations had been banned since 1967, in light of current tensions, it was extremely unlikely that festivities would take place in 1998. The government's decision to re-state the ban on Chinese New

⁵ In English, this would translate to Singaraja's Chinese youth organization.

Year in 1998 not only acknowledged the high level of anti-Chinese sentiment and its potential to tip over into violence, but also revealed how the state utilized a 'fear of disruption' during this time as a 'weapon in the competition for symbolic space.' There were few precedents of Chinese cultural and religious celebrations causing inter-religious or inter-ethnic conflict. Yet the language used by the New Order mythologised the potential for such minority festivals to induce conflict with the pribumi⁶ majority and to disrupt inter-ethnic and religious harmony.

Not until 2000 did President Abdurrahman Wahid remove the regulations on expression of Chinese traditions and religion. Soon after President Megawati was elected in 2001, she made Chinese New Year a national holiday (Suryadinata, 2004: 46). Surely, much has changed in terms of Chinese being able to be visible in Indonesian society. During my time in Singaraja, I noticed little to no hesitation by Tionghoa to express their practices and beliefs, and Mei Lan has assured me that there has never been any problems in Singaraja with open display of 'Chinese-ness' (personal communication, 27 Nov 2007).

Chapter Three: Chinese Identity

One of the main aims of my project was to speak to Tionghoa about their Chinese identity. I wanted to know if, living in Bali and its Hindu-based society, their Chinese identity remained important to them. And, judging that for most of these people their families had been in Bali for at least two generations, had this affected their allegiance to China and ethnic identity?

For nearly every person I spoke to, they stated that their Chinese identity was very important to them. I asked this question to each person I interviewed, and the answer was almost always an immediate, resounding 'yes.' I think Tionghoa identity is so intrinsic to

⁶ Pribumi is a term used to refer to the indigenous population of Indonesia, in distinction with non-pribumi, non-indigenous peoples in Indonesia. Usually non-pribumi alludes to Chinese Indonesians.

the lives of the people in this community that the answer to this question was almost obvious. Many people would reference their ancestors from China, their grandparents or great-grandparents who had emigrated from *Tiongkok*⁷. Without their forefathers they would not exist now, how could this heritage, their ancestors' stories, history, and traditions not have a great significance in their life now? Regardless of how far back their family was in China, the Chinese way of living—religion, customs, etc., was still important.

While their Chinese identity was essential to them, nearly each person also stated that they were not proud really, at least not in the sense of being better than any other ethnicity. They identified with being Chinese without feeling that Chinese customs or beliefs had a higher position than Balinese and/or Indonesian practices.

The environment of Singaraja and Bali also affected the identity of the people that I spoke to. Few of them were in touch with China in any manner, such as communication with remaining relatives or keeping up with news from China. In fact, few knew exactly what area in China their family was from, though they did state that they wanted to go back to China to visit their 'home village' (Faksin, et al., personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). Their identity was directly in relation to Singaraja: organizing events for Chinese in the area, praying with fellow *orang campur*, caring about issues that pertained to Bali. It is visible in this that all identity, anywhere, is fluid, and can be molded and transformed by one's environment.

One person I spoke to (Lisa Setiawan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) commented that people of mixed Balinese and Chinese ethnicity are more proud of their Chinese identity than others. I can see how this is possible because I see it in my own

⁷ *Tiongkok* is a term in bahasa Indonesia that means the nation of China.

life, as an *orang campur* like most of the people in Singaraja who I met with. Perhaps the Chinese heritage stands in distinction with being Balinese; it is the difference that makes them who they are. Their ‘Chinese-ness’ is a force that must be conquered and understood, and maybe it is partly inevitable that through understanding it, they will begin to identify with it⁸.

Chapter Four: Integration of Tionghoa and the Existence of a Chinese Community *One United Society?*

Through my observations in Singaraja I saw one integrated society, but I also wanted to know what people’s thought were on the relationship between Chinese and Balinese. Each person I met answered that they thought everyone lived together in one society. Some even seemed surprised that I was asking the question, why I was making a division between Chinese and Balinese when they don’t even make this division themselves. “Why make a separation?” asked Xiao Xue Ming (personal communication, 25 Nov 2007). Integration of Chinese into Balinese society was something good in everyone’s eyes (Faksin, et al., personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). There was no need or desire to maintain boundaries between Chinese and Balinese. Though the traditions may be different, everyone lives together and there are no separate ethnic enclaves. Singaraja is definitely a place where people celebrate similarities, not differences.

Mei Lan’s father, Lie Ho Toeng, brought up another issue, that of integration between newly arrived Chinese and those who have already been in Indonesia for a long

⁸ I write this paragraph with some hesitation because these are simply my ideas about the people I encountered, and highly in reference to my own experiences. I must emphasize that these may be incorrect assumptions.

time. Besides a good relationship between Balinese and Chinese, it is also important to have communication between all Chinese people as well, and that maybe it is possible for integrated Chinese to help new immigrants. He said, “It is very important to cooperate, and it is better to cooperate than to work alone (personal communication, 27 Nov 2007).”

Inter-marriage

One important issue relating to a united community is inter-marriage between Chinese and Balinese. I posed the question of future marriage to the people I met with who are not yet married. Did their (sometimes mixed) Chinese families want them to marry a Chinese person? The answer that I received differed, surely reflecting the different opinions of each family. Faksin, et al. (personal communication, 18 Nov 2007) stated that their families didn’t care—it was only up to destiny. However, after this meeting Mei Lan told me that, in reality, all parents with Chinese or mixed children want them to marry Chinese. They will accept a Balinese spouse for their child, but would prefer someone Chinese (Mei Lan, personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). A few people I met gave me a strong answer of ‘yes’ for this question. It appeared that for them, it was not a real choice to marry a non-Chinese. Nina (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007), who is an *orang campur*, commented that both she and her older brother ‘must marry a Chinese person.’ She followed this by saying she has a Chinese boyfriend, so there are no problems currently.

It was mentioned to me that a Balinese woman may marry a Chinese man, but a Chinese woman *should* marry a Chinese man, not a Balinese man (Tan Cen Lan and Mei Lan, personal communication, 24 Nov 2007). No further explanation was given to me, but I can presume that a Chinese woman holds a certain something that should not mix

with the Balinese. This may be an incorrect assumption, but there may be a sense of ‘purity’ attached to a Chinese woman, that she should only marry with a fellow Chinese.

Relations with the Muslim Community

Singaraja also has a significant Muslim population. There are several mosques in the city and Muslim schools as well. Most people I spoke to stated that relations between Muslims and the rest of the community in Singaraja are good. There were some exceptions to this however. When I spoke to Mr. Yenata (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007), he first commented that he likes George Bush because “he stops the terrorists.” I was sort of taken aback because I thought if anything the current U.S. administration has made it harder for Indonesians by issuing travel warnings and making it more difficult for Indonesians to immigrate to the U.S. Mr. Yenata continued on, commenting that many Muslims are fanatical and lunatics, and alluded to saying that they live separately in Singaraja. Of course, this is only one person’s opinion and I did not notice any open conflict or discrimination of Muslims in Singaraja.

Chapter Five: The Issue of Language

The Use of Chinese in Singaraja

With a large Chinese population, it is not surprising that there are certain places in Singaraja where Chinese characters are used and Mandarin or other dialects of Chinese are spoken. Walking around the city, one can sometimes hear Mandarin being spoken. Often people will say “terima kasih, xie xie 谢谢,” thanking each other in two languages. There is also written Chinese used in stores and restaurants dotted within the city, names of establishments given in a combination of bahasa Indonesia, Chinese

characters, their pinyin Romanization, and English. One can compare this to state repression of all ‘Chinese-ness’—it appears open expression of the Chinese language is no problem.

Mandarin Chinese is taught in Singaraja, but one has to attend a separate class. Despite the high Tionghoa population, it is not taught in schools. Thus students who want to learn Chinese have to pay extra, beyond their regular schooling costs. The classes that I saw had a mixture of students—some elementary school age and some obviously out of school. They were all of full or mixed Chinese parentage, and many people said their families were happy they were learning Chinese. Some even helped their parents to learn Mandarin as well.

Each person that I met knew at least some Chinese, even if it was only a handful of words. Only a few, such as Joko, whose parents are both Chinese and who has married a Chinese woman, spoke only Chinese at home (personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). The majority spoke bahasa Bali or bahasa Indonesia at home, and maybe a few words of Chinese relating to food or money. For instance, before every meal Mei Lan would say *chifan* 吃⁹, letting her parents know she was going to eat.

It seems few, if any, were learning Chinese to better communicate with anyone in their family who already knew some Chinese. The reason to learn was just to know the language and maybe for future trips to China.

Names

All the people I spoke to besides Lie Ho Toeng and Xiao Xue Ming had both an Indonesian name and a Chinese one as well. Most used their Chinese name with friends

⁹ Literal definition: eat food

and family, and their Indonesian name during school and for official purposes. In their words, using an Indonesian name with the government “just made things easier” (Ming San, personal communication, 26 Nov 2007). Tionghoa relations with the government will be discussed more later. The name that one uses is based on one’s environment as well. Nina lives outside of the center of Singaraja, in an area with many Balinese, as well as traditional architecture and Hindu family temples everywhere. She stated that she uses her Indonesian name because all the people in her neighborhood are Balinese and it may be hard for them to pronounce her Chinese name.

Chapter Six: Discrimination and Tionghoa Relations with the Government

Racial Conflicts in Society

The general opinion of those I interviewed in Singaraja was that no real ethnic discrimination existed for Tionghoa. There were a few exceptions, but most reassured me that any problems occurred outside of Bali. Surely, riots against Chinese have taken place, but thankfully problems on this scale have not reached Bali. Of course, one may be subjective in pointing out the conflicts in other areas to deflect interest from Singaraja or the rest of Bali, to paint a calmer picture than the one that actually exists. I must also acknowledge that this may be a sensitive topic for some people and they may have consciously avoided sharing their experiences with me.

When I talked to the big group at the meeting of PRTS, everyone commented that there was no discrimination within society, but when I pressed harder there were a few exceptions to this. Ming San (personal communication, 26 Nov 2007) said that he would sometimes have problems in school with other students because he is Chinese, but that he

would not let it bother him. He commented, “Whatever they say to me I don’t pay attention. I don’t care.” He was not the only one with problems in society. Lisa Setiawan (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) told a story of unequal treatment during high school, receiving lower grades from a teacher for the same level of work. She reasoned that this was because she is Chinese. Mr. Yenata (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) also told of his experience getting robbed in Surabaya because he is Chinese. However, he did not dwell on this incident and emphasized that it occurred outside of Bali.

Tionghoa Issues with the Government

It was almost universally agreed upon (besides Mr. Yenata) that the position of Tionghoa with the government is not very favorable. In contrast with relations between people, relations with the government are difficult and at best, highly bureaucratic. All of the problems that people discussed were directly related to the myth that all Chinese are wealthier than the rest of the Indonesian population. “When the government sees a Chinese face, they see a face of wealth” (Mei Lan, personal communication, 27 Nov 2007).

It is true that although Chinese make up around three percent of Indonesia’s total population, they control the corporate wealth in the country (Purdey 2006: 22). However, this figure ignores all the small business owners and Chinese who live on the same economic level as the majority of Indonesia. Despite what actually exists, it has long been ingrained that the Chinese are a rich group, and the government continues to operate based on this assumption.

Lisa Setiawan's family owns a small business selling flowers in the center of Singaraja. She explained in detail the problems she has faced with the government because it is a Chinese-owned business. Officially, everything is filed using Indonesian names to appear as a Balinese-owned store. Nonetheless, the officials know it is run by a Chinese family and make it more difficult for Lisa because of her ethnicity. The government controls the electricity and water and asks the Setiawans to pay double for these utilities from what Balinese must pay. Lisa has repeatedly gone into the government's office and complains to the officials in person, but nothing has changed despite her repeated efforts. She said that it is the same for every Chinese business in Bali and across the archipelago. She seems highly skeptical that this unfair policy will change anytime soon (Lisa Setiawan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007).

However, Mr. Yenata (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) also owns a small business in Singaraja and he refuted any unfair treatment by the government towards his store. Perhaps the problem is not as widespread as Lisa stated, or Mr. Yenata did not want to share information about his dealings with the government.

Lisa has had other problems with the government in addition to paying more for utilities. During her schooling, the people responsible for collecting fees were much stricter on her than some of her Balinese classmates. They were allowed to make their own timetable for payment, but this was not a luxury afforded to her family. (Lisa Setiawan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007). Again this comes down to wealth and the belief that all Chinese have money.

Mei Lan's father, Lie Ho Toeng, also spoke of problems he had when he was receiving his Indonesian citizenship. At first one government representative told him

there was no need for him to pay because he was a poor Chinese and apparently the government would take care of everything. However, when he actually received citizenship, Ho Toeng had to pay 200,000 rupiah. This may have been simple miscommunication between government officials, but it could also come down to structural unequal treatment of Tionghoa. Even in this case though, the important thing is that gaining citizenship was no problem for Ho Toeng and the government was accepting of his entrance to the country.

Chapter Seven: An Immigrant's Story

I am including the life history of Lie Ho Toeng because I think it speaks to the hardships and trials that every immigrant faces, regardless of location or ethnicity. His is not a story specific to China, or Indonesia, or Singaraja, but a universal story. In speaking about the community in Singaraja that so continually celebrates similarities, I think Lie Ho Toeng's history is fitting as something all can relate to.

Lie Ho Toeng was born on January 2, 1941 in Fujian province, China. At the age of three his mother passed away. His childhood was also marked by the Chinese-Japanese conflict occurring at the time. He told an amazing story of being in school during the third grade, and that his school had something like a hole in the ground (as it was described to me) to protect everyone from the Japanese. "The Japanese wanted to bomb China, but in this hole, the enemy could not see you." This memory of growing up in wartime has stuck with Ho Toeng throughout the years and seemed to have special significance for him.

At the age of nine, in the year 1950, Ho Toeng immigrated to Indonesia. The family's reason for leaving China was their economic situation. They looked for a better life and more opportunities in Indonesia. His father would travel to and from China and Jakarta and eventually sent for his sons when the family had saved enough money to make the trip possible. He came with his five older brothers, and his two older sisters remained in China.

Upon Ho Toeng's arrival in Jakarta, he resumed his schooling. Of course there was a language barrier, and this proved very difficult. Ho Toeng attended school for six years in Jakarta before ultimately deciding to stop school. He has to repeat much of his education because he did not do well in bahasa Indonesia. He only completed elementary school before leaving.

After school, Ho Toeng worked as an employee for two years in a batik factory. After this he worked in a factory that produced suitcases and in two years time rose from employee to boss. At his peak he was in charge of twenty people. At this time in Jakarta, he also married and had two older children. These children still live and work in Jakarta, though their mother passed away long ago. However, Ho Toeng's business gave credit to many who were unable to pay what they owed. Because of this, he went bankrupt, being unable to cover the costs of the business.

The bankruptcy was very difficult for Ho Toeng, and he stated that he was very depressed after the business falling apart. For one entire year, he could not leave his house, was unable to do anything. One day he was listening to the radio and heard something that said, "Whenever you are falling down, don't worry. You have so much to

be thankful for because you are still living.” This motivated Ho Toeng to return to the rest of the world, to living really. He started going out again and meeting people.

Ho Toeng began to work as an employee in the batik business again and worked very closely with his boss. His boss trusted him and Ho Toeng became his assistant, taking care of everything when the boss was absent. Eventually he was able to save up some money and bought his own house in Surabaya. In this house he also developed his own batik business and had three employees working for him. However, this venture also ended up failing and Ho Toeng had no choice but to sell his house and pack up his life again.

He returned to Jakarta and worked as a vegetable seller in the market. As he became older, he could no longer do this work because it was very physically tiring and involved very long days. When one of Ho Toeng’s brothers died, he moved to Singaraja and took over his business of making and selling green bean cakes. In Singaraja he also met Luh Sukardi. He remarried with her and they have three children together: Mei Lan and her two older siblings. Her older brother now works in Jakarta, and her older sister lives in Denpasar with her husband and young child.

Being able to return to China is very important for Ho Toeng. He has never been back since he first left. He is the last of his generation, and everyone has wanted to go back but never saved enough money to do so before they passed away. He hopes that by next year the family is able to send him to China. His father died there, and Ho Toeng said, “I still do miss my village.” Despite the years that have gone by and that he has created a life in Indonesia, the importance of China has not decreased for Ho Toeng.

Regardless of all the hardship that Ho Toeng has faced in his life, he still remains optimistic and laughs often. He believes that there is nothing a person can do to change his or her fate—it all remains in God’s hands. Whatever one’s destiny is, it will happen. It is this faith which I think has propelled Ho Toeng forward, and continue to do so.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

The community in Singaraja that I experienced and that I asked about during interviews is indeed one based on communication and understanding of difference. With such diversity of religion and ethnicity, it is amazing how people move beyond these distinctions to something more real. On an island that can be so homogenous in its worship of Hinduism, it is refreshing that other religions and other people are accepted as well.

Nearly every person I spoke to stated that their Tionghoa identity is important to them. No matter how long ago, China is where their ancestors came from and without this history they wouldn’t exist. Everyone was involved in the Chinese community in some way, by attending meetings, going to Chinese religious services, learning Mandarin, or being part of big celebrations such as Chinese New Year.

All this is not to say that living as a Chinese person in Bali is without its problems. There are structural issues when it comes to Chinese and their supposed wealth that still need to be dealt with. This myth has meant that many Chinese are expected and have no choice but to pay more for certain fees. However, it is important to note that these inequalities in Bali have focused on mere rupiahs, not lives.

Only time will tell what lies ahead for the Chinese in Bali and across the Indonesian archipelago. Discrimination and open resentment (if not violence) have occurred in the past throughout the nation, but conditions seem to be improving. Singaraja may stand as a model for what is possible for the rest of Bali and Indonesia (and dare I say the world?): having differences and yet forming a community; maintaining traditions without creating barriers.

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Glossary

1. *Agama Campur*: mixed religion, mostly referring to practicing both Chinese religion and Hinduism.
2. *Nyolo*: Chinese ancestral shrine, complete with pictures of ancestors who have passed away and decorated with flowers and Chinese characters.
3. *Orang Campur*: mixed person, usually referring to a mix of Chinese and Indonesian blood.
4. *Peranakan*: person of Chinese descent who was born and raised in Indonesia and has assimilated into Indonesian society
5. *Tionghoa*: term in bahasa Indonesia that is more polite than to say *orang Cina*; can be used to refer to Chinese people and culture.
6. *Tiongkok*: China
7. *Totok*: person of Chinese descent who was born in China. Can also refer to Indonesian-born Chinese who still use a native Chinese language at home and have not integrated into Indonesian society.

Appendix

The following is a list of questions that I used during my interviews. Sometimes I would not use all of these depending on the people I was talking to, but this contains my general aims for the project.

1. When were you born? Where?
Kapan anda lahir? Di mana?
2. Do you know when your parents were born? Where?
Apakah anda tahu kapan orang tua anda lahir? Di mana?
3. Who in your family were immigrants from China?
Siapa dalam keluargamu adalah imigran dari Cina?
4. When did they come?
Kapan mereka tiba ke Indonesia?
5. Did they ever live in other parts of Indonesia?
Apakah mereka pernah tinggal di bagian lain di Indonesia?
6. Why did they come here?
Kenapa mereka tiba ke sini?
7. Has your family been successful in Bali?
Apakah keluargamu tinggal di sini dengan berhasil?
8. Do you feel there is a Chinese community in Singaraja?
Apakah anda pikir ada masyarakat Tionghoa di sini?
9. Do you enjoy living here because there are many Chinese people?
Apakah anda senang Singaraja karena ada banyak Tionghoa?
10. Do you think it is easier to live here because it is more diverse than other areas of Bali?
Apakah anda pikir mudah tinggal di sini karena lebih bermacam-macam daripada bagian lain di Bali?
11. Do you think Balinese and Chinese live in one integrated society?
Apakah anda pikir orang Bali dan Tionghoa tinggal di masyarakat yang utuh?

12. Do you think it is important for Chinese to integrate into Balinese society?
Apakah anda pikir integrasi diantaranya Tionghoa dan masyarakat orang Bali penting?
13. Are you part of any Chinese community groups?
Apakah anda adalah anggota di organisasi Tionghoa?
14. What do these groups do?
Apa yang organisasi ini lakukan?
15. Is your Chinese identity important to you?
Apakah identitas Tionghoa anda penting kepada anda?
16. In what way?
Dengan cara bagaimana?
17. Do you practice Chinese religion?
Apakah anda mengamalkan agama Tionghoa?
18. Do you often go to the klenteng or other Chinese temple? How often?
Apakah anda sering pergi ke klenteng atau pura Tionghoa lain? Berapa sering?
19. Does your home have a nyolo?
Di rumah anda, apakah ada nyolo?
20. Does each member of your family go to the temple?
Apakah setiap anggota keluargamu pergi ke pura Tionghoa?
21. Does your family ever set out Balinese offerings?
Apakah keluargamu menggunakan banten Hindu?
22. Does your family go to Balinese Hindu ceremonies?
Apakah keluargamu pergi ke upacara Hindu?
23. Does your home have a family temple?
Di rumah anda, apakah ada pura Hindu untuk keluargamu?
24. Does your family celebrate Chinese New Year or any other Chinese holidays?
Apakah keluargamu merayakan tahun baru Tionghoa atau hari raya Tionghoa lain?
25. Have you ever experienced discrimination because you are Chinese?
Apakah anda pernah mengalami diskriminasi rasial karena anda adalah Tionghoa?
26. Have you ever had problems with the government because you are Chinese?
Apakah anda pernah punya masalah dengan pemerintah karena anda adalah Tionghoa?

27. Can you talk about the government's attitude towards Chinese?
Apakah anda pikir tentang sikap pemerintah terhadap Tionghoa?
28. Are there any problems because many Chinese are business owners?
Apakah ada pernah masalah karena banyak Tionghoa adalah pemilik perusahaan?
29. Do you have an Indonesian name and a Chinese name?
Apakah anda punya nama bahasa Indonesia dan nama Tionghoa?
30. Which one do you use more often?
Apa yang anda menggunakan lebih sering?
31. Do you study Chinese? Why?
Apakah anda belajar bahasa Cina? Kenapa?
32. Do you ever use Chinese in your home?
Apakah anda pernah berbicara dalam bahasa Cina di rumah anda?
33. Do you want to go to China?
Apakah anda mau pergi ke Cina?
34. Do you still have any family members in China?
Apakah anda masih punya anggota keluargamu di Cina?
35. Do you keep in touch with current events in China?
Apakah anda berhubungan dengan kejadian-kejadian zaman sekarang di Cina?
36. Does your family want you to marry a Chinese person?
Apakah keluargamu mau anda kawin dengan Tionghoa?

Chapter One: Introduction

A Short Description of Chinese Indonesians¹⁰ and Singaraja

Possibly more than any other ethnic group, Chinese have spread out and relocated to many diverse areas across the globe, and the archipelago of Indonesia is no exception. There has been movement between China and the nation now known as Indonesia for over a thousand years, but only within the last 150 years has Chinese immigration really taken off. Mackie and Coppel (1976:4) estimate the Chinese population increased from a quarter of a million in the mid-nineteenth century to over one million by 1930. There are no solid numbers on the percentage of Chinese because the census up until the year 2000 did not include a question on ethnicity, but it is estimated at two and a half to three percent of the total population, which would be around five or six million. The 2000 census, which did include information on ethnicity, may also yield incorrect results because it uses self-identification (Suryadinata 2004: 33). There may be ethnic Chinese who do not identify as Chinese, and this would give a lower figure than what actually exists.

There are two groups of Chinese Indonesians: *peranakan* and *totok*. *Peranakan* is used to refer to a person of Chinese descent who was born and has been raised in Indonesia. *Totok* is the name for Chinese born in China but now living in Indonesia, and who may use a native Chinese language at home (Purdey 2006: 4). However, the use of these terms may be decreasing as Chinese are here for more and more generations and are

¹⁰ I am using the term Chinese Indonesians as opposed to Indonesian Chinese because I feel all the people I met orient themselves towards Indonesia more than China. Just as I would say Asian Americans to describe many of the Asians in the U.S. (not American Asians), Indonesia is more crucial in the lives of these people than China.

obviously *peranakan*. I will also be using the term *Tionghoa*, a more polite way to refer to Chinese than *orang Cina*.

During my experience in Bali, I have not visited an area more diverse than that of Singaraja, located on the Northern coast. Compared to the region of South-Central Bali and places like Ubud or Gianyar, Singaraja stands in its own category. Though I was only there for a couple of weeks, I feel that I was able to gain a general understanding of my surroundings. There are people of many different religions. Of course there are Balinese Hindus, but there are also Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Daoists, and Confucianists. There also exists an obvious presence of ethnic Chinese within the city. Perhaps it is the diversity of religion *and* ethnicity in Singaraja, the fact that so many people are different from the Balinese Hindu norm, that all have been able to come together to live in harmony (at least for the most part). The environment of heterogeneity has meant that there is no obvious dominant culture, and thus, fewer conflicts. A main effect of the environment is that it is also conducive to a strong sense of Chinese identity. Because there are so many Chinese and there is a Chinese culture that is present in one's everyday life, it is easier to identify with one's ethnic heritage.

Methodology

For three weeks, I lived with a Chinese Balinese family in the center of Singaraja. Our class had previously met with Lie Mei Lan, an Indonesian university student who worked with the Chinese community in the area. She generously took me into her home for this project, and I lived with her, her Chinese father, and her Balinese mother.

I conducted interviews with various people in Singaraja, all of whom are of part or whole Chinese descent and in touch with the Chinese community to different degrees.

I also attended meetings, ceremonies, and general get-togethers in which all or most of the people present were Chinese Balinese and the events centered on Chinese issues, such as religion or the Chinese New Year. I went to Mandarin Chinese class with Mei Lan several times, in which all students are Chinese. I visited all the places in Singaraja where people who practice Chinese religion go to worship. Along with my observations of Singaraja and living in Mei Lan's home, I was provided with a wealth of information.

My aims for this project were to speak to Chinese Balinese about their Chinese identity and experiences living as a Chinese in Balinese society. I wanted to know if they felt like a marginalized population, or if integration into Balinese society has been achieved (and if this integration was desirable in the first place). I was curious about Chinese religion and traditions as well, and if people thought it was important to keep these intact, regardless of assimilation. Additionally, I wanted to explore the idea of a community. I knew there were many Chinese people in Singaraja, but I wanted to see if a cohesive, communicative Chinese community existed, in which people knew each other and came together for events or issues that pertained to a Chinese population.

At this point I must acknowledge my own subjectivity in this project. I am coming into this as a highly socialized American college student, and I am not sure if what I perceive as important to these people is in truth what means the most to them, but I hope at the very least some common aims and issues were achieved.

Brief Description of Findings and Plan of the Paper

Through my study, I found that the Chinese in Singaraja do live in peace with others in the city, whether it is with Balinese, Christians, Muslims, or any others. Most of the people I spoke to stated that their Chinese identity was very important to them,

regardless of if their ethnic status had created any problems. Most of the discrimination that seems to occur is with the government, not others in society, and everyone brushed off the idea of real racial conflict.

The people I spoke to were a diverse group of Chinese women and men, young and old, of different religions and positions of wealth. The majority was under the age of thirty, but I conducted a long and thorough interview with Mei Lan's father, who is 71 years of age. Nearly all were born in Indonesia, and those who were not are visibly integrated into Balinese society. Their families' reason for leaving China range from political problems to a search for a better life. All have seemed to reach a certain level of success in Indonesia.

The paper begins with a discussion of religion in Singaraja: Chinese religion, Christianity, Hinduism, mixed religion, and Islam. After this follows information about Chinese identity. Chapter Four covers the integration of Tionghoa into Singaraja and the Chinese community that exists there. The next section focuses on language, both the use of native Chinese languages, and the issue of names. Afterwards is an examination of discrimination against the Chinese and their relations with the Indonesian government. I conclude with the life history of Lie Ho Toeng, whose story of immigration I hold to be of universal interest.

Chapter Two: Religion and Traditions for Tionghoa in Singaraja

Chinese Religion

The term Chinese religion refers to Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism¹¹. These may work together as one entity, but there are also worshippers who adhere to only one of the religions. In Singaraja there are places that celebrate all three, as well as settings for the sole worship of Buddha.

The most central of all these establishments is probably the klenteng, located along the harbor in central Singaraja. All of the three Chinese religions are practiced in the klenteng. There are many different deities, ones for knowledge, medicine, justice, love, the ocean and water, and others. When one prays, there is an order to everything, complete with numbers in front of each shrine to each deity to tell you the sequence in which to pray. One uses incense, held in both hands. For each deity one will leave at least one stick of incense (but sometimes three) in the pot left for that purpose. Before leaving, one will also pray to some of the gods by getting down on hands and knees. With hands on the ground, palms facing up to symbolize asking for something from the gods, one will touch forehead to ground. This is repeated three times for each deity.

The klenteng is usually an active place, even more so at night. People hang around the area, eating and talking, and there are children running in and out. On the Chinese calendar, there are certain days that occur every two weeks in which Chinese will set out more offerings than normal, and give thanks to one's ancestors. People will usually go to the klenteng on these days as well, and it seems to be the first places to go for Chinese religion, before any of the other places of worship. It is obvious that the klenteng holds a special importance for many Tionghoa in Singaraja. Mei Lan stated that when she feels 'not nice' in her life, she comes to the klenteng to pray and it helps resolve whatever may be going on (personal communication, 17 Nov 2007).

¹¹ Also known as *KongHuCu* in bahasa Indonesia

There is a second Chinese temple in Singaraja, named Seng Hong Ya, which is also along the water and in which many of the same religious practices are down. The reason for the location along the water of the klenteng and Seng Hong Ya is because many Chinese traveled by the ocean and arrived at their new countries through the harbors (Mei Lan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007). Just as in the klenteng, there are many deities and a sequence to how one prays. All three Chinese religions are worshipped here as well. While I was there, I also took part in burning paper money that will be received by the gods for prosperity. Seng Hong Ya did not appear to be as active as the klenteng, though there were other people there when I was present. It is located down a side road and is far less visible than the klenteng.

There are also two places in Singaraja that are centered around Buddhism. One is Happy Buddha Temple, where people come three times each day for prayers. Interestingly enough, it had one similarity with a mosque in that there is a specific space for women to pray, behind the men. One of the leaders of the temple also told me that Muslims can pray in the temple as well (Yao Cong Ming, personal communication, 13 Nov 2007). In the front was a large, smiling Buddha and offerings of fruit. Prominently displayed on the wall was the character mu, meaning mother in relation to the gods.

The other place for Buddhist worship is Buddha Vangsa, Singaraja's Buddhist monastery. Built in 2001, it is still under construction in a three-floor structure. There are prayers here every 15 days, the aforementioned days during which people give extra offerings. The monastery also takes part in education and holds meditation and language classes.

The day that I visited was the biggest ceremony of the year, called Kathiana Day. The purpose of the day is to come together and give thanks for one's ancestors. The entire environment was amazing, with an estimated 200 or more people attending. Prayers were said by the six Buddhist priests, and people made a process to donate money and other material goods. Afterwards, many people sat and ate the food that was provided, a mix of Chinese and Balinese cuisine. The ceremony began at 3:30 in the afternoon and many were still around when I left four hours later.

More than any other setting I had experienced in Singaraja, the harmonious community was visible during the ceremony. There were Chinese of course, but also many Balinese. I noticed one woman who attended in her complete pakaian adapt. Some of the Buddhist priests appeared to be of mixed Indonesian/Chinese parentage, and the majority of the crowd was *orang campur*¹² as well. It was sort of extraordinary to participate in this large event, in which, regardless of the number of people, everyone seemed to know each other and were very friendly. It was a real melting pot and everyone was accepted regardless of ethnicity. What mattered was people's allegiance to Buddhism, to come to the ceremony to give thanks, and nothing besides that.

The final place that I visited relating to Chinese religion is located in the center of Singaraja, within walking distance from the klenteng. The building more of a Tionghoa community gathering place than religious organization, but prayers are done there as well. I visited two times for two separate occasions. The first was KONG, a practice done for someone in the community who has recently died. Between when a person dies and their date of burial or cremation, the body is put in a closed coffin and left in this building for several days. There are offerings set out and people will come to pay their

¹² *Orang campur* is a term in bahasa Indonesia used to refer to people of mixed parentage.

respects to the person and pray. For 24 hours a day until the final arrangements are carried out, the body will stay in the place of KONG and somebody will be present. The building never closes during these periods.

The second occasion that I visited this Tionghoa meeting place was for something called *rumah rumahan*. This optional practice is done three years after a person dies. It entails having a miniature house built for the person who has passed away. The house is like a dollhouse in terms of details, even including cans of soda being served on a tray. Built by a Chinese man in Singaraja, the cost is around four juta, so it is understandable that only some families choose to do this. People from the community come and pray for the deceased person and then eat and chat for a couple of hours. Unlike KONG, *rumah rumahan* ends at night. After two or three days, the house is carried to the beach and the entire thing is burned. This symbolizes giving the person this house and prosperity in heaven.

It is worth noting that at each of these places of worship, there was a mix of Balinese, Tionghoa, and *orang campur*. Regardless of ethnicity, what mattered was that people wanted to come together for these religious and community services. The Balinese that attended held allegiance to Chinese religion or the Chinese community. For instance, I once joined Mei Lan's Balinese ibu in praying at the klenteng, a practice directly influenced by her marriage to a Chinese man.

Many people that I talked to mentioned that Balinese and Chinese traditions are similar (Faksin et al.¹³, personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). There are of course

¹³ One of the interviews that I did was after one of the meetings that I attended. It was a group interview with 20 people, so for the sake of convenience I will use 'Faksin, et al.' to refer to this group interview. I will use individual names for any quotes or information that differs from the general group opinion. The names of each person will also be included in the bibliography.

many differences as well, but some of the same elements are used, such as incense, flowers, and offerings. There is also a sense of balance in both Balinese Hinduism and Chinese religion. An important element of Hinduism is a mixture of both good and bad, and this can be seen in Chinese religion as well, with symbols like the yin and yang. The meaning behind the yin and yang is that anything good also has some darkness in it, just as anything bad also has good qualities. There are also the entities of the phoenix and dragon in Chinese religion, two complementing forces. The phoenix represents the female and is usually on the left; the dragon represents the male and is usually on the right. Again we can see that everything has an equal and opposing power.

There is also Chinese religion practiced at home in the form of ancestor worship. Most of the people I spoke to had a *nyolo*, an ancestral shrine, in their home. There are also in some stores in Singaraja. A *nyolo* consists of a picture or pictures of a family's ancestors that have passed away, usually grandparents and/or great-grandparents. It is decorated with Chinese characters and flowers. In front of the pictures is a porcelain pot decorated with characters. In this pot are placed sticks of incense after prayers, which are done twice a day.

A few people that I met practiced what I would call *agama campur*, mixed religion. Nina's home has a Hindu family temple, in which simple offerings are placed. However, she also stated that her grandmother's home has a *nyolo* where her grandmother prays at each day (Nina Karina Candra, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007). Mei Lan's family also practices *agama campur*. Hindu offerings are laid out each day, including one on the *nyolo* in their house. They have two Hindu shrines as well. Each evening before eating, I would notice Mei Lan light a big batch of incense and do

her prayers for her Chinese ancestors. She would then put on her *selendang*, and with the remaining sticks of incense, do her Hindu prayers and place this incense in the shrines.

Christianity

Several of the people that I met had converted to Christianity, and regularly attended church. It appears that there is a large Christian Chinese population in Singaraja, and I was told that many of the people who go to church are Chinese (Lisa Setiawan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007). Both Lisa and Mr. Yenata (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) had grown up in Buddhist households, but they and some of their other family members had converted to Christianity. Interestingly enough, Mr. Yenata's home, though a Christian household, also had a *nyolo*. During my short time in Singaraja, I saw much less of the Christian Tionghoa than some of the other people. There were certain members of the community who I saw everywhere—meetings, the Buddhist temple, community get-togethers, etc. It was not so for Lisa, Mr. Yenata, or Xiao Xue Ming, Mei Lan's Chinese language teacher, who is Christian. The only time I saw these people were during our interviews and at their jobs (in their stores or in class). They did not seem to be as active in the Chinese community as some of the others, but this may be an incorrect assumption because I was in the area for so short a time and cannot really guess their true involvement. There may also be an entire Christian Chinese community that I am unaware of.

Islam?

There is a noticeably absent discussion of Muslim Chinese, because I did not meet any and am unsure if there are any in Singaraja. In Bali this has not created any problems because there is a Muslim minority. In the rest of Indonesia, however, the failure of

Islam to attract Chinese has compounded with other problems with Chinese as ethnically different and supposedly wealthier. This combination of religious, economic, and ethnic difference has created riots and violence throughout the archipelago, but has remained outside of Bali (Friend, 2003: 301).

Chinese New Year

One of the biggest productions for the Tionghoa community in Singaraja is Chinese New Year. Last year was the first large, organized celebration, complete with singing, children's performance, barong dance, and food. The same is planned for this year and meetings have already begun three months in advance. The group that plans everything is called Persatuan Remaja Tionghoa Singaraja, PRTS¹⁴. It is one of Singaraja's important community groups and at least twenty people were at the two meetings that I attended.

Chinese New Year was important to every person I spoke with. Regardless of religion, each Tionghoa would celebrate in some way, and many attended the celebration last year. For many families it is a time to gather all together. Mei Lan has siblings in Jakarta and Denpasar, and they do not return to Singaraja very often but will come back sometimes for the new year.

The celebration of Chinese New Year, the sheer number of people who attended Kathiana Day at the monastery, and open religious expression for Tionghoa in Singaraja is extraordinary in light of past repression by the national government of anything visibly Chinese. Jemma Purdey (2006: 99) writes:

Given, however, that Chinese New Year celebrations had been banned since 1967, in light of current tensions, it was extremely unlikely that festivities would take place in 1998. The government's decision to re-state the ban on Chinese New

¹⁴ In English, this would translate to Singaraja's Chinese youth organization.

Year in 1998 not only acknowledged the high level of anti-Chinese sentiment and its potential to tip over into violence, but also revealed how the state utilized a ‘fear of disruption’ during this time as a ‘weapon in the competition for symbolic space.’ There were few precedents of Chinese cultural and religious celebrations causing inter-religious or inter-ethnic conflict. Yet the language used by the New Order mythologised the potential for such minority festivals to induce conflict with the pribumi¹⁵ majority and to disrupt inter-ethnic and religious harmony.

Not until 2000 did President Abdurrahman Wahid remove the regulations on expression of Chinese traditions and religion. Soon after President Megawati was elected in 2001, she made Chinese New Year a national holiday (Suryadinata, 2004: 46). Surely, much has changed in terms of Chinese being able to be visible in Indonesian society. During my time in Singaraja, I noticed little to no hesitation by Tionghoa to express their practices and beliefs, and Mei Lan has assured me that there has never been any problems in Singaraja with open display of ‘Chinese-ness’ (personal communication, 27 Nov 2007).

Chapter Three: Chinese Identity

One of the main aims of my project was to speak to Tionghoa about their Chinese identity. I wanted to know if, living in Bali and its Hindu-based society, their Chinese identity remained important to them. And, judging that for most of these people their families had been in Bali for at least two generations, had this affected their allegiance to China and ethnic identity?

For nearly every person I spoke to, they stated that their Chinese identity was very important to them. I asked this question to each person I interviewed, and the answer was almost always an immediate, resounding ‘yes.’ I think Tionghoa identity is so intrinsic to

¹⁵ Pribumi is a term used to refer to the indigenous population of Indonesia, in distinction with non-pribumi, non-indigenous peoples in Indonesia. Usually non-pribumi alludes to Chinese Indonesians.

the lives of the people in this community that the answer to this question was almost obvious. Many people would reference their ancestors from China, their grandparents or great-grandparents who had emigrated from *Tiongkok*¹⁶. Without their forefathers they would not exist now, how could this heritage, their ancestors' stories, history, and traditions not have a great significance in their life now? Regardless of how far back their family was in China, the Chinese way of living—religion, customs, etc., was still important.

While their Chinese identity was essential to them, nearly each person also stated that they were not proud really, at least not in the sense of being better than any other ethnicity. They identified with being Chinese without feeling that Chinese customs or beliefs had a higher position than Balinese and/or Indonesian practices.

The environment of Singaraja and Bali also affected the identity of the people that I spoke to. Few of them were in touch with China in any manner, such as communication with remaining relatives or keeping up with news from China. In fact, few knew exactly what area in China their family was from, though they did state that they wanted to go back to China to visit their 'home village' (Faksin, et al., personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). Their identity was directly in relation to Singaraja: organizing events for Chinese in the area, praying with fellow *orang campur*, caring about issues that pertained to Bali. It is visible in this that all identity, anywhere, is fluid, and can be molded and transformed by one's environment.

One person I spoke to (Lisa Setiawan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) commented that people of mixed Balinese and Chinese ethnicity are more proud of their Chinese identity than others. I can see how this is possible because I see it in my own

¹⁶ Tiongkok is a term in bahasa Indonesia that means the nation of China.

life, as an *orang campur* like most of the people in Singaraja who I met with. Perhaps the Chinese heritage stands in distinction with being Balinese; it is the difference that makes them who they are. Their ‘Chinese-ness’ is a force that must be conquered and understood, and maybe it is partly inevitable that through understanding it, they will begin to identify with it¹⁷.

Chapter Four: Integration of Tionghoa and the Existence of a Chinese Community *One United Society?*

Through my observations in Singaraja I saw one integrated society, but I also wanted to know what people’s thought were on the relationship between Chinese and Balinese. Each person I met answered that they thought everyone lived together in one society. Some even seemed surprised that I was asking the question, why I was making a division between Chinese and Balinese when they don’t even make this division themselves. “Why make a separation?” asked Xiao Xue Ming (personal communication, 25 Nov 2007). Integration of Chinese into Balinese society was something good in everyone’s eyes (Faksin, et al., personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). There was no need or desire to maintain boundaries between Chinese and Balinese. Though the traditions may be different, everyone lives together and there are no separate ethnic enclaves. Singaraja is definitely a place where people celebrate similarities, not differences.

Mei Lan’s father, Lie Ho Toeng, brought up another issue, that of integration between newly arrived Chinese and those who have already been in Indonesia for a long

¹⁷ I write this paragraph with some hesitation because these are simply my ideas about the people I encountered, and highly in reference to my own experiences. I must emphasize that these may be incorrect assumptions.

time. Besides a good relationship between Balinese and Chinese, it is also important to have communication between all Chinese people as well, and that maybe it is possible for integrated Chinese to help new immigrants. He said, “It is very important to cooperate, and it is better to cooperate than to work alone (personal communication, 27 Nov 2007).”

Inter-marriage

One important issue relating to a united community is inter-marriage between Chinese and Balinese. I posed the question of future marriage to the people I met with who are not yet married. Did their (sometimes mixed) Chinese families want them to marry a Chinese person? The answer that I received differed, surely reflecting the different opinions of each family. Faksin, et al. (personal communication, 18 Nov 2007) stated that their families didn’t care—it was only up to destiny. However, after this meeting Mei Lan told me that, in reality, all parents with Chinese or mixed children want them to marry Chinese. They will accept a Balinese spouse for their child, but would prefer someone Chinese (Mei Lan, personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). A few people I met gave me a strong answer of ‘yes’ for this question. It appeared that for them, it was not a real choice to marry a non-Chinese. Nina (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007), who is an *orang campur*, commented that both she and her older brother ‘must marry a Chinese person.’ She followed this by saying she has a Chinese boyfriend, so there are no problems currently.

It was mentioned to me that a Balinese woman may marry a Chinese man, but a Chinese woman *should* marry a Chinese man, not a Balinese man (Tan Cen Lan and Mei Lan, personal communication, 24 Nov 2007). No further explanation was given to me, but I can presume that a Chinese woman holds a certain something that should not mix

with the Balinese. This may be an incorrect assumption, but there may be a sense of ‘purity’ attached to a Chinese woman, that she should only marry with a fellow Chinese.

Relations with the Muslim Community

Singaraja also has a significant Muslim population. There are several mosques in the city and Muslim schools as well. Most people I spoke to stated that relations between Muslims and the rest of the community in Singaraja are good. There were some exceptions to this however. When I spoke to Mr. Yenata (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007), he first commented that he likes George Bush because “he stops the terrorists.” I was sort of taken aback because I thought if anything the current U.S. administration has made it harder for Indonesians by issuing travel warnings and making it more difficult for Indonesians to immigrate to the U.S. Mr. Yenata continued on, commenting that many Muslims are fanatical and lunatics, and alluded to saying that they live separately in Singaraja. Of course, this is only one person’s opinion and I did not notice any open conflict or discrimination of Muslims in Singaraja.

Chapter Five: The Issue of Language

The Use of Chinese in Singaraja

With a large Chinese population, it is not surprising that there are certain places in Singaraja where Chinese characters are used and Mandarin or other dialects of Chinese are spoken. Walking around the city, one can sometimes hear Mandarin being spoken. Often people will say “terima kasih, xie xie 谢谢,” thanking each other in two languages. There is also written Chinese used in stores and restaurants dotted within the city, names of establishments given in a combination of bahasa Indonesia, Chinese

characters, their pinyin Romanization, and English. One can compare this to state repression of all ‘Chinese-ness’—it appears open expression of the Chinese language is no problem.

Mandarin Chinese is taught in Singaraja, but one has to attend a separate class. Despite the high Tionghoa population, it is not taught in schools. Thus students who want to learn Chinese have to pay extra, beyond their regular schooling costs. The classes that I saw had a mixture of students—some elementary school age and some obviously out of school. They were all of full or mixed Chinese parentage, and many people said their families were happy they were learning Chinese. Some even helped their parents to learn Mandarin as well.

Each person that I met knew at least some Chinese, even if it was only a handful of words. Only a few, such as Joko, whose parents are both Chinese and who has married a Chinese woman, spoke only Chinese at home (personal communication, 18 Nov 2007). The majority spoke bahasa Bali or bahasa Indonesia at home, and maybe a few words of Chinese relating to food or money. For instance, before every meal Mei Lan would say *chifan* 吃¹⁸, letting her parents know she was going to eat.

It seems few, if any, were learning Chinese to better communicate with anyone in their family who already knew some Chinese. The reason to learn was just to know the language and maybe for future trips to China.

Names

All the people I spoke to besides Lie Ho Toeng and Xiao Xue Ming had both an Indonesian name and a Chinese one as well. Most used their Chinese name with friends

¹⁸ Literal definition: eat food

and family, and their Indonesian name during school and for official purposes. In their words, using an Indonesian name with the government “just made things easier” (Ming San, personal communication, 26 Nov 2007). Tionghoa relations with the government will be discussed more later. The name that one uses is based on one’s environment as well. Nina lives outside of the center of Singaraja, in an area with many Balinese, as well as traditional architecture and Hindu family temples everywhere. She stated that she uses her Indonesian name because all the people in her neighborhood are Balinese and it may be hard for them to pronounce her Chinese name.

Chapter Six: Discrimination and Tionghoa Relations with the Government

Racial Conflicts in Society

The general opinion of those I interviewed in Singaraja was that no real ethnic discrimination existed for Tionghoa. There were a few exceptions, but most reassured me that any problems occurred outside of Bali. Surely, riots against Chinese have taken place, but thankfully problems on this scale have not reached Bali. Of course, one may be subjective in pointing out the conflicts in other areas to deflect interest from Singaraja or the rest of Bali, to paint a calmer picture than the one that actually exists. I must also acknowledge that this may be a sensitive topic for some people and they may have consciously avoided sharing their experiences with me.

When I talked to the big group at the meeting of PRTS, everyone commented that there was no discrimination within society, but when I pressed harder there were a few exceptions to this. Ming San (personal communication, 26 Nov 2007) said that he would sometimes have problems in school with other students because he is Chinese, but that he

would not let it bother him. He commented, “Whatever they say to me I don’t pay attention. I don’t care.” He was not the only one with problems in society. Lisa Setiawan (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) told a story of unequal treatment during high school, receiving lower grades from a teacher for the same level of work. She reasoned that this was because she is Chinese. Mr. Yenata (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) also told of his experience getting robbed in Surabaya because he is Chinese. However, he did not dwell on this incident and emphasized that it occurred outside of Bali.

Tionghoa Issues with the Government

It was almost universally agreed upon (besides Mr. Yenata) that the position of Tionghoa with the government is not very favorable. In contrast with relations between people, relations with the government are difficult and at best, highly bureaucratic. All of the problems that people discussed were directly related to the myth that all Chinese are wealthier than the rest of the Indonesian population. “When the government sees a Chinese face, they see a face of wealth” (Mei Lan, personal communication, 27 Nov 2007).

It is true that although Chinese make up around three percent of Indonesia’s total population, they control the corporate wealth in the country (Purdey 2006: 22). However, this figure ignores all the small business owners and Chinese who live on the same economic level as the majority of Indonesia. Despite what actually exists, it has long been ingrained that the Chinese are a rich group, and the government continues to operate based on this assumption.

Lisa Setiawan's family owns a small business selling flowers in the center of Singaraja. She explained in detail the problems she has faced with the government because it is a Chinese-owned business. Officially, everything is filed using Indonesian names to appear as a Balinese-owned store. Nonetheless, the officials know it is run by a Chinese family and make it more difficult for Lisa because of her ethnicity. The government controls the electricity and water and asks the Setiawans to pay double for these utilities from what Balinese must pay. Lisa has repeatedly gone into the government's office and complains to the officials in person, but nothing has changed despite her repeated efforts. She said that it is the same for every Chinese business in Bali and across the archipelago. She seems highly skeptical that this unfair policy will change anytime soon (Lisa Setiawan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007).

However, Mr. Yenata (personal communication, 20 Nov 2007) also owns a small business in Singaraja and he refuted any unfair treatment by the government towards his store. Perhaps the problem is not as widespread as Lisa stated, or Mr. Yenata did not want to share information about his dealings with the government.

Lisa has had other problems with the government in addition to paying more for utilities. During her schooling, the people responsible for collecting fees were much stricter on her than some of her Balinese classmates. They were allowed to make their own timetable for payment, but this was not a luxury afforded to her family. (Lisa Setiawan, personal communication, 20 Nov 2007). Again this comes down to wealth and the belief that all Chinese have money.

Mei Lan's father, Lie Ho Toeng, also spoke of problems he had when he was receiving his Indonesian citizenship. At first one government representative told him

there was no need for him to pay because he was a poor Chinese and apparently the government would take care of everything. However, when he actually received citizenship, Ho Toeng had to pay 200,000 rupiah. This may have been simple miscommunication between government officials, but it could also come down to structural unequal treatment of Tionghoa. Even in this case though, the important thing is that gaining citizenship was no problem for Ho Toeng and the government was accepting of his entrance to the country.

Chapter Seven: An Immigrant's Story

I am including the life history of Lie Ho Toeng because I think it speaks to the hardships and trials that every immigrant faces, regardless of location or ethnicity. His is not a story specific to China, or Indonesia, or Singaraja, but a universal story. In speaking about the community in Singaraja that so continually celebrates similarities, I think Lie Ho Toeng's history is fitting as something all can relate to.

Lie Ho Toeng was born on January 2, 1941 in Fujian province, China. At the age of three his mother passed away. His childhood was also marked by the Chinese-Japanese conflict occurring at the time. He told an amazing story of being in school during the third grade, and that his school had something like a hole in the ground (as it was described to me) to protect everyone from the Japanese. "The Japanese wanted to bomb China, but in this hole, the enemy could not see you." This memory of growing up in wartime has stuck with Ho Toeng throughout the years and seemed to have special significance for him.

At the age of nine, in the year 1950, Ho Toeng immigrated to Indonesia. The family's reason for leaving China was their economic situation. They looked for a better life and more opportunities in Indonesia. His father would travel to and from China and Jakarta and eventually sent for his sons when the family had saved enough money to make the trip possible. He came with his five older brothers, and his two older sisters remained in China.

Upon Ho Toeng's arrival in Jakarta, he resumed his schooling. Of course there was a language barrier, and this proved very difficult. Ho Toeng attended school for six years in Jakarta before ultimately deciding to stop school. He has to repeat much of his education because he did not do well in bahasa Indonesia. He only completed elementary school before leaving.

After school, Ho Toeng worked as an employee for two years in a batik factory. After this he worked in a factory that produced suitcases and in two years time rose from employee to boss. At his peak he was in charge of twenty people. At this time in Jakarta, he also married and had two older children. These children still live and work in Jakarta, though their mother passed away long ago. However, Ho Toeng's business gave credit to many who were unable to pay what they owed. Because of this, he went bankrupt, being unable to cover the costs of the business.

The bankruptcy was very difficult for Ho Toeng, and he stated that he was very depressed after the business falling apart. For one entire year, he could not leave his house, was unable to do anything. One day he was listening to the radio and heard something that said, "Whenever you are falling down, don't worry. You have so much to

be thankful for because you are still living.” This motivated Ho Toeng to return to the rest of the world, to living really. He started going out again and meeting people.

Ho Toeng began to work as an employee in the batik business again and worked very closely with his boss. His boss trusted him and Ho Toeng became his assistant, taking care of everything when the boss was absent. Eventually he was able to save up some money and bought his own house in Surabaya. In this house he also developed his own batik business and had three employees working for him. However, this venture also ended up failing and Ho Toeng had no choice but to sell his house and pack up his life again.

He returned to Jakarta and worked as a vegetable seller in the market. As he became older, he could no longer do this work because it was very physically tiring and involved very long days. When one of Ho Toeng’s brothers died, he moved to Singaraja and took over his business of making and selling green bean cakes. In Singaraja he also met Luh Sukardi. He remarried with her and they have three children together: Mei Lan and her two older siblings. Her older brother now works in Jakarta, and her older sister lives in Denpasar with her husband and young child.

Being able to return to China is very important for Ho Toeng. He has never been back since he first left. He is the last of his generation, and everyone has wanted to go back but never saved enough money to do so before they passed away. He hopes that by next year the family is able to send him to China. His father died there, and Ho Toeng said, “I still do miss my village.” Despite the years that have gone by and that he has created a life in Indonesia, the importance of China has not decreased for Ho Toeng.

Regardless of all the hardship that Ho Toeng has faced in his life, he still remains optimistic and laughs often. He believes that there is nothing a person can do to change his or her fate—it all remains in God's hands. Whatever one's destiny is, it will happen. It is this faith which I think has propelled Ho Toeng forward, and continue to do so.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

The community in Singaraja that I experienced and that I asked about during interviews is indeed one based on communication and understanding of difference. With such diversity of religion and ethnicity, it is amazing how people move beyond these distinctions to something more real. On an island that can be so homogenous in its worship of Hinduism, it is refreshing that other religions and other people are accepted as well.

Nearly every person I spoke to stated that their Tionghoa identity is important to them. No matter how long ago, China is where their ancestors came from and without this history they wouldn't exist. Everyone was involved in the Chinese community in some way, by attending meetings, going to Chinese religious services, learning Mandarin, or being part of big celebrations such as Chinese New Year.

All this is not to say that living as a Chinese person in Bali is without its problems. There are structural issues when it comes to Chinese and their supposed wealth that still need to be dealt with. This myth has meant that many Chinese are expected and have no choice but to pay more for certain fees. However, it is important to note that these inequalities in Bali have focused on mere rupiahs, not lives.

Only time will tell what lies ahead for the Chinese in Bali and across the Indonesian archipelago. Discrimination and open resentment (if not violence) have occurred in the past throughout the nation, but conditions seem to be improving. Singaraja may stand as a model for what is possible for the rest of Bali and Indonesia (and dare I say the world?): having differences and yet forming a community; maintaining traditions without creating barriers.

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Glossary

1. *Agama Campur*: mixed religion, mostly referring to practicing both Chinese religion and Hinduism.
2. *Nyolo*: Chinese ancestral shrine, complete with pictures of ancestors who have passed away and decorated with flowers and Chinese characters.
3. *Orang Campur*: mixed person, usually referring to a mix of Chinese and Indonesian blood.
4. *Peranakan*: person of Chinese descent who was born and raised in Indonesia and has assimilated into Indonesian society
5. *Tionghoa*: term in bahasa Indonesia that is more polite than to say *orang Cina*; can be used to refer to Chinese people and culture.
6. *Tiongkok*: China
7. *Totok*: person of Chinese descent who was born in China. Can also refer to Indonesian-born Chinese who still use a native Chinese language at home and have not integrated into Indonesian society.

Appendix

The following is a list of questions that I used during my interviews. Sometimes I would not use all of these depending on the people I was talking to, but this contains my general aims for the project.

1. When were you born? Where?
Kapan anda lahir? Di mana?
2. Do you know when your parents were born? Where?
Apakah anda tahu kapan orang tua anda lahir? Di mana?
3. Who in your family were immigrants from China?
Siapa dalam keluargamu adalah imigran dari Cina?
4. When did they come?
Kapan mereka tiba ke Indonesia?
5. Did they ever live in other parts of Indonesia?
Apakah mereka pernah tinggal di bagian lain di Indonesia?
6. Why did they come here?
Kenapa mereka tiba ke sini?
7. Has your family been successful in Bali?
Apakah keluargamu tinggal di sini dengan berhasil?
8. Do you feel there is a Chinese community in Singaraja?
Apakah anda pikir ada masyarakat Tionghoa di sini?
9. Do you enjoy living here because there are many Chinese people?
Apakah anda senang Singaraja karena ada banyak Tionghoa?
10. Do you think it is easier to live here because it is more diverse than other areas of Bali?
Apakah anda pikir mudah tinggal di sini karena lebih bermacam-macam daripada bagian lain di Bali?
11. Do you think Balinese and Chinese live in one integrated society?
Apakah anda pikir orang Bali dan Tionghoa tinggal di masyarakat yang utuh?
12. Do you think it is important for Chinese to integrate into Balinese society?
Apakah anda pikir integrasi diantaranya Tionghoa dan masyarakat orang Bali penting?
13. Are you part of any Chinese community groups?
Apakah anda adalah anggota di organisasi Tionghoa?

14. What do these groups do?
Apa yang organisasi ini lakukan?
15. Is your Chinese identity important to you?
Apakah identitas Tionghoa anda penting kepada anda?
16. In what way?
Dengan cara bagaimana?
17. Do you practice Chinese religion?
Apakah anda mengamalkan agama Tionghoa?
18. Do you often go to the klenteng or other Chinese temple? How often?
Apakah anda sering pergi ke klenteng atau pura Tionghoa lain? Berapa sering?
19. Does your home have a nyolo?
Di rumah anda, apakah ada nyolo?
20. Does each member of your family go to the temple?
Apakah setiap anggota keluargamu pergi ke pura Tionghoa?
21. Does your family ever set out Balinese offerings?
Apakah keluargamu menggunakan banten Hindu?
22. Does your family go to Balinese Hindu ceremonies?
Apakah keluargamu pergi ke upacara Hindu?
23. Does your home have a family temple?
Di rumah anda, apakah ada pura Hindu untuk keluargamu?
24. Does your family celebrate Chinese New Year or any other Chinese holidays?
Apakah keluargamu merayakan tahun baru Tionghoa atau hari raya Tionghoa lain?
25. Have you ever experienced discrimination because you are Chinese?
Apakah anda pernah mengalami diskriminasi rasial karena anda adalah Tionghoa?
26. Have you ever had problems with the government because you are Chinese?
Apakah anda pernah punya masalah dengan pemerintah karena anda adalah Tionghoa?
27. Can you talk about the government's attitude towards Chinese?
Apakah anda pikir tentang sikap pemerintah terhadap Tionghoa?
28. Are there any problems because many Chinese are business owners?
Apakah ada pernah masalah karena banyak Tionghoa adalah pemilik perusahaan?

29. Do you have an Indonesian name and a Chinese name?
Apakah anda punya nama bahasa Indonesia dan nama Tionghoa?
30. Which one do you use more often?
Apa yang anda menggunakan lebih sering?
31. Do you study Chinese? Why?
Apakah anda belajar bahasa Cina? Kenapa?
32. Do you ever use Chinese in your home?
Apakah anda pernah berbicara dalam bahasa Cina di rumah anda?
33. Do you want to go to China?
Apakah anda mau pergi ke Cina?
34. Do you still have any family members in China?
Apakah anda masih punya anggota keluargamu di Cina?
35. Do you keep in touch with current events in China?
Apakah anda berhubungan dengan kejadian-kejadian zaman sekarang di Cina?
36. Does your family want you to marry a Chinese person?
Apakah keluargamu mau anda kawin dengan Tionghoa?