

Original Paper

Topics on Chinese Indonesian Issues in Book Publication in the Post-Reform Indonesia

Tonny Dian Effendi^{1*}

¹ Department of International Relations, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Malang, Indonesia

* Tonny Dian Effendi, Department of International Relations, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Malang, Indonesia

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Abstract

Chinese Indonesian still becomes an issue in the Indonesian democracy and there are many publication in books about Chinese Indonesian issues. They are not only just share information but also indicate as respons to political change. This article discusses about the development book publication or literature on the issue of the Chinese Indonesian community in the post-reform Indonesia. It focuses to the topic of the content of the books. This research was qualitative research with the library research method. Data obtained from observation to books about Chinese Indonesian and analysed by the content analysis method. The results of this study indicate that there is development of topics about the Chinese Indonesian issues. At the beginning of the reform in 2000 until 2005, they much-discussed about discrimination, conflict and anti-Chinese sentiment, identity and culture. While the post 2005, the topics become more diverse, covers culture (art, food, tradition, literature, religion, architecture, etc.), identity, biography, history, role in Indonesian society and new issue such as women's issues. It at least shows two important points. First, it shows the self confidency from Chinese Indonesian community to show themselves as part of Indonesian nation. Second, it shows some identity expression like political, cultural, Chinese diaspora, local Indonesia and religion identity.

Keywords

Chinese Indonesian, literature, reform

1. Introduction

Tionghoa or Chinese Indonesian is one issue that is often discussed in the development of the social politics of Indonesia. The Chinese Indonesia community is growing inline with the development of Indonesian society, which sometimes the relations among them seems conflictual. Therefore, Charles Coppel in his research in 1970s mentioned that there is a "Chinese Problem" in relations between the

Chinese community and other Indonesian (Coppel, 1994). This problem refers to some cultural differences and the perception of non-Chinese to Chinese. Chinese Indonesian seems different in culture than the majority Muslim Indonesia community and there are some stereotypes as exclusive community, money oriented and high loyal to the country of their ancestors.

During the new order regime (1966-1998), Chinese Indonesian communities also experienced some discrimination from the government. The government banned the expressions of Chinese culture in public spaces. Leo Suryadinata (2007) states that the policy was attack to three Chinese culture pillars, i.e., schools, the mass media and organizations. This policy prohibits Chinese cultural expression by closed Chinese schools, mass media and organizations. As a result, Chinese society, especially those living in Java, losing their cultural knowledge. This policy continued until the political reforms of 1998, when the political regime changed, Chinese Indonesian society got the freedom to express their culture and identity.

The post-reform Indonesia since 1998 brought opportunity for Chinese Indonesian to participate in the politics, social, economy and culture, and freedom to express their identity as Chinese. The situation is like the bloom of many flowers (Coppel, 2003). Each presidential period put changes to the discriminative law and regulation related to Chinese Indonesian (Jacobsen, 2005; Jiakuan, 2011; Hwang & Sadiq, 2010; Liang, 2012; Mahfud, 2013; Sukma, 2009; Suryadinata, 2007). It started with President B. J. Habibie who stopped the use of the concept indigenus and non-indigenus. Then President Abdurrahman Wahid dropped the ban on Chinese culture expression and put Confucianism as one of Indonesian official religion. President Megawati Soekarno Putri made the Chinese New Year as a national holiday and she also appointed a Chinese Indonesian economist as a minister. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) amended the Citizenship Act and erased the term “*asli*” or origin of Indonesia which distinguish the citizen with non-origin one. He also appointed Chinese Indonesian economist to be a minister during two periods of his administration. In 2014, SBY released a decree concerning the replacement of the term *Cina* with *Tionghoa* to refer to Chinese or Chinese Indonesian and the term China with *Tiongkok*. Although the legal or official policies related with Chinese Indonesian indicates non-discrimination effort but in the practice, from sociological perspective, there are still some problems on Chinese Indonesian and non-Chinese Indonesian relations, especially to view Chinese Indonesian in Indonesian nationalism (Thung, 2012).

The development of the Chinese Indonesian society of post-political reform is increasingly dynamic. This development also shows how their responses to social and political change in Indonesia. One of them is through the publication of books related to Chinese Indonesian. Those books are not just a publication and share of information, but also shows the topics, or issues related to the Chinese Indonesian at the time. This article focuses to analyze the topic content of some of the books related to Chinese Indonesian which published in 2000-2017. This article does not discuss the topic in the books in depth, but rather just show or describe the issues and topics that appear in the development of literature about Chinese Indonesian in the post political reform in Indonesia.

2. Method

This research is a qualitative research with library research study. The object in this study is a literature or books related to the Chinese Indonesian issue in Indonesia. I did analysis 74 books related to Chinese Indonesian. These books are Indonesian books, which written in *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language) both as the original book as well as a translation from English book version. Content analysis method is used for data analyses where the topics that are listed from the title and contents of the book. The topics was found from the frequently appear in the title or content and then are grouped in special categories such as identity, discrimination and conflict, culture, politics, history, biography and other issues. The categories are then analyzed and linked to the context of the social politics that are currently in effect.

3. Result

3.1 *Tionghoa, Chinese Indonesian and Indonesian-Chinese*

It is important to describe the term of *Tionghoa*, Chinese Indonesian and Indonesian-Chinese. The Chinese Indonesian more explains in English structure that means Indonesian with Chinese ethnic. While Indonesian-Chinese, with dash (-) for some peoples means the Indonesian first, Chinese second. It also could be meant in the context of Indonesian Chinese *Peranakan*, where *Peranakan* refers to cultural and social approach as the result of interaction between Chinese and Indonesian people for hundred years (Gondomono, 2012). Historically the word *Tionghoa* is come from Hokkien dialect, as the earliest and largest Chinese group in Java, to call *zhonghua* that means Chinese China (Suryadinata, 2002, 2014). *Tionghoa* then was used both by *peranakans* and indigenous people in public like in newspaper. But the politics influence how government use the word to identify Indonesian-Chinese/Chinese Indonesian. Dutch and Japanese colonial ruler used the word *Tjina* (Cina) which for some people, brought negative meaning. The word of *Tionghoa* became popular with word *Tionggok* (Hokkien dialect for *Zhongguo*) since 1920 until Old Order regime. Suryadinata indicates that *Tionghoa* also used to distinguished Indonesian-Chinese and Chinese China. However, *Tionghoa* also sometime interchangeable with *peranakans* to call them. While the New Order regime, as military army suggestion on the reason to remove the inferiority of part of people and superiority of other and anti-Communist propaganda, the word *Tjina* is used and replace *Tionghoa*. Indonesian New Order government approved it with Cabinet Presidium in June 28, 1967 (*Surat Keputusan Presidium Kabinet Ampora Nomor SE-06/PRES.KAB/6/1967*). Many Indonesian-Chinese protest this policy because of racialist content. After 47 years, Indonesian government stopped the policy by President Decree No. 12 year 2014 which using back the *Tionghoa* to replace *Cina*, and *Tionggok* for *Cina* (State). The decree brings two implications. Domestically, as practice of non-discrimination state and to improve ethnic relations, and internationally for Indonesia-China relations. Antony Reid (2009) states that the concept of *Tionghoa* also becomes an alternative to distinguish Chinese Indonesia from Chinese China and to solve their dilemmatic position. The term of *Tionghoa* also predicted by Wang Gungwun in his article

in 1976 that the *Tionghoa* was promoted as one *suku* or ethnic in Indonesian since 1945-1965. But he also argues that the core of this concept was developed by peranakans (Gungwu, 1976).

3.2 Literature before 2006

In the early days of political reform in Indonesia, the Indonesian government is being focused to the reordering of the economy which was affected by the Asian crisis of 1997, as well as years of consolidation of domestic politics that was facing disintegration problem. In the context of domestic politics, the government is doing some policy changes, including associated with the Chinese. It's like the deletion of the term "non-native" or non-indigenous, stop the ban to cultural expressions of Chinese in public space, recognition Konghuchu (Confusionism) as one of the official religions in Indonesia and the inclusion of Chinese New Year as a national holiday.

In the early days of the reform until the year 2006 was a period of Chinese Indonesian society's struggle to obtain recognition as parts of the Indonesian nation and society. It is also influential to the publication of books related to Chinese Indonesian. The topics that appear in most cases related to discrimination, conflict or anti-Chinese sentiment, identity and culture. Some of the book titles that are related to the topics above for example is *Bakar Pecinan* (Burn Chinesetown!); *Konflik Antaretnik di Pedesaan: Pasang Surut Hubungan Cina-Jawa* (Ethnic Conflict in Rural Area: The relations between Chinese and Javanese); *Pembantaian Massal Tahun 1740: Tragedi Berdarah Angke* (Mass Massacre in 1740: Angke Tragedy); *Stereotipe dan Persoalan Etnik Cina di Jawa* (Stereotype and Problems of Chinese in Java); *Tugas dan Kewajiban Etnis Tionghoa dalam Membangun Bangsa dan Negara* (The Right and Obligation of Chinese ethnic in Nation and State Development); *Pri dan non-Pri: Mencari Format Baru Pembauran* (Indigenous and non-Indigenous: Finding new format of Intermingling); *Tionghoa dalam Pusaran Politik* (Chinese in Political Circle); and series of literature books such as *Kesastraan Melayu Tionghoa dan Kebangsaan Indonesia* (Literature on Chinese-Malay and Indonesian Nationalism); dan *Etnik Tionghoa* (Chinese Indonesian Ethnic).

3.3 Literature after 2006

In 2006, the Government of Indonesia issued a New Citizenship Act where it indirectly gives recognition to the Chinese Indonesian as part of the Indonesian nation. The government has also issued the anti-ethnic and racial discrimination act in 2008. Both of those acts give implications to the affirmation of recognition and protection to the Chinese Indonesian as part of Indonesia although they are minority.

Publication of books related to Chinese Indonesian in 2006 and afterwards shows the better development. The topic becomes more diverse and its coverage is also wider than previous times. In General, the topics in books related to Chinese, published in 2006 and thereafter covered several topics such as political issues, discrimination, identity, history, culture specifically like art, traditions, culinary, religion, and architecture, biography, the role of the Chinese Indonesian in Indonesian society and new issues such as women's issues. These topics can be categorised in several groups. Group 1 is Biography: from scientist to the politicians. This group consists of biographical books which tell the Chinese

figures with the scientist to politician background. Keep in mind that politics is one of the fields “avoided” by Chinese Indonesian communities mainly in the New Order period. Group 2 is the family history. This group consists of books that tells the story of a famous Chinese family as well as the ordinary people family. Group 3 is biography of the businessman. This group consists of the books about successful Chinese Indonesian businessmen. Group 4 is the identity and politics, it consists of the books related to Chinese Indonesian identity and political issues in Indonesia. Group 4 is culture. It is divided in some topics, i.e., architecture and history. This group consists of books associated with the analysis of architectural buildings of Chinese and is also related to the cultural history of the Chinese Indonesian community. Group 5 is women’s issues. The group is linked to the issue of Chinese Indonesian women. Group 6 is discrimination and nationalism issue. This group consists of books that related with the discrimination and the nationalism of Chinese Indonesian. In this context, the discrimination, nationalism and politics still become a discussion about Chinese Indonesian in the books. Group 7 is a local Chinese Indonesian. This group contains the books that tell about the history and life of the Chinese Indonesian community in several certain places in Indonesia. Group 8 is religion that contains books that are related with religion are embraced by the Chinese community in Indonesia. Group 9 is the issue of the role of the Chinese Indonesian to the Indonesian society. Those categories above and also the title of the books can be seen in the following table:

Table 1. Categories of Book Tittle on Chinese Indonesian Issues after 2006

Categories	Book Tittle
1. Biography: from scientist to politicians	<i>Sofyan Tan: Dokter Penakluk Badai</i> (Sofyan Tan: A Storm Challenger Medician); <i>KING</i> ; <i>Memoar Prof Dr. Han Hwie Song</i> ; <i>Oei Hong Kian: Dokter Gigi Soekarno</i> (Oei Hong Kian: Soekarno’s Dentist); <i>PATRIOT</i> ; <i>Eddie Lembong</i> ; <i>Memoar A. J. Liem Sioe Siet</i> ; <i>Menembus Badai: Pengembaraan Seorang Tionghoa-Indonesia Melintasi Rasisme, Kebangsaan dan Sains</i> (English version book: Chinese-Indonesian: An Odyssey through Racism, Ethnicity and Science); <i>Dr. Oen</i> ; <i>Merubah Indonesia</i> (Dr. Oen: Changing Indonesia); <i>Tidak Selamanya orang Miskin Dilupakan</i> (AHok biography, It is not forever that the poor forgotten); <i>Kwik Kian Gie: Nasib Rakyat Indonesia dalam Era Kemerdekaan</i> (Kwik Kia Gie: Indonesian people destiny in Independence Era); <i>Sofyan Wanandi: Aktivist Sejati</i> (Sofyan Wanandi: The Real Activist); <i>Siauw Giok Tjhan orang Indonesia</i> (Siauw Giok Tjhan; Indonesian).
2. Family history	<i>Queeny Chang: Anak Tjong A Fie</i> (Queeny Chang: Tjong A Fie’s daughter); <i>Tjong Yong Han</i> ; <i>Oei Hui Lan: Kisah Putri sang Raja Gula</i>

dari Semarang (Oei Hui Lan: A Story of Sugar King from Semarang); *Oei Tiong Ham: Raja gula dari Semarang* (Oei Tiong Ham: Sugar King from Semarang); *Anak Cino: Pencarian Jati Diri Keluarga Cina di Pedesaan Jawa* (Chinese's kid: The Journey to Find Identity of Chinese family in Javanese village).

3. Biography: businessmen

From Borneo to Bloomberg: Iwan Sunito; Dato' Sri Prof. Dr. Tahir: Living Sacrifice; Manusia Ide: Mochtar Riady (Idea's Man: Mochtar Riady); *100 Jurus Bisnis Alim Markus* (100 Business way Alim Markus); *Liem Sioe Liong dan Salim Group: Pilar Bisnis Soeharto* (Liem Sioe Liong and Salim group: Soeharto business pillar).

4. Culture

Arsitektur Tradisional Tionghoa dan perkembangan Kota (Chinese traditional architect and city development); *Tipologi dan makna Simbolis Rumah Tjong A Fie* (Typology and symbols of Tjong A Fie's house); *Pemukiman Tionghoa di Singkawang* (Chinese residence in Singkawang); *Teori dan Metode Pelestarian Kawasan Pecinan* (Theory and Method of Chinesetown Preservation); *Klenteng-klenteng Kuno di Indonesia* (The Ancient Chinese Temple in Indonesia); *Seribu Senyum dan Setetes Airmata* (Thousand smile and a tear); *Pecinan Semarang* (Chinese town in Semarang); *Misteri Naskah kelenteng Semarang dan Cirebon* (Mysteyry of Chinese Temple's Script in Semarang and Cirebon); *Riwayat Tionghoa Peranakan di Jawa* (History of Chinese Peranakan in Java); *Tokoh Tionghoa dan Identitas Indonesia* (Chinese Figure and Indonesian Identity); *Tionghoa di Batavia dan Huru Hara 1740* (Chinese in Batavia and 1740 Riots); *Anti Cina, Kapitalisme Cina dan Gerakan Cina* (Anti-Chinese, Chinese Capitalism and Chinese Movement); *Geger Pacinan 1740-1743* (Chinesetown riots, 1740-1743).

5. Woman

Ruang Sosial Baru Perempuan Tionghoa: Sebuah Kajian Pasca Kolonial (A New Social Space for Chinese Woman: A Post-Colonial Study); *Mereka Bilang Aku China?* (They call me Chinese?); *Anak Cucu Kolonial: Identitas, Pengalaman dan memori Perempuan Tionghoa di Belanda* (Colonial's Daughter and Grand Daughter: Identity, Experience and Memory of Chinese's woman in Netherland).

6. Discrimination dan nationalism

Etnis Tionghoa di Indonesia: Kumpulan Tulisan (Ethnic Chinese in Indonesia: essays); *Etnis Tionghoa dan Nasionalisme Indonesia* (Ethnic Chinese and Indonesian Nationalism); *Setelah Air Mata Mengering: Masyarakat tionghoa Pasca Peristiwa Mei 1998* (After the Tears is

Drying: Chinese Community in the post May 1998); *Kekerasan Anti-Tionghoa di Indonesia 1996-1997* (Anti-Chinese violence in Indonesia 1996-1997); *Tionghoa dalam Cengekraman SBKRI* (Chinese Indonesian under SBKRI); *Penyelesaian Masalah Diskriminasi Terhadap Etnis Cina* (The Solution for Dircrimination toward Ethnic Chinese); *Diskriminasi Rasial dalam Hukum HAM: Studi Tentang Diskriminasi Terhadap Etnis Tionghoa* (Racial Discrimination in Human Right Law: Study of Discrimination toward Ethnic Chinese).

7. Local Chinese Indonesian

Komunitas Cina dan Perkembangan Kota Surabaya (Chinese Community and Surabaya City development); *Etnis Cina Perantauan di Aceh* (Ethnic Chinese in Aceh); *Sejarah Masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar* (History of Chinese in Makassar); *Cina Khek di Singkawang* (Khek (Hakka) Chinese in Singkawang); *Pecinan Semarang* (Semarang's Chinese Town); *Peranakan Tionghoa di Nusantara* (Chinese Peranakans in Nusantara); *Kisah, Kultur dan Tradisi Tionghoa Bangka* (Story, Culture and Tradition of Chinese in Bangka); *Komunitas Cina di Medan* (Chinese community in Medan); *Bertahan di tengah Krisis: Komuntas Tionghoa dan Ekonomi kota Cirebon* (Struggle in Crisis: Chinese Community and Economy in Cirebon); *Komunitas Tionghoa di Surabaya* (Chinese community in Surabaya); *Lasem Kota Tua Bernunansa Cina di Jawa tengah* (Lasem; The Ancient Town with China nuance in Central Java); *Orang-orang Tionghoa dan Kebudayaan Jawa: Menjadi Jawa* (Becoming Javanese: Chinese and Javanese culture).

8. Religion

Identitas Tionghoa Muslim Indonesia (Chinese Muslim Identity in Indonesia); *Kekristenan dan ketionghoan: Telaah Atas Imlek dan Filsafat Ketionghoan* (Christianity and Chineseness: Study toward Chines New Year and Chinese Philosophy); *Inkulturasi Budaya Tionghoa dan Gereja Katolik* (Cultural Inculturalization Chinese and Catholic Church); *Cina Muslim: Studi Etnoscience Keberagaman Cina Muslim* (Chinese Muslim: Study etnoscience diversity of Chinese Muslims); *Identitas Hibrid Orang Cina* (Hybrid identity of Chinese).

9. Roles

Tionghoa dalam Sejarah Kemiliteran: Sejak Nusantara sampai Indonesia (Chinese in Military History: from Nusantara until Indonesia); *Tionghoa dalam KeIndonesiaan: Peran dan Kontribusi Bagi Pembangunan Bangsa* (Chinese in Indonesianess: The Roles and Contributions to Nation development).

From the table above, it can be seen that the category of biography and local Indonesia becomes the topic of the publication of a book about the Chinese Indonesian. In addition, the issue of discrimination and conflict also remains a discussion also. However, issues such as religion and history are also growing, compared with period prior to 2006, the category of culture is becoming increasingly developed and specific, ranging from tradition to the religion issue.

4. Discussion

Development of publication book related to the Chinese Indonesian in the post-reform in Indonesia is increasingly evolving both in terms of quantity as well as well as the topics of the book. This indirectly shows the actual effect of the change of political policy of the Government of Indonesia to Chinese Indonesian. The elimination of discrimination and the recognition as part of the community in Indonesia are the influential factor in this development. In addition, the authors of these books, not all of it comes from ethnic Chinese, it shows an interest of the non-Chinese Indonesian community to know more about the Chinese community in Indonesia. This phenomenon can be explained from two things. First, after all this time the Chinese Indonesian community residing in the limitations in the culture expression and their identity, the reform brings an opportunity for them to introduce their culture and reconstruct their identity in the context of Indonesia. Second, the Chinese Indonesian issue is still the issue that describe Indonesian social-political life. Although government policies show pretty good developments, but it is still not fully followed in practice where the conflict between Chinese Indonesian and non-Chinese Indonesian sometimes still happens. The point is though has gained recognition from the state officially about the position of their community as part of Indonesia, but on the other hand, it does not directly change the perception of the negative stereotype against Chinese Indonesian which have been implanted since long time ago.

From the development of the publication of books about Chinese Indonesian, there are at least two important things that are obtained in this research. The first is about the confidence that increasingly appears to reveal the position and identity of Chinese society as part of Indonesia society. The year 2006 is an important momentum in this explanation. At the beginning of the post-political reform in Indonesia, although the Government of Indonesia has issued several rules which indirectly gives recognition such as the banning of the use of the term “non-native” (non-indigenous), revocation the prohibition of the expression of Chinese culture in public spaces and the recognition of *Konghuchu* (Confucianism) as a religion and the use of lunar new year as a national holiday, but it all still depends on government administration of their respective leaders. But in 2006, the Government of Indonesia to officially released the New Citizenship Act where it indirectly gives recognition to the Chinese community who were born and lived in Indonesia as a part of the Indonesian nation. After that, the Government of Indonesia has also ratified the Anti racial discrimination which indirectly provide protection to them as a minority in Indonesia. This phenomenon also appears to be influential to the themes of books where previously more focus to the issue of discrimination, conflict, identity and

culture, then evolved into a more expansive in 2006. Then, it covers new topics such as cultural topics with more specific describe art, culinary, literature, tradition, religion and architecture; history; Biography; the role of the community in the development of Indonesia and new issues such as women's issues. Increasing the breadth of coverage of the topic in the publication of this book shows that there is an increasingly strong confidence to show themselves as part of Indonesia.

Second, the development of the literature of Chinese Indonesian in the post-reform in general, we can see as an expression of the identity of the Chinese Indonesian. If we look at the topics in books about Chinese Indonesian, we can proceed to the last question, how do Chinese Indonesian describe themselves? In this context, from the observation to existing topics and associated with the expression of identity, in general there are five expressions of Chinese Indonesian identity. The first is a political identity as Indonesian citizen. It is important for the Chinese Indonesian community for being recognized in the context of politics and law. Second, the ethnic Chinese of Indonesia identity, which is culturally recognition as one of the ethnic in Indonesia. Indonesia has many ethnic group, and one of them is Chinese. Third is Chinese diaspora identity, which arises in the context of "Keturunan Tionghoa" or Chinese descent. Some books also describe about Chinese ethnicity of Chinese Indonesian like Hakka or Hokkian ethnic. Fourth, the identity of the local Indonesia. The intent is in some of the books also appear characteristic of specific community of Chinese in Indonesia who live in certain area, adopt and express themselves as part of those local community. In other words, it relates to the identity of the local Indonesia they have. Indonesia is an archipelago with diverse ethnic and local culture. Ethnic Chinese are scattered throughout the territory of Indonesia also most affected by local culture and adopted it into their identity too. The fifth was a religious identity, namely the identity associated with the religion of their personal religious beliefs. The identity of this emerging identity that I see it as supportive of one another rather than see it in context as a contestation.

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