

Conference Paper

Citizenship in Everyday Life: Exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians By Non-Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung - Indonesia

Tabah Maryanah

Social and Political Sciences Faculty, Lampung University, Jl. Prof. Dr. Sumantri Brojonegoro 1,
Gedung Meneng, Bandar Lampung 35145, Indonesia

Abstract

By law, since the fall of Soeharto Chinese Indonesians have been recognized as citizens of Indonesia and not been excluded from formal politics. However, in their everyday lives they still face exclusion. They are still the targets of ridicule, gossip and rumors, as well discussion and body language that indicates displeasure and suspicion. As such, although Chinese Indonesians are recognized as citizens of Indonesia, they are not apprehended. Exclusion is rarely considered, because it occurs discursively in everyday life. Everyday exclusion is often unobservable, as citizenship theory has never discursively analyzed it even though, everyday exclusion impacts participation and representation. Exclusion is always followed by resistance. As such, every day and discursive resistance are very important to analyze.

Keywords: Apprehension, Citizenship, Discourse, Exclusion, Resistance

Corresponding Author:
Tabah Maryanah
anna_tabah@yahoo.com

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1. Introduction

Studies of citizenship today tend to focus on citizenship within formal political contexts. Citizenship studies have yet to expand to discursive aspects of exclusion. As such, citizenship studies are incapable of explaining the exclusion which occurs in citizens' day-to-day lives. This tendency in citizenship studies is likewise unable to explain the exclusion that continues to be faced by the Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia.

In formal Indonesian politics, the Chinese Indonesians are recognized as citizens (as with other ethnic groups). The numerous laws and policies which limited the expression of Chinese identity and culture have been repealed. There is no longer a requirement for Chinese Indonesians to hold a Certificate of Proof of Indonesian Citizenship (*Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Indonesia*; SBKRI). There is no longer a special numeric

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code on their identity cards, birth certificates, or marriage acts. Many Chinese Indonesians are active in the political parties, and some have even established ethnicity-based parties. Many Chinese Indonesians have become members of parliament or run for the position of regent, mayor, or governor; several have been elected. Numerous Chinese-oriented organizations have been established. There is no longer a requirement for the Chinese Indonesians to change their names. Chinese New Year is celebrated through widespread festivities, no different than Eid al-Fitr or Christmas. There are numerous television shows broadcast in Mandarin, and several periodicals using the Chinese script have been published. Mandarin is taught at schools and in private lessons, and can be freely used in public. Numerous Chinese cultural festivals have been held.

However, although there is no longer any exclusion in the formal political sphere and Chinese Indonesians have been recognized as citizens, this does not mean that the Chinese Indonesians no longer face exclusion. The Chinese Indonesians are still the targets of hatred, of insults, of gossip, be it to their face or behind their backs. They are still discussed and faced with specific body language which indicates displeasure and suspicion. Numerous belittling statements have been made. In short, the words, attitudes and actions of non-Chinese groups in Indonesia have indicated an inability to accept the presence of the Chinese Indonesians, as manifested in discussion, humor, gossip, household discourse and personal conflict.

This disparate formal and non-formal treatment of the Chinese Indonesians indicates that they have been recognized as Indonesian citizens, but not yet apprehended. There are still members of society who are unable to apprehend the Chinese Indonesians, despite the latter group being a common subject of citizenship studies. This of importance not only for the Chinese Indonesians themselves, but also for other minority and marginalized groups.

The author is presently conducting a study into citizenship, particularly the role of exclusion—in this case, the lack of apprehension for the Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung - Indonesia. The Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung were selected for this research project because of their unique characteristics compared to the Chinese in other parts of Sumatra. The Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung have worked as merchants and entrepreneurs since they first arrived in the city; this distinguishes them from the Chinese in Medan, who first migrated to that city as plantation laborers, or the Chinese in Bangka Belitung, who first migrated to that area to work the tin mines [1]. Such differences have implications for the different forms of discrimination in everyday life experiences. In general, the Chinese Indonesians have worked as

merchants and entrepreneurs lead to a better economic life than the work as a laborer. The level of economic life makes them better bargaining power is higher than the level of the economic life of the workers, who are generally poor. Higher bargaining position causes of discrimination experienced a different experience and a little more. In fact, also causing them to reverse exclusion.

The objectives of this research are i) to explain why are Chinese Indonesians still excluded in everyday life, especially in membership dimension; ii) to explain how far implication of the exclusion toward Chinese Indonesians in membership dimension to other dimension of citizenship, *i.e.* legal status, right, and participations; iii) to explain how are the Chinese Indonesians responses to the exclusions that they faced.

The methods employed in the research is ethnography to get the data about the discourse of citizenship. How discourse owned by non-Chinese Indonesians about citizenship in Indonesia: who became a citizen of Indonesia. How non-Chinese Indonesians looked at him and looked at the Chinese Indonesians; how to treat other ethnic groups, whether equal or not; what rights and obligations are held by individuals and their respective ethnic groups. The discourse of citizenship contained in the text, context, and in the relations between Chinese Indonesians and non-Chinese Indonesians. The text is mainly located in the unwritten text which are contained in the languages, body languages, images, photographs, symbols, and other forms of semiotics. The aspects of discourse in languages are intonations, sentences, dictions, topics, expressions, speeches, and other speech devices. The body language are includes in expressions, attitudes, and actions. Context in this research is where discourse happens to be in traditional market, commerce and warehouses area, universities, and other places that allow the interaction between Chinese Indonesians and non-Chinese Indonesians. The author observed to traditional market which the majority of buyers are Chinese Indonesians and to the university which the majority of students are Chinese Indonesians too. The author also observed to one of the commerce and Chinese Indonesians' warehouse area. Some Chinese Indonesians and non-Chinese Indonesians were observed for two to three days. Observations to get the data in the form of expressions, attitudes, and actions of the discourse of citizenship in the relationships between the Chinese Indonesians and non-Chinese Indonesians. Some of them were in-depth interviewed to capture the value for each ethnic or ethnic groups.

The data will be analyzed with critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis shaped by social structure (class, status, ethnic identity, age, and gender), culture, and discourse. Critical discourse analysis is an attempt to uncover the hidden meaning of the subject under study. By following the structure of the studied subjects meaning the

shape, distribution, and production of ideology disguised as discourse can be known. The idea or motif present in the text of thinking, verbal communication, social and political context can be captured. Which does not draw power between social classes, men and women, the majority and minority groups through representation in the social position of the display can be seen in the discourse. Circumstances which are racist, sexist, or inequality of social life which is a general awareness (common sense) are natural or can be revealed. Therefore, social power, abuse of dominance, and inequality is reproduced and maintained through text can be known [2]. This strategy were selected to cover the causes of the Chinese Indonesians did not apprehend yet, at the same time to reveal the resistance carried out by the Chinese Indonesians. The collected data is analyzed to distinguish the descriptive data and data reflective one. Furthermore, the data abstracted to obtain the most relevant data. The next step is the categorization of text data, the data context and body language. The final step is to find the meaning and interpretation of discourse that occurs in the interaction between Chinese Indonesians and non-Chinese Indonesians. As such, this paper is still a work in process, or perhaps better termed a working paper. So, the limitation of this research is has not result yet.

2. State of the Art: Citizenship Studies

Citizenship is a concept in development. After the Second World War, [2] developed a concept of citizenship which emphasized liberal social rights to ensure equality between citizens. According to Marshall, all citizens of a country have civil rights, political rights and social rights. Civil rights include freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom to own property and freedom of contract. Political rights, meanwhile, include the right to participate in governance and the legislative project, freedom of participation, the right to vote and the right to be elected. Social rights, meanwhile, include the right to prosperity and the right to economic security. Civil rights and political rights are expressions of negative liberties, whereas social rights are expressions of positive liberties. On the other hand, the State is required to preserve negative liberties and allow citizens to realize positive liberties [3].

Citizenship studies later developed more broadly, encompassing more than simply rights. According to [4], there are four dimensions to citizenship: legal status, rights, participation and membership. As a legal status, the citizen is the legal person free to act according to the law and having the right to claim the law's protection. Like

Marshall's concept as right, the citizen has civil rights, political rights and social rights. The dimension of participation is about how citizen can access and involve in public sphere. Membership is defined as cultural inclusion in a community (*i.e.* informal inclusion), whereas legal status is understood as legal inclusion in a community (*i.e.* formal inclusion). Rights and participation, meanwhile, are the rights conveyed by citizenship and status held, as well the obligations which come from inclusion. Emphasis on one or more of these four dimensions is indicative of the approach taken. A liberal approach will give greater emphasis to individual rights; a civic republican approach will emphasize political participation; a communitarian approach will prioritize the sense of belonging within a community; whereas a multicultural approach will recognize group rights together with individual rights.

The ideal citizenship, also known as full citizenship, is one which has all four of the above dimension. If a citizen does not have full access to these four dimension, then that citizen is experiencing exclusion. As such, the four dimensions of citizenship are interconnected and even overlapping. The connections and overlap between these dimensions of citizenship and exclusion can be seen in Figure 1 below.

Beiner [4] concept emphasizes membership as the core prerequisite for citizenship. Membership differentiates groups of members (*insiders*) and non-members (*outsiders*), and it is this categorization which gives rise to inclusion and exclusion. However, the meaning of 'political community' and the criteria for inclusion may change from time to time. In Ancient Greece, the basis of citizenship was communal membership and political participation within the nation-state, while in Ancient Rome citizenship was based on legal rights, without any political participation. Since the French Revolution, the basis of citizenship has been membership in a nation. Since then, the concept of nation has been the basis for the definition of citizens' political communities, even though the manifestation of 'nation' itself has varied. Inclusion and cultural membership can be measured based on the extent to which a nation is inclusive, to what extent a nation's nationalism is inclusive, and to what extent the symbols of national culture and nation are inclusive.

3. Literature Review

Studies of the exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians have found that exclusion has occurred in the formal political arena [5-10] and in the non-formal political arena, or popular culture [11]. Reference [5-10] examine the exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians' policies, as part of the nation's formal political arena. These policies have

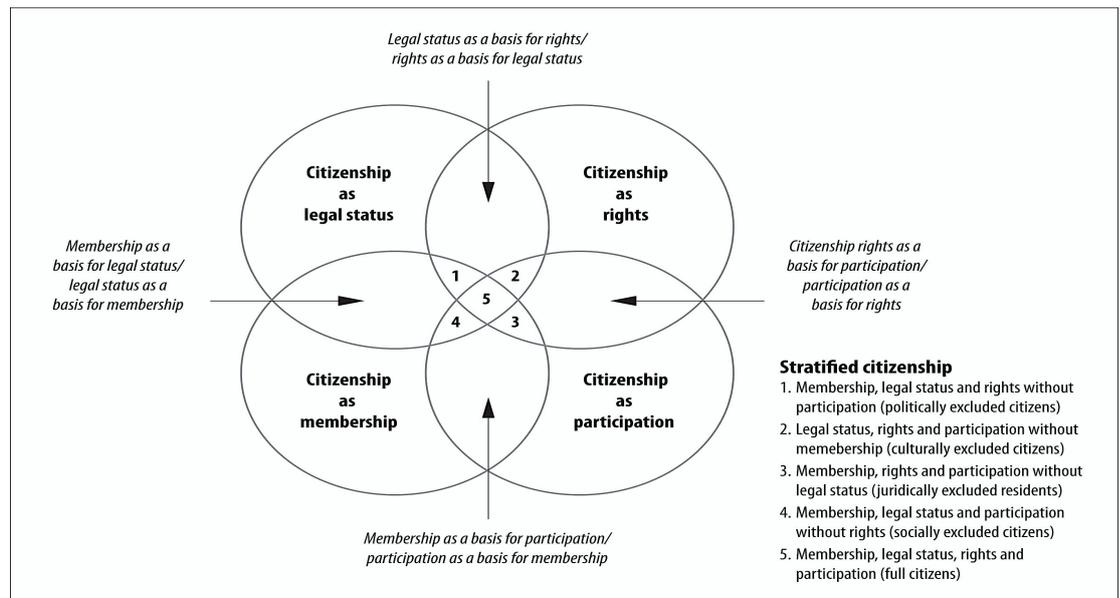


Figure 1: Overlap and Stratification of Citizenship [5].

excluded the Chinese Indonesians based on dimensions of law, rights, participation and membership (as citizens of Indonesia). National policy, they argue, is the cause of exclusion. [9] adds that these exclusionary policies are rooted in the historical burden of colonial-era policies and mentalities. The studies conducted by reference [5–9] do not specifically relate exclusion to citizenship and democracy [10], meanwhile, ties citizenship with exclusion, though he focuses predominantly on the status dimension of citizenship. In current of democracy and citizenship era, it's important to linked between exclusion, citizenship and democracy.

Democracy requires the inclusion of all citizens and none of citizens are excluded. Citizenship has a basic idea that the collective bond of all citizens is inclusive, neither citizens are not excluded. Democracy and citizenship, both have intercourse in terms of the inclusion of all citizens and the lack of citizen which is excluded. The more inclusive citizenship, increasingly more democratic. Conversely, the more citizen which is excluded, the lower the degree of democracy. Thus, the realization of full citizenship will promote the establishment of democracy. There is a high correlation between democracy and citizenship.

Aguilar [11] examines the exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians using a different approach than reference [5–10]. His research is not focused on the formal political arena, but rather popular culture, particularly film. Aguilar [11] also ties the exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians with citizenship. After the fall of the New Order, there was a resurgence in Chinese culture and politics in the public sphere. However, this had little impact on the Chinese Indonesian community because it did not resolve questions

of identity. There was no liberation or recognition, because the Chinese Indonesians were still considered the other. Owing to this lack of public recognition of the Chinese Indonesians and lack of liberalization, no full citizenship could emerge. Unlike reference [5–10], Aguilar [11] study of the exclusion of Chinese Indonesians was discursive and focused on the non-formal political arena. However, although he tied these issues to citizenship, reference [11] did not specifically connect them to democracy. He also studied non-formal politics, but not in the context of everyday life.

Other research has been conducted into the issue of citizenship in Indonesia, though it has not been connected to the exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians. Research into citizenship in Indonesia has tended to focus on the formal political arena [12–14], though research into non-formal political arenas—such as the daily lives of prisoners [15]—has been conducted.

Empirically, exclusion occurs because of discriminative state policies [12–13]. Reference [12–13] both examine the issue of citizenship in Indonesia in the formal political arena, though neither specifically connects citizenship with democracy. Democracy will be established if there are inclusive citizenship in both formal politics and everyday life politics. Exclusion also occurs discursively in liberal discourse of democracy [14], in popular culture [11], and in the daily lives of prisoners [15]. This study will highlight the importance of the linking between everyday life citizenship with democracy.

The above studies have not examined citizenship in everyday life. Viewing citizenship in daily life, however, is important, for it is here that the Chinese Indonesians continue to face exclusion. Although Juru [15] does examine citizenship within discourse and everyday politics, her focus is life within the State organization. Prisons are state institutions, under the purview of the Ministry of Law and Human Resources. Furthermore, Juru [15] does not connect citizenship with democracy. This study will examine the experience of everyday exclusions are faced by Chinese Indonesians.

None of the above-mentioned studies examine Chinese Indonesians resistance to the exclusion they face. Some studies, however, such as those by Annisa [16] and Giblin [17] have detailed this resistance. Annisa [16] focuses on resistance within the formal political arena, namely Chinese Indonesians resistance to hegemonic State policies. Numerous policies and pieces of legislation have been passed to exclude the Chinese Indonesians, and these have been targeted by Chinese Indonesians activists, who demand that such discriminative legislation be changed. Giblin [17] also examines the resistance of the Chinese Indonesians' formal political arena, albeit discursively. She focuses on the struggles of the Chinese Indonesians who are, in national discourse, often considered foreigners (*outsiders*). Although governments since the fall of the

New Order have allowed the Chinese Indonesians to present their own identity and culture, this culture is still considered foreign and not part of Indonesian culture. Giblin [17] researches how eleven Chinese Indonesians organizations have articulated their Chinese and Indonesian identities since the fall of Soeharto and the repealing of policies which promoted the formal exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians through cultural assimilation and the prohibition of celebrations and practices considered Chinese Indonesians. Resistance has been conducted discursively, with the state philosophy of *Pancasila* enconced as the organizations' basis. Some of these organizations have referred to the Youth Pledge or the national motto *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* ('Unity in Diversity') to convey their loyalty to Indonesia. Resistance has also been made explicit, such as through efforts to replace the term *Cina* with *Tionghoa*, to demand that the Chinese Indonesians be recognized as a formal tribe, and to call for Chinese culture to be accepted as part of Indonesian culture. This indicates a paradox: the Chinese Indonesians have remained outsiders in discourses of national Indonesian identity.

Annisa [16] study examines sporadic resistance, in the formal political arena, without connecting the issue of Chinese Indonesians resistance with citizenship. Giblin [17] study, meanwhile, though it was discursive, undertaken in the formal political arena, and connected resistance with citizenship, did not connect resistance with discrimination. This study will examine the everyday marginal group resistency to face the exclusion. Quality of citizenship will be influenced by everyday marginal group resistency. Citizenship is a concept about active citizen in creating citizenship, not only achiving formal right. More and more citizens are active in fostering citizenship, the greater the opportunity to create a fully inclusive citizenship. So that, this study highlighting the links between everyday politics with democracy, the everyday experience of exclusion and everyday resiatance to exclusion.

4. Citizenship Studies: The Political Science Bias

Citizenship studies to date have shown a bias towards political science. Studies of citizenship tend to focus on non-discursive issues in the formal political arena. Studies of citizenship tend to refer to the concepts of citizenship promoted by Aliyah [2] and the numerous writers who continued and developed his concepts. The Marshallian frame, however, cannot uncover the exclusion faced by the Chinese Indonesians, as it is discursive and occurs in their day-to-day lives.

The concepts of citizenship pioneered by Aliyah [2] and Beiner [4] are operational within a formal political perspective, but not for everyday politics. In their concepts of

citizenship, citizens may formally be included, but this does not mean that they will not face exclusion in their daily lives. Highlighting on membership aspect by reference [4] also focused in formal politics, ie, whether state policies in membership aspect inclusive or not, whether all of citizens have participated or not, and whether all of citizens have represented or not. Beiner [4] did not discuss about inclusive membership in everyday life.

As such, to understand the exclusion experienced by the Chinese Indonesians, one must recognize that exclusion is not exclusive to the formal political arena. Exclusion can also occur in everyday life. Exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians, as it occurs in their day-to-day lives, has gone unnoticed because the available theories give no attention to everyday exclusion. If the exclusionary practices of non-Chinese Indonesians against the Chinese Indonesians are not researched, then it will be as if, since the fall of the New Order, the Chinese Indonesians have not faced any exclusion and been fully recognized as citizens. This supposition is an entirely misleading one, as, in reality, the Chinese Indonesians have continued to experience exclusion, albeit discursive exclusion in their everyday lives. Other citizens continue to treat the Chinese Indonesians differently than they treat other ethnic groups. For instance being called "China" to humiliate, even Chinese Indonesians who are poor referred to as "*Cina kaleng*" (laterally Chinese tin). Some merchants give a higher price for the Chinese Indonesians and the attitude is less friendly towards Chinese Indonesians. Another non-Chinese Indonesians bullying and blackmailing against Chinese Indonesians. Some non-Chinese Indonesians, in case of accidents on the road highway involving dealings with the Chinese ethnic will be extended. There are many hate speech in non-Chinese Indonesians ie "They are Chinese, so it doesn't matter to break their house, to destroy their properties, and blackmailed them". Sometimes non-Chinese Indonesians argue that someone do a good thing but because he or she is Chinese Indonesians leads non-Chinese Indonesians lost their respect. Many continue to reject the Chinese Indonesians as citizens of Indonesia. To understand the effect of this exclusion on democracy, it is thus necessary to examine the effect of this everyday exclusion on Chinese Indonesians representation and participation. Exclusion and inclusion are closely connected to the issues of representation and participation. Inclusion gives people a greater opportunity for representation and participation, while exclusion limits representation and participation.

Another frame that can be used to explain this phenomenon, the everyday exclusion faced by the Chinese Indonesians, originates from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology. However, simply applying an anthropological or sociological frame would

eliminate the political aspects of the issue. Actions committed in everyday life cannot be separated from the power structure found in society. One such structure lies behind the continued dismissal of the Chinese Indonesians and their continued lack of recognition as full citizens of Indonesia. To reveal the power structure behind this continued exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians, this study applies the concepts of some reference [18–20].

Giblin [18] notes the importance of political studies in the context of everyday life based on his research into the French-speaking Quebecois minority in Canada. According to Giblin [18], the residents of Quebec are more capable of articulating their interests as a group using their own language—French—despite most of Canadian society speaking English. Reference [18] arguments pushed the Canadian government to pass several piece of legislation to better accommodate the interests of the Quebecois minority, particularly in regards to their ethno-cultural rights as a minority. The exclusion experienced by the Quebecois minority could not have been recorded by mainstream Political Science, which tends to focus on the formal political arena. Formally, the French-speaking Quebecois minority had legal status as Canadian citizens and enjoyed political rights, including in elections, as well as social rights and the ability to participate. However, the requirement to use English hindered the French-speaking Quebecois minority in articulating its own interests. This condition resulted in the French-speaking Quebecois minority being recognized, but without being treated as such (*i.e.* apprehended, to use the terminology of some reference [19, 20]).

The concept of apprehension formulated by reference [19, 20] is useful for understanding exclusion in the informal arena—in everyday life. It is also discursive, as Butler draws a simple distinction between recognition and apprehension, one which is capable of explaining why citizens can be recognized without being apprehended. The citizens who are recognized but not apprehended are those in a situation in which they are recognized by law but treated with discrimination in their everyday lives.

The concept of apprehension is based on reference study of the Muslim citizens of the United States [19, 20], the Muslim detainees at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and persons from the Middle East following the 11 September 2001 attacks on World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Reference [19, 20] found that these three categories of people (Muslim citizens of the United States, the Muslim detainees at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and persons from the Middle East) were recognized. Formally, according to law, their citizenship is recognized, but they have been treated differently than other citizens of the United States. As these three categories of citizens are not apprehended,

the United States government and the country's other citizens have continued to discriminate against them, despite them being legally recognized as citizens.

Reference [19, 20] approach above can be applied to explain the exclusion experienced by the Chinese Indonesians population of Bandar Lampung. The exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung occurs in their daily lives and is discursive in nature. The Chinese Indonesians have been recognized as citizens, but they continue to experience exclusion. This exclusion can be observed through the concept of apprehension.

5. Resistance to Exclusion

Exclusion always leads to resistance. It is also important to examine the resistance offered in everyday life. As with everyday exclusion, which is not seen or acknowledged by mainstream political theory, resistance in everyday life is not recognized. Power is not always related to the ability to obtain a position within formal political structure, nor is it always related to policymaking. How individuals or groups organizes themselves and negotiate their interests and identities in everyday life are also manifestations of power struggles. As such, resistance, no matter how unrecognized, does occur in everyday life.

Because of the exclusion and resistance which occur during everyday life, discursive aspects are very important. This is not only because exclusion occurs in everyday life, but also because exclusion is realized discursively. Insults, gossip, patterns of speech, body language and other forms of exclusion often go unseen and even unrecognized by their perpetrators. However, these also determine the acceptance of the Chinese Indonesians as part of Indonesia. Even today, different price structures and standards of service are implemented by the merchants in one traditional market in Bandar Lampung. Close supervision of Chinese Indonesians merchants, based on the stereotype that the Chinese Indonesians are neither honest nor trustworthy, continues. Certain parties continue to draw 'protection fees' from Chinese Indonesians-owned businesses. This overview of the exclusion experienced by the Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung indicates the need for research into the everyday and discursive exclusion they face.

To explain the discursive resistance of the Chinese Indonesians in their everyday lives, in response to not being apprehended by their fellow citizens, the concepts of discursive and everyday resistance of Butler [21] and Scott [22] must be drawn on.

According to reference [21], resistance in everyday life may take the form of:

- i) material or physical resistance, in response to material or physical domination. This may include poaching, sabotage, small-scale theft, stepping on plants, breaking equipment, ignoring the passage of time or even killing animals belonging to landlords.
- ii) Hidden transcripts of resistance intended to struggle against status dominance. This resistance takes the form of rituals of aggression, stories of vengeance, gossip and the development of a specific subculture and myths.

The concept of resistance through hidden transcripts can be used to examine the resistance perpetrated by the Chinese Indonesians in the face of everyday discursive exclusion. Resistance through hidden transcripts here can be understood as a more active resistance, in which the Chinese Indonesians develop alternative stories of heroism among the Chinese Indonesians themselves, develop positive imagery of themselves, etc.

Meanwhile, according to Certeau [23], discursive resistance in everyday life may take the form of copying, survival techniques, accommodation, and avoidance/escape. This can be used to see alternative methods and forms of resistance from the Chinese Indonesians in Bandar Lampung. The concepts formulated by Certeau [23] here, particularly that regarding survival techniques, are very useful for explaining how the Chinese Indonesians endure their experiences of exclusion, together with their use of hidden transcripts of resistance.

6. Conclusions

The study of citizenship is very important to be held. One important aspect of the study of citizenship is about exclusion and inclusion. Moreover, in Indonesia, exclusion is a very interesting case because although by law Chinese Indonesia already recognized but in everyday life they are still experiencing exclusion. Studies on the exclusion of the Chinese Indonesians tend to focus on formal politics. If only seen in formal politics then no exclusion against Chinese Indonesians. As non-Chinese Indonesians, the Chinese Indonesians do not need to take care of documents as proof of citizenship. That means Chinese Indonesians is already getting dimension to citizenship on legal status. Chinese Indonesians already get their rights as citizens who are not Chinese Indonesians, both in the political, social or cultural. This shows that the Chinese already have rights dimension in citizenship. Chinese Indonesians have also been free to establish ethnically-based organization, to form political parties, stand for election, as well as making political statements through the media. Thus the Chinese Indonesians have

gotten dimension of participation in citizenship. However, citizenship is not just about achieving the formal rights. Chinese Indonesians is still the target of hatred, gossip, and treated differently by non-Chinese Indonesians. This means that Chinese Indonesians have not received on membership dimension to citizenship. Therefore, there are still dimension of citizenship are not met then not yet reached full citizenship.

Understanding of exclusion experienced by Chinese Indonesians should be the awareness that exclusion does not always occur in the area of formal politics, but exclusion can also occur in everyday life. Exclusion of Chinese Indonesians that occur in everyday life have not been seen since the theory provided never noticed aspects of exclusion in everyday life. If the exclusion of the non-Chinese Indonesians against Chinese Indonesians have not researched it all the revelation that the Chinese Indonesians after the fall of Soeharto no longer experiencing exclusion and that Chinese Indonesians have been recognized as a citizen of Indonesia, is a misleading statement. The statement is misleading because the real Chinese Indonesians still experience exclusion, just exclusion occur discursively and in everyday life. Chinese Indonesians are still treated differently than other than the treatment of Chinese Indonesians. Many people still negates Chinese Indonesians as Indonesian citizens. Citizenship condition containing exclusion has implications negative to representation and participation and have negative implications for democracy.

Citizenship also issues become active citizens in the formation of citizenship. How citizens confront and resolve the problems faced by part of the establishment of citizenship. Similarly, how resistance carried out by the Chinese Indonesians in the face of exclusion by citizens instead of Chinese Indonesians in everyday life is an important part in the formation of citizenship because the exclusion have occurred in everyday life. Due to the occurrence of resistance in everyday life it is very important discursive aspect. As exclusion invisible and unconscious, the resistance in everyday life as well be invisible.

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