

# Citizenship And Identity: The Existence Of Thionghoa (Chinese) Ethnic Actors In Makassar City Legislative Elections

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## Abstract

This study aims to determine the existence of ethnic Tionghoa actors in the dynamics of local politics in the 2019 Legislative Election in Makassar City. The research method used in this research is qualitative-explorative with a phenomenological approach, where this exploratory study seeks to see the role of ethnic actors in the local political dynamics of the Makassar City Legislative Election. Using political game theory to explore the phenomenon of the dynamics of ethnic actors in the legislative elections in Makassar City in looking at strategies, traditions (values and negotiations), or in the form of political behavior or actions in local political dynamics in Makassar City. The results of this study can be concluded that: the Tionghoa in the legislative elections in Makassar City at the local level of political dynamics; (1) starting from the policy period of the government of President Abdul Rahman Wahid (Gus Dur) which has liquidated its policies while eliminating discrimination against ethnic Tionghoa culture, increasing political participation of ethnic Tionghoa actors and increasing awareness of young ethnic Tionghoa actors in the legislative elections in Makassar City. Ethnic Tionghoa political actors from the 1999 election until the 2019 election, there has been an increase in political awareness with this also increasing the political participation of ethnic Tionghoa actors in Makassar City, as evidenced by the election of Erick Horas in the Makassar City legislative election. (2) the implication of this study is that the election implementation process in Makassar City must be considered continuously and improved again so that the election implementation process will continue to run well and get better. (3) Tionghoa ethnic political actors should be more careful in carrying out their roles so that the public does not misunderstand the actions taken.

**Keywords:** Ethnic Actor Politics; Ethnic Identity; Local Political Dynamics; Legislative Elections.

## Introduction

After President Suharto left in 1998, Indonesia's political system underwent a significant decentralisation, and several regions saw serious communal and separatist violence. The country had previously been extremely centralised and had suppressed ethnonationalist mobilisation [1]. The New Order believed that the nation's growth and security were threatened by the plurality and pluralism developed under Sukarno's "Old Order," thus it crushed them in the 1970s by enacting SARA [2]. Even if there are some apparent good signals of Chinese cultural liberalisation, racial prejudice still exists in Indonesia. In 2002, there were still at least fifty discriminatory laws and ordinances in effect [3]. Just before the Chinese New Year (Imlek) celebrations in February 2002, the Chinese were warned by Jakarta's Governor,

Sutiyoso, to celebrate the festival in a 'low-key' way, in order to avoid 'jealousy' from society [4]. Is a topic worth investigating in the course of research on the dynamics of level politics local. In this instance, the elite seeks to retain public faith in the growth of local democracy while implementing policies that will be very advantageous for them [5]. It has always been interesting to investigate how local democracy is developing in Indonesia [6]. The democratic system is the best hope for the majority of people in the world to have a fulfilling political life, as evidenced by the fact that it has spread to practically every region of the globe [7]. Analysis of political game theory, as indicated in the writings of McCarty & Meiowitz, can be used to comprehend the dynamics of local politics in the presence of ethnic actors [8] as a study applied to situations when two or more people or institutions



this study is to ascertain how the participation of ethnic Tionghoa actors and their political actions, whether individually or collectively, influenced the momentum of the democratic party (Election) during the legislative election in Makassar City. The dynamics of local political contestation in Makassar City might take the shape of tactics, traditions (values and negotiations), or political conduct or acts.

## Methods

This study adopts a phenomenological approach and a qualitative exploratory methodology [19] as an investigation on the occurrence of Tionghoa ethnic players in regional political dynamics during the legislative elections in Makassar City. Political game theory is employed in this study [8] to investigate the phenomena of Tionghoa ethnic actors' dynamics in terms of strategy, custom (values and negotiations), or in terms of political conduct or activities during the legislative elections in Makassar City. The data and facts used are obtained through library research, by reviewing, reading relevant journals and documents so as to produce qualified research. Once obtained, the data is then analyzed and interpreted as developed by [20] To develop conclusions in the form of fresh discoveries that will be helpful to readers, follow the processes of data gathering, data reduction, data presentation, and data verification. then supported with tools for qualitative research The Nvivo 12 Pro [21] to explore more deeply the problems that occurred and get the best conclusions.

## Results and Discussion

### Participation of Thionghoa (Chinese) Ethnic Actors in Local Level Political Dynamics

Chinese in Indonesia may experience identity shaping depending on how they relate to the discursive and occasionally legal categories of pribumi or native/indigenous vs non-pribumi.(generally meaning Chinese); 'citizen' (Chinese nationals who have obtained Indonesian citizenship are referred to as Warga Negara Indonesians (WNI), a name that literally means "Indonesian citizen." [22]. The Tionghoa ethnic group has seen a number of factors that have made

them appear averse to the word "politics" during their involvement in national politics [23]. Depending on how they connect to the discursive and occasionally legal categories of pribumi or native/indigenous vs. non-pribumi, Chinese in Indonesia may go through identity moulding. (usually refers to Chinese people); "citizen" Warga Negara Indonesians (WNI), a term that literally translates to "Indonesian citizen," are Chinese people who have attained Indonesian citizenship [22]. Throughout their engagement in national politics, the Tionghoa ethnic group has experienced a number of events that have given them the appearance that they dislike the name "politics." in Womack (2006) However, in many ways, these two changes together might only exacerbate racial tension and hostility in Indonesia. Implementing political and economic liberalisation is contradictory, as Amy L. Chua demonstrates [22]. Chua provides evidence that each of these has occurred in Indonesia to varying degrees. When Habibie was [22] Chua provides evidence that each of these has occurred in Indonesia to varying degrees. The government launched a proposal for a "People's Economy" (Ekonomi Rakyat) during Habibie's brief term in power, which was a plan to dismantle Chinese-dominated firms and give them to the "masses [24].

However, since the reformation, precisely after the President of the Republic of Indonesia was held by Abdurrahman Wahid, with various policies, the idea of the need to form a National Reconciliation Committee was established [25]. So that every person, without exclusion from the Tionghoa ethnicity, is free and actively participating in politics and governance for the growth of Indonesia. Due to Indonesian nationals being stranded and living overseas as a result of the New Order's oppressive policies, there are no ethnic Tionghoa political actors in Indonesian politics or governance. Additionally, President Abdurrahman Wahid suggested that Tap No. XXV/ MPRS/1966, which deals with the PKI's outlawing and the repeal of Marxism/Leninism [25] was evidence that the government at the time encouraged free involvement in politics from all citizens, including ethnic Tionghoa actors, and that the government was expanding.

Table 1. Political Behavior of Ethnic Tionghoa (Chinese) from 1999 Election Period to 2019 Election

Election Period	Behavior of ethnic Tionghoa (Chinese) actors in elections
Election of the Year 1999	In the 1999 General Election, the Tionghoa community was no longer skeptical and confused in choosing. In the 1999 election, the majority of ethnic Tionghoa

	entrusted their political aspirations to the Indonesian Democratic Party, PDI-Perjuangan, even though in that election there was already a Tionghoa-based party, namely the Indonesian Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Party (PBI) led by Nurdin Purnomo". Evidence that PBI is not or has not "rooted" among the ethnic Tionghoa are: PBI apparently only obtained 1 seat in the DPRD of West Kalimantan Province. The choice to choose PDIP was because there was an awareness that they (ethnic Tionghoa and PDI_P) both experienced oppression during the New Order era" [25].
Election of the Year 2004	In the 2004 elections, more than two hundred ethnic Tionghoa people volunteered to become candidates for both the DPR and DPRD. However, in general they are only used by various political parties, especially small parties to collect votes and funds. They are almost all placed in the shoe number position. These Tionghoa legislative candidates are mostly middle class businessmen who are very naive in political matters and are not ready to enter the practical political arena. Of all the candidates, only a few people managed to become members of the DPR and around thirty people became members of the DPRD throughout Indonesia. Where did the ethnic Tionghoa voices go in the 2004 Legislative Election. In general, their votes were channeled to the PDS, Democratic Party, Golkar Party, PDIP, PKB, and PIB (Setiono, 2008).
Election of the Year 2009	In the 2009 elections, most of the political elite, the Tionghoa are still identical with economic activities and interests, so they are considered apolitical. If in the 2004 election the political participation of ethnic Tionghoa became more dynamic and assertive, especially in the 2009 election. The young generation of ethnic Tionghoa began to be excited, confident in politics emerged, choices had to be made and actions had to be taken to give meaning to the existence of ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia. Political parties are competing to "sell" to the public in order to gain votes from the ethnic Tionghoa community. Meanwhile, the ethnic Tionghoa community prefers to choose political parties that have multi-ethnic candidates. By actively entering the world of politics, ethnic Tionghoa as part of their citizens can contribute to the Indonesian state [25]; Setiono, 2008).
Election of the Year 2019	In the 2019 election, high political awareness influenced the political participation of the ethnic Tionghoa community in Indonesia, including in the legislative elections in Makassar City. [26] explains that currently Tionghoa ethnic political participation is no longer due to socio-economic status but tends to be due to the development of political awareness for the Tionghoa ethnic community.

Source: processed from multiple sources, 2022

According to table 1 above, ethnic actors are generally encouraged to participate in political campaigns in order to increase the presence of ethnic Tionghoa in Makassar City, join the local government, end discrimination against the majority of indigenous people, and desire to live a peaceful and harmonious life. no longer because of socioeconomic standing, but instead due to a propensity to raise Tionghoa ethnic group political consciousness [26].

According to Nur in the political dynamics of the Makassar City Legislative Election, ethnic Tionghoa actors in winning legislative candidates in Makassar City through a communication strategy that can be accepted by all groups is a comprehensive step with a value approach. -local values (local wisdom). If in economic activity according to Fadhil explains that there are economic differences between ethnic Tionghoa actors in Makassar City, seen from the differences

in entrepreneurial attitudes between ethnic Tionghoa and ethnic indigenous people [27]. The economic attitude of the Tionghoa ethnicity is higher than that of the indigenous ethnic entrepreneurs. In politics, the identity of the Tionghoa community is driven by political awareness and the local community's environment on the demands of social and political needs, such as being free from ethnic minority discrimination and living in peace and harmony in Makassar City, but there are also those who are not affected due to their daily activities. However, most of the political awareness of the Tionghoa ethnic community is increasing from time to time [26].

The discriminatory behavior of the New Order government over a relatively long period of 32 years, has made the behavior of ethnic Tionghoa political elites to be more exclusive [28], apathetic and isolating in socio-political life in Makassar City. As a result of President Abdul Rahman

Wahid's (Gus Dur) administration's policies, which have abolished prejudice against ethnic Tionghoa culture and elevated the political involvement of ethnic Tionghoa actors [28]. This widens the democratic tendency for ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia. From the position of the people who were shy but still eager to be involved, this in turn brought about a significant change for the involvement of ethnic Tionghoa in the field of practical politics, which in the end was demonstrated by an open attitude and behaviour in the political field and a significant increase in both quantity and quality. extra current calibre [26]. This widens the democratic tendency for ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia. From the position of the people who were shy but still eager to be involved, this in turn brought about a significant change for the involvement of ethnic Tionghoa in the field of practical politics, which in the end was demonstrated by an open attitude and behaviour in the political field and a significant increase in both quantity and quality. extra current calibre [25].

#### Dynamics of Participation of Ethnic Tionghoa (Chinese) Actors in Legislative Elections in Makassar City

Even if it looks slow and slow, the national democratic environment has made it possible for Tionghoa residents to engage in politics [26]. The majority of ethnic Tionghoa actors who work as politicians are well-established from an economic standpoint, therefore their focus in the political sphere is not on obtaining financial resources but rather on existence, devotion, and service [25]. This is different from the orientation of politicians in general who do not pursue economic access, power and facilities financed by state or regional treasuries. With the involvement of ethnic Tionghoa in the national, regional and local political stage, political interactions will occur between ethnic Tionghoa-Indigenous politicians who can transmit the ethos and mentality of Tionghoa people to fellow ethnic politicians. Where the principle of trade that puts forward mutual trust and efficiency is expected to build genuine, not pseudo-representation between the people and their representatives in parliament. Public policies that are made are expected to side with the people at large or on each group and ethnicity [25].

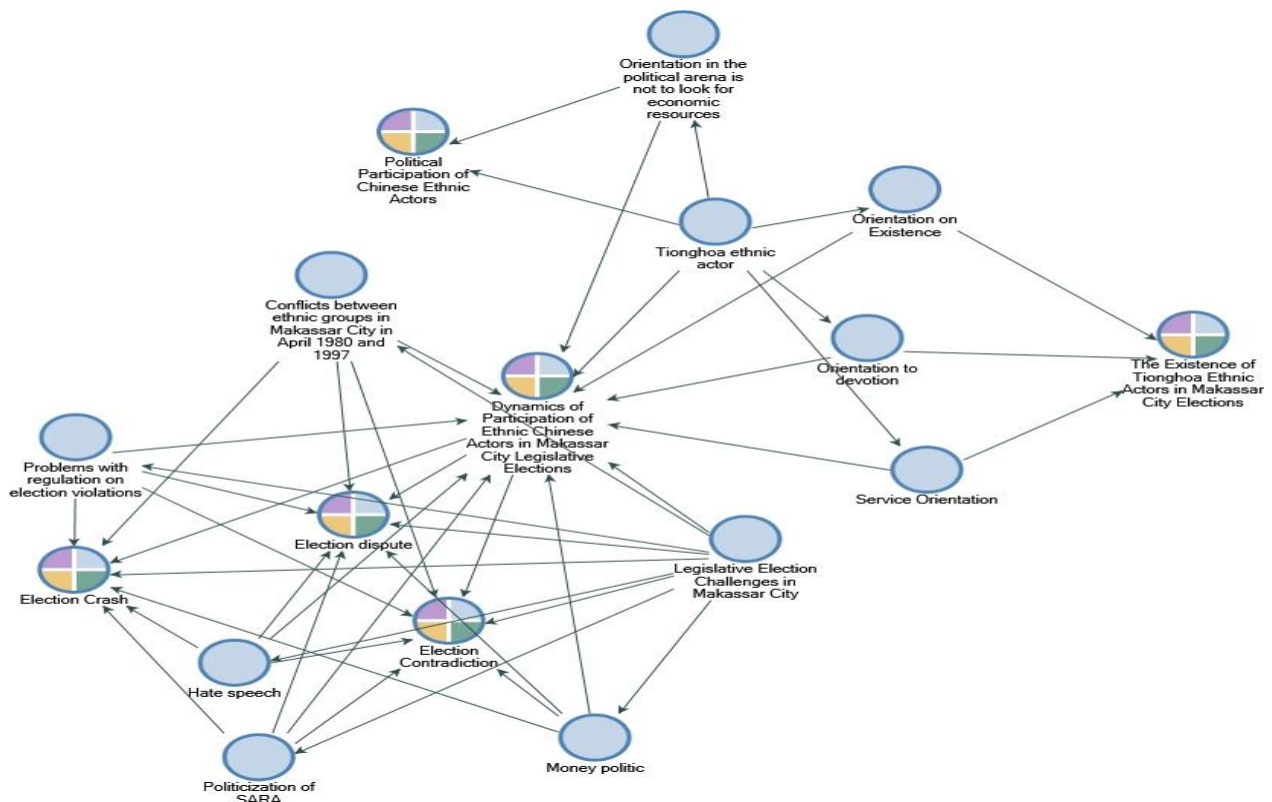


Figure 2. The Dynamics of Participation of Ethnic Tionghoa Actors in the Makassar City Legislative Election

Source: Processed from Nvivo 12 pro tools, 2022

As explained in figure 2 above, generally the ethnic Tionghoa political elites who are involved as politicians are those who are well-established

from an economic perspective, so their orientation in the political arena is not to seek economic resources but rather to the existence of ethnic

groups in the hegemony of indigenous ethnic groups. The motivations for the behavior of this ethnic Tionghoa political elite to engage in practical politics are: (1) existence, dedication and service; (2) the will of representation in the government so that they can channel their aspirations and are no longer considered as the second class of society; (3) To strengthen the business world; (4) Eliminating discrimination in all fields, whether political, economic, social and cultural, so as to create harmony in the nation and state; (5) Expecting to live in harmony with other communities within the territory of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia [25].

According to Muhammad Darwis in [29], a sociologist from Univ. Hasanudin stated that: "There is something interesting about the phenomenon of the descent of the ethnic Tionghoa into politics, namely that their orientation in the political arena is not to seek economic resources, but rather to existence and service and service [29]. The intended existence is related to citizenship status, which is essentially the Tionghoa ethnicity involved in practical politics only to show that the Tionghoa are part of Indonesian citizens who have the same rights and opportunities to defend the Indonesian state. Both from domestic threats and external threats. In essence, the Tionghoa are ready with citizens in general to defend the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia and be involved in regional and national development of the country [29].

In connection with the activities of ethnic Tionghoa political actors after the reformation which recently showed an increasing trend in terms of both quality and quantity, Suhandinata stated that: The motivation of ethnic Tionghoa to participate in politics is not only to seize power, but rather to desire so that how the aspirations of the Tionghoa ethnic who had been "castrated" so far, they could get them back. Furthermore, [29] stated that the trend of ethnic Tionghoa political participation in politics was not intended to seize power, as they did in the economic field, but rather to the will of representation in government or power, so that they can channel their aspirations. they are no longer considered as a second class community group (The second class).

Amalia said that the dynamics in the 2019 legislative elections tend to be more towards the enforcement of election law, where there are still a number of problems in the regulations governing the procedural law of handling disputes or election violations. In the formal legal rules contained in Law no. 7/2017, there are three things that are included in the scope of election law enforcement,

namely election violations, election process disputes, and election results disputes. Especially for election violations, lawmakers still distinguish election violations into four types of violation categories, namely: Code of Ethics Violations, Administrative Violations, Election Crimes, and Election Result Disputes. Bawaslu also maps out challenges on strategic issues for election political actors, particularly the security aspect, ASN neutrality, hate speech, and SARA politicization, and money politics. Specifically for the security aspect, based on the sub-dimension of security and power relations at the local level, for the highly vulnerable category, there are 94 (18.3%) districts/cities and 420 (81.7%) moderate vulnerability. Several provinces are included in the high vulnerability category (Amalia, 2021). This has an impact on the political participation of the ethnic Tionghoa community in the 2019 elections. Amalia (2021) says that Bawaslu concludes that the biggest influence on general election vulnerabilities in 2019 is the holding of free and fair elections for every citizen and society of Makassar City. In addition, Bawaslu underlined several issues that have the potential to affect high vulnerability, including the issue of voting rights, campaigns, voting implementation, adjudication of election complaints, gender representation, and representation of ethnic minorities and the nomination process [30]. So that ethnic Tionghoa political actors should be more careful in carrying out their roles so that people do not misunderstand the actions taken.

According to Istianda & Zastrawati in their research, in the 2019 election, a number of problems were found that gave rise to the potential confusion, contradictions, and disputes [31]. These problems include justice and freedom for each community to use their political rights to vote and be elected in local and national political battles. In particular, the implementation of the 2019 simultaneous elections, with a case study in Makassar City, South Sulawesi. Simultaneous election systems should be reviewed, so that simultaneous elections are able to produce elections that are less problematic and of higher quality. Another challenge is that the political struggle for ethnic identity and indigenous ethnicity (Bugis-Makassar) in Makassar City is still happening [15] Conflicts between ethnic groups in Makassar City in April 1980 and 1997 are still being felt today [32]. So that carries the implication that the election process in Makassar City must run in a democratic, fair and open manner for all Indonesian people who really want to be involved in practical politics for the development of Indonesia. Ahmad (2016) also

explained that the Tionghoa community in Makassar City During the New Order, ethnic Tionghoa in Makassar City had mingled with the local community. However, there are still discriminatory elements against ethnic Tionghoa in Makassar City. Ethnic Tionghoa in Makassar City has a direct impact on social, cultural, political, and religious life. Even so, they are more successful in the economic field.

### **The Existence of Ethnic Tionghoa Actors in the Legislative Elections in Makassar City**

In Fahmi's research (2011), about the process of forming the Bugis-Makassar ethnic elite in South Sulawesi which concludes the formation of the Bugis-Makassar ethnic elite. In the traditional phase, the formation of the elite is dominated by the influence of symbolic knowledge and natural signs. Cultural symbols are very influential in the process of elite formation, for example the concept of tomanurung becomes a means of reproduction of power [33]. Meanwhile, [34] also researched that it provides an overview of the stage of political contestation in South Sulawesi, which is still a particular study in strengthening the existence of local nobility in the era of regional autonomy. This is what gives color to the politics of ethnic identity in every election contestation in Makassar City.

The existence of ethnic actors in the Legislative Elections in Makassar City can simply be seen in the cultural inclusiveness of the Tionghoa and the Bugis, which is marked by the tendency of the Tionghoa and Bugis people to create their own environment. Live exclusively and still maintain the customs (culture) of their ancestors [15] ; [32] [35]. Because of these differences, the creation of a distance or barrier that causes harmonious social relations do not occur and causes the decision to communicate with other ethnic groups who live together in Makassar City [32]. This is also a challenge for ethnic Tionghoa actors in running for each election political contestation in Makassar City. According to Darwis the problem of disharmony in ethnic relations in the city of

Makassar between ethnic Tionghoa and ethnic Bugis-Makassar needs to be resolved with good communication [32]. This is because good communication directly or indirectly will be able to create a mutual understanding between ethnic groups. Then it can keep the two ethnic groups away from various problems/disasters that can cause misunderstandings. However, for the collective phenomenon that exists in the Bugis or Tionghoa ethnic groups in Makassar City in interacting in understanding the social world to carry out their role as social beings who have their own distinctive cultural values and characters [35]. Whereas the characters inherent in ethnic communities, such as the ethnic Tionghoa in Makassar City, tend to have personalities that are resilient, hardworking, high on work ethic, and have an above average social class position, which allows them to dominate the market for building and electronics needs in Makassar City [36]. Bugis-Makassar ethnic characters who tend to be open, friendly, and able to work together [27].

The current environment that the Tionghoa ethnic group in Makassar City is dealing with, which concentrates on the Bugis community involved and actors in obtaining positions in the Makassar Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) legislative body, presents a variety of potential that exists, both by individuals and groups. according to the proportion they each received [36]. The Tionghoa ethnicity in Makassar is quite adaptive to the developing political dynamics. Judging by the large number of ethnic Tionghoa participation who registered with political parties and took part in the legislative election contestation [16]. The description of the development of political participation by ethnic Tionghoa in Makassar city, one of the reasons behind which is the persistence of the acquisition of ethnic Tionghoa seats in the legislative contestation 2009 to 2019, this development can also be photographed in the 2019 legislature, which increases the number of provincial seats in the electoral area of Makassar in the electoral district. 1 and Dapil 2 [37] [25].

Table 2. List of Ethnic Tionghoa (Chinese) Makassar Legislative Members

No.	Name	Electoral District	DPRD
1	Romi Arfandi Tandiar (Hanura)	Dapi Makassar I	Makassar city
2	Yohanna Massie (PDIP)	Dapi Makassar I	Makassar city r
3	Alfon Romio Limbunan (PKB)	Dapi Makassar I	Makassar city
5	Edwar Horas (Gerindra)	Dapil Makassar I	Makassar city
6	Hendriyk Hodiono (Demokrat)	Dapil Makassar II	Makassar city

7	William Laurin (PDIP)	Dapil Makassar II	Makassar city
8	Melani Simon (NASDEM)	Dapil Makassar II	Makassar city
9	Adi Mulyadi (PAN)	Dapil Makassar III	Makassar city
10	Ariella Hana Sinjaya (NASDEM)	Dapil Makassar V	Makassar city

Source: processed from multiple sources, 2022

Table 2 above shows that in the upcoming 2019 general election, as several Tionghoa people are promoted as legislative candidates, it will be more lively [16]. The distribution began to be even, not one party, but almost all parties. Also at the parliamentary level, not only the Makassar DPRD but also the provincial DPRD and DPR RI. For the DPR RI, there is Raymond Arfandi. People who work as entrepreneurs seek seats in the DPR through the Nasdem Party in District I, South Sulawesi. In addition, Kristoforus's essay fought through Perindo and Irwan Sutanto through PDI-P. The constituencies include six regencies, namely Makassar City, Gowa Regency, Takalar, Yenepono, Banten, and Selaya. In addition, for the South Sulawesi DPRD, there is also the name of James Kairupan (James Kairupan) who is fighting in the second electoral district of South Sulawesi (Gowa and Takalar) through the Hanura party. There is also the current candidate Edwar Horas who is fighting in the Makassar Dapil through the Gerindra party. Makassar DPRD has more candidates. Almost in all constituencies. For example, in the first electoral district, the National Awakening Party had incumbents Erick Horas (Gerindra), Romi Arfandi Tandiar (Hanura), Yohanna Massie (PDIP), and Alfon Romio Limbunan (PKB) [16] [36].

Based on the findings from the results and discussion of this research, it can be said: the existence of ethnic Tionghoa actors in the legislative elections in Makassar City at the local level of political dynamics; (1) starting from the policy period of the government of president Abdul Rahman Wahid (Gus Dur) which has liquidated its policies while eliminating discrimination against ethnic Tionghoa culture, increasing political participation of ethnic Tionghoa actors and increasing awareness of young ethnic Tionghoa actors in the legislative elections in Makassar City. Ethnic Tionghoa political actors since the 1999 election until the 2019 election, there has been an increase in political awareness of the ethnic Tionghoa community, this has also increased the political participation of ethnic Tionghoa actors in Makassar City, as evidenced by the election of Erick Horas in the 2019 legislative elections of Makassar City. (2) the implication of this study is

that the election implementation process in Makassar City must be considered continuously and improved again, so that the election implementation process will continue to run in a democratic and open manner that provides fair opportunities for all Indonesian people who are serious about being involved in practical politics for justice and equality in politics. (3) Tionghoa ethnic political actors should be more careful in carrying out their roles so that the public does not misunderstand the actions taken.

### Conclusion

The existence of ethnic Tionghoa actors in the legislative elections in Makassar City at the local political dynamics of Makassar City; (1) starting from the policy period of the government of president Abdul Rahman Wahid (Gus Dur) which has liquidated its policies while eliminating discrimination against ethnic Tionghoa culture, increasing political participation of ethnic Tionghoa actors and increasing awareness of young ethnic Tionghoa actors in the legislative elections in Makassar City. Tionghoa ethnic political actors since the 1999 election until the 2019 election, there has been an increase in the political awareness of the Tionghoa community. This also increases the political participation of ethnic Tionghoa actors in Makassar City, as evidenced by the election of Erick Horas in the Makassar City legislative election; (2) the implication of this study is that the election implementation process in Makassar City must be considered continuously and improved again, so that the election process will continue to run in a democratic manner and be open to all Indonesian people who really want to be involved in practical politics for the development of Indonesia. ; (3) Tionghoa ethnic political actors should be more careful in carrying out their roles so that the public does not misunderstand the actions taken.

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