Social Character, Politics and Citizenship Status of Tionghoa Ethnic Community in Indonesia

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Abstract

Ethnic Tionghoa Indonesians receive many negative stereotypes from indigenous Indonesian communities. Tionghoa people are considered exclusive people who have bad traits such as being arrogant, greedy and anti-social with people outside their ethnicity. Their nationalism is still doubtful, especially for those who are involved in politics and are considered to be Tionghoa. This research article examines the social character, political activities and citizenship status of the ethnic Tionghoa community. It also presents theories and information about character, both from a general perspective and specifically related to Tionghoa ethnicity.

In this research, a literature study which focuses on reviewing and analyzing papers that are relevant and accessible to the public was carried out. It used a structured systematic approach.

The research shows that during the transition to independence, Indonesia's social, political and legal character was influenced by several factors such as ideology, political competition, culture, religion and ethnicity. It also shows that the elimination of discrimination (the issuance of Presidential Instruction No. 26 of 1998 by President Habibie) against people of Tionghoa descent has led to an increase in individual political participation. The political interest of ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia is increasing along with the elimination of discrimination, but they are still faced with stereotypes. These developments reflect the change from *jus soli* to *jus sanguinis*, with the adoption of dual citizenship reflecting the complexity of politics and nationalism in Indonesia.

Keywords: Character, Politic, Citizenship, Tionghoa

Introduction

During the period of transition to independence, Indonesia's social, political and legal character was influenced by several factors, including ideology, political rivalries, culture, religion and ethnicity (Sugiyanto et al., 2023). It should be noted that during the Dutch colonial period, there were legal policies governed by Article 163 Indische Staatsregeling (Dutch East Indies Constitution), which resulted in the racial division of the Dutch East Indies population

into three categories, namely Europeans and groups considered equal (mostly Christians), Far East (mainly Tionghoa and Arabs), and Indigenous (indigenous) people.

Initially, people from the Far East such as China/Tiongkok living in Indonesia did not have citizenship status. However, in 1946, the Indonesian government officially issued the first Indonesian Citizenship Law, known as Law Number 3 of 1946 concerning Indonesian Citizenship and Population. This law emphasizes the use of ius soli (territory principle) in determining citizenship. However, this basis was later changed to ius sanguinis with the issuance of Law Number 62 of 1958 concerning Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia. This change was made to meet the need for citizenship status for Indigenous, Dutch and Eastern groups such as Tionghoa, Indians and Arabs (Indonesia, 1999).

Despite the enactment of the Citizenship Law, the Tionghoa ethnic group, known as the Tionghoa, are still considered part of the non-indigenous group. They are also limited in participating in the world of politics in accordance with Article 6 (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (before amendment) (Indonesia, 1945). However, in May 1998, a national upheaval involving acts of violence against the Tionghoa community led to the abolition of the "pribumi and non-indigenous" classification (with the issuance of Presidential Instruction No. 26/1998 by President Habibie). It aims to end the use of the terms pribumi and non-pribumi in all social programs and policies, and recognize Indonesians of Tionghoa descent as "an integral part of the Indonesian nation" and not as a potential threat (Tjhin, 2012; Aziz, 2018).

Along with the elimination of discrimination against people of Tionghoa descent in Indonesia, many of them eventually became involved in politics. There has been a significant increase in the number of Indonesians of Tionghoa descent being elected to government as their participation in politics has increased. In 1999, less than 50 Tionghoa ran in the general election (PEMILU). According to Tjhin (2009) in 2004, the number increased to around 150 people running and in 2014, there were 315 candidates.

The importance of citizenship status should not only be determined by legal regulations alone, but must also pay attention to the "good character" of someone who wants to become a citizen (Arthur and Harrison, 2012). This is important so that when someone is involved in politics, it is not only seen from the policy ideas they have, but also from their personal character which is closely related to their work ethic. Character is not only an individual need that is separate from politics, but individuals should also try to develop their character through involvement in the political community (Peterson, 2020). Someone who is involved in politics and serves the community needs to have a strong character in order to be able to deal with important moral and political issues at the individual level as a political actor, compared to other levels. In other words, characters can become supporters in different political contexts in each political era (Bandau, no date; Mitchell, 2015; Kisby, 2017; Walsh, 2018).

On the other hand, based on research on Tionghoa ethnicity that was conducted by Murdianto, M. in 2018 with the title "Stereotypes, Prejudice and Their Resistance (Case Study on Madurese and Tionghoa Ethnicity in Indonesia)". Shows that stereotypes and prejudices are still very strong and affect inter-ethnic relations in Indonesia. However, this research also demonstrates resistance to these stereotypes and prejudices, especially through more open and inclusive inter-ethnic education and dialogue (Murdianto, 2018).

Even though there are stereotypes against the Tionghoa ethnicity, the Tionghoa ethnicity also has a role in carrying out the life of the nation and state, be it in the political, economic, social or cultural fields. Therefore, the aim is to contribute to the understanding of character formation and stereotypes in the context of Indonesian society.
The objectives are:
1. To identify the problem of stereotypes towards ethnic Tionghoa characters, especially in the context of Indonesian society.
2. To Provide in-depth insight into stereotypical views of Tionghoa ethnicity, character theory, and basic values of good character.
3. To identify the political activities of ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia, reflecting their increased interest in politics.

4. To Ascertain the impact of the 1998 national upheaval on the elimination of discrimination, and the increase in political participation of individuals of Tionghoa descent.

Theoretical Framework

Tradition, in cultural anthropology identifies traditions as cultural heritage passed down from generation to generation, including values, norms, rituals and practices that form group identity. The importance of understanding the cultural context in which traditions develop comes into focus, and traditions are considered dynamic, subject to change over time. The social and symbolic function of traditions is important in forming collective identities, maintaining group boundaries, and providing meaning to society. Rituals are an integral part of tradition, playing a role in the maintenance and transmission of traditional values. Traditions also include material and immaterial cultural heritage and are often told through narrative, strengthening a collective understanding of a group's origins and values. McNeill (2010) implies that culture is a form of adaptation to change, including changes caused by historical events. People tend to develop cultural solutions to overcome new challenges as they arise. Although historical events can cause significant change, some cultural elements can survive or adapt in the face of these challenges.

Smith (2009) emphasizes that ethnic identity is not static, but is a social construction that develops over time. He identified a series of elements that make up ethnic identity, including shared history, culture, language, myths, and special symbols. In the context of ethnic Tionghoa communities, this theory can be applied by exploring how this group forms their collective identity through factors such as migration history, cultural heritage, religious practices, and language. Diaspora experiences are also important, as Tionghoa ethnic groups are spread across various parts of the world, and interactions with various local cultures play an important role in shaping their identity.

Social Character, in a social psychology perspective, social character refers to individual behavior patterns, attitudes and responses to their social environment (Snyder and Ickes, 1985; Subiyantoro, Fahrudin and Amirulloh, 2023). Social psychology analyzes how individuals form their identities through interactions with others, how they adapt to social norms, and how social dynamics influence their actions. It includes the way individuals interact in groups, respond to social pressures, and build interpersonal relationships. On the other hand, in sociology, social character is more related to the norms and values that shape individual behavior in society (Boer and Fischer, 2013). Sociology views individuals as part of a larger social structure and emphasizes the role of individuals within particular social groups, as well as how social structures influence social character and shape a person's social identity. These social traits include roles in various contexts, such as roles as family members, citizens, or members of organizations. With different approaches, both social psychology and sociology help us understand how individuals form and engage their social character within the framework of social interactions and cultural norms.

Politics, political power is not evenly distributed in society, but is concentrated in a small elite group consisting of individuals who have control over the economic, political and military sectors (CW, 1956). Mills has described a close relationship between economic and political power, with political decisions often benefiting the interests of these elite groups.

Review of Literature

Research on Tionghoa in Indonesia has attracted the attention of several researchers, especially those working in the political, social, cultural or economic fields. Murdianto (2018) and Tan (1991) have conveyed the large role of ethnic Tionghoa in various aspects of social and cultural life in Indonesia, including in the fields of politics, education, religion, social, economic and inter-ethnic relations. In the political field, there are several studies that explain the political relations between Indonesia and China. Several studies explain that political relations between Indonesia and China still require a long-term and sustainable strategy, but unfortunately relations between Indonesia and China lack approval from non-Tionghoa governments. As Christine Susanna Tjhin (2012) said in her research, she has said that although bilateral relations with China are also supported by the Tionghoa government, because productive and pragmatic relations are not yet strategic enough, Indonesia needs to formulate a long-term strategy to involve China and strengthen strategic partnership.

The low level of support from non-Tionghoa governments is due to demands from society to depend heavily on China. Of course, this is all because of stereotypes in society about how Tionghoa people behave. Murdianto (2018) shows that stereotypes and prejudice are still very strong and influence individuals. ethnic relations in Indonesia. However, Murdianto also shows resistance to these stereotypes and prejudices, especially through more open and inclusive inter-ethnic education and dialogue. Supporting Murdianto's opinion, that education is important in overcoming stereotypes as stated by Burhan & Sani (2013) say that personal experience with Tionghoa ethnicity and level of education also influence the level of prejudice.

Research by Ariasih (2016) has informed that existing stereotypes tend to be negative, such as the view that Tionghoa people only think about money and the interests of each other. In contrast to Ariasih, Setijadi (2017) has stated in his research that stereotypes or negative perceptions of ethnic Tionghoa are caused by a number of factors, including growing distrust and stereotypes, especially related to issues of wealth and politics. However, there are efforts to improve relations between the two groups through various social and cultural activities. This research provides a comprehensive picture of the relationship between ethnic Tionghoa and native Indonesians and provides important insights for efforts to build better relations in the future.

The existence of stereotypes or prejudice against Tionghoa creates distrust and discrimination. Discrimination against ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia has been a phenomenon involving a number of factors throughout the history of this nation, as described by several experts. According to Kristiono (2018), social, political and economic factors play a central role in triggering discrimination against ethnic Tionghoa, with mass media and political narratives also strengthening negative perceptions of this group. Pertiwi (2021) has highlighted that the May 1998 riots reflected anti-Tionghoa sentiment that had existed for centuries, while during the New Order, discriminatory regulations added to tensions between ethnic Tionghoa and natives. Although, after the May 1998 riots, the government took positive steps by issuing regulations that ensure equal opportunities for all Indonesian citizens regardless of ethnicity, religion or race. Giblin (2003) has emphasized the need for continued efforts to overcome discrimination and marginalization of ethnic Tionghoa, while Jonathan Chen (2022) has shown how discriminatory attitudes can trigger more active political participation from the Tionghoa community, matched by increased political freedom. By summarizing these views, it can be concluded that discrimination against ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia is a complex phenomenon and requires joint efforts to achieve a more inclusive and tolerant society.

Several researchers have discussed how ethnic Tionghoa are involved in the world of politics and the attitudes they have, but there has been no research that discusses more specifically the social character of Tionghoa people (based on the results of journal reviews carried out by researchers). This statement is based on the results of a review of several journals that have been carried out by researchers, including journals from (Alwajih, 2020; Boer & Fischer, 2013; Kristiono, 2018; Kurniawan, 2017; Nurhayati & Aksa (2020); Stephanie (2020); Widyanto et al. (2020); Josiah (2020), and others that have been presented by researchers in the matrix table (attachment). Here, researchers will dig up actual data in the field about whether

the stereotypes that society accuses of ethnic Tionghoa are true or not. Furthermore, whether their character is an innate character that has been inherited from their ethnicity or not (genetic).

When referring to theoretical debates about character, there are various types of conflicting theories about the origins of character. The first theory says that character is innate potential that is erased as stated by Aristotle who stated that "in the soul there are three things: potential, habitus, and passion. Similar support is also found in Mitchell (2015)Character Theory, which states that character is potential, and when realized it becomes a good character or a bad character. And Paul Ricoeur describes character as something that cannot be separated from the person, he has "determinations that we say are ours" (Ricoeur, 1992).

In contrast to theories which say that character is potential or innate, Lapsley and Darcia's character theory states that people do not start life with moral character or virtue (Lapsley and Narvaez, 2005). The formation of moral character reflects the development of skills fostered by multiple levels of social influence including caring relationships, climate and community. Apart from that, Michael Novak's theory has also explained that "Character, is "a compatible mix of all those virtues identified by religious traditions, literary stories, the sages, and persons of common sense down through history". This includes the theory from George (2017) explained that first, character is not something we have naturally. It is something that comes from our free choice.

The research studies above have had different results when discussing politics and the character of Tionghoa ethnicity, especially in relation to the enactment of the Citizenship Law in Indonesia. Therefore, the research in this article will discuss in more detail the character and politics of ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia. Researchers stand in the position that character is not an innate potential that cannot be changed, but through education, the social influence of character can be changed. Meanwhile, researchers also believe that more discrimination actually increases the political participation of ethnic Tionghoa in order to obtain justice.

Research Methods

This research employs a literature study focused on reviewing and analyzing papers that are relevant and available to the public. A structured systematic approach is used. Research topics are identified according to the research variables. Data is collected by evaluating and selecting the literature sources. Conceptualizing and presenting data as findings, the action takes the form of abstracting data into facts. This analysis involves reading and critically analyzing each literature source to determine the relevance, reliability and validity of the information presented. At this stage, researchers also record important information that can be used in in-depth analysis. It provides new knowledge information or conclude research results. Data collection or sources are taken from various sources such as books, Indonesian national journals whether accredited by Sinta 1-6 or not, reputable international journals indexed by Scopus, WoS, or so on. The following is a distribution list of journals selected for review.

Table 1: Journal Distribution Spread

Journal Source Distribution

- Total: 85 Journals
- National Journal, Sinta 1-6
- International Journal, Scopus, WoS, others
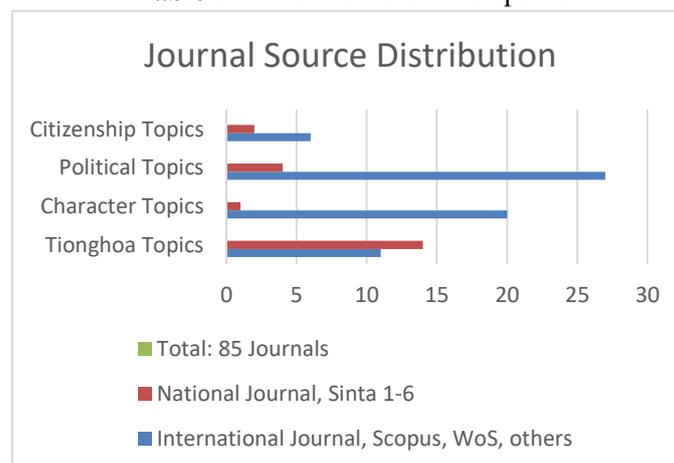
Findings and Discussion
Tionghoa Ethnic Social Character

If we refer to the theoretical debate about character, there are various types of conflicting theories about the origin of character. The first theory says that character is an innate potential that is erased as proposed by Aristotle who stated that "in the soul there are three things: potential [potential], habit [habitus], and passion [passio]. Similar support also exists within a person. Mitchell (2015) has explained that Character is a potential, and when it is manifested into a good character or a bad character, such as Paul Ricoeur who describes character as something that cannot be separated from the person, it has "a firmness that we say belongs to us" (Ricoeur, 1992).

Viewed from the side that the character is a form of potential is what resulted in the birth of stereotypes against ethnic Tionghoa characters. Several references explain that Tionghoa people are arrogant, cunning, exclusive, and so on:

Tabel 2: Tionghoa Ethnic Bad Character
Source: Author

Era	Form	Reason	Proof	Reference
Before the Reformation in 1998	- Arrogant - Greedy - Exclusive - Less socialist with natives - Likes to hide things, such as cultural and language identity practices - Implement Hybrid Identities	- There is an attitude of exclusivity - There is a social gap - In the New Order, Tionghoa culture and traditions were officially banned in public - Hybridization is caused by the position of the Tionghoa between being accepted or not by the natives	- There is a towering wall fence - Continuing tensions and negotiations between Tionghoaness, Indonesianness and Christianity. - The tensions and negotiations that resulted in a hybrid identity, namely Tionghoa Indonesian Christians	(Putro, Atmaja and Sodiq, 2017) (Dawa, 2009) (Pertiwi, 2021) (Sai and Hoon, 2012) (Darmawan, 2013) (Suwignyo, 2020) (Hew, 2017)
After the 1998 reform	- Exclusive - Greedy - Ambitious - Has Economic Privileges - Divided National Loyalties	Just enrich themselves and only care about their class	There is social inequality and low interaction between ethnic Tionghoa and non-Tionghoa citizens	(Giblin, 2003) (Tan, 1991) (Setijadi, 2017) (Pertiwi, 2021)

Even though there are stereotypes in society towards ethnic Tionghoa, those of Tionghoa descent also have stereotypes towards native people. According to Giblin (2003) they are rarely asked to be personally involved in social activities such as the Environmental Security System (SISKAMLING) or community service, but they are often expected to provide snacks and drinks. Therefore, they consider native people to be lazy people, often asking Tionghoa descendants for money, and sometimes accompanied by threats (Tan, 1991).

In contrast to the theory that says that character is potential or innate, Lapsley and Darcia's character theory states that humans do not start life with moral character or virtue (Lapsley and Narvaez, 2005; Narvaez and Lapsley, 2005; Nufus, Novitasari and Mazid, 2018). The formation of moral character reflects the development of skills that are fostered by multiple levels of social influence including caring relationships, climate and community. In addition, Michael Novak's theory has also explained that "Character, is "a compatible combination of all

the virtues identified by religious traditions, literary stories, wise men, and reasonable people throughout history". Also includes a theory from George (2017) where he has stated that First, character is not something that we have naturally, but rather something that arises because of our free choices.

Theories about "good character" or good character have been developed by many psychologists and education experts. One of the most famous theories is "The Six Pillars of Character" developed by the Josephson Institute of Ethics. According to this theory, good character consists of six main pillars or elements, namely:

1. Trustworthiness: including integrity, honesty, and responsibility.
2. Respect: including respect for oneself and others, and respect for differences and diversity.
3. Responsibility: including accountability, discipline, and social obligations.
4. Fairness: including fair decision-making, avoiding discrimination, and fighting for equality.
5. Caring: including empathy, effective communication, and concern for the welfare of others.
6. Citizenship: including being a good citizen, actively participating in society, and respecting the rights and obligations of citizens.

The theory in the book "The Power of Character" published by the Josephson Institute of Ethics in 2004, apart from discussing the pillars of good character, also discusses how the application of the principles of good character can help build a better society and overcome existing social problems in society (Josephson and Hanson, 2004).

Meanwhile, when talking about the good character of the Tionghoa Ethnic, there are several references that discuss this information, which include mentioning that the Tionghoa Ethnic are people who have a high work ethic, dare to speculate, and also care about the Indonesian people, especially during the Indonesian nation during the colonial period. (Naveront, 1995; Yosia, 2020a; Nufus *et al.*, 2021). The following are some of the good characters of the Tionghoa ethnicity from various references;

Tabel 3: Good Character of Tionghoa Ethnicity
Source: Author

Era	Form	Reason	Proof	Reference
Before the Reformation in 1998	• High Self Awareness • Care for the Indonesian nation	• Both wanted to be free from colonialism	• The Tionghoa also participated in independence such as providing a private house for the 1945 proclamation of Indonesian Independence	(Yosia, 2020b)
After the 1998 reform	• High work ethic • Dare to Speculate in business • Skilled in trading • Open Minded Cina in Tangerang City • respect other ethnicities	• Diligent in trying and believing in the 3 values of business success "mask, hong-sui and hockey". They are the values, beliefs and myths that are used to run a business.	• Many successful Tionghoa businessmen in Indonesia and occupy the ranks of the richest people in Indonesia. • How social media becomes a political interaction between friends and colleagues	(Naveront, 1995) ((Yogyakarta, 1996) (Alamsyah and Yusuf, 2020)

outside the Tionghoa ethnicity • no sense of distinction between ethnicities • have the ability to mingle with other ethnicities • high nationalism • open information active in social activities • Having high political awareness • Not Apolitical and Anti-Nationalism • Liking Cultural Thingsl For those who are diverse Muslims • Tawdhu • Obey • Humble • Trust • Honest • Committed	• Openness of the flow of political information • The nomination of ethnic Tionghoa to sit on the council is not in the context of fighting for ethnic interests, but as a form of political participation or a manifestation of a spirit of service for the benefit of society and can be enjoyed by the wider community. • Tionghoa Indonesians actually prefer the term 'Tionghoa' because it is more cultural than political "China" (Cheng Hoo 2014). • Obedience in practicing Islam	• Desire to integrate socio-economic services that have been achieved so far with political services through formal politics. • High participation of ethnic Tionghoa supported by socio-economic status (ESE), which includes education level, employment, income, and political awareness	(Azis, Pawito and Setyawan, 2020) (Hidayat, 2019) (Tomohardjo and Noviana, 2020) (Suwignyo, 2020) (Alwajih, 2020)

According to Lickona (2012), good character can be influenced by various things and factors, both external and internal. Creating a good character requires at least three components of character, namely moral knowledge, moral feelings, and moral actions.

Peterson & Seligman (2004) have said that basic character values really support character strength in forming "good character". Character strength is defined as a personality trait that has a positive value (Peterson & Seligman, 2004). These traits are associated with a variety of important life outcomes, including life satisfaction across the life span (Martínez-Martí and Ruch, 2014; Baumann *et al.*, 2020), For example, academic achievement (Lounsbury *et al.*, 2009; Wagner and Ruch, 2015), work performance (Harzer and Ruch, 2014; Littman-Ovadia and Lavy, 2016; Gander *et al.*, 2021), connection (Weber and Ruch, 2012; Wagner, 2019), and related health-behaviors (Proyer *et al.*, 2013). However, according to Duan & Bu (2017) the function of character strengths sometimes has a very broad meaning, such as 'reducing suffering and increasing well-being.

According to Lisa Wagner & Ruch (2021) character strengths are related to various long/short term results desired by each person in various life domains. Character strengths can be utilized to achieve certain goals or objectives. Knowledge about short-term outcomes or the function of character strengths can help people achieve certain goals (e.g., applying humor to

encourage positive social interactions or showing appreciation for beauty and excellence in achieving pleasure). McCabe & Fleeson (2016) have submitted that short-term outcomes may be responsible for generating relationships with long-term outcomes; for example, daily positive social interactions may be a mechanism that shapes the relationship between humorous character strengths and long-term outcomes of relationship quality.

Tionghoa Ethnic Political Activities in Indonesia

The Tionghoa Ethnic's interest in getting involved in politics has increased along with the progress of the Indonesian nation and increased cooperation between China and Indonesia. Furthermore, the national upheaval that occurred in May 1998 in response to violence against the Tionghoa community has eliminated the grouping of "pribumi and non-indigenous" (President Habibie issued Presidential Instruction No. 26/1998) with the aim of ending the use of the term in all social programs and policies, and repositioning Indonesians of Tionghoa descent as "an integral part of the Indonesian nation" and not as a hidden threat (Tjhin, 2012; Aziz, 2018).

As a result of the elimination of discrimination against people of Tionghoa descent in Indonesia, more and more individuals of Tionghoa descent are becoming involved in politics. According to Tjhin (2009) there has been a significant increase in the number of Indonesian citizens of Tionghoa descent who were elected to government positions in line with their increasing participation in politics. In 1999, the number of Tionghoa citizens who ran for election (PEMILU) was less than 50 people. Meanwhile, Saptaatmaja (2014) has also presented the results of his research that in 2004, there were recorded as more than 150 people running for office, and in 2014, the number of candidates reached 315 people.

The recent increase in the presence of Indonesians of Tionghoa descent in government and politics has triggered a response from the non-Tionghoa (indigenous) community in politics and other fields. This presence arose as a result of the jealousy and grievances felt by the indigenous people towards Indonesians of Tionghoa descent (Suryadinata, 2017, 2019; Chen, 2022). However, on the other hand, according to Tjhin (2012)many people are still worried about the loyalty and patriotism of the Tionghoa people. Their participation in policy making is considered to be still far from ideal. Although they have often been a useful link in relations with China, there are still doubts about their nationalism. Nationalism or love for one's country is the main characteristic in maintaining national integration. The role of the Tionghoa as a liaison between China and Indonesia raises concerns about the emergence of the influence of Communism ideology. According to Massala & Pearce (2021) as important agents of change, politicians need to understand how they shape their political strategies.

An understanding is needed that Indonesians of Tionghoa descent have specific strategies and paths that are used as references to achieve victory in politics in Indonesia (Yuan, 2000; Heidhues, 2003; Setijadi, 2017; Sharma, Cheng and Leung, 2020; Arnesih, 2021). A concrete example of the new trend in political participation by Indonesian candidates of Tionghoa descent in the province of West Kalimantan shows that the political dominance held by the Malays and ethnic political issues such as those in Jakarta (Anies Vs Ahok) also plays an important role. König (2016) has stated that the impact of this problem is the emergence of a number of candidate pairs who have achieved success in districts where the majority of the population is Dayak. Meanwhile, according to (Suprajitno, 2013) the success of candidates of Tionghoa descent in winning elections in areas that are predominantly inhabited by ethnic Malays proves that Indonesian people of Tionghoa descent still have the potential to be successful in the political context in areas that are considered difficult to conquer.

The increase in political participation was also influenced by the increase in the number of Tionghoa people who embraced Christianity. Based on estimates compiled from the Indonesian population census (Ananta and Arifin, 2008; Nufus, Mazid and Widiyanto, 2020; Nufus *et al.*, 2021), the most recent census in 2010 showed that the Tionghoa population who are Christians have increased to 43 percent. Hoon (2016) has said that most Tionghoa people adhere to religions other than Islam, and this can become complicated when a small portion of the Tionghoa ethnic minority group adheres to the majority Muslim religion in Indonesia.

According to Hew Wai Weng, the hybridization of Tionghoa Muslim identities in Indonesia further complicates their "connectedness to China" (Hew, 2017; Meyer and Waskitho, 2021) because in many ways, the identity of Tionghoa Indonesians and their sense of belonging tends to be tied to place of residence rather than focus. on integration or assimilation (Sai and Hoon, 2013; Hoon, 2016).

As previously mentioned, the individual political participation of the Tionghoa ethnic minority group in Indonesia reflects their individual involvement in politics without depending on their group's support. Initially, the political participation of ethnic Tionghoa individuals was limited by the discrimination experienced by the group in Indonesia. However, in recent years, some members of ethnic Tionghoa have managed to play important roles in Indonesian politics, both in elections and in government.

One of the factors influencing the political participation of ethnic Tionghoa individuals in Indonesia is their access to better economic resources and quality education. Several ethnic Tionghoa members who have been successful in Indonesian politics also have successful business backgrounds and have strong networks and relationships.

Even though there has been an increase in the political participation of ethnic Tionghoa individuals in Indonesia in recent years, according to Chong (2018) they still face discrimination and negative stereotypes. Therefore, greater efforts are needed to strengthen political participation and overcome discrimination against ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia.

The grouping of ethnic group proportions can be divided into homogeneous, almost homogeneous, less homogeneous, less heterogeneous, almost heterogeneous, and heterogeneous (Pausacker, 2007; Anshori *et al.*, 2022). Although Indonesia has undergone a stunning democratic transition after the fall of the Suharto regime, there is rhetoric following old ideas about pribumi (pribumi-ism) that is reemerging and serves to emphasize the division between pribumi and Tionghoa (or pribumi-Tionghoa Indonesians) that already existed. (Davidson, 2009; Winters, 2013; Robison and Hadiz, 2017). According to the journal entitled "The politics of multicultural education in post-Suharto Indonesia: a study of the Tionghoa minority" written by Harjatanaya & Hoon (2020), Individual ethnic Tionghoa politics in Indonesia face complex challenges and opportunities. During the New Order government, ethnic Tionghoa were pressured to choose between gaining political support or staying focused on their business activities. However, after the fall of the New Order, members of ethnic Tionghoa received opportunities to become involved in Indonesian politics without fear of repression or discrimination.

Harjatanaya revealed that during President Jokowi's administration, ethnic Tionghoa members had made significant contributions in national and local politics, especially in the industrial, trade and business networking sectors. However, they still face negative stereotypes and suspicion from parts of Indonesian society, and experience unfair treatment in several aspects of social and political life.

Harjatanaya also emphasized the importance of education and political skills for members of ethnic Tionghoa in order to increase their political participation in Indonesia. He also highlighted how important it is for the ethnic Tionghoa to be aware of their rights as Indonesian citizens and the importance of being actively involved in efforts to eliminate discrimination.

The reappearance of indigenous-Tionghoa and religious issues can be seen in the implementation of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election (PILKADA-Governor) between Anies Baswedan Vs Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok. Against a backdrop of anti-China sentiment, Ahok seeks to move beyond narrow boundaries. ethnic identity by reinterpreting the original term "indigenous" (Suaedy, 2014; Wijaya, 2016; Hatherell and Welsh, 2017; Sumaktoyo, 2021). According to Herlijanto (2016) Ahok is an indication of the general direction which was previously seen as a positive direction towards the gradual normalization of ethnic Tionghoa politics from a status of being economically strong but politically weak. Apart from ethnic political disputes, religion is also a factor that influences the course of Indonesian politics. The Islamic religion is increasingly associated with

indigenous people compared to other religions and the recent rise of indigenous-ism discourse is affiliated with aspects of Islamic conservatism (Osman and Waikar, 2018).

The increase in the number of Tionghoa individuals in politics and government has caused non-Tionghoa (Indigenous) people to react and get involved in politics and other fields. This political awakening arose because of the jealousy and grievances felt by Indigenous groups towards Indonesians of Tionghoa descent. On the other hand, there are still concerns about the loyalty and patriotism of the Tionghoa, which makes Indigenous groups feel uneasy (Lan, 2009; Aspinall, Dettman and Warburton, 2011; Miichi, 2014; Chong, 2018). It is not surprising that in Indonesian politics, political conflicts often occur between ethnic Tionghoa and non-Tionghoa (natives). Tionghoa people who advance in politics often conflict with ethnic and religious interests (Basuki, 2014; Chandra, 2014; Fossati & Hui, 2017; Muzakki, 2010). On the other hand, Chan (2009) has said that indigenous candidates who have a strong position at the top of leadership and have significant political influence are considered key factors in winning elections, especially if they are paired with new figures or people who has no political background. However, this does not completely close the opportunity for Tionghoa individuals to occupy other political positions. According to Cui (2014) in the 2014-2019 period alone, there were fifteen Indonesian Tionghoa members elected to the two Indonesian DPRs, and this number increased to eleven in the 2019-2024 period.

Acquisition of Indonesian Tionghoa Ethnic Citizenship Status

Juridically in 1946, the Indonesian government passed the first Indonesian Citizenship Law, known as Law Number 3 of 1946 concerning Indonesian Citizenship and Population. The law emphasizes the use of ius soli (territory principle) as the main principle. However, there was a change in the legal basis with the issuance of Law Number 62 of 1958, which adopted the principle of ius sanguinis. The formation of the law was based on the need to regulate citizenship status for Indigenous, Dutch and Eastern groups (such as Tionghoa, Indians and Arabs).

As a result of the historical processes mentioned above, there have been significant changes in the development of citizenship. This includes how individuals can gain or lose citizenship status. In 1946, the Indonesian government issued the first Indonesian Citizenship Law, known as Law Number 3 of 1946 concerning Indonesian Citizenship and Population, which emphasized the use of ius soli (territory principle) as the main principle. However, this basic principle was later changed to ius sanguinis with the issuance of Law Number 62 of 1958.

Both laws, however, favor single citizenship. In addition, after Indonesian independence, there were two important agreements with foreign governments related to citizenship. The first agreement occurred in 1949 when the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands agreed to adopt a Charter agreeing on the "distribution" of citizenship as a result of the Dutch's official recognition of Indonesian independence. On December 27, 1949, the Dutch government officially recognized Indonesia's independence after the Round Table Conference in The Hague. As a result, there is a Charter of Approval for the Distribution of Citizens between the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands.

Based on the Agreement, all Dutch citizens retain their Dutch citizenship. However, if they were born in Indonesia or have lived there for a minimum of six months, they have the right to choose Indonesian citizenship within two years after the official recognition of Indonesian independence, namely from 27 December 1949 to 27 December 1951.

The second agreement was an agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China in 1956 to resolve the two national issues between the two countries. There are also significant historical events related to Indonesian citizenship, such as the case of East Timor. Previously, Timor-Timor was part of the Portuguese colony and was known as an "overseas province". On July 17, 1976, Timor Leste became the 27th province of Indonesia. Despite widespread accusations that Indonesia annexed East Timor, East Timor's integration into Indonesian territory was formally legalized through the ratification of Law Number 7 of 1976 (State Gazette of Indonesia 1976 no 35), which was accompanied by an Additional

Explanation to the State Gazette Number 3084. As a result, all the provisions regarding nationality contained in Indonesian law also apply to Timor Leste.

The adoption of the Dual Citizenship Treaty between China and Indonesia is influenced by two main factors, namely considerations of citizenship itself and political motives. Regarding citizenship, Indonesia was dissatisfied with the results of the 1949 Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Netherlands relating to citizens of Tionghoa descent living in Indonesia. When the period for choosing citizenship pursuant to the 1949 Agreement ended in December 1951, around 40% or around 600,000 to 700,000 Tionghoa living in Indonesia at that time decided not to retain Indonesian citizenship. (Paulus, 1983). This incident raised concerns about the Indonesian government regarding their loyalty and loyalty.

Low (2016) has said that political concerns arose from controversial statements made by the Tionghoa Ambassador to Indonesia and several actions taken by the Tionghoa Embassy. The peak was when the Indonesian government issued a diplomatic protest which resulted in the resignation of the Tionghoa Ambassador in 1951. According to Harijanti (2017) as a result, diplomatic relations between the two countries were cut off for almost three years.

Indonesia passed the latest Citizenship Law No. 12 which repealed the 1958 Law. Although the principle of jus sanguinis was maintained, a new legal policy was introduced in the form of limited dual citizenship, with the aim of providing greater protection especially for children whose parents Their parents have different nationalities.

Dewansyah (2019) has said that after ten years of limited dual citizenship, there is now a demand to adopt full dual citizenship for various reasons, including economic considerations. Indonesia has received around USD 10.5 billion annually in the form of remittances from Indonesian migrant workers. This makes Indonesia one of the ten developing countries and the top fourteen countries in the world with the highest level of remittance receipts in 2015.

Different opinions arise regarding dual citizenship and its benefits for Indonesia. Although there are those who argue that dual citizenship could provide benefits for the country, there are also those who reject it for reasons of nationalism and state security.

According to Van Oers (2013) citizenship is a matter of sovereignty where each country has the right to determine the legal requirements deemed necessary to become a member country. In Indonesia, there is a naturalization option policy for anyone who wants to become an Indonesian citizen, but with certain conditions. Apart from birth, the 1946 Law provides another way to obtain Indonesian citizenship status, namely through the naturalization process in accordance with the provisions stipulated in Article 5. Foreigners who wish to obtain Indonesian citizenship must meet several requirements, such as being 21 years old or already married, live in Indonesia continuously for five years, and have the ability to speak Indonesian.

This law regulates two types of naturalization, the first is called ordinary naturalization and the second is called extraordinary naturalization. Ordinary naturalization aims to obtain citizenship for national interests, while extraordinary naturalization is not related to national interests, but is based on the interests of the individual submitting the application. Given these fundamental differences in objectives, the law creates different requirements, whereby a number of requirements that applicants must meet through the ordinary naturalization process do not apply to those who wish to fulfill extraordinary naturalization requirements. Decisions regarding naturalization will be determined by the House of Representatives (DPR) on a case by case basis.

Despite having different objectives and requirements, Law number 3 of 1946 stipulates that any application for naturalization must be approved by the People's Representative Council (DPR), and this approval will be given in the form of a law. For example, in 1947, the Working Committee of the Central National Committee approved the naturalization of Frans Matheas Hesse through Law number 9 of 1947.

Conclusion

Tionghoa social character, Tionghoa ethnic character can be linked to the theoretical framework of social character from the perspective of social psychology and sociology. In the context of social psychology, negative perceptions of Tionghoa ethnic character, both before

and after the Reformation, reflect individual behavior patterns, attitudes and responses to their social environment. Stereotypes that characterize ethnic Tionghoa as arrogant, greedy, exclusive, and lacking in socialism illustrate how individuals form their identities through interactions with certain social groups. Meanwhile, the sociological framework highlights the role of social structure in shaping individual social character. Stereotypes towards ethnic Tionghoa before and after the Reformation reflect the norms and values that shape behavior in society. Previously, official bans on Tionghoa culture and traditions and restrictions on interaction with the native population could be interpreted as the influence of social structure on the Tionghoa ethnic character. After the Reformation, exclusivity, greed, and ambition were associated with economic privilege and divided national loyalties, reflecting the individual's role in the larger social structure.

On the positive side, literature on the good character of ethnic Tionghoa, such as high self-awareness, high work ethic, trading skills, open-mindedness, and high political awareness, can be seen as a manifestation of social character that develops from their own interactions and life choices, in accordance with the theory George's character (2017). It reflects how individuals from the Tionghoa ethnic group shape their social character in social interactions and in the context of cultural norms.

Tionghoa politics in Indonesia can be linked to C. Wright Mills' theoretical framework. The results have shown the dynamics of uneven political power in society, with a focus on elite groups. The increase in ethnic Tionghoa political participation after the elimination of discrimination indicates a change in the distribution of political power. Non-Tionghoa responses including jealousy and resentment indicate that this shift may affect the profits and interests of elite groups. Anxiety over ethnic Tionghoa loyalty and patriotism reflects inequality in political decisions that could benefit this elite group. Thus, the results of this study support Mills' argument about the close relationship between economic and political power and the distribution of political decisions that support the interests of elite groups.

Tionghoa Citizenship Status, the evolution of the citizenship status of ethnic Tionghoa in Indonesia began with the existence of the Indonesian Citizenship Law in 1946 adhering to the ius soli principle (regional principle), but changed to ius sanguinis with Law Number 62 of 1958. On the other hand, the agreement with The Netherlands in 1949 regulated the distribution of citizenship, and an agreement with China in 1956 influenced Indonesian citizenship policy. Concerns regarding the loyalty of ethnic Tionghoa gave rise to a case in 1951, which resulted in the severing of diplomatic relations with China. Furthermore, Indonesia passed Law Number 12 of 2006 which repealed the 1958 Law, introducing limited dual citizenship for children of parents with different nationalities. Despite calls for full dual citizenship, differing views have emerged regarding its benefits for Indonesia, citing nationalism and state security as arguments. Naturalization is also regulated through law, with different requirements and procedures for ordinary and extraordinary naturalization. Naturalization decisions are determined by the House of Representatives (DPR) on a case-by-case basis.

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