The Strategy to Address "Chinese"-Ness Theme in Indie Movie in Post New Order Era

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Keywords: strategy for addressing theme, Chinese-ness, indie movie, post-New Order era.

Abstract: "Chinese"-ness identity is always problematic in Indonesian society which makes it an interesting theme in film production, especially in indie film. The success in addressing this theme will determine the position of Chinese society in Indonesia because the function of a movies is to influence their audience. Therefore, social constructivism can be used as the approach to see the social agent practice in determining his own values through a movie production. A movie production needs related intellectual aspect, institutional authority, and creative design. In creative design, the agent position is explained through theme and problems. The usage of language cannot be separated in addressing the theme and problems. Language will bring up the signifier to represent subjective ideas and thoughts in subconscious region about possible social facts of the "Chinese"-ness. In post New Order era, the agent chooses indie movie stream which is idealistic, free, and independent. The agent brings the ideas and thoughts from the subconscious region into the conscious region to create the new understanding about "Chinese"-ness in his creative work to encourage sympathy and provoke the emotion of the audience. This is used as the strategy to change the perspective of the society about "Chinese"-ness so that the cultural product of "Chinese"-ness will rise.

1 INTRODUCTION

"Chinese"-ness is a problem in Indonesia since the colonial era till now. The position of Chinese society was rendered ambiguous as the part of segregation political strategy by the colonial government to strengthen its power and weaken the position of indigenous and Chinese society. Devide et impera politics by the colonial government positioned Chinese as the tax collector for the indigenous people. This role created the perception among indigenous people that the Chinese people supported the colonial power. On the other hand, the colonial government actually used Chinese people for its power interest and did not support the Chinese communities themselves. It could be seen in the high tax imposed to the Chinese so that the Chinese themselves tried to escape from the symbolic characteristic as Chinese by doing camouflage to evade the high tax burden. Nevertheless, the colonial government tried to prevent that by imposing wijkenstelsel regulation so that the Chinese had to live in a ghetto, separated from the indigenous people, now known as Chinatown (Kustedja, 2012; Rokhani, Salam, & Rochani-Adi,

2016). This rule made it easier for the colonial government to monitor the Chinese society movement in case of a brewing rebellion, so that it could be suppressed immediately. The positioning and perception construction in indigenous people built during the colonial era against the Chinese was carried on to Indonesia's independent era, Old Order, New Order, which positioned the Chinese as the others.

The construct that positioned Chinese as the others was enforced during New Order regime through systematic regulations. Many regulations and government polices limited the movement of Chinese society in Indonesia. Not just being limited, the existence of Chinese society seemed to be diluted wholly in Indonesian society; one of them is the Presidential Decree No.127/U/Kep/12/1966 about the changing of Chinese names into so-called Indonesianized name for all of Chinese descents.

Repressive rules have become parts of Chinese Indonesian trajectory in positioning their society. These experiences were remembered in the Chinese agent and showed up as the inspiration for his works; one of them is this independently produced movie. One of the indie film to reveal such repressive

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situation is Sugiharti Halim. This movie expresses the insecurity of the character Sugiharti Salim about the name given by her parent. Sugiharti Halim felt that the name is not representative for herself as a Chinese because her so-called Indonesianized name does not show any "Chinese"-ness characteristic. In this case, the symbolic signifier through legal identity confirms the Indonesian identity for the Chinese community and is imposed by regulation.

Regarding the representation of certain ethnic identity, the social practice related to the signifiers representing those criteria as the mental object representative, as perception and appreciation, cognition and recognition, which are raised by the agent based on interest and prejudice. In the movie production, those representations showed up in the usage of language. The language in this case becomes a power to dismantle and build society's perception. Therefore, language cannot be separated from the cultural context through social facts. It shows that there is a relation between power and language through social condition production and its receiving process. Thus, the participation of its speakers, social authority figures and audience as the receiver become one process in which the relation between power and cultural production involves language as the medium of choice.

Cultural production in society through language leads to social constructivism. Social constructivism assumes that human in its social interaction contributes in the world construction through the act of cultural practice. Therefore, the understanding about society's cultural production through historical and social perspective becomes an important issue to be studied (Creswell, 2012; Rokhani, 2017; Rokhani, Salam, & Rochani-adi, 2015; Rokhani et al., 2016). Thus, the activity production method is used to see the cultural practice from each agent as the producer and reproducer who construct objective meaning in each production activity. Essentially, each activity from practice related to the cultural production indirectly produces greater meaning than realized. Hence, the meaning from each cultural production does not have a single meaning (Jenkins, 2006; Rokhani, 2017).

2 THE STRATEGY TO ADDRESS THE THEME

The strategy in production work becomes an effective way to show the domination and power in reality. In building a dominant creative work, we need a network which connects the intellectuals, institutional authorities, and creative design of the product itself. The ability to build this network also becomes the part of the agent's power in the field. The power of the agent can be exposed through creative design which is conducted in system building through theme and problems (Jenkins, 2006).

Within the creative design, the habitus of the language usage can be seen through the agent's representation of the work either by the content or the way it is told. The representation will refer to social facts which may be raised as a subjective representation. The representation shown by the agent is ambiguous because basically the signifiers representing the thought of the agent are in the corridor of consecration hierarchy. The representation shown by the agent is a form of response toward the situation and social facts in the society. Therefore, habitus of the language usage by the agent cannot be understood only through language context, but must be connected to the social facts in the society as a form of cultural product which will impact the cultural movement in the society.

The understanding of the signifiers which are in consecration creates a relation with the subject structure. The subjective representation construction relates positively with the possible social facts. This shows the position of the agent in that consecration hierarchy. In this case, the representation is in the subconscious region towards the social facts that may be raised become a thought by the agent. In building that representation, it is not just about the possible placement of the agent but also shows the class classification which defines the agent positioning through system strategy in that representation. Because of being in subconscious region, the representation which shows up also presents the unrealized characteristics, such as habitus which shows internalized sign system, index through words register or objectively shown sanction in form of object, words and behaviors reflecting the objectivity structure. These become the foundation of the rise of sign and word register which can be chosen to be constructed into image of certain condition which later can be interpreted (Bourdieu, 1993).

In this representation construction, internalized sign system can be shown semiotically because it is related to the mode of representation and language to produce meaning. This is called the poetic system (Hall, 1997). In the context of work production, the construction of work does not differ from the construction of language. Even Metz equalize film as language. Related to object of work in this study which is film, the film construction does not differ

from the language construction. Metz based his thought on Saussure that the existence of film as a sign system is the same as language system which create the sign system such as myths, clothes, kinship, paintings, literatures, and cartography (Metz, 1991). Bourdieu also based his thought with the relation to language. It is also confirmed by Bourdieu that the existence of language cannot be separated from social facts context which include cultural and social context (Jenkins, 2006).

As conceptual base, Saussure idea about language also needs to be understood. According to Saussure (1959), language system is divided into two: a. Langue which is language system convention related to the physical and mental ability, and thought about the speech. This becomes a social product. b.Langage is the form of human speech which language is using words as codes. Langage can be divided into two codes which are signifier and message or the signified.

Langage can show the concept which is represented in associative form as speech (linguistic sound) as a form of expression. Therefore, the existence of those associative forms is always related to connotative semiotics. In film context, the associative forms can be shown through Figures and sounds. These forms are show as an aesthetics effort with the signifiers in cinematography style, genre, symbol, and poetic atmosphere – and as the signifiers are the whole denotative semiological material (Metz, 1991).

Related to the film about "Chinese"-ness, the theme and problems constructed from the subconscious of the agent also raise the signifiers of "Chinese"-ness. These signifiers will become racial characteristic builder in the movie production. The racial signifiers can be categorized as an embedded or unembedded signifiers. They are called embedded signifiers if the signifiers are tied to the physiology of the character. The signs are physical characteristics which are identical to certain racial characteristics, such as skin color, eyes, hair, or posture. These physiological signifiers are shown in media which has impact toward society's perception of certain racial characteristics, such as Papuan as Melanesian descent will be represented with ethnic signifiers of curly hair and dark skin; Austronesian will be represented with straight hair and white skin, and Mongoloid will be represented with yellow skin and slanted eyes. The other embedded signifiers are suspected idiolect, which are individual language signifiers. Through language usage, each character can show certain characteristics, such as Betawi dialect is different to Javanese dialect, the descendants of marriage mix with the other racial group except Chinese speak

differently compared to Chinese. Meanwhile, the unembedded racial signifiers can be replaced by other signifiers arbitrarily though the substitution might detach them as the constructive signifier of certain race. The unembedded signifiers can be seen through social cultural signifiers such as clothes, accessories, musical instruments, and rituals which reflect the daily life of Chinese.

Through this racial signifiers, the political relation is built because of the difference between the race and the following signifier. Several approaches can be used to sort out this relation. First, assimilation approach which tries to build a single identity from many races, which automatically reject pluralism. Second, multiculturalism approach which tries to accept different ethnic identity, but the acceptance can be excessive so that each culture is compartmentalized within its own domain, creating a rigid society. Third, hybridity approach which tries to penetrate the imaginary border in each cultural compartment to build a cross cultural or hyphenated society. To signify the hyphenated culture, the culture is written using a hyphen to signify its cross cultural and fluidness as the result of cultural border penetration. The quotation marks used in "Chinese"-ness refer to the racial characteristics used as the symbolic separator so that it does not only refer to biological characteristics (Hall, 1996). Meanwhile the hyphen is also related to an imaginary boundary in determining the identity which can shift or layered, especially in diaspora society (Hall, 2000). Hence, the "Chinese"-ness leads to all signifiers which can grow perception for identifying the similar or comparable Chinese racial characteristics.

In a work production, the creative designs as the medium for conflict of interest either intrinsically in the work of art or related to extrinsic factors such as social conflict outside the work production. In this case, the value of the work of art cannot stop merely because of the value of reputation. The appreciation leading the weight of values and truth of the work towards the relation built by the creators or artists in defining or positioning themselves. The unawareness of culture surrounding the agent's habitus shows up through the talent, knowledge, theme, and problems. Therefore, relation in cultural aspect will get into the domain of intellectual position, artistic, or scientific choice which can be used for revealing the meaning and function. This can be used as the subconscious strategy which come up in the effort of cultural legitimization conquest. The legitimization conquest effort causes the symbolic violence at stake (Bourdieu, 1993). Hence, theme and problems in a cultural product become the media to deliver ideas so

that there can be a change of perception and legitimization conquest.

3 THE HISTORY OF "CHINESE"-NESS IN INDONESIA

The historical traces of Chinese descent in Indonesia show class stratification since the colonial era through segregation political strategy to divide the unity and power of society in Indonesia. By imposing that strategy, Indonesia (or called Netherlands Indies at that time) can be conquered easily. There were three social strata at that time: first, European at the highest stratum; second, the Far East which consists of Chinese and Arab at the second stratum below the European; and third, indigenous people as the lowest stratum in the society (Hoon, 2012; Mahfud, 2013; Suryadinata, 1984).

The difference in social strata occurred not only as external factor, but also being internalized. The dichotomy was made even among Chinese based on their internal condition: first, the purity of bloodline which can be categorized as totok Chinese, who came directly from China and had not intermarriage with other race; peranakan who had intermarriage with indigenous people so that they had mixed the values and way of life of their ancestors culture with local cultures; and the descendant of peranakan intermarriage with the indigenous people who had already lived according to the local cultures and values (Joesoef, 1996). Second, the proficiency of mother tongue or Chinese language so that the class is considered "more" Chinese if they speak Chinese, and the lower class can no longer speaks Chinese. The proficiency to use Chinese language is generally lost because of intermarriage or interaction with other society. Therefore, the intermarriage was seen as one cause of the degradation of Chinese society (Hoon, 2012; Rokhani et al., 2016; Tan, 2008). The differences of totok and peranakan are underlined by the assumption that the blood pure totok class is higher than the peranakan Chinese. Meanwhile, peranakan Chinese with higher economic power put themselves at higher stratum compared to totok Chinese with lower economic power (Rokhani, Salam and Rochani-Adi, 2016). Thus, there are always two concept in defining "Chinese"-ness: "being Chinese" and "not being Chinese".

This dichotomy can be seen in their role in society through media. In media, the dichotomy of Chinese society can be seen in publication about Indonesian national movement, which can be divided into three groups. The first is the group which support the ideas rooted in their mother land. This group was affiliated with Sin Po daily and was dominated by totok Chinese. Second, the group that supported colonial government. This group was affiliated with Chung Hwa Hui (CHH) daily and was dominated by peranakan Chinese. Third, the group which claimed as part of Indonesia and was affiliated with the national movement through Partai Tionghoa Indonesia-PTI (Indonesian Chinese Party). This group mainly voiced their ideals through Sin Tit Po daily. The third group was also dominated by peranakan Chinese (Suryadinata, 1990, 2010).

In other media outside printed press, the Chinese was using movies as their media outlet, either as producers, actors, funders, distributors, or theater owners. The power of Chinese society was not just in financing, but also in knowledge and technical skill in movie production. One movie that was produced by Chinese agent was Boenga Roos dari Tjikembang which is adapted from the literary piece written by Kwee Tek Hoay. Meanwhile, the actors were taken from traveling theater artists which in colonial era was called tonil. Some of the actors were Tan Tjeng Bok, Fifi Young, and Mak Uwok (Arief, 2009; Gondomono, 2012). Generally, the early era of movie production of Indonesia (Netherlands Indies) was dominated by Chinese agents. Even though movie was introduced by Dutch people in the Netherlands Indies, their movies were imported. The movies produced by Dutch were dominated by government and report purpose. It could be said the Chinese entrepreneurs dominated most of the movie production house since the beginning of film industry. Therefore, the Chinese society had a big role in Indonesia economy in certain sectors.

The role of Chinese society related to Indonesia economy was also mentioned by Indonesian nationalist leaders such as Mohammad Hatta and Sukarno. This was related to the problem of Chinese descent citizenship in Indonesia. Mohammad Hatta supported the claim of Chinese descent as part of Indonesia. In addition, he also wanted to include the Chinese society in the development of Indonesian economy. Hatta suggested that Chinese entrepreneurs to work together with indigenous people to build Indonesian economy. In this case, Hatta wanted the Chinese entrepreneurs to work with indigenous people as joint partners. Hatta also worked against racial discrimination toward Chinese entrepreneurs because it would hamper the economic growth. He chose this policy because he thought that Indonesian economy still needed supports from external power.

Thus, Indonesian government wanted to include the Chinese society to build the economy as one of the main policy. Meanwhile, Sukarno also wanted to include the Chinese as part of Indonesia to remove exclusive nature of Chinese society, so that they can be integrated wholly to the Indonesian society. In order to do that, the Chinese needed to be assimilated as the part of integration (Suryadinata, 1984).

Hatta and Sukarno's idea was formulated in policies to provide credit to national entrepreneurs which were dominated by Chinese Indonesian. The credit facility was given mainly to Chinese entrepreneurs who cooperate with indigenous entrepreneurs. The form of cooperation between Chinese and Indonesian entrepreneurs was mainly in trainings so that the level of knowledge and skills among indigenous people could be improved and finally they could contribute to Indonesian economic development. This system was known as Ali Baba Program. Ali is used as the representation of indigenous entrepreneur and Baba is used as the representation of Chinese entrepreneur.

This program was launched in order to beat the colonial economic domination after the independence. It was also known as the fortress system. However, this policy and program did not proceed as planned. The lack of business experience of indigenous entrepreneurs made them take advantage of the credit facility to get money for consumption purpose. This was not compatible with the principles in Chinese society which use money mainly for business activities.

A different program was later launch in New Order era. In contrast with the integration of Chinese society through assimilation program by the New Order government, several activities such as discussions about China in public were forbidden except to support government program. The prohibition was imposed in almost all aspects: politics, social and culture, education, even religion. Several policies imposed by the New Order government were the changing of Chinese name into so-called Indonesianized name, the prohibition to celebrate Chinese New Year, the prohibition to perform Chinese culture in public space, the prohibition to use land to build, expand, or reconstruct Chinese temple, the prohibition to print or publish writings or advertisement in Chinese characters, and the prohibition to speak Chinese in public.

These policies were imposed to support the Assimilation Program launched to assimilate the Chinese into indigenous society to build a homogeneous ideology in a plural society. The impact of this program was racial discrimination

against Chinese society. As told by Hoon (2012), all Indonesian citizens must be homogenized in one national identity: Pancasila.

This assimilation concept is in line with Zygmunt Bauman as cited in Hoon (2012) that the assimilation program is to force the foreign agents to throw away their cultural identities so that a homogeneous society is created, instead of a plural one. This can be conducted by transforming the foreign agents into the dominant identity or something similar. In this case, the program imposed in New Order era was used to limit the domination and monopoly of Chinese entrepreneurs in economic sector. This program was also supported by Indonesian military.

In post New Order era, the new regime changed the policy towards Indonesian Chinese society. Several rules that prohibit their public activities were lifted, such as the prohibition of use Chinese characters and to publish in Chinese language. The end of such prohibitions had wide impact such as the emergence of Chinese newspapers and institutions which teach Chinese language, either formal or informal. The other policy is to formalize Chinese New Year as one of national holiday. These policies are part of Indonesian government efforts to accept Indonesian Chinese as the equal part among other ethnicity. During the office of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, he even issued Presidential Decree No.12/2014 to revoke the previous regulation Ampera Cabinet Circular No.SE 06/Pred.Kab/6/1967 about the usage of "Chinese" term. Thus, since March 14th, 2014, the usage of "Chinese" was changed into "Tionghoa".

4 ADDRESSING THE "CHINESE" -NESS THEME IN NEW ORDER VS. POST NEW ORDER

Agents as the producer of society's perception related to the "Chinese"-ness theme face obstacles in producing "Chinese"-ness culture. The change of government policy becomes an aspect in addressing the "Chinese"-ness theme in movie production. During New Order era, the prohibition to use the "Chinese" theme in public space limited the movie producer to use the theme in movie industry. The Chinese theme was mainly use as propaganda effort in Assimilation Program by the government. The production of movies in this theme was conducted by government selected partners which direct the movies according the government program. Such movie was

Putri Giok (1980). Several name who had role and contributed to the movie content were acknowledged in the beginning of the movie. Those name showed up in credit title in the beginning of the film, among others Mrs. Tien Suharto and Mrs. Nelly Adam Malik, which were the First Lady and Second Lady. Several other contributing agencies were also mentioned, among other BP7 (Badan Pembina Pendidikan Pedoman Penghayatan Pengamalan Pancasila) or Pancasila Ideology Practice Advisory Board and BAKOM PKB. BAKOM PKB is an agency which was founded to connect the government with Chinese communities in Indonesia to spread and implement the laws and policies in Indonesia imposed on Chinese communities (Marta, 2015).

The contribution of those agencies were clearly shown through the songs sung by the choir to build the nationalism such as *Satu Nusa Satu Bangsa* (One Country One Nation); the member of the choir consisted of several ethnicities representing the physiological characters as the most banal signifier or the usage of traditional dresses. The scene was followed up by using the cover of civics subject *(Pendidikan Moral Pancasila)* book, as the subject which teaches about nationalism building. The following Figures show the influences of those agencies toward the content of the movie.
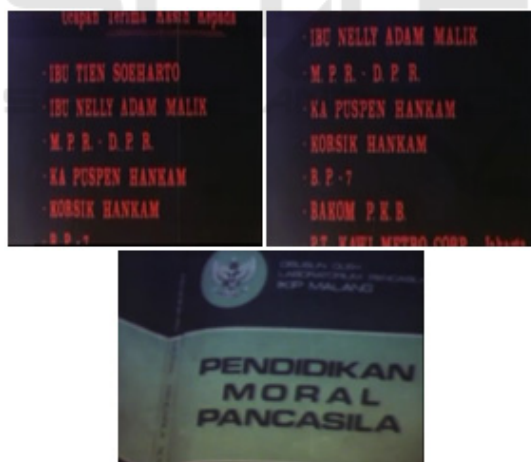

Figure 1, 2, 3: The role and contributor signifiers outside the agent took part in determining the content of the movie.

The book cover close up led the audience perception about the relation of acknowledgment as the prologue of the movie. The relation emphasized the movie itself is not wholly independent from government program. The civics subject as taught by the teacher played by the actress Titiek Puspa told about the inter-religion harmonious relation which was a showcase for multicultural and multi-religion Indonesia. The understanding towards that condition must be addressed in the attitudes of mutual respect and tolerance in a harmonious society. Those attitudes are used as the foundation in understanding the civics subject in school. Those basic understandings fuel the pros and cons of the anti-integration and anti-tolerance movement in the movie. Assimilation, tolerance, and harmonious relation among religions and ethnics are used as the part of teaching in schools in New Order era.

The monologue by the teacher in the class showed up as the content as well as the message of the movie which tells a love story between a Chinese girl and an indigenous boy which was not permitted the parents of the girl, a rich Chinese played by Han Liong Swie (Hengky Nero). In the movie, the indigenous people were not depicted as rich versus poor dichotomy against Chinese entrepreneur. But the economic power of indigenous people still cannot be compared with the Chinese.

The racial stereotype of Chinese society is strengthened by the movie as rich and asocial class, despite the fact that not all Chinese are rich. This fact is revealed in the indie movie Anak Naga Beranak Naga. Even the difference of economic strata among Chinese created different assimilation pattern between rich and poor Chinese. Middle and upper class Chinese would use their wealth to build relation with the ruling class by utilizing their economic power. Meanwhile, the lower class would use art the assimilation medium which is considered more populist, fluid, and flexible.

Through the character of Putri Giok played by Dian Ariestya, the nationalism was shown in one scene that use the song *Kebyar-kebyar* as background in play with nationalism theme. Giok assimilated herself in the society without differentiating social strata or ethnicity, but her father was against it. The antagonist was played by Farouk Avero who tried to influence her father to forbid her daughter to befriend the indigenous people. Farouk Avero who played as Vijay, an Indian descent, considered that money could solve any problems. The existence of foreign descents are only in conceptual framework; the immigrants do not have to show dedication to Indonesia because they can never be equated with indigenous people. This idea was also opposed by Han Tek Liong, Giok Nio's older brother. Han Tek Liong tried to tell Vijay that the earth where you stand is the earth that you should love and defend.

A different stance was shown in the theme addressed in the indie film Sugiharti Halim directed by Ariani Darmawan. Sugiharti is a Chinese descent born from Chinese parents. But she was restless

because her name did not reflect her "Chinese"-ness. She thought that her physical appearance as a yellow skinned and slanted eyes Chinese did not fit her Javanese style name, which means affluence.

The problems of naming creates inconvenient feeling because the so-called Indonesianized name is forced and does not represent the Chinese identity. The Chinese had to change their name into so-called Indonesianized name as imposed by the Presidential Decree No.127/U/Kep/12/1966. This government policy is used as the main issue in the film *Sugiharti Halim*.
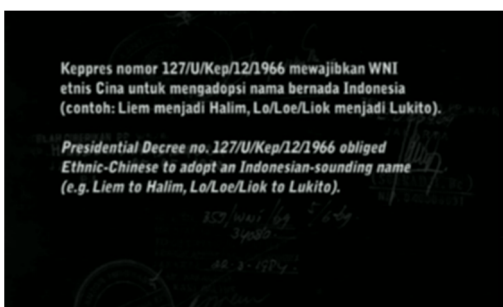

Figure 4. The rule as signifier is full of discrimination which becomes the idea behind the indie movie production *Sugiharti Halim*.

The rule made Sugiharti Halim's father which family's name is Liem to change his family name into Halim. The process was shown through the shots of his personal documents showing the change of name. The documentation of can be seen below.
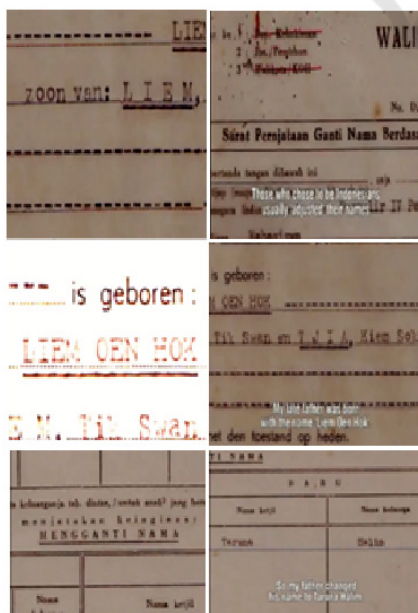

Figure 5-10: The documentation of signifiers shown in the film Sugiharti Halim

The obedience of Taruna Halim, Sugiharti Halim's father, to the rule made him no longer use Chinese name for his children. Meanwhile, Sugiharti considers that the name changing rule was a sign of failure in the assimilation process by the government, because every Chinese family name Liem were changed into Halim then. Thus, the usage of Halim can be seen as the confirmation of their "Chinese"-ness which was forcedly changed into Indonesianized name. The following is the quote from the dialogue of Sugiharti Halim.
Sugiharti Halim:

'In 1965, the government forced us Chinese to choose between Chinese or Indonesian citizenship. The ones who chose Indonesian changed their name, so my father changed his name into Taruna Halim. It was funny that he didn't even think that all Chinese with Liem family name would choose the same name. So now, the Halim becomes identical to Chinese in Indonesia. It is such a failure effort of camouflage?!?! And what about me now?'

A contradictory narrative also came up in the film in the character of Tan Ging Le, Sugiharti Halim's friend. Tan Ging Le's father is a Chinese descent who retains his Chinese name, including for his children. His principle was to place Chinese into the same level playing field compared to other ethnics in Indonesia. The following is the dialogue from Tan Ging Le.
Tan Ging Le's father:

'My friend, Tampubolon, does not need to change his name into Warsito or Sungkono. Why should I change my name? So, at the end, my sister and brother, none of them have Indonesian name...'

The understanding of this principle shows that the equality of Chinese descent among other ethnics is using their own family name as the signifier of ethnicity. This principle influenced Tan Ging Le that the identity of each individual, especially Chinese, cannot be labeled with just a name, but through understanding own self as a Chinese which will form and determine the attitude and behavior.

There are no preference in choice of name outside Chinese name among Chinese descent. Thus, the naming outside Chinese name is arbitrary. Therefore, the understanding of oneself as a Chinese must grow from inside in expressing "Chinese"-ness, not in outside label such as name. Essentially, the identity signifier through naming which show "Indonesian"-ness in each individual cannot be forced as something

absolute. The recognition of "Indonesian"-ness grows from love which can be realized in dedication, not by wearing labels such as names. The love of country will create a desire to give more without being asked; and the proverb "the earth where you stand is the earth that you should love and defend" will come naturally. The understanding of the above proverb in shallow interpretation could make Chinese into pragmatist because of the wide sphere of Chinese around the world. The diaspora of Chinese in many parts of the world might reduce the connection to their motherland. In addition, the forced value shows that the government and society tend to place the Chinese as the others, migrants, or someone who cannot fully integrate so that they require special treatment to form, grow and develop affection to Indonesia instantly. This is a naive effort by the government because building the love for the country cannot be forced or achieved instantly.

By comparing the theme address in movie production before and after New Order era we can see the difference in characters production to respond to several government policies especially related to the existence of Chinese society in Indonesia. During the New Order era, the movie contents were influenced by government program which lead to the assimilation process of the Chinese. Hen Tek Liong line in the dialogue showed that the support for assimilation regardless of whether someone is a Chinese or other ethnicity. Contrarily, after New Order era, the theme changed to resinicization process as shown in the naming issue. Sugiharti Halim felt that her physiological characteristics as Chinese do not fit her Indonesianized name. Her name cannot be used to represent herself as a Chinese and does not guarantee a whole acceptance as Indonesian citizen. She even considered that Indonesianized naming among Chinese descent was an unsuccessful program to assimilate Chinese into Indonesia citizenship because the Indonesianized name itself reaffirm the "Chinese"-ness.

5 CITIZENSHIP: A PROBLEMATIC IDENTITY

The policies related to Chinese descent citizenship are always politically nuanced and problematic. This is caused by the ambiguous position and status of the Chinese society as immigrants. It is related to the diasporic characteristic of the Chinese descent.

In Dutch colonial era, the Chinese was placed at the second class above the indigenous people. This policy segregated the Chinese and indigenous people. However, Chinese was in lower status compared to European. During the process of colonization, the colonial government created dualistic policy that contradicted each other to limit Chinese social movement instead of targeting the indigenous people, as if the government somehow did not trust the Chinese.

But later on there was policy change towards the Chinese. It was triggered by the policy of Ching Dynasty which gave scholarship to Chinese diaspora from the entire world to continue their education in China. This policy was issued to gain political support for the Chinese Empire (Mahfud, 2013). In order to compete with the Chinese policy, colonial government gave the opportunity to Chinese, especially the children of Chinese officials, to enter colonial school filled with Dutch colonial values. In addition, the colonial eased up the regulation imposed on Chinese by politics of accommodation through *Wet op het Nederlandsche Onderdaanschap* (WNO) which loosened up the travel document required for Chinese when traveling (Mahfud, 2013).

Mao Zedong also acknowledge the citizenship of all overseas Chinese around the world following the *jus sanguinis* principle. The citizenship principle by the Chinese government fueled Indonesian government to followed up the dual citizenship agreement for the Chinese descent by enacting Law No.2 of 1958. Through that law, the Chinese descent must choose which citizenship to hold. The implication of the law is the full of discrimination citizenship paper *Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia* (SBKRI). The government was imposing a systematic discrimination by enacting the requirement of such paper. It proved that the colonial practices were still continued even in society even after the declaration of independence and getting rid of the colonials. In the subconscious of Indonesian society, they still carried on the colonial practices. This reproduction of practice was just another form of vengeance against the Chinese which they saw as closer and supporter of European society. Otherizing became one alternative in continuing the segregation politics that used to be imposed by colonial government. Of course, there was subject reversal in this practice.

The discriminative practice through signifier paper document led into illegal fee solicitation and corruption in the society. SBKRI for the Chinese descent was revoked by Presidential Decree No.56/1996 and Presidential Instruction No.4/1999. However, this official ruling was not widely known by general public so that the discriminative acts

continued. This was shown in Darmawan's interview about the problem faced in Sugiharti Salim as inspired by the actual problem faced by Chinese descent being discriminated by SBKRI. Even though the former regulation had been revoked, the discriminative practice continued despite the effort from Chinese communities to show evidence of the new policy. The problem usually could be lifted by paying illegal fees to the government official. This issue was shown in *Sugiharti Salim* when Sugiharti Salim was filing papers at Immigration Office. The immigration officers forced her to written down her Chinese name despite having no Chinese name and was asking for her name changing document or SBKRI. It showed that the root of the problem was not always in the government regulation because when the regulation was changed, the society might still be the same. Therefore, the dominant problem was the inherent hatred in the subconsciousness towards the Chinese. The government policy was just the institutionalization of the hatred into a repressive practice towards the Chinese. Thus, to end the practice, it is not enough just do revoke the discriminative regulation but to dismantle, create open mind, eliminate the hatred, and put the Chinese into the integrative part of Indonesian society as the permanent and sustainable solution. Therefore, the acceptance of the Chinese, as in cultural appropriation, is conducted without compulsion as the part of making Indonesia a diverse society. Government can try to educate the people through policies which encourage diversity and emphasize that diversity is a resource to treasure, conserve, and build.

6 LANGUAGE AS THE STRATEGY TO ADDRESS THE POST NEW ORDER CHINESE THEME IN INDIE MOVIE

Movies have force and power to influence their audience. That is one function of a movie (Imron, 2008; Rokhani, 2008). The power comes from the film language. Film language arises as visual expression through the force of idiom to express the content of the movie and the audio accuracy to build the atmosphere accordingly. Since a compact character are full with idioms, indie film becomes a segmented work. Besides that, indie film is more idealistic, free, and independent in its production, so that it can be used for alternative themes which are considered marginal, neglected, and avoided but can

be expressed openly even vulgarly. The theme addressed in indie film was subjectively arranged in experimental form so that the common audience could not understand the characters in indie film easily (Agustina, 2017).

The production of indie film content related to the agent's expertise creates a simulation of events and problems in the domain of reality. The ability to address subjective and segmented theme requires great creativity and knowledge mastery in movie making. This abilities are found among scholars and academics. Therefore, indie film making is usually rooted and developed among scholars and academics in film school. The characters developed in academic atmosphere emphasize more on the idealistic knowledge. In this case, movie also has role as knowledge and subject matter in the theory and its applications. Using movie as cultural approach in arts is conducted either directly or indirectly (Prakoso, 2006). Movie production does not only prioritize visual conceptualization but also experimental concept from the whole form of the film as a product with aesthetic value. It demands a great creative power to bring up the idioms in film language forms which express ideas and thoughts of the productive agents to bring a new understanding towards certain topics.

Therefore, the agent as creator needs talented individuals with different capacities to create a product with different characteristics. This talent is closely related to the intuitive capacity which captures different aspect among different agents. This intuition needs to be trained well through knowledge transfer or production training so that the agent could develop its artistic sensitivity. Knowledge transfer and training would affect the orientation building capacity in creating new form by the agent (Prakoso, 2006). Those abilities will have role in the idea capturing, processing, and development process being captured through social facts as texts. In the idea development process, we need the ability in artistic sensitivity to correlate the text and social facts with the chosen idioms of expression. In this case, the ability to do such process by the agent is included in addressing the theme during movie production.

Addressing a theme in movie usually forms hyper-reality in audience perception, to build sympathy and empathy so that the film language used to express the simulated reality can have power to culminate in probing, expressing, and describing the problems of reality using properly chosen idioms. Bringing the Chinese problem in indie film production activity can vary because the "Chinese"-ness is always problematic in Indonesia. Basically, the theme brought up through indie film in Indonesia

about "Chinese"-ness can be categorized in three main theme: a) construction of "Chinese"-ness identity and discriminative practice; b) social conflict in Chinese society; and c) Chinese society acculturation. The idioms constructed to bring up "Chinese"-ness theme and discriminative practice can be used through symbolization of identity set, "Chinese"-ness terms, Chinese language usage, and Chinese stereotype. Meanwhile, the social conflict in Chinese society is explored through idioms related to the Chinese society beliefs, social conflicts affected by the idioms which shows social inequality and economic crisis, and conflicts which show idioms related to social violence and conflict trauma experienced by Chinese women. The last, Chinese acculturation is shown in idioms which lead to assimilation of Chinese tradition and arts with Indonesian society.

The address of the theme must be well conceptualized using strong concept in film language to generate hyper-reality form about the bad experiences suffered by Chinese so that the problems are exaggerated to ensure sympathy and empathy. This can be seen in the rule of name changing of Chinese name into Indonesian name which is only applied at specific time and specific place. In this case, the fact about the reality is not properly shown in the movie content because the full exposition will decrease the dramatic effect of the problem. The fact that the agent wants to bring up is the rule encourages discrimination toward Chinese either by government or general public. The dramatic effect from the hyper-reality becomes part of the construction to build emotional aspect of the movie audience. It does not mean to obscure the fact because the movie is a fictional one not a documentary.

idioms even proves further that creative effort that build empathy and stir the audience emotion in "Chinese"-ness problem can be done through the movie plot. The empathy and emotion created by the movie hopefully can change and shift the society's perspective toward the Chinese. In addition, the fictional character is also using imagination as part of the movie content, and also strengthen the signifiers shown in the movie. Even though the imaginative signifiers shown in the fictional work taken from the reality often cannot be differentiated from the real fact. Baudrillard said that the signifier often is not merely symbol of reality as shown in identity signifier created and systematized by government in form of identity card, citizenship papers, and name changing documents. Those papers showed a form of systematic and structural discrimination towards Chinese. The ability to create dramatic effect through the

In its preproduction process, the plot will present the textual reading of reality through process of selection, transformation, and elaboration of chosen signifiers to represent the reality being used in the plot. Those signifiers will be brought up intentionally. The signifiers are revealed in the agent's speech responding to reality. The respond in work of art usually is the non-verbalized response of the reality. The restricted, discriminated, and otherized condition of the Chinese generate works of art as alternative solutions to convey ideas about reality which are not revealed in real life.

Through the alternative solution of the work construction, the agent can satisfy herself in constructing or reconstructing events in the past when there are no opportunity to voice and express opinions. Therefore, the construction by the agent in production is generated from deep probing into the subconscious memory storage. This is in line with Iser (1987) idea about the existence of various reading in the readers' memory deposit. The reading concept in this case can be interpreted widely in absorbed contexts either through seeing, reading, hearing, or experiencing events according to the Chinese social facts. The complexity of Chinese problem creates several film language in revealing several social facts as the memoir of the agents.

Darmawan memory deposit dominated by identity problems was used in most of her works. Identity for Darmawan is a very important thing as something attached to every individual for the entire life. The existence of the identity becomes different signifier among other individuals. The problem is not just Darmawan personal problem because that theme is related to the experience of other Chinese.

This production helped her to understand her existence as a Chinese. Through her works, she can reduce her restlessness and trauma as a Chinese. Chinese prototype is always attached to upper middle class so it became the cause of riot as the product of inequality in the society. But through her work, Darmawan can educate the people that not all Chinese is born in good economic condition. The data observation shows the spreading and assimilation of lower class Chinese in the suburb area through folk arts. The understanding through art idioms colors the Chinese society as the medium of assimilation with other society.

7 CONCLUSIONS

The indie film production about "Chinese"-ness uses power of film language as strategy to address the

theme representing "Chinese"-ness problem into social fact in the society. The film language is using chosen idioms as signifiers to represent the problems. The process of choosing the idioms needs certain aesthetic sensitivity which is gained by agent's creative probing. Besides that, the creativity can be gained from knowledge transfer either from formal education or training.

The language power is not just marked as the agent's speech in delivering the ideas and thoughts related to "Chinese"-ness. Through the film language production, the agent tries to change the society's perception towards "Chinese"-ness. The agents tries to open his audience mind by evoking empathy and sympathy about the "Chinese"-ness problem. The emotional bonding through the film will affect the point of view and attitude of the general public towards Chinese society. Therefore the "Chinese"-ness cultural production can be increased.

The ambiguous position of Chinese society implicates on several problems among Chinese, one of them is their citizenship. The citizenship status of a Chinese is always problematic as seen with the papers used to emphasize the different status compared to other Indonesians. The resolution as an Indonesian is affirmed but also questioned by the existence of documents such as identity card, name changing paper, and citizenship paper. Even though those documents are the product of institutional construct by government policy, the problem of "Chinese"-ness usually arise from hatred reproduction placed by colonial government as the divisive strategy among Chinese and indigenous people.

Only after New Order era those documents raised as new idioms which never showed up before in "Chinese"-ness theme film during New Order era as signifier. During that era the signifiers were not identified with "Chinese"-ness characteristics. The dialogue representing the Chinese was led to voice government program, not to show the ideas and thought of the film producer as their own position and characteristics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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