Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

A research project presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
For the degree of Master of International Development

Development Studies
Massey University
Manawatu, New Zealand

Calvin Michel Sidjaya
2014
Abstract

Chinese Indonesians are an ethnic minority who have settled in Indonesia since at least the 15th century who comprise 1.2% of the Indonesian population. From 1965-1998, Chinese-Indonesians became subject to various assimilationist laws under the rationale that this ethnic minority had failed to integrate into Indonesian society. Under Soeharto’s administration, Chinese-Indonesians had to give up their political and cultural rights, although they were allowed to participate widely in the economic sector.

This desk-based research studied assimilationist laws and their impact on the ‘development’ of Chinese-Indonesians by studying various laws and through the use of an online questionnaire to a sample of Chinese-Indonesians. At first glance, this ethnic group can be classified as ‘developed’ at least economically, however when investigated further, systemic political and cultural exclusion has harmed their full human development. The case of Chinese-Indonesians reflects Amartya Sen’s argument in ‘Development as Freedom (1999), that wealth is only one aspect of human development. However care should be taken when considering the Chinese-Indonesian case. Generalisations should not be made about the harms that can result from assimilation policies as they were formulated during the Cold War. Assimilation is still important but should not be coercive and ensure multiple identities (such as ethnic and national identity) can coexist. This research report also uses right to development as framework. It concludes that the right to development may not be inclusive to Chinese-Indonesians’ situations because it still narrow down development as ‘growth’.
Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Sharon McLennan who has been very supportive since the beginning of writing this research report, and also my lecturers (Regina Scheyvens, Glenn Banks, Maria Borovnik, Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Gerard Prinsen, and Polly Stuppes) who have shared their knowledge from their teaching over the past two years. I also want to thank my online respondents who have spared their valuable time to fulfill my online questionnaire.

I would also like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of New Zealand who gave me the opportunity to study in New Zealand under the New Zealand ASEAN Scholarship programme.
# Table of Contents

Abstract .......................................................................................................................... ii
Acknowledgement ........................................................................................................... iii
Table of Contents ............................................................................................................ iv
List of Tables ................................................................................................................... vi
List of Abbreviations ....................................................................................................... vii
Chapter 1: Introduction..................................................................................................... 1
  1.1. Introduction ........................................................................................................... 1
  1.2. Research justification ........................................................................................... 1
  1.3. Objective of the research ...................................................................................... 2
  1.4. Research questions .............................................................................................. 3
  1.5. Research Methodology ......................................................................................... 4
  1.6. Methods for this Study ......................................................................................... 5
  1.7. Ethical considerations ........................................................................................... 8
  1.8. Research Report Outline ..................................................................................... 10
Chapter 2: Literature Review ......................................................................................... 12
  2.1. Introduction ......................................................................................................... 12
  2.2. Deconstruction of Development: From Modernization to Freedom .................... 12
  2.3. From Human Rights to 'Right to Development' .................................................... 16
  2.4. The Emergence of Right-Based Approaches ....................................................... 21
  2.5. Assimilation as a Development Policy or as an Obstacle to Full Development? ... 23
  2.6. Assimilation as a "Development" Policy in Indonesia .......................................... 26
  2.7. Conclusion ......................................................................................................... 27
Chapter 3: A context analysis of assimilationist policies in Indonesia ......................... 29
  3.1. Introduction ......................................................................................................... 29
  3.2. Under Dutch Colonial Period (Pre-1949) ......................................................... 29
  3.3. Under the Old Order (1945-1965) and the New Order (1965-1998) .................... 31
  3.4. Under Post-New Order (1998-2014) ................................................................. 38
  3.5. Conclusion ......................................................................................................... 43
Chapter 4: Research Findings ....................................................................................... 44
  4.1. Introduction ......................................................................................................... 44
  4.2. Demographics .................................................................................................... 44
  4.3. How The Respondents View the Assimilationist laws and Assimilation ............ 44
  4.4. The Impact of the Assimilationist Laws on Chinese-Indonesian’s Ethnic Identity 47
  4.5. Chinese Indonesian’s Human Development ....................................................... 50
  4.6. Conclusion ......................................................................................................... 52
Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion ......................................................................... 54
  5.1. Introduction ......................................................................................................... 54
  5.2. Cultural Rights ................................................................................................... 54
  5.3. Political Rights .................................................................................................. 55
  5.4. Economic Rights ............................................................................................... 58
  5.5. Assimilation as a development policy in Indonesia ............................................. 59
  5.6. From the Perspective of Right to Development .................................................. 60
  5.7. From the Perspective of Rights-based approach to development ....................... 62
  5.8. Conclusion and Recommendations .................................................................. 63
References .................................................................................................................... 66
Appendices .................................................................................................................... 73
  Appendix 1: Informed Consent (English) ................................................................. 73
  Appendix 2: Informed Consent (Bahasa Indonesia) .................................................. 77
List of Figures

Figure 1. Colonial Structure in Dutch East Indies ..................................................30
Figure 2. Laws targeting Chinese-Indonesians based on sectors) .........................35
Figure 3. Do you prefer to be called "Indonesian" or "Chinese-Indonesian" by
Indonesian natives? ...........................................................................................................45
Figure 4. How the respondents feel when interacting with people who still can
maintain their culture ...........................................................................................................50
Figure 5. Respondents’ level of education .....................................................................51
Figure 6. Chinese-Indonesians’ preference over ethnic identification......................52
List of Tables

Table 1: Methods of Qualitative Research ................................................................. 5
Table 2: Research Methods ...................................................................................... 7
Table 3: Laws targeting Chinese-Indonesians ....................................................... 33
Table 4: Active Chinese-Indonesian Organizations ................................................. 39
Table 5: Respondents’ answer to question ‘How do you feel when interacting with Chinese-speaking people or those who are still able to maintain their culture?’ 48
Table 6: Online Questionnaire (English) ................................................................. 75
Table 7: Online Questionnaire (Bahasa Indonesia) ................................................ 79
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASPERTINA</td>
<td>Asosiasi Peranakan Tionghoa Indonesia (The Association of Peranakan Tionghoa Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAPERKI</td>
<td>Consultative Body for Indonesian Citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICCPR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICERD</td>
<td>International Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICESCR</td>
<td>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Court of Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTI</td>
<td>Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa (The Chinese Indonesian Association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATAKIN</td>
<td>Majelis Tinggi Agama Khonghucu (The Supreme Council for Confucian Religion in Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PITI</td>
<td>Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (The Chinese-Indonesian Islamic Association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSMTI</td>
<td>Paguyuban Sosial Marga Tionghoa Indonesia (The Chinese Indonesian Clan Social Association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSTI</td>
<td>Paguyuban suku Tionghoa Indonesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RBAs</td>
<td>Right-based approaches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBKRI</td>
<td>Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia (The Certificate of Indonesian citizenship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNB</td>
<td>Solidaritas Nusa Bangsa (The Solidarity of the Nation-State)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UDHR</td>
<td>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCHR</td>
<td>United Nations Commission on Human Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDRD</td>
<td>United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Forced assimilation and development: the Chinese-Indonesians under Soeharto's New Order (1965-1998): a research project presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of International Development, Development Studies, Massey University, Manawatu, New Zealand

Sidjaya, Calvin Michel
2014