

The History of Hakka Diaspora in Indonesia: Migration Waves and Negotiations with National Identity

Bayu Mitra A. Kusuma^{1*}, and Theresia Octastefani²

^{1,2} The Ph.D. Program in Asia-Pacific Regional Studies, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, National Dong Hwa University, Taiwan.

Abstract. The Hakka Diaspora is one of the immigrant descendants who have lived in Indonesia for a very long time. Their existence has often experienced ups and downs. This study aims to analyze the waves of Hakka migration to Indonesia and how they negotiate with national identity. This study used a descriptive qualitative approach to analyze this phenomenon with data collected from interviews and literature studies. The research results showed that the wave of Hakka migration to Indonesia does not only come from mainland China but also from Taiwan. The Hakka migration waves from mainland China largely occurred during the Qing dynasty due to overcrowded populations, the difficulty of land ownership, and government discrimination problems. Meanwhile, the Hakka migration from Taiwan occurred after the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, which forced the Qing dynasty to surrender Formosa to Japan after the First Sino-Japanese war and mass company relocation in the 1980s due to rising production costs in Taiwan. Second, to negotiate their background with Indonesian identity, the Hakka have five philosophies of life called Hakkacita. This philosophy emphasizes conscience, good virtue, cohesiveness, devotion, and shared prosperity between Hakka descendants and other ethnic groups within the framework of Indonesian nationalism.

Keywords: *Hakka Diaspora, Indonesian History, Migration Waves, National Identity*

Received 11 June 2022 | Revised 03 October 2022 | Accepted 10 October 2022

1 Introduction

Since 300 BC, traders from mainland China have landed and traded in the archipelago called Indonesia (Wang, 1959). During the Majapahit empire established in 1293, people called this archipelago Nusantara. Referring to the Majapahit empire territory, the Nusantara is wider than modern Indonesia because it also covers the territory of Malaysia, Singapore, and its surroundings. So that is why the dictionary meaning of Nusantara is Indonesia (in Indonesia) and Malay World (in Malaysia). However, different meanings have been attached to the concept throughout Southeast Asian history (Evers, 2016). Meanwhile, ancient Chinese merchants

*Corresponding author at: A106, H.S.S. Building 1, No. 1, Sec. 2, Da Hsueh Rd., Shoufeng, Hualien 974301, Taiwan, R.O.C.

E-mail address: 81090B006@gms.ndhu.edu.tw

referred to this archipelago and its surrounding as Nányáng (南洋), referring to the warmer and more fertile geographical area of Southeast Asia (Horstmann, 1980).

Based on the writings of Ma Huan – a writer and translator of Admiral Zheng He's expeditions in the 15th century – people in the Nusantara were open to contact with foreign traders such as Arabs and Chinese. Even Ma Huan also mentioned that thousands of Chinese descendants had settled at that time (Hsu, 1976). This situation proves that since ancient times, the Indonesian people have been open to newcomers, those who just trade or decide to settle down. This openness was maintained through subsequent eras, such as European colonization, Japanese occupation, and early Indonesian independence. Therefore, Indonesia is an entity with a multicultural society, so the potential for encounters between ethnic groups is very high (Goebel, 2013).

Every ethnic group experiences the same situational ambivalence. On the one hand, every community or ethnic group desires to strengthen its group identity so that its characteristics and uniqueness emerge. On the other hand, encounters between ethnic groups are difficult to avoid and can result in various responses, such as accepting, rejecting, or negotiating. As stated by Gelfand and Brett (2004) that people from different cultures can produce different behaviors in intercultural negotiations. From these two ambivalent sides, it is interesting to study whether the encounter between migrants and indigenous Indonesians can run smoothly. Alternatively, in other words, it is interesting to study whether it is easy or difficult to become an immigrant descendant in Indonesia. To examine these phenomena, the authors will focus on the history of Hakka immigrants and their descendants in Indonesia.

There are several reasons why this research analyzes the existence of the Hakka diaspora. First, if we look at the distribution of all immigrants in Indonesian history, especially Han immigrants, Hakka is one of the largest ethnic groups. Of the approximately two hundred and forty million Indonesian population, about twenty million of whom are Chinese, and among these Chinese, there are about eight million Hakka (Liao, 2013). So that's why the number of Chinese and Hakka people in Indonesia is the largest after the People's Republic of China. Second, Hakka is one of the immigrant groups with rapid growth in various sectors. This claim is easy to prove by looking at the famous Chinese names recorded in Indonesian history for various fields ranging from politics to sports. Previously they were immigrants with a low socio-economic level, but now many of their descendants have become influential people in Indonesia. Third, the Indonesian government opened the Indonesian Hakka Museum in 2009. This museum was opened in the TMII complex, which is seen as a tourist attraction that represents a miniature of Indonesia's diversity (Mokodongan, 2014). This makes Hakka the first and only immigrant to have a museum built in Indonesia today.

Although the Hakka are a large ethnic group, the fact is that being an immigrant descendant in Indonesia is not easy. The first problem is the lack of literacy in Indonesian society. People tend

to generalize all immigrants as Chinese. It does not matter Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese, Tiochui, or Hainan; are all considered the same (Lim & Mead, 2011). Even in modern Indonesia, many people do not understand the differences between the People's Republic of China, the Republic of China (Taiwan), Hong Kong, and Macau.

The second problem is regime discrimination. Han immigrants of Chinese descent experienced prolonged discrimination from the state during the authoritarianism of General Suharto, also known as the New Order regime (Hoon, 2008). During that period, the regime seemed to erase the contribution of Chinese descent to Indonesian history. The Suharto regime was worried because even though, at that time, the Chinese were only three percent of the Indonesian population, they controlled seventy percent of the Indonesian economy (Suryadinata, 1976). Until President Abdurrahman Wahid's administration, also known as the father of pluralism, all rights and dignity of minority groups, including immigrant descendants, were restored.

The third problem is the rise of identity politics and social segregation after the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election. In this political contestation, the incumbent is Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), a Hakka descendant. He is very popular and has excellent support from the community. Seeing the strength of the incumbent's position, the challengers used the politics of identity as a strategy and succeeded in winning the election (Octastefani, 2019; Setijadi, 2017). Unfortunately, some political elites supported by radical right-wing groups intentionally and continuously develop the politics of identity to win the other contestation. So, apart from the dichotomy of ethnicity, culture, and religion, Hakka descendants also get a political label, so the life of Hakka descendants continues to experience ups and downs.

Based on the reasons above, it is important to recall how the Hakka migration waves to Indonesia occurred and how Hakka negotiated with the Indonesian national identity. This research will be beneficial for introducing the history of the Hakka diaspora's arrival in Indonesia to the younger generation, restoring the role of Hakka descendants in Indonesian history so that future generations will know the nation's history more comprehensively, reducing the impact of the politics of identity and strengthening Indonesian unity as a nation, and increasing the appreciation of the Indonesian people about ethnic and cultural diversity.

2 Theoretical Framework

To ensure the novelty of this research, a mapping of the previous research is needed. There is much research on Han immigrants or Chinese descendants in Indonesia. However, of these many studies, only a few discuss the existence of the Hakka diaspora specifically. Some of the research that has been mapped include: First, a book from Suryadinata (2002). In general, it can be said that his work is the most familiar source when discussing Chinese descent in Indonesia. Of his many books about Chinese descent in Indonesia related to economics, society, and politics, only

one speaks specifically about Hakka, namely in the book *Negara dan Etnis Tionghoa* (State and the Chinese). The book describes the relationship between the state and the Chinese, the policies issued for the Chinese, and how the regulations issued by the government affect the economic activities of the Hakka people in Surabaya.

Second, research from Hetzman (2019) shows that every year thousands of Indonesian Hakka youth leave the cities in West Kalimantan province to work and study abroad. However, many have to rush home to handle family tasks such as business and caring for elderly parents. This study describes how the experiences of Indonesian Hakka youths overcome the tension between personal aspirations for transnational mobility and the reality of returning home as a duty to serve the family. Third, research from Indahwati and Christiana (2017) describes that the Hakka spirit in the hereditary community in Surabaya, East Java province, is manifested in Lunar new year activities from generation to generation. This study shows that the senior, middle-aged and young groups have different understandings of the Hakka spirit due to the influence of their mindset and the environment around them. Therefore, the Hakka community in Surabaya takes advantage of the Lunar new year to build devotion and togetherness to prevent the Hakka spirit from fading in the next generation. Fourth, research from Hetzman (2014) again. This research suggests that in Singkawang, West Kalimantan province, Hakka descendants have limited engagement with local residents. Therefore, they fantasize about becoming cosmopolitan transnational citizens to avoid discrimination. The characterization of 'us' versus 'them' reveals some difficulties in being accepted in society by maintaining a sense of self as an Indonesian of Hakka descent. In response, romantic nostalgia for home was built to provide an imaginative resource about the hometown.

Based on some of the research mentioned above, it can be identified that: First, research on the Hakka diaspora in Indonesia generally revolves around two cities, namely Singkawang, East Kalimantan province, and Surabaya, East Java province. Second, research on the Hakka diaspora in Indonesia mostly discusses efforts to maintain traditions and the discrimination they experience. In this study, the authors will describe the Hakka diaspora from different and broader perspectives, namely the history of migration and the philosophy of life to blend with other communities. To look at the history of Han migration, most studies use the five waves in the Classical Theory of Hakka migration refined by Lo Hsiang-Lin (Nakagawa, 1975). In this research, the authors want to see in more detail at which wave the Hakka migration to Indonesia occurred. In analyzing history, the authors are future-oriented by looking at the Indonesian Hakka's philosophy of life in negotiating their background to create a more harmonious relationship. Thus, the significance of this research becomes clear.

3 Method

To obtain holistic research results, this study used a descriptive qualitative approach. The authors conducted interviews and literature studies to collect data regarding the Hakka migration waves to Indonesia and their philosophy of life to negotiate with Indonesian identity. Considering that this research was conducted during the Covid-19 outbreak and the author's location is in Taiwan, far from Indonesia, the interview was conducted online. It is important to consider that the consequences of interview studies need to be addressed in terms of possible harm to the subject and the expected benefits of participating in the research (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018). Interviews will be conducted with several people of Hakka descent. At the same time, the literature study is carried out by searching and reviewing journal articles, books, mass media, and other sources that provide related information. One important reference is the official website of an organization called the Indonesian Hakka Prosperous Association (Bahasa Indonesia: Perhimpunan Hakka Indonesia Sejahtera – PHIS, Hanzi: 印尼客屬聯誼總會). All data collected is processed with an interactive model (Miles et al., 2019), starting from data reduction to sorting out important information, systematically presenting data, and drawing conclusions.

4 Result and Discussion

The existence of the Hakka people in Indonesia has a long history. Currently, in terms of quantity, the number of Hakka people in Indonesia is the largest in the world after the People's Republic of China (Rao, 2013). The distribution pattern of the Hakka people in Indonesia is quite wide, such as on the islands of Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and so on (Cao, 2013). In developing and maintaining their existence in Indonesia, the Hakka have gone through various challenges and obstacles that have made their lives up and down. For this reason, it is important to retrace the wave of Hakka migration to Indonesia and how they negotiated with Indonesian identity.

4.1 Retracing the Waves of Hakka Migration to Indonesia

In general, there are two perspectives regarding the wave of Hakka migration. The first perspective says that Hakka migration occurs in six waves, while the second says that Hakka migration occurs in five waves. According to Qiu (2011), these two perspectives have no absolute truth. The point of difference between the six or five waves lies in the migration carried out more than 2000 years ago by the fifty thousand Qin dynasty soldiers. Some experts think the migration can be counted because some of the soldiers were Hakka. At the same time, some other experts think that migration is a soldier movement instructed by the empire, not a communal Hakka migration. In this study, the authors tend to use a five-wave approach which Lo Hsiang-Lin has refined into the Classical Theory of Hakka migration. According to the theory, the details of the five migration waves are as follows.

First, in 317-879, when the Jin dynasty was invaded by the Xiongnu tribe, and the capital had to be moved from Luoyang to Chang'an. This migration was followed by an exodus of Hakka people across the Yangtze river to Hunan, southern Hubei, Anhui, Zhejiang, and the Gan river Valley. Second, 880-1120 at the end of the Tang dynasty. Huang Chao's rebellion resulted in the Hakka people having to move to Fujian and north of Guangdong. Third, 1127-1644 when the Song dynasty ruled. The arrival of the Jurchens forced the Han, including the Hakka people, to move south. Another move occurred when the Mongols ruled the mainland during this period. Fourth, 1644-1911 during the Qing dynasty. This migration was due to a rapidly increasing population, reduced agricultural land, and pressure from the Qing government. Therefore, the Hakka people living on the southern coast of Fujian and Guangdong moved inland to Guangxi, Hunan, and Sichuan. In addition, many have moved to Taiwan, Southeast Asia, Africa, Hawaii, and the Caribbean islands (Yang, 2020).

Last but not least, the fifth wave of migration occurred in 1867 when the Hakka people were at war with the Guangdong people, the Punti people, and the Taiping rebellion. Since this period, many Hakka people have left Guangdong for Hainan, Latin America, and Southeast Asia (Heggheim, 2011). Although various written records have shown that several Han people have long existed in Indonesia or the Nusantara, even since the times of ancient empires such as Srivijaya and Majapahit, from the description above, we can be concluded that the mass migration of Hakka people from mainland China to Indonesia occurred in two stages, namely the fourth and fifth waves. Different from the era of the ancient empire in Nusantara, where the arrival of the Han people were only traders who later settled and not in large numbers (Lockard, 2013), in the fourth and fifth waves of migration, the arrival of the Hakka people to Indonesia occurred on a large scale.

In the early days of their arrival from mainland China, the Hakka people lived in mining centers in western Kalimantan and Bangka island, an island off the Sumatran east coast. Then at the end of the 19th century, they became interested in moving to Java because of Batavia's rapid growth as the VOC's administrative center. As a result, from 1629 to 1725, more than 10,000 Hakka people were living on Java island, especially Batavia (Purcell, 1981). In their development in various cities in Indonesia, they became craftsmen, machine workers, and owners of small businesses such as restaurants and hotel maintenance services. The question now is whether the Hakka who come to Indonesia are only direct immigrants from mainland China. In order to get a more comprehensive result in this discussion, we need to open up other possibilities.

Referring to the theory of the five waves or the Classical Theory of Hakka migration, it is stated that in the fourth wave, many Hakka people from the mainland crossed to Taiwan island. After the Qing dynasty occupied the mainland, many Ming dynasty loyalists fled to Taiwan. At that time, the Qing Dynasty government also ordered the evacuation of the Guangdong and Fujian coasts to prevent smuggling and piracy by Ming dynasty loyalists who crossed into Taiwan,

namely Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga), the son of Zheng Zhilong, the pirate. During their stay in Taiwan, Hakka people experienced living for several ages, starting from the Zheng family government, including Koxinga, and Zheng Jing, until they had to live under the Qing dynasty when troops could conquer Zheng Keshuang from the mainland (Hung, 1981). More than 200 years later, the Qing dynasty finally had to hand over control of Taiwan to the Japanese Empire.

In 1895, Japan emerged victorious over China in the First Sino-Japanese War. As a result, the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. After signing the treaty, the Qing dynasty government left Taiwan, and Japan completely captured Taiwan. In this treaty, Japan outlined several demands, one of which was about residency status. Taiwanese, including Hakka people, who remain on the island, will become Japanese citizens under the agreement. Taiwanese who were not willing to become Japanese citizens were allowed to sell their property and leave the island for two years, from 1895 to 1897 (Dong & Guo, 2018). For Taiwanese who refuse to become Japanese citizens, a small proportion of the population chooses to return to the mainland. Most of them flee to other countries in the Asia-Pacific region, such as the Dutch East Indies or Indonesia.

Hakka migration from Taiwan to Indonesia did not only occur after the Treaty of Shimonoseki. During the 1980s, many Taiwanese companies moved to the People's Republic of China or countries in Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, due to rising production costs in Taiwan. This trend of corporate relocation is causing many Taiwanese to move either as entrepreneurs, company managers, or accompanying family members (Lin, 2016). Their arrival has increased the number of Hakka people from Taiwan in Indonesia. Based on the description above, it becomes clear that the Hakka diaspora in Indonesia is not only direct immigrants from mainland China but also Hakka immigrants from Taiwan. This makes the novelty of this research even clearer. If previous studies only discussed Hakka migration from mainland China, this research also traces Hakka migration from Taiwan.

4.2 The Negotiations of Hakka with Indonesian National Identity

Based on the explanation in the previous section, it has been mentioned that the massive migration of Hakka people to Indonesia came from mainland China and Taiwan island. Currently, the largest number of Hakka people are still in mainland China, while Taiwan's Hakka is now one of the few diasporas recognized by the government and poses a challenge to the foundations of the island's traditional identity (Wang, 2007). In modern Indonesia, the Hakka are scattered in various provinces. There is a parable that says where there is the sun, it is Chinese, and where it is Chinese, there are Hakka descendants. There is also a parable that says where there is sunshine, there will be Hakka descendants; where there is land, the Hakka descendants will live together, work hard and multiply future generations.

In the history of their life in Indonesia, Hakka often experience ups and downs. There was a time when they got high privilege and social status during the ancient empire and colonial era. At that time, they had close relations with the rulers and noble families through the existence of the Chinese Kapitan (Setijadi, 2016). There was also a time when they experienced various discrimination and difficulties in life, as in the General Suharto regime. However, the time has proven that they can survive and continue to grow. This is inseparable from the philosophy of life they adhere to negotiate their background with Indonesian national identity. The Hakka community in Indonesia has a philosophy of life called Hakkacita or the five Hakka ideals consisting of conscience, good virtue, cohesiveness, devotion, and shared prosperity. Now let us discuss one by one the meaning of these Hakkacita.

Based on the results of interviews and searches on the website of the Hakka association in Indonesia, information was obtained: First, conscience. Based on the interview results, it was explained that by loving Hakka, they realized where they came from and who their ancestors were. By loving Indonesia, they realize where their home is and where their life is. One event in Indonesian history closely related to this first philosophy is the Rengasdengklok incident. Towards the proclamation of Indonesian independence, youth leaders hid Soekarno and Hatta in the Rengasdengklok area outside Jakarta. On that occasion, Soekarno and Hatta compiled the initial manuscript of the proclamation at the house of a descendant of Hakka named Djiauw Kie-Siong. According to various sources, Djiauw is of Hakka descent and highly respects and carries out ancestral culture in his home. For reasons of love for the Indonesian struggle, Djiauw allowed his house to be used by the independence fighters without asking for anything in return. This love is what Djiauw instills in his descendants, who until now live in Indonesia.

Second, good virtues. Good morals and exemplary behavior to be proud as Indonesian Hakka anywhere and anytime. On a small spectrum, this second philosophy emphasizes that every Hakka descendant in Indonesia must show a good attitude. The interview results revealed that if a descendant shows a bad attitude, they are considered to tarnish the dignity of the Hakka in front of their compatriots. Meanwhile, in a wider spectrum, this second philosophy emphasizes that Hakka descendants, as part of the Indonesian nation, must show a good attitude in international relations and cooperation. According to the explanation from the interview, this means that if Hakka descendants take part at the international level, either to study or work, they must be a good representation so that the names of Hakka and Indonesia are respected.

Third, cohesiveness. The cohesiveness between Hakka and other ethnic groups as fellow Indonesians. There is enough evidence of the solidarity of Hakka descent with other ethnic groups in Indonesia. During the war for independence, Hakka descendants, along with other Indonesians, fought at the forefront of the battlefield. The names of Hakka descendants, such as John Lie, have now become immortal as national heroes and become the names of the Indonesian Navy frigate's warship.

Fourth devotion. Mentally, intellectually, and financially strong to be devoted to fellow Hakka and the entire Indonesian nation. This third philosophy emphasizes that every Hakka descendant in Indonesia must be mentally, intellectually, and financially strong. Being mentally strong means being brave to stand out and not falling easily when mentally attacked. Intellectually strong means that every Hakka descendant must get a proper education. At the same time, being financially strong means that every Hakka descendant must be successful in their career.

Fifth shared prosperity. Honing experience, caring for others, and fostering the weaker is the basis of shared prosperity between Hakka descendants and other communities within the framework of Indonesian nationalism. Hakka descendants in Indonesia are forbidden to think for themselves. They must contribute to every line of life of the nation and state. Therefore, the names of Hakka descendants have become maestros in various fields such as sports, music, culture, etc. Many are now gaining public trust in strategic political positions such as governors and ministers.

5 Conclusion

Based on the result and discussion above, it can be concluded that the migration waves of Hakka diaspora to Indonesia came from mainland China directly and from Taiwan. Referring to the theory of five waves, the arrival of Hakka immigrants from mainland China on a large scale occurred in the fourth and fifth waves. In the early days of their arrival from mainland China, they mostly worked in the mining sector, such as on Kalimantan island and Bangka island, until they moved to Java island because of the development of Batavia as the VOC's administrative center. Meanwhile, Hakka immigrants from Taiwan came to Indonesia after the treaty of Shimonoseki. They chose to leave Taiwan instead of having to become Japanese citizens or return to the mainland. In addition, Hakka migration from Taiwan also occurred during the mass relocation of companies in the 1980s.

Second, to negotiate their background with Indonesian national identity, the Hakka people have a philosophy of life called Hakkacita or the five Hakka ideals. Conscience means that every Hakka descendant in Indonesia must love Hakka and Indonesia at the same time. Good virtue means that every Hakka descendant must show a good attitude and be a good representation of Indonesia in the international world. Cohesiveness means the same understanding and determination between Hakka and other ethnic groups as fellow Indonesians. Devotion means that every Hakka descendant must mentally, intellectually, and financially contribute to Indonesia. Shared prosperity means that every Hakka descendant in Indonesia is prohibited from thinking about themselves but must care about the common interest of the Indonesian nation.

6 Limitations and Further Research

The authors realize that this research has limitations. One of them is related to the moment of migration from Taiwan. Some unofficial historical literature says that one of the factors that increased the number of Taiwanese diaspora in Indonesia was military marriages during the Japanese occupation. In this case, the Japanese government offered Indonesian women to become members of the Fujinkai – women's army corps of the Japanese occupation country – which would later be married off to soldiers from Taiwan who were sent to Indonesia. The authors predict that this phenomenon will also affect the number of Hakka diaspora in Indonesia.

However, unfortunately, in this short research time, the authors did not get enough data about this phenomenon. The authors only find one piece of literature, which says that in 1974, residents of Morotai island in Indonesia reported that a naked man was living alone in the forest. After searching for almost three days, the Indonesian government finally found him. His real name, Suniuo, reveals him to be a Taiwanese who was recruited by the Japanese government into the army and sent to Morotai in 1942 (Lin, 2017). Therefore, the issue of military marriage is worthy of further research so that historical data regarding the Hakka diaspora in Indonesia can be completer and more structured.

Acknowledgment

The authors would like to express appreciation and gratitude to Professor Michael Shiyung Liu, Ph.D. (Academia Sinica Taiwan and the University of Pittsburgh), for all the guidance in preparing this manuscript. The authors would also like to thank all the informants who provided information in the online interviews for this research.

REFERENCES

- [1] Brinkmann, S. & Kvale, S. (2018). *Doing interviews*. Second edition. London: SAGE Publications. <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781529716665>.
- [2] Cao, Y. H. 曹云华. (2013). *印尼客家人的社团变迁 [The changes of the Indonesian Hakka community]*. Hong Kong: Rì Yuè Xīng Chū Bǎn Shè.
- [3] Dong, B. M. & Guo, Y. B. (2018). The impact of the first Sino-Japanese war indemnity: Transfer problem reexamined. *International Review of Economics and Finance*, 56: 15-26. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.iref.2018.03.013>.
- [4] Evers, H. D. (2016). Nusantara: History of a concept. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 89(1): 3-14. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ras.2016.0004>.
- [5] Gelfand, M. J. & Brett, J. M. (2004). *The handbook of negotiation and culture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- [6] Goebel, Z. (2013). The idea of ethnicity in Indonesia. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, 71: 1-34. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.1812.8728>.
- [7] Heggheim, R. (2011). Three cases in China on Hakka identity and self-perception. *Master thesis*. Oslo: University of Oslo.
- [8] Hertzman, E. (2019). What does it mean to be 'called home' from overseas? The case of Hakka Chinese Indonesian youth from West Kalimantan. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46: 3526-3542. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1592415>.
- [9] Hertzman, E. (2014). Returning to the kampung halaman: Limitations of cosmopolitan transnational aspirations among Hakka Chinese Indonesians overseas. *ASEAS – Austrian Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 7(4): 147-164. <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-2014.2-2>.
- [10] Hoon, C. Y. (2008). *Chinese identity in post-Suharto Indonesia: Culture, politics and media*. Sussex: Sussex Academic Press.
- [11] Horstmann, K. (1980). The Nanyang Chinese - History and present position of the Chinese in Southeast Asia. *GeoJournal*, 4(1): 64-66. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41142910>.
- [12] Hsu, Y. T. (1976). Notes relating to admiral Cheng Ho's expeditions. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 49(1): 134-140. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41492126>.
- [13] Hung, C. C. (1981). Taiwan under the Cheng family, 1662-1863: Sinicization after Dutch rule. *Doctoral dissertation*. Washington: The Georgetown University.
- [14] Indahwati, S. & Christiana, E. (2017). Semangat Hakka yang dicerminkan oleh orang Hakka melalui kegiatan merayakan imlek [Hakka spirit reflected by Hakka people through activities celebrating lunar new year]. *Century: Journal of Chinese Language, Literature and Culture*, 5(1): 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.9744/century.5.1.1-9>.
- [15] Liao, K. S. 廖开顺. (2013). 对印尼客家文化生态问题的思考 [Reflections on Hakka culture and ecology in Indonesia]. Hong Kong: Rì Yuè Xīng Chū Bǎn Shè.
- [16] Lim, H. & Mead, D. (2011). *Chinese in Indonesia: A background study*. Washington: SIL International.
- [17] Lin, P. 林平. (2016). 海外優勢移民：雅加達的台灣人 [Being privileged overseas: Taiwanese people in Jakarta]. *Trans-local Chinese: East Asian Perspectives*, 10(2): 207-231. <https://doi.org/10.1163/24522015-01002003>.
- [18] Lin, P. Y. (2017). Introduction: Relocating the multilingual new Taiwanese literature. *East Asian Comparative Literature and Culture*, 8: 1-44. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004344501_002.
- [19] Lockard, C. A. (2013). Chinese migration and settlement in Southeast Asia before 1850: Making fields from the sea. *History Compass*, 11(9): 765-781. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12079>.
- [20] Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis: A method sourcebook*. Fourth edition. London: SAGE Publications.
- [21] Mokodongan, A. I. (2014). Hakka identity representation into Indonesian Hakka Museum Taman Mini Indonesia Indah. *Master thesis*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.
- [22] Nakagawa, M. (1975). Studies on the history of the Hakkas: Reconsidered. *The Developing Economies*, 13(2): 208-223. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1049.1975.tb00352.x>.

- [23] Octastefani, T. (2019). Measuring the identity, local democracy and transformative politics: A critical case of the Jakarta gubernatorial election 2017. *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, 14(2): 104-125. <http://dx.doi.org/10.31332/ai.v14i2.1289>.
- [24] Purcell, V. (1981). *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*. Second edition. London: Oxford University Press.
- [25] Qiu, H. X. 丘恒兴. (2011). 客家人与客家文化 [*Hakka people and Hakka culture*]. Beijing: Zhōng Guó Guó Jì Guǎng Bò Chū Bǎn Shè.
- [26] Rao, G. Z. 饶淦中. (2013). 序: 世界客属第 [*Preface: The Hakka number one in the world*]. Hong Kong: Rì Yuè Xīng Chū Bǎn Shè.
- [27] Setijadi, C. (2017). Chinese Indonesians in the eyes of the pribumi public. *ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute Perspective*, 73: 1-12.
- [28] Setijadi, C. (2016). Chinese Indonesian associations, social capital and strategic identification in a new era of China–Indonesia relations. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 25(102): 822-835. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2016.1184895>.
- [29] Suryadinata, L. (2002). *Negara dan etnis Tionghoa*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- [30] Suryadinata, L. (1976). Indonesian policies toward the Chinese minority under the New Order. *Asian Survei*, 16(8): 770-787. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643578>.
- [31] Wang, G. W. (1959). *A short history of Nanyang Chinese*. Translated by Chong, Y. S. Singapore: Eastern University Press.
- [32] Wang, L. J. (2007). Diaspora, identity and cultural citizenship: The Hakkas in multicultural Taiwan. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(5): 875-895. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701491861>.
- [33] Yang, D. M. H. (2020). *The great exodus from China: Trauma, memory, and identity in modern Taiwan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108784306>.