



## Cultural Pride in the Era of Pluralism: A Closer Look to Chinese Indonesians' Ethnic Identity under the Reign of Jokowi

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### Abstract

Over the past two decades, Chinese Indonesians have entered a democratic upsurge, where the discriminatory regulations implemented during Suharto's New Order with its forced assimilation policy had been revoked and Chinese Indonesians have gained accesses to Chinese culture and language. Since previous studies on Chinese Indonesians' identity in post-Suharto authoritarian rule have concentrated on qualitative research, in which the construction of identity was complicated and the remaining negative stereotyping against Chinese Indonesians still occurred, this study used a quantitative approach, assessing a number of determinants that were supposed to affect the ethnic identity and self-esteem of third and fourth generations of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. This research utilized Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) that was applied using maximum likelihood method. Based on the result of examination, Chinese Media and cultural practice appear to be the most significant variables influencing cultural long-distance nationalism. In addition, ethnic pride, ethnic performance, and self-esteem were most significantly affected by cultural long-distance nationalism, compared to another variable; self-identification. In short, Chinese Indonesians today have a strong sense of belonging to Chinese identity, regardless of the sociocultural context and political situation which to some extent influence their identity formation.

**Keywords:** Chinese Indonesians, Chinese media, Cultural long-distance nationalism.

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### Contents

1. Introduction .....	115
2. Theoretical Background and Research Model.....	115
3. Conceptual Framework and Development of Hypothesis .....	116
4. Methods .....	118
5. Data Analysis and Results.....	119
6. Discussion.....	121
7. Conclusion .....	121
References.....	121

## 1. Introduction

It is commonly shared that China is likely to become the global post-American hegemon. With its “going global policy”, China has significantly affected the Chinese identity of overseas Chinese worldwide, regardless of the fact that the culture and the sociocultural context of the country will have also contributed to the identity formation of Chinese resided outside the Mainland China. According to many scholars, there is no exact definition of Chinese-ness today since a changing meaning of this term did occur due to “the relationship among such elements as time, place, self-identification, and categorizations made by others” (Wu, 1991). What it means to be Chinese in United States today, with a struggle to adjust to American values, will be much different from being Chinese in the world’s largest archipelagic state, Indonesia, with the cultural differences they will encounter (Minghua and Ingketría, 2016).

From the Dutch colonial times until the fall of Suharto in 1998, racial prejudice, negative stereotyping, and discrimination had been part of Chinese Indonesians’ life in Indonesia. However, the worst political situation they had to go through occurred during Suharto’s authoritarian rule with its forced assimilation policy, and according to Dawis (2009) they were drawn to Chinese films and series to escape reality and relieve stress and anxiety. During this situation, they instead built strong emotional ties to their ancestral homeland. In the post-Suharto era, where the unjust treatment and institutional racism are no longer an issue, and China is on the rise, the study of subsequent generations of Chinese Indonesians’ identity in different cultural politics and diversified media environment has not been explored comprehensively. The portrait of Chinese Indonesians in post-Suharto era has been studied by several researchers (Budiman, 2005; Heryanto, 2008; Suryadinata, 2008). What is common about those researches is that the residual anti-Chinese sentiment remains present due to sociocultural problems; wealth inequality between Chinese and Non-Chinese (Suryadinata, 2008) and negative stereotyping against Chinese as depicted in post-Suharto films (Budiman, 2005). Furthermore, Sen (2006); Tickell (2009); Setijadi (2013) had studied the representation of Chinese Indonesians in the post-1998 Indonesian films. As argued by Minghua and Ingketría (2016) Chinese Indonesians recently still experienced ambivalent identity due to inconsistencies between oral and written statement of the participants being researched. What the previous study lacks of is a research of cultural identity of Chinese Indonesians’ under particular era, especially under the reign of incumbent 7<sup>th</sup> President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, who is a pluralist figure, and after the two-year-imprisonment of the former Governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok). Due to a blasphemy case, Ahok, an Indonesian of Chinese Descent, was once dragged to the court and was sentenced to two years in prison.

Since the previous studies are mostly using qualitative research to assess the ethnic identity of Chinese Indonesians in the post-Suharto era and racial tension occurred after the controversial case of Ahok, this paper will analyse whether the third and fourth generations of Chinese Indonesians who resided in Jakarta, Tangerang, and Bandung still have a strong sense of belonging to China in relation with a number of determinants; sociocultural context, past experience, Chinese media, local media, ethnic communities, cultural activities, self-identification, and cultural long-distance nationalism. The ethnic identity will be classified into the affective dimension (ethnic pride) and behavioural dimension (ethnic performance). In addition to the ethnic identity, the author adds one more dependent variable, i.e. self-esteem. Consequently, feeling a strong sense of belonging with an ethnic may contribute to aspects of individuals’ psychological well being, such as self-esteem, in which those who think positively about their ethnic groups might have higher self-esteem (Xu *et al.*, 2015).

The term ethnicity is most often used to refer to a group of people who have distinct culture, shared historical identity, or a national or religious identity (Carter, 1995). In order to understand how an individual has explored his/her ethnicity and developed a sense of commitment to his/her ethnic heritage, an inquiry into their ethnic identity has to be conducted in the first place (Fischer and Moradi, 2001). There are many factors that could influence ethnic identification, among others are cultural long-distance nationalism, self-identification, past experience, sociocultural context, Chinese media, mainstream media, ethnic communities, and cultural practice. In order to assess the relationship between variables, structural equation modelling (SEM) was applied using maximum likelihood method.

## 2. Theoretical Background and Research Model

Theorists of both Marxism and modernism have predicted that as a society becomes industrialized and modernized, ethnicity will fade and eventually die out. It can be argued that ethnic assimilation and amalgamation have been the main reason for the withering of ethnic identification. However, those presages have proven incorrect. The vital role of ethnicity in the contemporary life cannot be disregarded and its significance depends on times and places.

This study uses an integrated approach that builds upon the cornerstone of the social construction of ethnicity and views social structure, ancestry, and the utility and cost of ethnic affiliation as ingredients contributing to the construction of ethnicity. In other words, ethnicity is socially constructed partly on the basis of ancestry or presumed ancestry and more importantly by society, that the interests of ethnic groups also partly determine ethnic affiliation, and that ethnic boundaries are relatively stable but undergo changes from time to time.

Ethnicity is partly ascribed because it is partly based on ancestry or presumed ancestry that normally carries certain physical or cultural characteristics and national or territorial origins, yet is largely constructed by society. According to Phinney (2000) the particularly important defining characteristic for ethnic minorities is ethnic identity, but it should be taken into account that even within minority populations, according to Hecht and Ribeau (1991); Phinney (2000); Resnicow *et al.* (2009) minority ethnic people have different level of commitment to their ethnic identity. Ethnic identity can be classified into emotional component (ethnic pride) and behavioural expression (ethnic performance) (Nakayama and Martin, 2007; Verkuyten, 2010). Beside ethnic identity, self-esteem also serves as dependent variable. The strength of ethnic identification and self-esteem has been influenced by a number of factors.

There are a number of researchers studied the influence of media on ethnic identity (Clément *et al.*, 2005; Ramasubramanian *et al.*, 2017). In this study, the media is divided into mainstream media and Chinese media. In

addition, self-esteem is also determined by media exposure (Russello, 2009). Beside media, previous studies have discussed the impact of past experience on ethnic identity (Sherry *et al.*, 2006) sociocultural context on ethnic identity (Daha, 2011; Kiang, 2014) cultural practice on ethnic identity (Schweigman *et al.*, 2011) and ethnic communities on ethnic identity (Utsey *et al.*, 2002). However those factors will not directly influence one's ethnic identity, but the development of one's ethnic identity is based on cultural long-distance nationalism (Wong, 2010) and self-identification (Putt, 2014). Wong (2010) stated that a person is supposed to experience a cultural long-distance nationalism at first before it eventually turns into ethnic identity.

According to Phinney (1990); Smith *et al.* (1999); Xu *et al.* (2015) the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem has previously been studied. In general adolescents developed an affirmation, as well as feelings of comfort and higher self-esteem, with their ethnic group, if they can resolve uncertainties about their ethnicity via exploration. Those direct and indirect factors that determine one's ethnic identity will also be considered as determinants for the self-esteem. Figure 1 below is the conceptual model used to validate the research hypothesis explained in the next section.

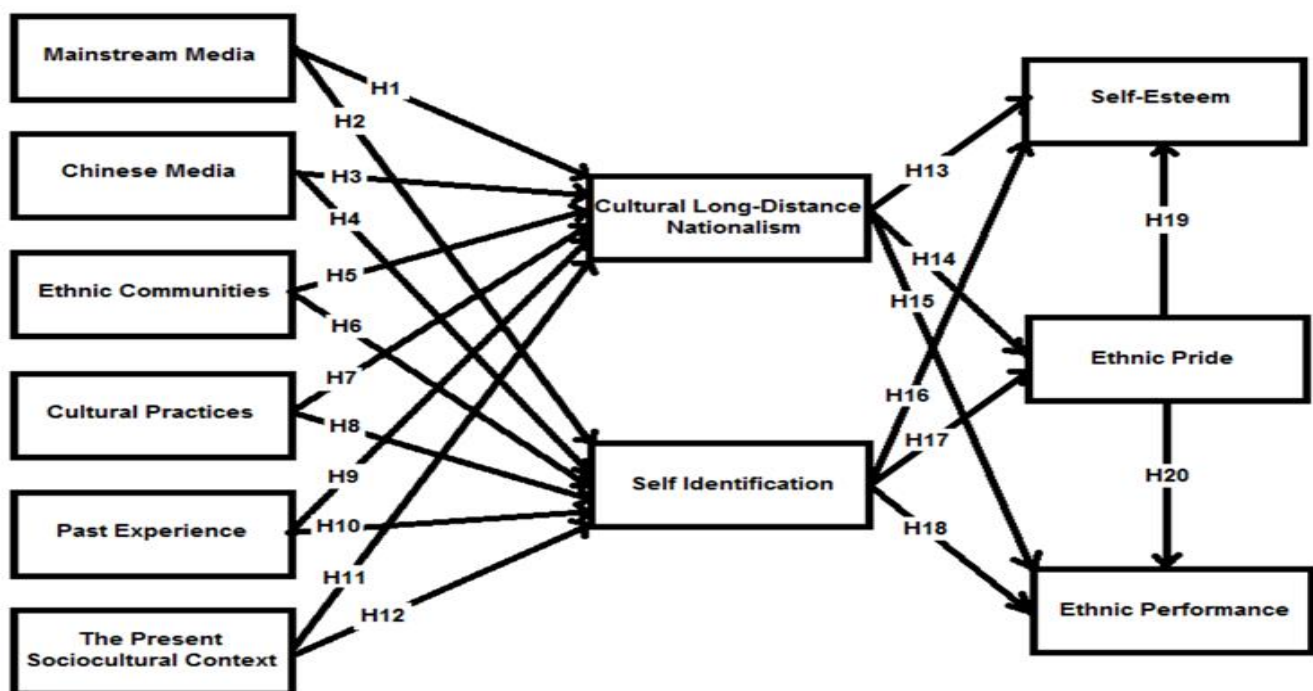


Figure-1. Research Model

### 3. Conceptual Framework and Development of Hypothesis

In this research, we conceptualize all components in the model as follows:

#### 3.1. Mainstream Media

According to Ramasubramanian *et al.* (2017) today mainstream media include movies, TV, radio, magazines, newspapers, and the Internet. Furthermore, the past research on the effects of media stereotypes suggest that media are important socializing agents through which racial and ethnic minorities learn about their in-group vis-à-vis the majority White out-group. Louie (2001) stated that media is one of the determinant that affects the long-distance nationalism. In addition, there were a number of studies that examined the impact of media, including social media on self identity (Zhang and Haller, 2013; Ganda, 2014). However, according to Ramasubramanian *et al.* (2017) the impact of mainstream media towards one's ethnic identity is not as strong as the effect of ethnic media on one's ethnic identification. Thus, the following two hypotheses are proposed:

H1: Mainstream Media positively affects cultural long-distance nationalism.

H2: Mainstream Media positively affects self-identification.

#### 3.2. Chinese Media

Chinese Media refers to any mass media that were owned by China, such as Xinhua and CCTV and presents China's own version of issues happening either inside or outside China. In addition, Xiaoling (2010) added that China's media plays important part in its "go-global" project. Its essential function is for cultural transmission, widening common cultural experiences and knowledge within a society to build consensus and social bonds among its members (Wright, 1959). Therefore, the portrait of China and Chinese culture, particularly through the Chinese media, will significantly affect the cultural-long distance nationalism and self-identification. Dawis (2009) have studied the impact of Chinese media products to the identity formation of Chinese Indonesians during Suharto era. Therefore, we propose two hypotheses as follows:

H3: Chinese Media positively affects cultural long-distance nationalism.

H4: Chinese Media positively affects self-identification.

#### 3.3. Ethnic Communities

Ethnic community is an entity comprising of members who have shared a common sense of identity. During the process of its development, ethnic communities might face a series of setbacks and are subject to change due to ethnic processes, such as assimilation and consolidation, but their continued survival will eventually lead them to achieve a more stable existence. In this case, Chinese communities in Indonesia, such as *Asosiasi Peranakan Tionghoa Indonesia* (ASPERTINA) plays important role in shaping the cultural long-distance nationalism and self-



identification through the shared knowledge delivered by the members of the community and the cultural activities held in the community. Thus, this research postulates the following hypotheses:

H5: Ethnic communities positively affect cultural long-distance nationalism.

H6: Ethnic communities positively affect self-identification.

### **3.4. Cultural Practices**

According to [Miller and Goodnow \(1995\)](#) cultural practices come packaged with values about what is natural, mature, morally right, or aesthetically pleasing. These, then, are actions that may easily become part of a group's identity. In this sense, values and sense of belonging within a community will grow stronger through the practice learnt by the members, including its essential and optional features ([Holland and Valsiner, 1988](#); [Lave and Wenger, 1991](#)). Cultural practice has significantly influence cultural long-distance nationalism ([Wong, 2010](#)). Furthermore, according to [Lustig \(2013\)](#) taking into account that culture affects one's self-concept, it is arguably that a person's involvement in a cultural practice may influence his/her self-identification. Thus, below are hypotheses dealing with cultural practice:

H7: Cultural practice positively affects cultural long-distance nationalism.

H8: Cultural practice positively affects self-identification.

### **3.5. Past Experience**

Past experience refers to any experiences of an individual happened in the past, either good experience or bad experience. In relation with self-identification of an individual who lives in a multi-ethnic society, the past experience mostly relates to racial prejudice and discrimination. A number of scholars argued that a person were inclined to explore his or her traditions and history when they experienced greater number of racist encounters and were engaged in more ethnic behaviours ([Sherry et al., 2006](#)). In addition, a study by [Daha \(2011\)](#) about the identity development of second generation Iranian American Adolescents, showed that Iranians in USA were still considered devout Muslim fundamentalists despite the fact that many of them were subject to racial prejudice and discrimination, especially after tragic attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001 and during the Iranian hostage crisis of 1980. Based on the previous researches, past experience has to some extent influence one's cultural long-distance nationalism and self-identification. Therefore, this research postulates the following hypotheses:

H9: Past experience positively affects cultural long-distance nationalism.

H10: Past experience positively affects self-identification.

### **3.6. The Present Sociocultural Context**

The sociocultural context refers to the current social and cultural setting of the host country where the ethnic minority lives. [Baumeister and Muraven \(1996\)](#) stated that identities did not come into existence out of nothing. They even cannot choose the suitable context during its formation. Therefore, it is with no doubt that in creating and shaping identity, societies clearly play an important causal role. In this sense, the context in which the individual identity exists is created by culture, history, and the proximate structure of social relations. People have individual wants and needs that must be satisfied within that context. In other words, they have control over their identities based on the most comfortable way to adjust to the context. In this sense, sociocultural context will presumably influence one's cultural long-distance nationalism and self-identification. Thus, this research posits the following hypotheses:

H11: Sociocultural context positively affects cultural long-distance nationalism.

H12: Sociocultural context positively affects self-identification.

### **3.7. Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism**

Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism is a concept proposed by [Wong \(2010\)](#) which stated that individuals might have a sense of legitimacy, authenticity, and a state of peaceful happiness through the practices of culture in a diaspora. There lies a spirit within overseas Chinese: "to learn Chinese dance insistently, perseveringly, because Chinese dance leads them to Chinese culture, and Chinese culture is what overseas Chinese pass on from generation to generation, an inalienable part of themselves – even if they were born on the other side of the ocean, far from this land (China)". Therefore one's cultural long-distance nationalism might influence the ethnic pride, ethnic performance, and self-esteem of an individual, through their cultural experiences that provoke a sense of Chinese-ness in such a way. Thus, this research proposes the following hypotheses:

H13: Cultural long-distance nationalism positively affects self-esteem.

H14: Cultural long-distance nationalism positively affects ethnic pride.

H15: Cultural long-distance nationalism positively affects ethnic performance.

### **3.8. Self-Identification**

It is commonly shared that self-identity plays a significant role in constructing each of our lives. Self-identification, in this sense, refers to the process of identifying one's self. Before individuals claimed their ethnic identity, they have to go through the process of self-identification ([Phinney, 1996](#)). Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H16: Self-identification positively affects self-esteem.

H17: Self-identification positively affects ethnic pride.

H18: Self-identification positively affects ethnic performance.

### **3.9. Ethnic Pride**

According to [Castro et al. \(2009\)](#) one's ethnic or cultural heritage might represent their ethnic pride that constitutes an affirmation of self-respect, dignity, and affection. In addition, as stated by [Burnett-Zeigler et al. \(2013\)](#) the psycho-pathological symptoms, such as anxiety and depression, experienced by people of colour living in United States, will to some extent be reduced when they have a higher sense of pride, belonging, and attachment to their ethnic group.

In other words, ethnic identity and self-esteem positively relate to one another based on research to college students who came from various ethnic groups living in United States. In addition, one's ethnic pride is supposed to have a significant impact on their ethnic performance, in which one's strong emotional attachment to their ancestral homeland might have an effect on their performance indicating their belonging to their ethnicity. Thus, this research postulates the following hypothesis:

H19: Ethnic pride positively affects self-esteem.

H20: Ethnic pride positively affects ethnic performance.

Table-1. Measurement Items

Construct	Items
Self-Esteem of Chinese Indonesians	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. On the whole, I am satisfied with my Chinese identity.</li> <li>2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.</li> <li>3. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others (mostly <i>pribumi</i>).</li> <li>4. I have more respect for myself.</li> <li>5. I take a positive attitude toward myself.</li> </ol>
Ethnic Pride of Chinese Indonesians	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. I have a clear sense of my Chinese background and what it means for me.</li> <li>2. I am happy that I am Indonesian of Chinese Descent.</li> <li>3. I have a strong sense of belonging to Chinese identity.</li> <li>4. I have a lot of pride as overseas Chinese.</li> <li>5. I feel good about my Chinese cultural background.</li> </ol>
Ethnic Performance of Chinese Indonesians	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my Chinese history, traditions, and customs.</li> <li>2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of Chinese Indonesians.</li> <li>3. In order to learn more about my Chinese background, I have often talked to other people about Chinese cultural identity.</li> <li>4. I participate in Chinese cultural practices or festival, such as food, music, or customs.</li> <li>5. I have learnt Chinese language and could speak Chinese if needed.</li> </ol>
The Use of Mainstream Media	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. I used to watch mainstream drama or television series on mainstream media.</li> <li>2. I used to watch mainstream television news or entertainment news on mainstream media.</li> <li>3. I spend my spare time watching mainstream drama or television series on mainstream media.</li> <li>4. I spend my spare time watching mainstream television news or entertainment news on mainstream media.</li> <li>5. I spend my spare time watching mainstream drama, series, news, entertainment, etc. online.</li> </ol>
The Use of Chinese Media	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. I used to watch Chinese drama and television series on cable television.</li> <li>2. I used to watch Chinese television news, either on cable television or Internet.</li> <li>3. I used to watch Chinese movies on Youku, PPTV, and any other video-sharing websites, instead of cable television.</li> <li>4. I spend my spare time watching Chinese films, news, entertainment, and shows on cable television.</li> <li>5. I spend my free time watching Chinese movies on Youku, PPTV, or any other video-sharing websites.</li> </ol>
The Involvement in Ethnic Communities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The existence of Chinese communities is important.</li> <li>2. Chinese communities should hold Chinese cultural practice regularly.</li> <li>3. Chinese Indonesians should join any Chinese communities they find relevant to them.</li> <li>4. Chinese communities provide more information about Chinese cultural values and culture.</li> <li>5. Chinese communities in Indonesia have involved in many social and cultural activities recently.</li> </ol>
The Participation in Cultural Practice	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Chinese food festival is commonly held in Indonesia.</li> <li>2. "Saving face" is often presented as Chinese cultural practice.</li> <li>3. Chinese dances and songs are commonly observed during Chinese New Year celebration.</li> <li>4. Respecting elders is a lesson rooted in Confucius Teachings.</li> <li>5. Celebrating Chinese New Year is one way to remind us of Chinese cultural values.</li> </ol>
Past Experience	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Chinese Indonesians have been the target of racial prejudice, discrimination, and violence in the past.</li> <li>2. Chinese Indonesians were forced to assimilate with the mainstream culture.</li> <li>3. Chinese Indonesians experienced institutional racism in the past.</li> <li>4. Any Chinese cultural expressions were banned in the past.</li> <li>5. Chinese Indonesians were under-represented in politics, cinemas, and films in the past.</li> </ol>
The Present Sociocultural Context	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Chinese Indonesians are able to express their Chinese identity in public, without being afraid of being the target of racial prejudice and discrimination.</li> <li>2. Racial discrimination and prejudice is not a problem anymore in Indonesia.</li> <li>3. The government has made changes to give Chinese Indonesians equal rights with native Indonesians.</li> <li>4. A number of influential figures of Chinese Descent exist after Joko Widodo took office.</li> <li>5. Chinese cultural practices and Chinese New Year are vividly celebrated publicly.</li> </ol>
Cultural Long Distance Nationalism	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. I feel an emotional attachment to China and Chinese identity when watching Chinese drama or television series.</li> <li>2. I feel a sense of belonging to China and Chinese identity when listening to Chinese songs and watching Chinese dances and culture during Chinese cultural festival.</li> <li>3. I feel a sense of pride when celebrating Chinese New Year either in public or private.</li> <li>4. I feel a sense of pride knowing China is currently on the rise and feel the urge to assert my Chinese identity.</li> <li>5. I feel the urge to learn Chinese language and Chinese culture.</li> </ol>
Self-Identification	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Integration is much better than assimilation.</li> <li>2. Native Indonesians and Chinese Indonesians should co-exist and respect each culture for "unity in diversity".</li> <li>3. I feel comfortable to express my Chinese identity in public.</li> <li>4. Chinese and Indonesians have similar cultural values.</li> <li>5. I feel a strong attachment to my ancestral homeland, China.</li> </ol>

## 4. Methods

### 4.1. Measurements

In order to find out the correlations between variables mentioned above, questionnaires were sent through the survey link to those who were identified themselves as Chinese Indonesians who reside in Jakarta, Tangerang, or Bandung, since those three locations were among districts with the largest number of

Chinese in 2010 (Arifin *et al.*, 2017). The questionnaires were originally drafted in *Bahasa* (Indonesian language) and were then translated into English by a native English translator and by the researcher as well. The survey questionnaires used 5-likert scale. The following Table 1 shows the items for this study:

#### 4.2. Collection of Sample and Data

Participants who were self-identified as Chinese Indonesians were invited to take part in our survey. The survey, specifically, used pre-screening questions about self-identifying as Chinese Indonesians or a person of Chinese descent, with ages between 18 and 34, and reside either in Jakarta, Tangerang, or Bandung, to participate in the survey. Those who did not meet one of the said three main criteria were excluded from the analysis. Participants were mostly third and fourth generations of Chinese Indonesians with a variety of educational backgrounds. The survey used links that were shared through personal networks via e-mail and via social networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter.

Of the 250 participants who followed the survey link to start the questionnaire, 195 participants completed it. Most of the participants were female (54,4%), in the age group of 25 – 34 years. The majority of them were born in Jakarta, while some others born in Tangerang, Bandung, Pontianak, Medan, Surabaya, Riau, and Bangka Belitung. Table 2 below is the demographic profile of respondents:

Table-2. Demographic Profile of Respondents

Division		Frequency	Percent (%)
Gender	Men	89	45,6
	Women	106	54,4
	Total	195	100
Age	18-24	88	45,1
	25-34	107	54,9
	Total	195	100
Education Level	High School	36	18,5
	Undergraduate	138	70,7
	Postgraduate	21	10,8
	Total	195	100

Source: Primary Data

## 5. Data Analysis and Results

### 5.1. Reliability and Validity Analysis

The data is analysed using the statistical software packages SPSS 23 and AMOS 18. In the initial stage, the reliability of variables has been tested, i.e. internal consistency of the statements that have been used for the measurement. For this purpose, the values of Cronbach's alpha coefficient have been calculated. Following the latter process, the author conducted the confirmatory factor analysis, in which the series fit indexes' values have been calculated ( $\chi^2/df$ ; RFI - relative fix index; NFI - normed fit index; CFI - comparative goodness of fit; TLI - Tucker- Lewis Index; IFI - incremental fit index; RMSEA - root mean square error of approximation). Furthermore, those are also being tested; convergent and discriminant validity, and composite reliability. Here the structural equation modeling (SEM) was applied using maximum likelihood method in order to test the hypotheses.

Table-3. Fit Indices in the Proposed Model

Fit Indices	Recommended Value	Value in the Model
$\chi^2/df$	< 3	2.03
RFI	> 0.9	0.92
NFI	> 0.9	0.93
CFI	> 0.9	0.96
TLI	> 0.9	0.95
IFI	> 0.9	0.95
RMSEA	< 0.08	0.06

Note:

RFI – relative fix index; NFI – normed fit index; CFI – comparative goodness of fit;

TLI – Tucker-Lewis Index; IFI – incremental fit index;

RMSEA – root mean square error of approximation.

For all variables, the reliability analysis resulted in adequate values of Cronbach's alpha coefficient. According to Hair *et al.* (2010); Malaquias and Hwang (2016) the statements measuring certain variable are internally consistent when Cronbach's alpha value exceeds the threshold of 0.7. The Cronbach's alpha values of all variables as seen in the model are higher than 0.8 (self-esteem, 0,89; ethnic pride 0,92; ethnic performance 0,91; mainstream media 0,81; Chinese media 0,93; ethnic communities 0,84; cultural practices 0,88; past experience 0,85; the present sociocultural context 0,89; cultural long-distance nationalism 0,95; self identification 0,89). For testing the fit of the proposed model, a confirmatory analysis has been conducted as well in Table 3. The results indicate that the model reasonably fits the data. The  $\chi^2/df$  ratio is 2.03 (599.5/295) and it is lower than the threshold of 3 (Bagozzi and Yi, 1988). Furthermore, according to Byrne (1998) the values of all variables (RFI, NFI, TLI and IFI) are higher than the threshold 0.9, while for the value of RMSEA, as argued by Gao and Waechter (2017) it has to be lower than the threshold of 0.08.

**Table-4.** Average Variance Extracted, Composite Reliability, Maximum Shared Squared Variance and Average Shared Squared Variance

Variables	AVE	CR	MSV	ASV
Self-esteem	0.69	0.89	0.31	0.20
Ethnic Pride	0.82	0.92	0.51	0.40
Ethnic Performance	0.74	0.91	0.48	0.26
Mainstream Media	0.66	0.81	0.19	0.11
Chinese Media	0.81	0.93	0.65	0.41
Ethnic Communities	0.71	0.84	0.38	0.24
Cultural Practice	0.72	0.88	0.42	0.34
Past Experience	0.69	0.85	0.54	0.31
Present Sociocultural Context	0.74	0.89	0.41	0.27
Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism	0.82	0.95	0.52	0.35
Self-Identification	0.73	0.84	0.46	0.27

All confirmatory factor loadings are greater than 0.65 and all were significant at the alpha level of 0.01. The model is characterized by convergent validity since the average variance extracted (AVE) of each construct is higher than 0.5. Since the AVE value of every single construct is higher than the squared correlation coefficient between the given and other constructs, the discriminant analysis has been achieved. In addition, the values of all correlation coefficients between the observed variables are lower than 0.8 and these values are significant at the level 0.05. The values of average variance extracted (AVE), composite reliability (CR), maximum shared squared variance (MSV) and average shared squared variance (ASV) can be seen in the following table. Besides, as seen in the Table 4, all variables have CR values that are higher than the threshold of 0.7 (Formell and Larcker, 1981). Analysis of the values displayed in the table enables additional verification of convergent and discriminant validity. For each variable, CR values are higher than AVE values, which further confirms convergent validity. In addition, all variables also further confirm discriminant validity, in which  $AVE > MSV$  and  $AVE > ASV$  (Hair *et al.*, 2010).

## 5.2. Hypothesis Testing

In regard with the testing of hypothesis, this research was conducted using the structural equation modelling (SEM). From a total of 20 tested effects, 18 of them appeared to be statistically significant (Table 5). In the first round of analysis, the author monitored the impacts of the Mainstream Media, Chinese Media, Ethnic Communities, Cultural Practice, Past Experience, and The Present Sociocultural Context on Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism. Based on the results, Chinese media, Ethnic Communities, Cultural Practice, Past Experience, and The Present Sociocultural Context significantly influence the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism. Meanwhile Mainstream Media do not have any statistical significance on Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism. In this case, H3, H5, H7, H9, and H11 have all been supported, except H1 which has been rejected. Based on the result, the impact of Chinese Media is stronger than the impact of Ethnic Communities, Cultural Practice, Past Experience and The Present Sociocultural Context upon Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism.

**Table-5.** Hypothesis Relationship

Hypotheses	Standardized estimates ( $\beta$ )	p value	Conclusion
H1: Mainstream Media $\rightarrow$ Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism	0,013	0,752	Not support
H2: Mainstream Media $\rightarrow$ Self-Identification	0,019	0,638	Not support
H3: Chinese Media $\rightarrow$ Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism	0,579	0,007	Support
H4: Chinese Media $\rightarrow$ Self-Identification	0,411	0,008	Support
H5: Ethnic Communities $\rightarrow$ Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism	0,115	0,014	Support
H6: Ethnic Communities $\rightarrow$ Self-Identification	0,113	0,021	Support
H7: Cultural Practice $\rightarrow$ Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism	0,293	0,009	Support
H8: Cultural Practice $\rightarrow$ Self-Identification	0,225	0,017	Support
H9: Past Experience $\rightarrow$ Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism	0,216	0,034	Support
H10: Past Experience $\rightarrow$ Self-Identification	0,199	0,032	Support
H11: Present Sociocultural Context $\rightarrow$ Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism	0,227	0,009	Support
H12: Present Sociocultural Context $\rightarrow$ Self-Identification	0,169	0,028	Support
H13: Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism $\rightarrow$ Self-Esteem	0,296	0,011	Support
H14: Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism $\rightarrow$ Ethnic Pride	0,736	0,004	Support
H15: Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism $\rightarrow$ Ethnic Performance	0,399	0,009	Support
H16: Self-Identification $\rightarrow$ Self-Esteem	0,113	0,042	Support
H17: Self-Identification $\rightarrow$ Ethnic Pride	0,192	0,033	Support
H18: Self-Identification $\rightarrow$ Ethnic Performance	0,164	0,039	Support
H19: Ethnic Pride $\rightarrow$ Self-Esteem	0,329	0,006	Support
H20: Ethnic pride $\rightarrow$ Ethnic Performance	0,285	0,005	Support

With regards to Self-Identification, the result shows that five out of the six observed variables stand out as its statistically significant antecedents. In this case, the influence of Mainstream Media on Self-Identification does not have any statistical significance. Meanwhile, the strongest predictor of Self-identification appears to be Chinese media ( $\beta = 0.411$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). According to the results obtained, H4, H6, H8, H10, H12 are supported, while H2 has been rejected. Findings of this research show that Mainstream Media do not influence both the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism and Self-Identification of the third and fourth generations of Chinese Indonesians today.

The antecedents of Self-Esteem have also been identified. Based on the three effects which have been tested, all variables; the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism, Self-Identification, and Ethnic Pride, have significantly influence Self-Esteem. However, Ethnic Pride stands out as a very significant antecedent of Self-Esteem. In short,



H13, H16, and H19 have been supported. On the other hand, according to the result of the impacts of Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism and Self-Identification on Ethnic-Pride, all variables have significant influence on Ethnic Pride, but Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism stands out more significant than Self-Identification. Therefore, H14 and H17 are all supported. The last construct, Ethnic Performance, have significantly influenced by Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism, Self-Identification and Ethnic Pride. In this case, H15, H18 and H20 are supported.

All the given findings above indicate that Cultural Long-Distance nationalism is the most significant predictor influencing Self-Esteem and Ethnic Identity (Ethnic Pride and Ethnic Performance), wherein the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism itself is mostly influenced by Chinese media, followed by Cultural Practice, and the Present Sociocultural Context.

## 6. Discussion

This quantitative analysis using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) is aimed at justifying the result of qualitative analysis in the previous chapter, in which Chinese Indonesians today, especially the third and fourth generations, who live under Jokowi – Jusuf Kalla administration, have a strong emotional attachment to China, as seen through their statement in regards with Ahok's imprisonment during the in-depth interview. However they kept their Chinese identity low-key. Their Chinese identity remains strong even though the racial tension once occurred after the decision of Ahok's two-year imprisonment. Meanwhile, the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism is particularly noticeable through the increasing number of students studying in China, the existence of ethnic communities, sociocultural settings, the more comprehensive bilateral partnership between Indonesia and China, and other cultural activities that provoke the emotional ties to China and Chinese culture. The Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism has significantly influenced the identity of younger generations of Chinese Indonesians.

According to the result of the quantitative analysis mentioned above, it can be concluded that Chinese Media is the most significant predictor of Cultural-Long-Distance Nationalism and Self-Identification, followed by Cultural Practice, Present Sociocultural Context, Past Experience, and Ethnic Communities. In addition, Self-Esteem, Ethnic Pride, and Ethnic Performance are more significantly influenced by Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism than Self-Identification. In short, the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism appears to be a significant mediator and predictor that influence the strong emotional attachment of younger generations of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia.

In terms of methodological contributions, prior research has only studied the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism qualitatively, in which [Wong \(2010\)](#) studied Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism and the staging of Chinese-ness by San Francisco's Chinese Folk Dance Association. In her study, [Wong \(2010\)](#) emphasized the role of Cultural Practice in provoking the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism of Chinese Americans. Different from [Wong \(2010\)](#) in this research, the Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism is predicted by Mainstream Media, Chinese Media, Ethnic Communities, Cultural Practice, Past Experience, and The Present Sociocultural Context. They are all measured by quantitative method using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM).

## 7. Conclusion

Overall, the findings suggest that Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism has positive effects on Self-Esteem, Ethnic Pride, and Ethnic Performance. Its effects on the three variables are stronger than the effect of Self-Identification on those variables. Meanwhile, Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism has been significantly influenced by Chinese Media, Cultural Practice, Present Sociocultural Context, Past Experience, and Ethnic Communities. This research completed the previous qualitative study by [Minghua and Ingkertia \(2016\)](#) that showed that Chinese Indonesians in the post-Suharto era experienced ambivalent identity, where they were reluctant to assert their Chinese-ness, while on the other hand they had a strong emotional attachment to their motherland. In this case, the results of this study showed that Chinese Indonesians' cultural identity were actually strong, regardless of the absence of eye contact between researcher and participants when the questionnaire was being filled. In short, this quantitative research has justified that Ethnic Identity of Chinese Indonesians today has significantly influenced by Cultural Long-Distance Nationalism.

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