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Shared Identity as Social Capital in The Chinese-Javanese Relations in Malang City, Indonesia

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Abstract

This article discusses the relations between Javanese and the Chinese identity in Malang City, Indonesia. How the perception of the two communities and how the social capital construct personal and social (shared) the identity of people's with different backgrounds in the city of Malang, East Java, Indonesia. This research is done with a qualitative approach. The subject of this research is the Chinese and Javanese community in Malang. Data collected by observation, interviews, documents, and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The results showed that Javanese and Chinese people identified their identities based on physical and character conditions. The construction of shared identities through social capital between the two ethnicities as Malang's resident has been able to attach them. Social capital is essential to create unity, coexistence, mutual need, and complement in daily life. Based on the findings, it can be recommended that to realize the integration of nations with various ethnic in Indonesia is needed to strengthen social capital (trust, value/norms, network cooperation) in various areas of life.

Keywords: Social Capital, Identity, Perception, Cross-Cultural Integration

Introduction

A decade after the political reforms in Indonesia that led to democratization have brought a significant impact on social life in Indonesia. Indonesians are increasingly aware of their political rights. The political participation of society is increasing, and control to the government is also higher. However, on the other hand, there is a problem in this democracy that is national integration. Indonesia is a unitary state with the motto of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (diversity in unity) consisting of various tribes, ethnicities, languages and consisting of more than 17,000 islands. Indonesia's compound, multi-ethnic and cultural, in addition to storing tremendous potential wealth, but also can save potential conflicts due to differences.

Indonesian society consist of people with differences ethnic and religion background. Some disagreements lead to conflicts that are more based on differences in political views. Indonesians who are diverse tribes and

languages should be a unity in the frame to Indonesian. Therefore, it necessary to re-excavate the local wisdom that has been able to become an adhesive between different communities of the background.

The research was as an effort to contribute to national development. Although in a small scope, namely in the city of Malang, East Java province of Indonesia, but the results of this research is expected to be a model and framework for the implementation of the best practice in Indonesian national development. The main problem in this research is related to Indonesian nobility, who faced problems primarily due to ethnic and cultural differences where the difference between tribes and culture is a necessity. Meanwhile on the other hand, the life of society in Indonesia has mostly had its value/norm adopted and run in daily life with local wisdom. It has been embraced by the community to avoid conflicts based on the differences in ethnicity and culture. This situation occurs in the Malang city, where different peoples and cultures and religions can coexist safely and peacefully.

This research has some significance. First, to build a concept of cross-cultural integration that sourced from the real experience of the community. Secondly, this research analyses the element of identity, the interethnic perception, and social capital as well as local wisdom from the community in maintaining different harmony of ethnic and cultural. Third, this research is essential to build nation integration in realizing the unitary Republic of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik* Indonesia/ NKRI).

Social capital

Social Capital is a community's ability to work together, to achieve common goals in various groups. In general, there are 3 (three) main elements of social capital, namely: trust, value, and network. Trust that encourages someone to collaborate with others to bring about productive activities or joint actions. Fukuyama (2002) mentions trust as a hope for the regularity, honesty, cooperative behavior that arises from within the community based on the values/norms embraced with the members of the community.

Social capital is a terminology developed by social experts to enrich understanding of society and the community. Social capital becomes a treasury of debates that appeals to social and development experts, especially the early 1990s. Bourdieu mentions that there are three capitals. They are money, social, and cultural capital. Social interaction or relations among them will make them useful. Social capital can be used for all interests. However, without any physical resources and cultural knowledge, it will be difficult for individuals to build a social relationship. Social relations will only be vital if the three elements above exist (Hasbullah, 2004:9).

Since the first review of social capital was conducted in early 1916 by Lyda Judson Hanifan until the birth of a modern study of social capital in the late 20th century that was pioneered by Robert. D. Putnam, James. S. Coleman, and Francis Fukuyama, have many definitions given by experts on social capital. According to Robert Lawang, social capital refers to all the social forces of the community that are contracted by individuals or groups. It refers to the social structure, which in their judgment and minimizing significant difficulties. Social capital determines how people can work together smoothly.

Hasbullah (2006) puts six critical elements in social capital based on various understandings of existing social capital, namely: (1). Participation in a network. The ability of a group of people to involve the dir in a network of social relations, through various relationships that are mutually adjacent and carried out based on voluntary principles, similarities (equality), freedom, and civility. The ability of group members or community members to always unite in a synergistic pattern of relationships will significantly influence the strong presence of a group's social capital. (2). Reciprocity. A tendency of mutual exchange of goodness among individuals in a group or between groups itself. The exchange pattern occurs in a long-term and short-term combination with altruism feel without expecting a reward. In communities and social groups that have been formed that weigh the reciprocity (3). Trust. A form of desire to take risks in social relationships. It is based on a feeling of confidence that the other will do the same as expected and will always act in a pattern of mutually supportive action. At least, others will not act self-harm and his group (Putnam,1993). Collective action based on mutual trust is increasing

community participation in various forms and dimensions, especially in the context of joint progress. It allows people to unite and contribute to the increase of social capital. (4). Social norms. A set of rules are expected to be obeyed and followed by the community in a particular social entity. These rules are usually institutionalized, unwritten, but understood as the determinant of a good pattern of behavior in the context of social relations so that there is a social sanction given as a rule. Norms socialize to determine the strong relationship between individuals as it stimulates social cohesiveness that positively impacts the development of society. Therefore, social norms are referred to as social capital. (5). Values. A hereditary idea is considered valid and essential by members of the community group. Value is significant in culture. It grows and develops in dominating the life of certain groups and influencing the rules of acting and behavior of communities that eventually form a cultural pattern. (6). Proactive action. The strong desire of group members to not only participate but always find a way for group members ' involvement in a community activity. Group members involve themselves and seek opportunities that can enrich social relations and benefit the group. Individuals or groups are searching for information on various experiences, enriching ideas, knowledge—the initiative to form of social capital that is useful in community building. Social capital refers to the potential network, norms, and beliefs on community productivity. However, social capital is different from financial capital. This situation is because social capital is cumulative and increases by itself/self-reinforcing (Putnam,1993).

There are three parameters of social capital, namely: Trust (trust), norm (norms), and network (networks). Trust is growing hope in a society that is demonstrated by the behavior of honest, orderly, and cooperation based on the value being embraced together (Fukuyama,1995). Social confidence is a product of adequate social capital. The existence of good social capital is characterized by the existence of a robust social institution and give birth to a harmonious socialistic life (Putnam,1995). Both are the norm and social values (norms and social values). Norms consist of understanding, values, expectations, and objectives. They are carried over and run together by a group of people. Norms can be sourced from religion, moral guidance as well as secular standards as well as a professional code of ethics. The norm is a standard that will serve to regulate and control the behavior of society. Norma can be a pre-condition or product of social confidence. Value is a hereditary idea considered valid and essential by a group of people. Value has always been instrumental in societal life; the value will distinguish between right and wrong, what is good and evil.

The third is the network. The community is inherently dynamic concerning other communities through interaction and various relationships, which are woven voluntarily, mutually adjacent, commonality, freedom, and privacy. The network is usually intertwined with a typology with group characteristics. Groups are traditionally formed based on similarities in lineage, experience, and similarity of belief. Human relationship means as an individual. It can be said that we, at least partly, are interpreted by whom we know. More broadly, the bonds of humans also serve as a boundary wall for broader social structures. The central idea of social capital places on social networks as a valuable asset (Field,2005:16). Networks provide a basis for social cohesion where people cooperate and get a mutual benefit. Healthy communities tend to have a robust social network. The close social network will strengthen the feelings of cooperation of its members and the benefits of its participation (Putnam, 1995).

Based on these parameters, several key indicators that can be used as the size of social capital (Spellerber, 1997 in Edi Suharto,2005). They are identity, alienation, belief system and ideology, values and objectives, fear, attitudes towards other members in society, perceptions of access to services, resources, and facilities (e.g., work, income, education, housing, health, transportation, and Social Security). Then, opinions on the performance of governments that have been conducted earlier, confidence in community institutions and people in general, confidence level, satisfaction in life and other community areas, and hopes that want to be achieved in the future. It can be said that social capital was born from below (bottom-up), not hierarchies, and based on mutually beneficial interaction. Social capital, therefore, is not a product of government policy; however, social capital can be increased or destroyed by the State through public policy (Cox,1995).

Cross-Cultural Integration

The concept of cross-cultural integration refers to the concept of culture, social capital, and integration. This concept discusses how a different cultural background owns social capital. Then, it can be unified, integrated into specific communities where there are norms and local values that maintain the relationship between the people remain harmonious and avoid conflict.

People in urban areas such as Malang have changed socio-cultural changes according to the development of Malang itself (Astutik, 1997). The people of Malang have a wide variety of backgrounds in their problems according to their social and economic status. As in the impoverished communities, the problems they often experience are access to public service and also the problem of empowering the urban poor (Astutik, 2012; 2013; 2014). In the context of this mentoring and assistance, of course, society does not distinguish ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, this problem is undoubtedly different from the middle and upper classes. Ultimately, the problem can create gaps or gaps in the problems of each community. However, differences in ethnic and cultural backgrounds do not necessarily cause problems or open conflicts. It can be seen from the harmonious relationship between the Chinese and Javanese people in Malang city. The public relations of this group can take place well due to substantial social capital (Astutik, 2014).

Also, there are elements of local wisdom. It is owned by the people of the city of Malang different tribe that is the similarity of identity as a citizen of Malang or known as *Arek* Malang (Astutik, 2015). Especially to the Chinese community, despite having ancestors from China, they have been born and lived together in Indonesia for decades. This situation makes them more familiar with local culture and is not uncommon to have been related to local cultures (Effendi, 2016). So in the context of identity, this local identity is what is more formed or awakened than its diasporic identity. The existence of substantial social capital and accompanied by elements of this shared identity build networks between different peoples and cultural backgrounds. It creates an integrative network model in which the different communities are actively participating in building the integration of the nation (Astutik, 2016).

Identity and social identity

Self-identity is an individual trait or circumstance or is also referred to as self-esteem. The word identity is derived from the English that has a literal sense, feature, sign, or self-attached to a person, group, or something that distinguishes it from others. Identity is also a whole or totality that demonstrates the specific traits or circumstances of a person or identity from biological, psychological, and sociological factors underlying individual behavior.

Psychologically, self-identity is a continuation of being a single and personal person recognized by others. From a personality psychology perspective, self-identity is a concept used to distinguish one individual from another. Thus, self-identity is a sense that refers to the specific identity of the individual. Self-identity can be called self-consciousness sourced from observation and judgment, which is the synthesis of all aspects of self-concept as a whole unit.

Social identity theory states that identities are tied to classify group membership. Social identity theories are meant to see the psychology of social relations between groups, group processes, and self-social. According to Jacobson (2003:236), Social identity theory focuses on individuals in identifying and classifies themselves based on their personal and social identities. Henry Tajfel defines social identity as an individual knowledge where a person feels like part of a group member who shares emotion and value. Social identity is also a person's self-concept as a group member. Identity can be in the form of nationality, race, ethnicity, working-class, religion, age, gender, ethnicity, descent, and others. Usually, the approach in social identity is closely related to inter relationship relations, as well as the natural life of society and society. According to social identity theory, individuals are not absolute individuals in life. Consciously or not, individuals are part of a particular group. In this case, the concept of social identity is how a person is socially able to be defined.

A common assumption about the concept of social identity, according to Tajfel, has some points. 1) Every individual always strives to nurture or elevate his or her self esteem. They strive to form a positive self-concept. 2) groups or social categories and members of them are associated with the connotations of positive or negative values. Therefore, social identity may be positive or negative depending on the evaluation (which refers to social consensus, even on cross-groups) that the group contributes to the individual's social identity. 3) Evaluation of one of the groups is trying to determine and also as reference material in other groups, specifically through social comparison in the form of attribute-value or characteristic. Jacobson (2003:5) explains that social identity is assumed to be the fundamental part of each individual's self-concept derived from their knowledge of a group. Or, social groups along with the value and emotional significance of the membership.

Perception

Each person certainly has his or her views or opinions in the look of the same thing. These differences of opinion and views will, of course, be followed up with different responses and actions. This view is then called a perception. The perception of a person will determine how to look at a world. Perception is also called by views, descriptions, or assumptions because, in perception, there is a person's response to one thing or object.

According to Robbins (2003:97) describing that perception is an impression gained by the individual through the five senses than in the analysis (organized), interpreted and then evaluated, so that the individual gained meaning. Perception is a process preceded by sensing, which is a stimulus received by individuals through receptor tools that are the senses. The sensory instrument is a liaison between individuals and external worlds. Perception is the stimulus that the individual senses, organized, and then interpreted, so that individuals realize and understand what it senses. Perception has personal properties, as it relies on the abilities and circumstances of each individual so that it will be interpreted differently by one individual with the other. Thus perception is the process of individual treatment, likes giving feedback, meaning, description, or interpretation toward what is seen and heard. Then, it shapes individual behavior.

Research method

This research is a qualitative study by taking case studies in the city of Malang, East Java province. Observation, interviews, documentation do data collection techniques, and focus group discussion (FGD). The objects of this study are prominent person form Javanese and Chinese community who active in social and cultural activities which involve both communities. Primary data obtained by interview and FDG to the object of study. While the secondary data obtained from documents, news, and articles from the media of the time, books, and journals as well as research reports. Data analysis is done by text analysis by analyzing the implied and expressed things in the data of interviews and secondary data.

Results and discussion

Characteristics of the people of Malang

The majority of the people of Malang are Javanese, but because of the high urbanization in Malang increases the diversity of composition, characteristic of the population to language in Malang. The majority of the languages of Malang are Javanese, and some are using the Madura language. When referring to the writings of Ignatius Kristanto and Yohan Wahyu on the Kompas (21/07/2008), the name "Java" attached to "East Java" was not described as a monoculture society.

Malang, the second-largest city in East Java after Surabaya, has expanded further, more characterized by a multicultural society that is driven by high urbanization flows. The predicate, as the largest city in East Java, makes many people from other regions come to find a decent livelihood in Malang city. Moreover, Malang, as the city of education, both college and *Pesantren* spawned the feature of Malang as a multicultural city. Malang City community tends to be accommodating and open as well as appreciative differences. Malang City Community is more known not to like the base of stale, if not glad they will reveal it. The people of Malang are

characterized as sportsmanship, dare to be accurate, firm, unyielding, easy to recite to anyone who has acknowledged the mistakes he has made.

The language that is used daily is Javanese (*ngoko*), but more subtle compared with the Javanese story, which is used by the people of Surabaya. The association is known as the slang *Arek Malang* (Malang youth), which is the *Walik-an Ngalam* language. The language of *Walikan* is one of the cultural traits of Malang city. *Osob Kiwalan* or *Boso Walikan* in ordinary Java is one of the unique languages or dialects that is owned by the people of Malang. This language is commonly used in daily conversation, from young to old. Although it is a common language, it is used as a unique password and code in the struggle for the war of independence. According to Dukut Imam Widodo in the Book of Malang Tempoe Doeloe, the language of *Walikan* was created by the People's guerrilla group of the city around 1949. It was used as a tactic to confront the many spies of the Dutch. At that time, the fighters were thinking of a certain way to send a message that is by *Boso Walikan*. Also, to ensure confidentiality and communication tools, this language is considered as an identity identifier between friends and opponents. The language of *Walikan* has become an identity language Malang people.

Culture of Javanese Arek

According to Koentjaraningrat (1990:203), seven cultural elements cause the culture to be distinguished from its characteristics. The elements are religious systems, community organizational systems, knowledge systems, livelihood systems and economic systems, technological systems, tools, languages, and arts. Referring to Koentjaraningrat, the term "*Tlatah*" aims to describe the uniqueness and richness of culture and local wisdom of East Java owned. Based on the division of the *Tlatah*, then Malang is included in the culture of *Arek* other than Surabaya.

The term cultural *Arek* is born from history and sociological development. It comes from the melting culture (syncretism culture) of *Mataraman*, *Pendalungan*, and the effect of modern and industrial culture in Malang and Surabaya. Therefore, it is not surprising in our society often find the use of the word ' *riko* ' which means you/you who is a unique language *Banyuwangi Osing*. So, the Madura culture is so influential in the culture of Malang, one of which can be seen in the dance arts of *Sakerah* and *Marlena,* which is often found in cultural degree in Malang. Also, the traces of Madura culture can be found from typical clothes of Malang, such as the use of *Udeng, Beskap*, and so forth.

Similarly, the influence of *Mataraman* culture in Malang, one of them because of Malang adjacent to the more dominant Blitar area *Mataraman* such as traditional art, folk art, and modern art in Malang. Similarly, the cultural pattern of the people outside East Java, outside Java, and even the Western culture also thrived in Malang city. The *Arek* people are known to have a high fighting spirit, open and adaptable. The one that characterizes the *Arek* community is the "*bondo nekat."* Malang becomes one of the cultural centers of *Arek* because of the complex and diverse social situation. Malang also the center of education, economics, and tourism in East Java. After industrialization came in, the area became attractive to migrants. They are making it one of the cultural melting areas in East Java. Migrants from various ethnic groups are here to seek better livelihoods.

Following the vision and mission of Malang under the mayor of Malang H. Anton (The elected mayor from ethnic Chinese) is "to make Malang city as *bermartabat* (dignified) city." The term dignity refers to the self-esteem of humanity, which has the meaning of glory. Thus, the vision is expected to materialize a condition of glory for the city of Malang and its community. This situation is a direct translation of the concept of Islam on the *baldatun thoyyibatun wa robbun ghofur* (a prosperous country that is blessed by God).

To be called a dignified city, the local government seeks to realize a safe, orderly, clean, and beautiful city of Malang. The Malang society is independent, prosperous, prosperous, educated, and culturally. It has a high value of religiosity based on the attitude of tolerance to the differences in society. Besides, the vision of dignified can be an acronym of several priorities of development. It refers to the conditions that are to be realized from 2013 to

2018, namely: clean, prosperous, fair, religious tolerance (religious-tolerant), prominent, safe, cultured, beautiful, and educated.

Religious-tolerant, the realization of a religious and tolerant society, is a condition that must be embodied throughout 2013-2018. In a religious and tolerant society, all citizens practiced their religious teachings into ways of thinking, being, and doing. Any form of difference among the community is appreciated and used as a contributing factor for regional development. Therefore, with a tolerant religious understanding, there will be no conflict and disputes between communities based on the differences of SARA (*Suku, Agama, Ras, and Antar Golongan/* ethnic, religion, race, and group) in the city of Malang.

Characteristics of the ethnic Chinese community in Malang City

Geographically ethnic Chinese people in Malang City settle in elite areas, such as Chinatown, Blimbing Indah Residence, Araya Residence, Tidar Residence and Villa Puncak Tidar. Chinatown is identified as the region of ethnic Chinese. It is adjacent to the large market complex of Malang city, which trade activity in it mingled with traders from tribes of Java, Madura, Padang, Arab, and others. Thus, the boundary of Chinatown with Javanese ethnic communities is increasingly blurred because of the economic growth in the surrounding area. The environment now transforms from residential to trade areas with buildings in the form of a shop complex. Various ethnic traders in the big market of Malang City run their trading efforts by mutual respect.

According to the reviews of Radar Malang (16/02/2018), there are many ethnic Chinese in Indonesia, especially in Malang city. However, there are six great ethnicities, among others; Fu Qing, Zhang Quan, Guang Zhao, Hakka, Hubei, and Heng Hwa. The feature of the economic activity of Chinese society in Malang is describing which ethnic they are belonging. Many Chinese citizens come from the Fu Qing ethnic, struggling in the textile business. Some of them also worked as an important position in the government. The Fu Qing was the largest ethnic community compared to other Chinese ethnicities. Then the Zhang Quan many who were involved in agricultural products. Guangzhou is involved in the furniture business and sells household appliances. While the grocery store business that is widely found in the central area of Malang comes from Hakka and Heng Hwa opened a bicycle shop while the Hubei tribe opened an optic shop.

Ethnic Chinese in Malang are generally the second generation, and the third generation that most of them are young. There is the influence of ethnicity on the type of business, but in the character development are increasingly blurred. Many of them have expertise beyond their tribal characters or in the profession outside the trade. Like the narrative of HEM, a member of the Advisory board of *Forum Komunikasi Warga Tionghoa Malang Raya/*FKWTMR (Communication Forum of ethnic Chinese in Greater Malang):

> "If first, there is an ethnic that excels in specific fields. However, now I think it is already a complex of their expertise. Decades ago, the Hakka opened a grocery store. However, now many have penetrated other professions, such as doctors and architects ".

Nevertheless, the association of the tribes is still needed as a container to accommodate issues between members of the association, such as economic difficulties, arranged marriage, funeral ceremonies, and others.

Unlike Haris Emerta, a peace activist from Batu, Lilik Sugianto Lie argues that the ethnic identity no longer determines the profession or type of business. because the profession of Chinese now is diverse, but in the case of finding a tribal identity is no longer held. "Today, Chinese citizens are already freely married between tribes. If the anciently, circa 1970, could not marry different Chinese ethnics. "

The ethnic Chinese community in Malang has an organization that oversees them, namely the Communication Forum of the ethnic Chinese in Greater Malang (FKWTMR). Greater Malang consists of three local administration: City of Malang, City of Batu and Malang Municipality. The organization has 16 members, the Bimasakti Malang Foundation, Guang Zhao Association, Hubei East Java Association, Panca Dharma, Malang Xin Li Xiao You Hui, Fu Qing Association, Eng An Kiong temple foundation, Fajar Dharma Social Association,

Zhang Quan Association, Association of Ma Chung Alumni, Huang Clan Association, Guang Zhao Group, Kwan Im Tong temple foundation, Vihara Samaggi Viriya, the Social Society of Panca Budi, Hakka Association, and the Chinese Indonesian Association (INTI).

Vice-chairman of FKWTMR Sutjipto Goenawan asserted that the KWTMR objective is to unite the ethnic Chinese in Malang. Also, to support tolerance in order to maintain unity and unity. Tolerance is not merely caring for harmony among religious people but also Chinese ethnics themselves. According to the Chinese people should be tolerant and have a profound social concern. Therefore, the Chinese citizens of Malang through FKWTMR always provide logistical assistance to the victims of natural disasters. He said, "The mission of the FKWTMR is to be a tolerance to safeguard unity. Tolerance is not merely caring for harmony between religious people, but also among ethnic Chinese. Chinese people should have a sense of tolerance and care. "

Shared identity of ethnic Chinese and Javanese in Malang as Arema as social capital

Society is a unity of human life that interacts according to a specific conventional system that is continuous and bound by a sense of mutual identity (Gillin, 1948). The process of maintaining ethnic pluralism cohesiveness in the community can be done by a shared identity that awakens between them to eliminate or slightly reduce the differences and identities of each of them.

The city of Malang, with its plural community conditions, both tribes, religions, and races, have the potential to trigger conflict, especially when the conflict is a national political product. The 1998 tragedy is a bad experience for Indonesians who leave enough trauma, especially for ethnic Chinese communities in Indonesia, which is no exception in Malang. One crucial aspect that can minimize the clash between ethics in Malang City is the importance of shared identity building. Identity crisis can create a vulnerability conflict, but on the other hand, the plural society that is bound by a sense of mutual identity can reduce any potential conflicts. In this section, we will discuss the construction of shared identity between ethnic Chinese and ethnic Javanese in Malang city.

Identity is an individual who refers to a specific trait not only physically, but more than that. Identity includes the value of the essentials inherent to a person, such as self-esteem and a dignity, honored and appreciated in daily life. Refers to the cultural studies perspective, identity is entirely a social culture construction. No identity can exist beyond the representation or acculturation of culture. The identity of a person or group then becomes vulnerable to any changes occurring around it, such as domination, minority, or the hegemony of a ruler that causes the identity to change.

Some ethnic Chinese figures demonstrate the work hard for the sake of Indonesia. Yap Thiam Hien, Teguh Karya, Teguh Srimulat, and Tan Tjeng Bok became a prominent figure in their field. There are some international athletes like Susi Susanti, Rudy Hartono, Liem Swi King, and Alan Budi Kusuma. While in economic, there is some prominent business person like Liem Soei Liong, Ciputra, Sudono Salim, and others. The assimilation of ethnic Chinese identity is demonstrated with various activities manifested in the sense of nationality. According to Effendi (2017), the Chinese community can be divided into three groups based on their generation. First is the old generation. This generation is an ethnic Chinese citizen who has been educated in Chinese education until the year 1965. Therefore most of them can speak Mandarin. These older generations had the closeness to China. However, for matters relating to the Indonesian nationalism, they also have the same feelings of nationalism as the indigenous peoples of Indonesia. However, unique feelings of nationalism did not soften their proud feelings as Chinese.

Second, the younger generation. This generation is the children of the descendants born in the year 1970s to 1990s. They do not experience Mandarin education like the old generation. Therefore it is natural that most of them do not speak Mandarin and do not know much about Chinese culture. Third, the new generation. This generation is a derivative of the ethnic Chinese who was born after the political reform. They engage more with Indonesian identity or as an Indonesian citizen. They have no closeness to China and are more moderate. Particularly for the young and new generations, even though on one side retains the ethnic identities that they inherited, but it does not separate to feeling as Malang's people.

According to Mr. Rd. C, some of those Chinese citizens, especially the older generations, still have felt that the settlers were from China. However, related to the feelings of nationalism, R. Chandra has a little difference with Effendi. According to him, to change the feelings of nationalism towards that old generation is not easy because the old generation is indeed born in China, then migrate to Indonesia. The development of nationalism itself was complicated by political issues during the New Order regime, so that Chinese identity was more durable than the Indonesians, such as the following quotation:

> "... However, it is based entirely on the old ethnic Chinese, and they were born in the land of China, is not easy to change it. The mindset that has formed during the New Order further strengthens the ethnic identity of the Chinese itself. "

Chandra's statement reinforces that the mix is not easy to bring up feelings of nationalism as the Indonesian nation and blend with the local ethnic Javanese. It primarily relates to the identity of the culture of each ethnic. An essential point in research is also found that there is a cultural pragmatism applied by the ethnic Chinese people of Malang in associating with the majority of Javanese in Malang. Cultural pragmatism is demonstrated by not having any question about national identity when associating. They conform to the environment and culture of their residence without having to remove their original identity as ethnic Chinese derivatives. They can become adaptive to characterize both *Arema* and Chinese simultaneously, depending on whom they gather. Togetherness, as an Arema, is a big excuse to mingle with other ethnicities. It is as acknowledged in the following quotation:

> "It is fully acknowledged that in the ethnic groups of Javanese-ethnic Chinese, each has its own culture, a strong identity that characterizes it. Without eliminating each other's identity, as a community of Malang city, we live in a togetherness atmosphere that all characterize the identity of Malang – *Arema*. So there is no more partition between us when associating with the people of Malang. Because when we ethnic Chinese interact with our fellow ethnicities, we show our ethnic identity. However, if it is already in the community forum, then we should be part of the Malang society. It means we must be able to put ourselves where and in the atmosphere of what."

The older generation of the ethnic Chinese in Malang became the original cultural holder. With them, Chinese customs and culture as their identities are still well maintained. The significance of the elderly class is vital amid the diminishing attention of the young generation and the new generation of the original culture of their ancestors. It is the case that continues to preserve the richness of pluralism in Indonesia, especially in the city of Malang.

The general public perception of the exclusivity of the lives of Chinese in some ways is not entirely accurate. Thus, ethnic Chinese are very open to Javanese culture. Many Javanese famous artists in Malang are ethnic Chinese. One of them is Sudarno, a chairman of *Paguyuban Tosan Aji Sangga Braja* in Batu City. Sudarno is an artist that examines the cultural and *keris* (weapons tools) of the archipelago, especially the Javanese *Keris*. Besides, Bambang Andrian Wenzel, a culture, painter, novelist, cartoonist, who is the advisor to the modern organization of ethnic Chinese people (Indonesian Chinese corporation). As an artist, the problem of Chinese identity is not an obstacle because they are born and grew in Java, so they still feel like Malang people. The Chinese identity is used as a communication language between Chinese people only.

According to Bambang AW, many ethnic Chinese do not distinguish itself from the Javanese in Malang. When asked, they came from where they proudly said himself, *Arek* Malang (AREMA). Their ethnicity is specific to ethnic Chinese. Besides demonstrating the similarity or identity between fellow Chinese citizens, ethnic identity is also used to develop a business network and negotiation. Chinese citizens in Malang have melted into one with ethnic Javanese people through many social and cultural approaches.

However, the exclusivity of the Chinese community still occurs. To understand this phenomenon need to learn the history of the Chinese people of Malang different from the Chinese people in other cities in East Java.

Malang is the center of the Dutch military during colonial times. Some Chinese people in Malang can be entrepreneurs from outside the city of Malang who are looking for security in the area of Malang. *Arema* as an identity. We can not say it as a shared identity, but has a great potential to be a forerunner of shared identity between ethnic Chinese and Javanese in the city of Malang. In the context of social integration between ethnic Chinese and Javanese in the city of Malang, *Arema* is already a form of social capital even though it is not a collective identity. *Arema,* as an actual identity, arises and is maintained due to football. Through this sport, the 'we feeling' as a community of Malang is constructed firmly. It is no exception to those of the younger generations of Chinese ethnic and new generations.

Perception of Chinese society on identity

The perception of the ethnic Chinese self is divided into three groups. They are *totok*, *peranakan* and ethnic Chinese with a Western-oriented lifestyle. This section described how the interaction between ethnic Chinese as a minority group with ethnic Javanese as the majority group that is more dominant in power and role in the social, cultural, and political fields. Their relations mainly in economic relations that happened centuries ago.

The perception of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia is substantially not separated from the understanding of identity and the placement of personal positions that are themselves as foreign citizens, or Indonesian citizen, or even Peranakan Chinese residing in Indonesia. The Chinese perception of him in this regard to his ethnicity can be seen from the six grouping perceptions consisting of; Perception of ethnicity, perception of cultural behavior, perception of social class, perception of religion in social life, perception of Gender difference, perception of different age (Agus Salim,2006:143).

First is the perception of the Chinese people of Malang towards their ethnicity. Chinese people love to associate with fellow ethnic groups. It is later known as exclusivity. However, if it is judging again, the exclusivity itself is not separated from the political history factor of separation applied by the new Order regime. In addition to political-historical factors, the exclusivity of the ethnic Chinese in Malang derived from the political economy position during the Dutch colonialism. They were the majority of the large entrepreneurs who approach the ruler in the Central military area during the colonial rule in the area of Malang. To secure the assets and their company, then ask for protection to the military. Then, it is the pride that being a Chinese is proud. This pride affects the behavior of maintaining ethnic identity by way of learning languages or writing Mandarin, living in groups, and using Chinese names and languages. The last Chinese have a high working ethic that is seen from their persistence in work.

Second is the perception of Chinese society on culture. The Chinese are very respectful of the ancestor's culture. The respect for this ancestral cultural heritage has kept them preserving the symbols of the Chinese ethnic culture as their characteristic or identity. Thirdly is the perception of the Chinese toward social class. They recognize that there always a social stratification in the life of a society where rich and poor. It is a consequence of human behavior that is not detached from the work ethic, lazy behavior, education, and others. The rich man did tend to be arrogant, therefore making a gap and far from togetherness. At the same time, poverty occurred because there were people who were lazy to work and could not regulate commercial use.

Fourth, the perception of religion in social life. Ethnic Chinese understand that religion is teaching that regulates human life. Therefore each man has his own beliefs that are sourced from the teachings of religion. The Chinese have ancestral religions that are still being embraced. The diversity of religion is grace and cannot be distinguished. Religious people are, therefore, to respect and cherish each other. Every sharp distinction will make obstacles in the harmony of the lives of humankind. The understanding of religion is still very superficial will bring out the distinction so that it can cause conflict among religious people.

The fifth is the perception of gender differences. Given gender issues, the ethnic Chinese people of Malang have the view that gender differences are prejudice to society. Man is a pride in the family that a boy has a huge responsibility in the family as the successor generation of the family. Meanwhile, girls should be more

protective. Sixth, the perception of their age difference has the view that young children must respect their parents or ancestors. Instead, the old generation should respect each other also to the young.

Javanese people's perception of identity

Javanese people's perception of self can be depicted in a few points. First is the perception of its ethnicity. Javanese sees the Javanese have a mental superiority of its character, more like to help, like to group, cooperative, but also can be selfish and rude. Secondly, the Javanese perception of cultural behavior is the similarity and obligation to respect each other. More refined Javanese culture in behavior and language must be high and preserved. One part of the belief of Javanese people, there are still many who are very confident in the things that are mysterious and unseen.

The third is the perception of social class. Javanese think social strata are given. It is a reality that is outlined by God, where the establishment of social distribution is based on destiny. Therefore there is a rich, and some are poor. The concept of living "*Nrimo*" in the Javanese people's view is not separated from the perception of the distribution of resources as given. The rich and poor belief of creation requires the people to give each other and cooperate in life so that life is balanced. Fourth, the ethnic Javanese view of religion in social life. The difference is a reality that must be understood so that people must respect each other for the differences that exist and complement each other's shortcomings. Fifth, against gender, Javanese tends to be patriarchist, where men tend to be more appreciated than women because of their position as the head of the family, in-house captains, and respected in society. They look at women is a weak creature that must be protected, and women's beauty is an appeal to men against him. Sixth, the community has the view that reverence towards the older is essential. Young people must have "*unggah ungguh*" and *tata krama* (manner) against the older, and vice versa, the elderly respect and "*ngemong*" to the younger.

Perception between Javanese and Chinese society

This section describes how the perception between ethnic Javanese and Chinese regarding other ethnic groups, in this case, how ethnic Javanese view ethnic Chinese and otherwise ethnic Chinese look at ethnic Javanese.

First is the perception of other ethnicities. In the Javanese view, in their daily associations, the ethnic Chinese love to group with their fellow ethnicity and exclusive. However, ethnic Chinese is considered to be positive in terms of hardworking and resilient work ethic. To understand more about how ethnic Chinese has required the experience of associating with other ethnic. While in the ethnic Chinese view, ethnic Javanese love to live in groups by associating his fellow ethnic. Javanese people like to look down on other ethnicities, mainly ethnic Chinese. From the behavior, ethnic Javanese are unbelievable and somewhat lazy, less diligent in work.

Second is the judgment of cultural behavior. Javanese look at ethnic Chinese has a must-respected ancestral culture, and there are many Chinese who like and pursue Javanese culture. Also, the Chinese are happy to live on their own and pragmatic. This pragmatism, according to the Javanese people's view that the Chinese are associating with the Javanese when they have a need. On the other hand, ethnic Chinese view Javanese as slow to work and strive, but they have a subtle speech and practice. Then, the Chinese view there is no distinction between the Chinese and Javanese, even the mix is not questionable and questioned again because of the cultural understanding and interest between the Javanese and Chinese people.

Third, the perception of social class, ethnic Java sees that the Chinese are wealthy and more proud and willing to win themselves. However, the Javanese realize that the concept of rich and poor is destiny (given). Instead, the Chinese saw that when the Javanese people wanted to change, they had to be hard workers and to be skilled in life. Fourth, religious perception in social life. Both Javanese and Chinese people are not necessarily a contradiction because each person has their way of choosing beliefs and no compulsion towards one's beliefs. Mutual understanding and respect are essential to prevent and keep conflicts of religion. A superficial understanding of other religions will cause conflicts. The difference is that Javanese tend to avoid debates

between religions and the importance of understanding one another to avoid conflict. At the same time, the Chinese view of interfaith opposition is an effort to strengthen confidence.

Fourth, is the perception of gender. Javanese see Chinese boys getting better treatment from their families. According to the concept of patriarchy, there is a similarity between Javanese and Chinese. It is influenced by patriarchism that the position of men is higher than women. These two ethnicities also tend to be the same in looking at that women are more concerned about the feeling of more rational male approaches. However, for the Chinese people, the position of women in Javanese society tends to be risky than men. Lastly, in terms of the ages differences, Javanese and Chinese view that young people should be more respectful to the elderly, and vice versa, the older ones guide, the younger.

Construction of shared identity through social capital (trust, value/norms and network of cooperation)
Trust

Trust is growing hope in a society that is demonstrated by the behavior of honest, orderly, and cooperation based on the value being embraced together (Fukuyama,1995). Social confidence is a product of adequate social capital. In comparison, good social capital is characterized by the existence of a robust social institution and gives birth to a harmonious social life (Putnam,1995).

The history strongly influences the implementation of social capital on Javanese-Chinese relations. The early Chinese arrival in *Nusantara* was found in the history of several kingdoms in the past and relics of ancient objects. Some argue that the Chinese had come to the archipelago long before the ad century began. According to Koentjaraningrat (1993:3), the oldest Indonesian human beings existed about a million years ago. They lived when Sunda Plain was still land or when the Southeast Asia continent was still united. The Sundanese people (Malaysia, Sumatra, Java, Straits of Malacca, and the Java Sea Now) have physical characteristics of Pithecanthropus Erectus whose are found in a cave near Peking and other East Asia. The characteristic of this fossil is also found in the fossil in Bengawan Solo Valley.

Setiono's analysis (2004:7-8) show different processes but provide the same final findings. According to natural disasters, wars, and other causes, Malays spread from the Southern Asian continent to Southeast Asia. Some of them arrived and settled in *Nusantara*. The first wave of Malay propagation was called the old Malay or Proto Melayu. They spread occurred in 1,500 BC. Negrito and Wedda, which was the first race of the inhabitants of the *Nusantara* archipelago, was finally blended and pressed into the suburbs by the old Malay group. The distribution of the 2nd Wave group is called the young Malay or Deutero Melayu, which occurred around 200-300th BC. They are from Yunnan, South China. Then blend in with the old Malay group that eventually became a significant part of the Nation of Indonesia (Paul Heryanto,2006:3)

An interview with Mr. Rd.C suggests that:

> "Javanese trust in Chinese is complicated and takes a long time. It is considering the history when during the Dutch colonial period, ethnic Chinese were utilized by the Dutch to supervising the work of the indigenous peoples. The Javanese regarded that the Chinese oppressed, blackmail, inhumane, help foreigners do not help the indigenous. From this situation, there arose a high sense of distrust, even the prejudice of racism in Javanese society against the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia ".

In the relations with the family business seems to be an exclusivity considering the company/business was established, built by family, and reserved for the survival of the family. Therefore it is impossible to have the leadership of the company fell to others, especially ethnic Javanese. It is also related to the belief in business development. There have been collaborations (partners) between employers (ethnic Chinese) with employees (ethnic Javanese) or in sociology known as "Patron Client." It based on the interview with Mr. Rd.C, who is driving that:

"Today there has been a good change shown by ethnic Chinese in giving confidence to the business that run with one of its employees in the "Momon" shop located on Gatot Subroto Street in Malang. This shop sells building equipment, including iron, with various types and sizes. When one of its employees also opened the same business as the location in the area, the employee took the goods all from his employer without capital. However, given the trust to develop themselves, once the new goods are paid following the price while taking. Until now, it remained sponsored and no problem. With the principle of business must continue despite a slight profit."

Value

Norm consists of understanding, values, hopes, and goals that are believed and run together by a group of people. Norms can be sourced from religion, moral guidance as well as secular standards as well as a professional code of ethics. The norm is a standard that will play a role in regulating and control the behavior of society. Norm is a pre-condition or product of social trust.

Value is a hereditary idea considered pure and essential by a group of people. Value has always been instrumental in societal life; the value will distinguish between right and wrong, what is good and bad. Each ethnic has a value (value) that is high and obeyed in daily life. Paulus Haryono (2006:225) suggests that the value can be distinguished into two, namely: 1) Cultural value and 2) social value.

The Chinese have three beliefs that are the traditions of the ancestors, namely Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism. The highest level that man can achieve is the position of "wise wisdom." It is something that his self is already "equal" with the universe (identification of the individual with the universe). Confucian teachings heavily influenced the work ethic of the Chinese. In Confucianism, there is a teaching called "triangular relations," which is the relationship between Confucianism, family, and work. This relationship has a close connection with each other.

Confucianism gives much attention to family institutions. Three of the five public relations are family relationships (husband-wife, father-daughter, old brother/sister, and younger brother/sister); Even two other relationships (ruler-people, friends) should also be treated as a family relationship. The first moral planting should happen to the family. If in the family, there is a harmonious relationship, then the society of the world will be orderly and peaceful. The child's devotion to parents takes place in the family; Forms of adoration to a still-outlined ancestor are also talking about the family. The use of the surname, a family title taught and meticulously given by Confucius, speaks about the interwoven of the family. Most of Confucius ' teachings are addressed rationally to justify the family's Community system. His teachings about the family were theoretically and ethically expressed.

Work ethic is connected with family. One form of respect for parents is if one can demonstrate their work correctly. Confucius said, "though your father and mother have passed away, if you can work properly, it will show how you have been to scent the great name of your parents and all your dreams will be accomplished. But conversely, if you work not well, then you have given the disgrace of your parents, and you will not reach your minds "(The Saying of Confucius, 1985:9). When a person is put to the name of the parents, the person has the meaning that he has committed no devotion and respect to the parents (put Hao). People who are not able to work correctly, it is not devoted to parents and getting punishment in the hereafter. People who can work well, give understanding to parents (Hao) will gain rewards in the hereafter.

A child should show his or her spiritual taste to both parents in a variety of ways. If a parent is still present, a child must be able to care for and entertain the elderly. When the parents were gone, he had to worship as a sign of his devotion. All things to care for, entertain, and worship will undoubtedly cost a lot. However, there are many Chinese festivals to be celebrated in a year, when they will love the celebration, the partying of the family that overpowers families and worship the ancestors. The higher the celebration, the festivities, and the cult performed, then the more fragrant their parents ' names and the higher the reward received. But that is all with the record, the higher the cost to be spent. Therefore, for the sake, good name, for the sake of ideals and the future reward, one must work hard to finance all sorts of feasts and festivals.

The Chinese's work ethic lies in the desire for devotion to family and gain reward later in the hereafter. It is a resemblance to the Christian work ethic with the Protestant ethics propounded by Max Weber. The difference is on the work ethic of China's happiness in the hereafter gained much through intervening variables around The family. In contrast, happiness in the Protestant ethic work will be obtained directly towards The Rightness. The social value inherent in ethnic Chinese is based on the Confucianism teachings that instill: 1) The value of harmony, which resists violence and bases itself on mutual trust, indicating the value that distanced itself from the conflict, plus his teachings on Jen (goodness), Chun-Tzu (like to serve/help others, great-soul and Taoist teaching that invites to understand other people, 2) The principle of respect, Li in a Confucian concept that has the meaning of politeness and respect based on age and family relationships, based on the teachings of Pat Tikyang contains eight human beings obligations including devoted (Hao), Humble (Tee), Satya (Tiong), Susila (Lee), uphold the truth, justice, obligation and sincerity (Gie), Holy Heart (Lian), trustworthy (Sien) and know shame/recognize self-esteem (Thee). 3) Policy ethics teaches that wise men are prudent people who can establish a relationship within the community from a moral point, 4) the Middle Way (Chung Yung), whose meaning should not be excessive, 5) marriage for life.

By understanding the social value of ethnic Chinese people is the same as the social value of ethnic Javanese people. Different social values are related to the respect of ethnic Chinese respect based on age and family relationships. In contrast, for Javanese society, the value of respect is based on the position of a person in the supervision of the hierarchical society. The difference in social value is also on the understanding of marriage. In ethnic Chinese, marriages are intended to continue family, clan, and family customs, so the selection of prospective couples, many get the consideration of the family party. While in Javanese marriage, society is intended to form households and get marital status in the community, so the selection of prospective couples is more based on individual consideration.

As for the thing that distinguishes between socio-cultural values in Chinese and Javanese society is about the work ethic, the value of respect, and the philosophical understanding of marriage. The work ethic of ethnic Chinese is aimed at families. In contrast, in ethnic Javanese, it is oriented to the efforts to gain a top position in the arrangement of community hierarchy. The value of Chinese respect is based on age and family relationships. While for Javanese society, it is based on the degree of one's position in the arrangement of societal hierarchy, as well as about the value of marriage.

Whatever the difference in the value of social culture between two ethnicities, but they are paying respect to typical values as Malang people or *Arema*. Mr.Rd.C suggests that:

> "Fully recognized that on Chinese and Javanese, each has a culture, a strong identity that characterizes its attitude. Without eliminating each other's identity, as a community of Malang city, we live in a togetherness atmosphere that all characterize the identity of Malang – *Arema*. So there are no more barriers between us when associating with the community of Malang. Since we ethnic Chinese interact with our fellow ethnicities, we bring our ethnic identity. However, if it is already in the community, then we should be part of the community of Malang city. It means we should be able to put ourselves where and in the atmosphere of what the value that we have to run and keep is the value that binds us as inhabitants/citizens of the city of Malang. Therefore, our activities no longer reflect ethnicity, but as part of the community of Malang. I think the same value is embraced ethnic Javanese and Chinese, as respect for older people (ethics of modesty in behaving, the value of togetherness in families who must uphold the good name of the family) ".

Network

The society is inherently dynamic concerning other communities through interaction and various relationships, which are established voluntarily, mutually adjoining, similarity, freedom, and privacy. The network is usually intertwined with a typology with group characteristics. Groups are traditionally formed based on similarities in lineage, experience, and similarity of belief. Strengthening social capital is the most crucial element in national

development, especially those involving the problem of national integration. Social capital, with its elements, namely network, norms, and trust, is a collaboration (coordination and cooperation) of social in togetherness. It is the necessary foundation as a capital for the sustainability of life and the lives of people to achieve common goals.

Nation integration is needed because, in life in society, there are different characteristics owned by the community, such as ethnic, religious, and racial differences. This situation shows that there is diversity/multiculturalism in people's lives. Referring to the opinion of Agus Salim (2006:7) suggests that one characteristic of a multicultural society is the recognition and celebration of differences in the array of both individual and cultural. Multicultural Society grew beginning with the realization that human life in a society and culture is pluralist. It is realized that diversity is the norm and the potential to understand each other. Thus the implementation of a multicultural approach contains the assumption that every culture and society has its way of life. It must be understood from the context of society and culture in question.

Another concept that is almost similar to multiculturalism is pluralism or diversity in a cross-cultural psychological approach. In this view, the multicultural community is a compound society (a population in general, a variety of patriotic that is in the constellation). Moreover, governments value and allow diversity to remain sustainable (Berry,1999 in Agus Salim,2006:7). A multicultural society is a society that receives integration as a common means of dealing with cultural diversity. From a multicultural statement, the need to be met by a diverse cultural composition is social integration, where this integration is essential and urgent for the sake of the community itself. Until now, many issues related to and posed by a multicultural composition that composes the imagination of the Indonesian nation is the relationship between Chinese and indigenous ethnic (Javanese).

A multicultural society is a concept to refer to the harmonious and diverse social relations that each culture has been autonomous. To avoid the bias of cultural ethnocentrism and jug aide, which states that one culture is superior to the other culture, it takes a good conflict management strategy. Multicultural society, in its development, will link to the concept of living together. To achieve living together in the life of the need to avoid cultural bias, that is ethnocentrism, cultural domination, and a top-down approach. Instead, the consistent approach is used to provide more data from the social, economic, and political systems of holistic to explain the interrelationship, the characteristics of the multicultural, and the success of life together.

The characteristic of this multicultural society can be seen in various activities of the inter-religious communication Forum (*Forum Komunkasi Antar Umat Beragama*/FKAUB) that always conduct communication and conduct activities together. This forum uses to increases religious tolerance in the city of Malang. It is affected by the conflict between ethnics or among religious people. The value of tolerance is not only done during religious or social activities but also in various areas of life. The event was also confirmed by Mr.Rd.C, as the General Secretary of the Board of Eng An Kiong Temple:

> "Not only tolerance in the religion and social relations, but we also open a Mandarin language education that can be accessed by the public and a free health facility for the poor people without differentiating their background or status. We also invited by the government to discuss public policy related to ethnic and religious relations."

Based on the analysis relating to the mix of attitudes, it has been explained that prejudice is an attitude of suspicion against other ethnicities. It is usually negative, as the Chinese ethnic Missal is said to have economic life by debuting all sorts of ways. In contrast, ethnic Chinese think the Javanese are reluctant to work hard but want a high income. This prejudice occurs because there is a difference of view in understanding material and work.

The existence of Eng An Kiong temple is not only a symbol of the existence of the people of Khong Hu Chu in Malang but also as a place, media, the means of various elements of society, including the communities around Malang, to blend into the community of Malang. To foster the harmony of religious people in Malang, the inter-

religious communication Forum was established. In its declaration, it not only involved the religious leaders of each but also involved the police department and local government of Malang.

Mr Rd.C, a community leader and education figure, stated about the long journey of the establishment of the forum:

> "To maintain the harmony of our religious people with other religious figures in the city of Malang, we established the inter-religious communication Forum in September 1998. It aims to assure security in the religion, especially with regards to the implementation of the feast of each religious people in the city of Malang. Where the agenda is made together with mutual agreement on the date and place of the gathering. Each month, the discussions are interchangeably in places of worship. All the representatives of various religions in the city of Malang give positive comments, even until now continue with involving the police department and local government (the mayor) "

Based on the interview, there has been tolerance and cooperation among cross-religious figures, police departments, and local governments. They realize the unity of people in Malang, and this characterizes the multicultural society.

The Chinese tend to have a mindset of functionalism so that the various ways to reach the goal. The way to worship Confucianism by a people is considered as idolatry. Confucianism is not recognized in the past. Therefore the worship ceremonies get reaffirmation. However, by political reform, the government recognize Confucianism as one of the official religions in Indonesia. Even in the city of Malang has stood the oldest temple, namely Eng An Kiong Temple, which witnessed the history of diversity of ethnic in Malang City.

This temple has programs to improve the tolerance of the people of Malang. Every year the temple held free medical programs and social activities that were done together with the community around the temple. Also, this temple is working together with an organization called PITI or *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* (Indonesian Chinese Muslim Association). Before establishing cooperation with the organization, Eng An Kiong Temple conducts activities that can unite among religious tribes in Malang city. The phenomenon is the effort of the local government of Malang City and all its ranks because following the vision of Malang makes Malang City "dignified." One of the most critical points is religious-tolerant. All citizens practiced the teachings of their respective religions into the form of thinking, being, and doing. Any form of difference among the community is appreciated and used as a contributing factor for regional development. Therefore, with a tolerant religious understanding, there will be no conflict and disputes between communities in the city of Malang.

Chinese Indonesian Muslims established an organization named *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* (PITI). It was established in 1986, which is in the direct head by Chinese indigenous or Javanese. Mr.Rudi, as the general secretary of the caretaker Eng An Kioang temple, explained that in holding an event, the temple always involving the local people from different ethnicity and religious background.

> "We always do activities together. It is not only those who have the important influence that we invite but also the people of the city who want to come to help or just look at our activities".

In this respect, the vision and mission that is always carried out in multi-ethnic and religious activities is "togetherness and mutual respect among the people." The value of tolerance becomes a high value in the life of inter-religious people in Malang. In hopes of the harmony of inter-ethnicity. In Malang, itself values of togetherness, which is coupled with the value of tolerance, proved to unite the society of the multicultural city of Malang and this religion. Mr. Rudi also explains it:

> "Every time we do, our worship feels calm and comfortable because we feel a strong sense of tolerance in the community of Malang. Also, if other religions such as Islam that are doing the Eid prayer lack the place to do the activities, we always open to provide a place for prayer. As well as when we perform the worship in the temple, Muslims also appreciate and support our worship activities".

Activities such as social events (*baksos*) are always done together, especially with the PITI organization that each month routine helps to raise funds and help the implementation of the activities. Social services like provide raw food and also second-hand clothing bazaar donated by donors who are in the temple and from the PITI members. It is also emphasized by the statement of the daily chairman of the PITI organization. Slamet, as the chairman of the PITI, explained that the activities are done by collecting clothes that are not in use but still worth wearing, then in a deposit to the head office of PITI or Eng An Kiong Temple. Mr. Slamet said:

> "PITI members themselves are always demanded to donate clothes with the criteria it has been determined by the manager so that even if the clothes used, still look like new. The used clothes we sell for Rp. 15,000 per cloth. Even our activities are also in the example by the PITI organization outside the city of Malang. They sell cheaper than the price we have set for Rp. 5000,- per cloth, "

These activities have been a routine agenda carried out from the year held by the PITI and Eng An Kiong temple. Also, PITI always held regular studies every month. This activity is also open public even non-Muslims can also be present to listen to lectures by Islamic scholars who are in law every month. This activity was done to introduce Islam to the Chinese people who are interested in studying Islam and converted to Islam. However, in this case, PITI will not force members to enter Islam. This organization hosts not only the Chinese Muslim community but also the non-Muslim Chinese community also can join as the members, even the committee.

> "We never force people to become Moslem. We just want to introduce what is Islam to them; the thing they are entering Islam is the right of each person. However, when the Chinese have converted to Islam, we also facilitate it, because sometimes they are ignored by family and needs to find his livelihood independently. "

PITI itself now has no permanent office, but the year 2016, it has been assisted by the government to build a central office to devalue all activities that are channeled by PITI. The abundance of activities that are carried out in the joint and a high tolerance sense will always bring peace to people who have a diversity or multi-ethnic and cultural as in the city of Malang. The existence of organization and Forum of Communication among the religious people proved that the city of Malang could create the middle of the difference in the city of Malang.

Conclusion

We have several conclusion on the relations between Javanese and Chinese identity in Malang City:
1. The identity of the community is not separated from the historical background of the society. Therefore, the identity inherent in each ethnic has a specification that characterizes the peculiarities of each. Javanese people have an identity or identified with the physical characteristic like skin color, long hair (for women), round eyes, while the social identity such as: polite, uphold the value/norm/grammar/customs, easy to associate, like to help (*Guyub* and *gotong rotong*). Ethnic Chinese having a physical identity of narrow eyes, bright skin, round face, and straight-haired (non-wavy), while his social identity is exclusive, hardworking, fisted.
2. Community perception is strongly influenced by a few factors, such as age, education level, life experience. From the subject of this study has resulted in Javanese ethnic perception
3. Construction of identity and perception between ethnic Javanese and Chinese people formed through social capital (honesty, value/norms, and network).

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