Exploring Post-Genocide Chinese-Indonesian Identity from the Perspective of the Secondary Witness: Dance/Movement Therapy Approach

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Exploring Post-Genocide Chinese-Indonesian Identity from the Perspective of the
Secondary Witness: Dance/Movement Therapy Approach

Community Engagement Project

Lesley University

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POST-GENOCIDE CHINESE-INDONESIAN IDENTITY

Abstract

The Chinese-Indonesian population is a bicultural and biethnic population with an extensive history of racism and discrimination in Indonesia since the colonial era. This situation has caused confusion on their ethnic-racial identity. Ethnic-racial identity is a social construct that defined one's sense of self within society. The lack of sense of self may negatively impact one's perception towards self and others. This project addresses this issue by identifying the current Chinese-Indonesian ethnic-racial identity from the perspective of the secondary witness to the genocide event happening in 1998. The paper will evaluate how the 1998 genocide event has impacted the Chinese-Indonesians' perception of their ethnic-racial identity. Using a Dance/Movement Therapy approach, a community engagement project was held to understand this phenomenon through six Chinese-Indonesian participants' responses during the session. The session offered a 2.5 hour therapeuetic experience to the participants through an online platform. This thesis employs an interpretive phenomenological analysis framework and art-based movement response to examine the result. The result suggests that the participants have embraced their hybrid identity with the presence of unresolved trauma, resilience, and hope within this community. The outcome also proposes that this community is suitable for body-based practice. This paper recommends that Dance/Movement Therapy could be an effective tool in promoting social justice within this community. A strong emphasis on fighting forgetfulness presents in this paper.

Keywords: Chinese-Indonesian, ethnic identity, racial identity, ethnic-racial identity, genocide, secondary witness, Dance/Movement Therapy, trauma, resilience, community engagement project
Introduction

Everyone needs a strong sense of self. It is our base of operations for everything that we do in life.

--Julia Alvarez, n.d.

During my study in the United States (US), I was lucky enough to have the opportunity to witness a crucial milestone in this country. The start of the pandemic in 2020 led to a series of public questions around bureaucracy and the systems that exist within this country regarding how to respond to the pandemic appropriately. This situation then triggered the rise of racism and social justice issues, directly and indirectly, related to the pandemic.

These events bring such a significant impact to the world of mental health professionals. From my personal experiences as a mental health professional-in-training, I noticed a shift in syllabus arrangement for my courses across the board and the rise of discussion around multiculturalism, social justice, and social movement within our practice and training. The field became more sensitive towards the inclusion of multiculturalism within the therapeutic process and its approaches. Institutions try their best to change the system in order to support the shift of this social dynamic. Mental health professionals started to question more than ever: What kind of role can we play to support the process? How can we do the right thing?

Not excluded from these questions and changes was the field of dance/movement therapy (DMT). The American Dance Therapy Association's (ADTA) 55th Annual Conference was held with the theme: "Crossing Borders: Dance/Movement Therapy Creating Change through Global Exchange" (American Dance Therapy Association [ADTA], n.d., 2020 Virtual Conference Landing Page). The theme itself seems to be created as a means to support the current shift and to include a broader global public in a vital conversation about how to make a change. However, after joining the conference, I found myself asking where I fit in this conversation? As someone who was born a minority and grew up with racism and
discrimination on the other half of the globe, I noticed that the conference was started with a good intention, but unfortunately, it did not achieve the goal of creating a global exchange in the field. Most of the conversation nowadays within the field is still very much based on the US system and a Eurocentric/Western approach. Do racism and social justice look the same around the world?

The questions remind me of my personal struggle growing up as Chinese-Indonesian, identifying with Chinese descent and Indonesian nationality. As one of the minorities in Indonesia, there was minimal opportunity for me to understand my own ethnic-racial identity. According to Yip et al. (2014), ethnic-racial identity is "one of the myriad social identities that an individual can use to define a sense of self" (p. 179). This issue was even more prevalent after I moved out of the country for educational purposes. I have now lived abroad for almost eight years. During this time, I constantly noticed some confusion and misconception surrounding the Chinese-Indonesian identity on the international platform, not only in the west but also in the east. When I studied in Taiwan, I had a hard time justifying why I could not speak Mandarin as well as they expected me to. I also cannot explain when someone from the US asks me why I am not a Muslim even though I am from Indonesia. This situation makes me realize how invisible Indonesian is on the international platform, particularly the Chinese-Indonesian population. Indonesia is only well-known for its Muslim population, while in reality, the country has thousands of other ethnic-racial groups.

My experience as a minority in a collectivist culture teaches me that speaking up and advocating for our community is a privilege. Our history teaches us that those actions will cost not only our own life but also our ancestor's lives; in the past, when openly demonstrating, the Chinese-Indonesian society risked not only the lives of those protesting but also the general acceptance of our society. We are existing but do not exist. The government did everything they could to "erase" us. The situation is not getting any better, as the Chinese-Indonesian society has
not found a successful advocacy approach that does not jeopardize its societal acceptance. Not only is our culture struggling to advocate safely, but the Chinese-Indonesian community also has to meet the challenge of finding a unified identity.

As a Chinese-Indonesian mental health professional in training, I aim to bring this conversation into the mainstream through this research and paper. I wish us to be included in the conversation; I wish our ancestor's sacrifices to be seen by a wider public. This thesis will present a perspective on how Chinese-Indonesians deal with racism as a collectivist community within the collectivist Southeast Asian culture through ethnic-racial identity exploration in a group of Chinese-Indonesian young adults. I also aim to evaluate what a Dance/Movement Therapist can do to create change within this population by holding a community engagement project for this group of people. This paper will start by providing perspectives from current research on ethnic-racial identity in general, the existing research on the Chinese-Indonesian ethnic-racial identity, and the research on ethnic-racial identity from DMT perspective before looking at the community engagement project executed, its method, and the role it plays in exploring Chinese-Indonesian identity as a collective group.

**Literature Review**

**General Research on Ethnic-Racial Identity**

Helms (1990) suggests that both race and ethnicity are social constructs rather than a biological definition (as cited in Yip et al., 2014, p. 179). That being said, ethnic and racial identity are highly impactful toward one's formation of a sense of self in the society. The research on ethnic and racial identity in the US was first started in the Black population through the Clark doll study before expanding to other minority groups within the US, such as Hispanic and Asian (Yip et al., 2014, p. 179). Clark doll study was the first research on children's racial perceptions. The study concludes that the "prejudice, discrimination, and segregation" could be
internalized by children aged six to nine year old, creating a sense of inferiority and damaging their self-esteem (Clark & Clark, 1947).

As a Chinese-Indonesian, I usually identify myself as Asian with a specification of Chinese-Indonesian ethnicity in the US. Through Yip et al. (2014), I learn that the two most researched subethnic groups under the umbrella Asian racial group are Chinese and Korean. There seems to be a theme of research on Chinese-Indonesian ethnic group in Indonesian-language literature. However, the presence of English-language research on the Chinese-Indonesian population is still lacking. I argue that the presence of more literature about Chinese-Indonesian in English is equally essential due to the possibility of reaching out to a broader scope of readers and promoting the opportunity for the story to touch an international audience. Considering the globalization process happening all around the world, there are more and more Chinese-Indonesians appearing on the global platform. Thus, I think it is time for advocacy work to expand out internationally.

Previous research on ethnic-racial identity in the US has conflated the terms "ethnic identity" and "racial identity", so a clear distinction between the two is impossible (Yip et al., 2014, p. 179). According to Sellers et al. (1998), racial identity is "the significance and qualitative meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within the . . . racial group within their self-concepts" (as cited in Yip et al., 2014, p. 180). Furthermore, Helms (1994) and Rotheram & Phinney (1987) define ethnic identity as:

"a social identity based on the culture of one’s ancestors’ national or tribal group(s), as modified by the demands of the culture in which one’s group currently resides” as well as “the accurate and consistent use of an ethnic label, based on the perceptions and conception of themselves as belonging to an ethnic group”. (as cited in Yip et al., 2014, p. 180)
In other words, racial identity may be related to an individual's physical attributes whereas ethnic identity may be related to one's ancestry and culture (Yip et al., 2014, p. 179). However, Yip et al. (2014) also state that despite the distinctive definitions, oftentimes the differentiation between the two across research is more dependent on the type of groups and the artifact of the project (p. 180). In this paper, I decided to interweave the term ethnic-racial identity to describe the topic. Chinese-Indonesian in Indonesia is often recognized and segregated based on both their physical appearance and culture. They are often recognized as having lighter skin and smaller eyes in comparison to the rest of Indonesians. They are also recognized to have a culture that is more East Asian based than Southeast Asian. Some ethnic groups in Indonesia are also distinguished to have lighter skin, such as Menado and Sundanese. However, those ethnic groups often are mistakenly treated as Chinese-Indonesian due to their physical attributes (Setijadi-Dunn, 2009). Thus, I think it is fair to argue that there is a blurred line between Chinese-Indonesians' racial and ethnic identity. Hence, the term ethnic-racial identity seems to be the most appropriate with this population.

The article by Yip et al. (2014) also mentions several factors contributing to ethnic-racial identification and the theoretical foundations in the field of ethnic-racial identity. Social identity theory emphasizes the importance of exploring the ethnic-racial identity of the minority groups who live in the society that devalue the meaning of the group's membership to maintain a positive self-concept through the sense of belongingness (p. 182). This concept is supported by other researchers that have "found an association between ethnic identity and various indices of positive psychological outcomes including increased self-esteem and decreased depressive symptoms" (p. 189). Other articles prove the significance of these findings on the population with more than one ethnic/racial heritage in comparison to the population with only one ethnic/racial heritage and believe that the intersectionality among ethnicity and race partially contribute to the increase of depressive symptoms in bi-ethnic and biracial populations (Sanchez
The article also mentions the ego identity model, which focuses on the process of ethnic-racial identity formation throughout one's developmental journey, in contrast to social identity theory, which focuses on the content of the ethnic-racial identity (p. 185).

In this paper, it is rather impossible for me to clearly separate the process and content of the ethnic-racial identity in the population of Chinese-Indonesian. Yip et al. (2014) also emphasize the use of integrative perspective in examining ethnic-racial identity due to its complex nature. For example, the previous research showed the association of ethnic-racial identity with mental health status and the correlation among parents' socialization, the experience of discrimination, personal demography (e.g., age and gender), birthplace, social construct, etc., with one's ethnic-racial identity. Considering the complexity of the topic, the findings from previous research on how those factors impact the ethnic-racial identity are also varied. In this paper, I am conscious of the participants' personal demographic and emphasize the role of the secondary witness, who is generally in a different generation from the victim of the genocide, and therefore chronologically removed from the events. This paper will also approach the topic of current Chinese-Indonesian identity by investigating how the related sociopolitical events, such as the genocide event targeting the Chinese population happening in Indonesia in 1998, impact the factors contributing to the formation of such an identity. The details of the history are presented in Appendix A.

**Research on Chinese-Indonesian Identity**

There are several arguments made by previous researchers about the current state of Chinese-Indonesian ethnic-racial identity. The article by Setijadi-Dunn (2009) explicitly mentions the ambiguity around Chinese-Indonesian identity after the genocide occurred in 1998. Widiadana (2000) said that according to Professor J. Danandjaya of the University of Indonesia, "traumatic events during President Suharto's regime led to the ethnic Chinese
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suffering from 'autohypnotised amnesia, a mental condition in which people deliberately eliminate their self-identities" (as cited in Setijadi-Dunn, 2009, p. 20). Even though suggesting that all Chinese-Indonesians are suffering from autohypnotised amnesia may be an over-simplification, this term may be an accurate portrayal of the essence of the issue considering that the legal erasure of the Chinese-Indonesian identity happened as long as three decades during Suharto's dictatorship era with centuries of political and social marginalization building up to it (Setijadi-Dunn, 2009). See details in Appendix A.

Other possibilities are introduced by Aldana et al. (2012). Aldana's article emphasizes the importance of intergroup dialogues about race and ethnicity in promoting ethnic-racial identity and racism awareness, which is barely happening in Indonesia. This study endorsed the hypothesis that the adolescent participants would report a higher ethnic-racial identity and racism awareness after participation in the eight week intergroup dialogues and denied that the participants with more exposure to discrimination would be more aware of racism than the other participants. The additional finding from this article, in support of the article by Yip et al. (2014), is that the parent's education level influenced the awareness of ethnic-racial identity showing that the phenomenon can be passed from generation to generation. This research also justifies the significance of upbringing compared to the place of birth in relation to ethnic-racial identity, which demonstrates that the ethnic-racial identity is more affected by one's developmental journey than the geographical location of one birth. Chinese-Indonesians may not be ready to open up about their trauma related to the ethnic-racial identity due to limited opportunities to do so and their nature to "stay quiet"—a practice endorsed by the dictatorship system. The lack of conversation on this issue may also cause them not to be aware that their experience with discrimination is considered a racism act. As a result, Chinese-Indonesians may perceive their situation as "normal" as time passes and no one bothers to question it. Even though the article does not target the Chinese-Indonesian population, this is one of the few original research
articles with a generalized ethnic-racial population. In my opinion, the paper provides an empirical argument of the reasoning behind the current existing struggles and questions that Chinese-Indonesians have with their ethnic-racial identity despite the recovery attempt that the government employed (Appendix A).

Some authors have also attempted to address the issue with the ethnic-racial identity that Chinese-Indonesians have through different perspectives. Lie and Bailey (2017) article explores this topic from the current naming culture within this population. The authors argue that "naming practices are not just a function of personal taste or cultural habit but rather reflect negotiation of larger-scale political and historical conditions" (p. 80). The article suggests "the intertwining of macrosocial politics and structure with personal experience and cultural practice" within the Chinese-Indonesian community (Lie & Bailey, 2017, p. 83). The article explains how Chinese-Indonesians use the naming system to respond to the government's unfair treatment. There are three observed strategies: First, they adopt a convenient Indonesian name. Second, they create an Indonesian-sounding surname from a Chinese surname. Third, they adopt a Western name. These practices are then naturalized as the current Chinese-Indonesian naming culture (pp. 87-89). The author explains that adopting the Western name is just an act to maintain prestige within the Chinese-Indonesian community in Jakarta. It does not mean that they aspire to be Westernized. In fact, the author mentions her father's expression of regret in sending them to a Western country for education in comparison to other countries that may give the author chances to be closer to their heritage (p. 90). Lie and Bailey (2017) also explains how the Western name Chinese-Indonesians adopt is just for the outsider to see; the family still holds the "Confucian tradition of using kinship" within themselves as an "indicator of a solid Chinese upbringing" (p. 91). It is also important and highly valued for the new family member to have a Chinese name as a form of aspiration from the family for them. The author suggests "these names serve as reminders of our heritage and form a foundation of our identities" (p. 92). While
the Western name acts as pride for the outside, the Chinese name in private acts as a reminder of our ancestors. Names are a way for Chinese-Indonesians to maintain their proud hybrid Chinese-Indonesian identity.

As a Chinese-Indonesian, I personally resonate with the argument presented in Lie and Bailey's (2017) article. I recall my father supported my study in Taiwan because he wanted me to be closer to my heritage and have the chance to learn the Taiwanesese dialect, which is similar to my ancestor's dialect. My father also adopted a convenient Indonesian name without a surname as the government implemented the assimilationist regulations. Upon my birth, he put a lot of expectation in wanting my name to be "original" enough to reflect the hybrid identity of the Chinese-Indonesian culture. To my father, adopting a Western name was not the answer while at the same time, he expressed his dislike over his own convenient Indonesian name. My name is an abbreviation of the sentence "Ini bayi tulen Benua Asia" translated into English as "This baby is originated from the Asian Continent". My father explained that both my ancestor's origins, Chinese and Indonesian, are a part of the Asian Continent. Thus, for him, this name is the best portrayal of our hybrid identity.

These two stories reflect the degree to which Chinese-Indonesians use their name to negotiate their status within the society. Furthermore, the author also points out an argument about embracing the authentic Indonesian names post-genocide. The author suggests this idea is still unsettling today. Chinese-Indonesians are still suffering from collective trauma due to the unresolved nature of the event. The feeling of danger is still there. It is proven by the author's personal experience while working on the article: their family was worried about their well-being and labeled the topic as "too political" (p. 93). The author transparently mentions that this study may only apply to the population of Chinese-Indonesia in Jakarta and related areas considering the discrepancy in cultural heritage preservation among regions and the author's personal residency. In my opinion, the article provides a comprehensive general outlook on
Chinese-Indonesians' history and how they use their name as a form of resistance and connection to the government and society.

Another article by Setijadi-Dunn (2009) explores the Chinese-Indonesians' identity in a post-genocide society through the lens of three young Chinese-Indonesian filmmakers and their films. The author argues that films could be used as a tool to "gain valuable insights into rarely acknowledged alternative viewpoints about the experience of negotiating 'Chineseness' in (the) post-Suharto" (p. 19) era due to the ban of Chinese culture from the media platform in the past. In the article, Setijadi-Dunn (2009) describes Indonesia as "a minority in transition" with the rise of Chinese-Indonesian involvement in the Indonesian film industry after the freedom of the press was recovered post-Suharto era (Appendix A). However, a new issue arose: "Which "Chineseness" should multiculturalism represent?" (p. 21). Setijadi-Dunn states that the problem is that the popular representation of Chinese-Indonesians does not portray "how ordinary Chinese Indonesians experience ‘being Chinese’ in their daily lives and therefore not taken into consideration in studies of Chinese Indonesians" (p. 21).

That is what motivates the article by Setijadi-Dunn (2009) to dive deeper into these "unheard narratives". The three films address the issues from the perspective of the naming culture, the legalization of Lunar New Year as a public holiday, and Chinese-Indonesians' daily life. The films try to not only paint the picture of the struggle that Chinese-Indonesians are facing but also address critics towards Chinese-Indonesians' response to the situation. For example, the second film in the article tries to highlight the advocacy work still needed despite the end of the genocide and dictatorship eras. The film reminds Chinese-Indonesians not to be "easily satisfied" by the legalization of the Lunar New Year as a national holiday in Indonesia (p. 24). The film also reminds Chinese-Indonesians to be humble. Despite the material wealth they currently possess as an ethnic group that mainly operates in the business and economic sectors, this wealth was one of the reasons for the prejudice against Chinese-Indonesians to begin with.
The three films mentioned in this article approach the Chinese-Indonesian issue from three different perspectives. However, they all share the same theme:

One where feelings of ambiguity are not forgotten but acknowledged as part of life. This theme of ‘fighting forgetfulness’ seems to be an important motivation for these young Chinese directors in making films about Chinese issues. (p. 25)

The Word “Genocide”

Through my research, I realized that controversy exists behind the word "genocide". Descriptions of the 1998 event seem to vary greatly depending on the author's point of view. Lie and Bailey (2017) describe the event as an "ethnically motivated riot" (p. 93). Setijadi-Dunn (2009) uses the words "riots", "violence", "anti-Chinese riots" to describe the 1998 event (p. 20). I argue that the terms used across these articles do not appropriately describe what happened. It is important to emphasize that there are two different events happening in Indonesia that are related to the Chinese-Indonesian population's struggle. The first one is the anti-communist event in 1965-1966 and the second one is the anti-Chinese event in 1998. The anti-communist event was a politically motivated mass murder targeting the member of the communist party in Indonesia, whereas the anti-Chinese event was a politically motivated genocide event targeting the Chinese descent in Indonesia. I notice some confusion on the nature of the two events across research. The details on how the two events are related could be seen in Appendix A.

Glanville (2009) then points out the issue around the word "genocide" and answers my confusion. In the article Glanville (2009) explains how the term genocide has apparently lost its power. It used to be associated with "to prevent and to punish", whereas when a country uses the word "genocide" to describe an event, there is political pressure to act (p. 467). It explains why some powerful countries like the US were hesitant to use this word to describe conflicts across nations in the past. After reading the article, I argue that the marginalized population's experience seems to be downplayed due to the political pressure that the people in power exert.
The article mentioned the definition of genocide used by the United Nations General Assembly in Resolution 96(I) is termed as "the denial of the right of existence of entire human groups" (p. 469). According to this definition, I think it is appropriate for this paper to refer to the anti-Chinese event of 1998 in Indonesia as a genocide event. Chinese-Indonesians have gone through decades of denial in Indonesia. They can only exist if they deny their Chinese culture and become a "pure" Indonesian citizen. Anyone who dares to deviate against this regulation will need to leave Indonesia or may ultimately be killed by the government. To further understand a version of Chinese-Indonesian history rooted in a Colonialist perspective, see Appendix B. Glanville (2009) concluded the article stating that the detachment of the word genocide from the pressure to act both matters and does not matter because:

As important as language might be in the relationship between norms and actions, it is crucial that we also focus on the actual responses of governments to crimes against humanity and the difficult practical issues involved in alleviating suffering. (p. 483)

Dance/Movement Therapy on Ethnic-Racial Identity

The first line drawn between the generational trauma faced by Chinese-Indonesian and the creative art is discussed in the article by Dirgantoro (2020). Dirgantoro, a researcher that focuses on gender and feminism, and trauma and memory in Indonesian modern and contemporary art, states in their article that art is the best media to contain the trauma that the secondary witness hold. The article explicitly discusses the artworks made by two Chinese-Indonesian artists residing in Australia and whose relatives are the victims of the mass killing in 1965-1966. The author mentions the role of the secondary witness in the process of trauma (p. 306). The secondary witness is defined as people who do not experience the event first-hand but experience it through stories and other media. The term secondary witness is arguably similar to the term secondary trauma. However, as a Dance/Movement Therapist-in-training, I found the term secondary witness to be more relevant to the field of DMT as it emphasizes the action verb
of "witnessing". This term seems parallel to the witnessing role that Dance/Movement Therapists emphasize within a therapeutic relationship. Thus, in this paper, I will use the term secondary witness interchangeably with secondary trauma.

Dirgantoro (2020) points out in the article that some artists witness an oral testimony from the victim, who is the primary witness, and translate this experience into an art piece, which possesses a therapeutic role. They are often traumatized in the art making process (p. 306). The article reminds me of the term "creative connection" by Rogers (1999), defined as "a process in which one art form stimulates and fosters creativity in another art form and links all of the arts to our essential nature" (p. 115). Rogers (1999) argues the presence of creative connection among different art forms and modalities. Thus, I argue that the findings from Dirgantoro's (2020) article is also applicable to the DMT field considering the creative connection that may exist between the visual art and dance or movement modality.

Moreover, some research address the relationship between DMT and ethnic-racial identity. The article by Chang (2009) and Carmichael (2012) mention the nonverbal aspect of a culture. This aspect is essential considering that DMT is a body-based practice. Carmichael (2012) emphasizes the importance of nonverbally oriented multicultural diversity competence for Dance/Movement Therapist to work with a marginalized population in DMT (p. 100). Chang (2009) mentions not only certain gestures and postures could represent a culture, but there are also cultural interpretations towards nonverbal interpersonal interactions (p. 305). The articles endorse the usage of the nonverbal language as a tool to explore and understand ethnic-racial identity.

The article by Pope (2020) further introduces the role of DMT in working with biethnic and biracial populations through the Multicultural Body-Based Cultural Frame Switching model. The author introduced the concept of Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) to describe the relationship between different cultures within the bicultural population in a scaled format. Pope
(2020) states, "some biculturals find their multiple cultures to complement one another, while others find them to conflict with one another; it is not a homogenous group" (p. 4). The author also states that the level of a person's BII scale could be influenced by several factors, such as the feeling of "culturally homeless", defined as "certain individuals of mixed ethnic and/or cultural background living within a framework of experiences, feelings, and thoughts that do not belong to any single racial, ethnic, or cultural reference group" (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999, p. 12, as cited in Pope, 2020, p. 2).

The article also explains that a bicultural person who is culturally homeless is usually prone to have low BII, which could result in worse cultural frame switching ability. Cultural frame switching is the ability to oscillate between cultures and languages. An individual with a better cultural frame switching ability may find it easier "to behave in a more culturally congruent fashion to the situation" (Pope, 2020, p. 5-6). That is why a Dance/Movement Therapist needs to assist this population in improving their cultural frame switching ability.

Pope (2020) also states that an individual can develop competency within more than one culture successfully; this competency can help the individual to have a more favorable adjustment in all domains of life (p. 3). In this paper, I am curious to see not only how DMT frameworks apply to the population of Chinese-Indonesians but also how the DMT process can contain the trauma that the secondary witness holds. How can DMT (a western approach) contribute to exploring Chinese-Indonesian identity (an eastern culture)?

**Methodology**

**Research Method**

The study in this paper is conducted by implementing an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) framework and an art-based movement response. According to Reiners (2012), IPA is a phenomenological research method expanded upon the hermeneutics approach to "seeks meanings that are embedded in everyday occurrences" (p. 1). Smith et al. (2009) state
that IPA "acknowledges the active role of the researcher as the analyst in creating the meaning of participants' accounts of their experiences" (as cited in Kawano, 2018, p. 2). IPA is utilized to uncover the meaning of a phenomenon without bracketing the researchers' own biases and acknowledge that "our understanding of the everyday world is derived from our interpretation of it" (Dahlberg et al., 2008, as cited in Reiners, 2012, p. 2). IPA offers flexibility in its steps and is open to innovative approaches (T. Kawano, personal communication, March 6, 2021). In this study, I aim to explore the current Chinese-Indonesian identity from the perspective of the secondary witness by investigating the participants' responses during the community engagement project. As a member of the Chinese-Indonesian community, I acknowledge that it is impossible to eliminate my personal biases and experiences as I interpret the phenomenon observed.

Besides, I utilized the art-based movement response to uncover the unheard narratives behind the feedback. Considering the Chinese-Indonesians' nature to stay quiet about the unspeakable tragedy, I believe that a movement-based approach provides an opportunity for this population to express themselves and communicate with each other non-verbally. Moreover, Kawano (2018) states that art-based movement response allows “the possibilities for understanding the lived (and embodied) experiences of the participants. This type of experiential knowledge recognizes the central role of the body to integrate experience” (p. 3).

By considering the previous research's limitation, the community engagement project was held as a single, 2.5 hour workshop session offering a movement-based therapeutic experience for the participants. The session was meant to provide a therapeutic experience rather than therapy. I hope that this study could provide more diverse perspectives on how the genocide event impacts the Chinese-Indonesian population at the moment. The experiential is also expected to be an opportunity for exchange and collaboration by introducing DMT to the participants.
Participants

All participants in the workshop were of Chinese descent with Indonesian nationality. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (SAMHSA) six guiding principles for the trauma-informed approach are considered (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's [SAMHSA], 2014). To ensure the six guiding principles, I recruited a group of people with a long-term friendly relationship. Due to the limitation of this project, it was hoped that all participants had already developed a solid foundation of trust before the workshop to ensure their emotional safety and well-being in processing this potentially triggering topic. The potential cultural consideration specifically for Chinese-Indonesians was done to my best ability. For example, considering the Chinese-Indonesians' culture of "stay quiet", I anticipated some hesitation in sharing thoughts and opinions if the workshop was done with a group of strangers. Thus, recruiting a group of people with solid relationships seemed to be a better choice. The cultural, historical, and gender issues of the trauma-informed approach were ensured by keeping the participants' demographics and backgrounds diverse despite the monogamous ethnic-racial identity.

The group initially consisted of seven participants, with five identifying males and two identifying females. One female person was excluded in the process due to the inability to show up on the schedule that the group decided. The sense of safety, trustworthiness, and transparency, collaboration and mutuality, empowerment, voice, and choice from the trauma-informed approach were further improved by ensuring a solid relationship between me, as the group leader, and the participants to encourage organic and vulnerable conversations. This dynamic could also alleviate the Chinese-Indonesians' culture of fearing for authority. I hope that this kind of relationship could ease the power dynamic between the group leader and the members.
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Even though the genocide event has not been openly discussed in Indonesia, it is currently a safe topic to talk about. There would not be government intervention in discussing this topic. However, participants' confidentiality and identity were still protected. The session was held in a closed virtual room. A private meeting link was provided only for the participants using a Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) compliant platform. Participants were informed of this information. The participants gave verbal consent to join the therapeutic session during the initial recruitment via video call. I then created a poll on an online platform for the group members to determine the schedule. The result of the survey was communicated with the participants and all six participants agreed to join. The group leader gave a brief description of the session to the participants one day before the session. All participants showed acceptance and understanding.

Participants' age was ranging from 22-27 years old. All participants were born in the 1990s and considered to be in the same generation of Chinese-Indonesians. I acted solely as a facilitator. All participants were Chinese-Indonesians come from different areas in Sumatra and Java islands. Only one participant stated that the genocide event did not happen in the city where they were residing. The rest of the participants mentioned the event occurred in the city where they lived with various intensities. All participants had the experience of living in other countries. The participants including me, have known each other for several years.

Workshop Design

The workshop was done on February 28th, 2021 with ten minutes break in between. I provided the meeting link prior to the session. The workshop was conducted in Indonesian and English, switching back and forth according to our comfort level. Simple Chinese was randomly utilized at some point during the conversation as all participants can speak Chinese. Several points were considered in designing the activities: First of all, the activities must be culturally sensitive for Chinese-Indonesians. Considering that DMT is a western approach, how to adopt
this approach with the eastern population? Second, how could I ensure the participants' emotional and physical safety without being physically present with them? (M. Chang, personal communication, January 13th, 2021).

I adopted the following strategies to address the issue: First, reflecting on personal struggle related to culture as a Chinese-Indonesian student studying in the US. While I am aware of individual factors in cultural practice, I wish that my reflection can provide general insights into the potential considerations in designing an activity for this population. For example, I recalled moments from my training days as a Dance/Movement Therapist. When people in the class were seemingly comfortable enough with each other, I still felt hesitant to show my visual art piece to my classmates because I did not think that visual art was my strong suit. While processing this event, I was reminded of my experience growing up in an environment that values "product" more than the "process"; if my artwork does not fit the aesthetic appreciated by society, it is an "ugly" artwork. While everyone is different, this insight prepared me to anticipate the possibilities of resistance in sharing from my participants. Second, the activity must be culturally sensitive by avoiding labeling content as "good" or "bad" (J. Wiles, personal communication, February 1st, 2021). The activity was kept as straightforward as possible while allowing room for expression. For example, activities such as journaling or body scanning exercises tend to have no negative or positive connotations in Chinese-Indonesian culture. Third, providing structure as the container for their trauma to ensure participants' emotional safety (J. Wiles, personal communication, February 1st, 2021). The group leader would break down the instruction and guide the participants through the process.

The experiential structure was inspired by the steps in the Moving Stories method (Duffy, 2015, p. 155). The Moving Stories method is a play therapy method for traumatized children population involving storytelling and sandtray. According to Duffy (2015), "in the Moving Stories method the child's response to the story most often involves play in the
sandtray". In this study, the participants were encouraged to share their stories with each other. The other participants were allowed to respond. The participants then had the chance to process this response further with a creative, movement, and body-based activities. The steps in the Moving Stories method are presented in Appendix C.

These steps were adopted, interpreted, and modified to suit the Chinese-Indonesian culture and the participants' developmental stages (J. Wiles, personal communication, February 1st, 2021). Questions were asked for each step of the method. For example, what do "space and relationship" look like in Chinese-Indonesian culture? What do "space and relationship" mean to Chinese-Indonesian culture? How could I actualize it in my project? Activities were assigned to each step by incorporating some principles from Multicultural Body-Based Cultural Frame Switching, such as recalling a memory, embody the experience and come up with a gesture, and mirroring (Pope, 2020). The interpretations and the details of the activities are presented in Appendix D. The activities were reviewed with my thesis consultant and then showed and demoed with a group of Dance/Movement Therapists in training to ensure the participants' safety.

I started the workshop by introducing the project's purpose, DMT, and the relationship between the two. I gave a brief description of the schedule to promote the trauma-informed practice. I also attempted to create an environment that was supportive of open communication by maintaining transparency throughout the workshop. I communicated strategies to protect confidentiality and participants' profile at the beginning of the project. I provided my contact information to accommodate participants should they need to reach out for a follow-up in the future (J. Wiles, personal communication, February 15th, 2021).

Analysis

A circular hermeneutic interpretive process of analysis was utilized. Idczak (2007) stated that "hermeneutics is a circular process used to uncover and identify people's meanings
and experiences" (p. 68). In this project, I wanted to learn how the current experience of Chinese-Indonesians and the impact that the genocide event has on this population by looking at the participants' responses to the activities executed in the workshop. Meanings were interpreted from the participants' verbal and non-verbal responses by focusing on the emerging themes. Participants' responses were recorded in my personal written notes during the project in both English and Indonesian language to prevent meaning being lost in the translation process. I then reviewed my notes and compared them with my preconceived knowledge from literature review, embodied experience and feelings during the project, and personal experience as a Chinese-Indonesian to derive meanings. I threw away the notes after the reviewing/recalling. Member checking was done during the workshop to ensure the credibility of my interpretation of their verbal and non-verbal responses. The emergent themes provided an insight into the current Chinese-Indonesians' ethnic-racial identity post-genocide event.

These results were then embodied in a movement response to concretize further the lived experience lost in verbal presentation. I did a movement improvisation to emphasize, confirm, and add new themes to the existing results. I utilized a song that the participants chose during the session for their final performance. I also incorporated the participants' shared gestures during the workshop as inspiration. The movement improvisation was done with a closed eye and mover actively recalling the images, feelings, pictures, and embodied experience of witnessing the participants during the project. In this paper, I will use the fundamental Laban Movement Analysis (LMA) language to describe the movement responses.

**Results**

Most of the participants identified themselves as secondary witnesses; they have heard and learned about the genocide event from various sources at some point in their life. Only one participant identified themselves as a primary witness rather than a secondary witness. The participants expressed excitement in taking part in the project. Many spontaneous discussions
happened throughout the workshop. Every participant stated that they felt comfortable disclosing stories within this group. The following sections are the emergent themes from an impromptu open discussion happening at the beginning of the project regarding: What are the critical traits that encourage us to open up and be vulnerable with a person?

**Connection**

All participants emphasized the importance of connection in creating a safe environment, either in the form of similarities (have things in common) or differences (do not have something in common). Some participants stated that they would feel comfortable talking to a person that shows a clear sign of care towards their opinion and conversation. Some signs mentioned were: "intuitively feel safe with the person", "being able to have a deep conversation", and "the conversation is felt to be intentional, informative, and for the good of both sides". Two of the participants also mentioned that they would feel safe to share if the other person brought up an intriguing and different perspective. Most of the participants in this group emphasized trust and familiarity; they will feel more comfortable being vulnerable if they have confidence in the person and know the person for an extended period. I also noticed an "all-or-nothing" spirit from the participants as they discussed ways to identify trust; they agreed that it was difficult for them to open up even with the slightest hesitation. They needed to trust the person completely to feel safe.

**Positive Attitude**

All participants highlighted the importance of observed positive attitudes in the person they had a conversation with. The main three positive attitudes mentioned were non-judgmental/open-minded, comfortable with disagreement, and active listening. Most of the participants stressed the importance of not sensing judgment from the person they had a conversation with verbally and non-verbally. This preference could also be manifested in the role of the person, e.g. they would feel more comfortable and secure if they talked to a mental
health professional because they acknowledged that the role was bound by professional ethics. They embraced differences and disagreements in a conversation as long as it was non-provocative and respectful. In this regard, participants' emphasis was more on the other person's reaction instead of their own; they showed confidence in being polite and respectful but not sure about other people. It was also crucial that the person they talked with to practice active listening; they needed to make sure that the person was interested in the conversation to be vulnerable with them. This preference seemed to be related to the participants' needs to be heard. One participant also mentioned the significance of initiation and mutuality; it would be ideal if the person opened up and initiated a deep conversation first.

I then invited the participants to develop a group gesture for several reasons: First, to encourage spontaneous communication among the group members throughout the workshop. This gesture served as my attempt to accommodate the unnatural online interaction of using the mute and unmute buttons. The effort was also necessary for some participants because they shared physical space with other people; I hoped the group gesture could support their participation non-verbally. Second, the group gesture was expected to assist the group leader in managing time. Considering the busy schedule that the group had, I wanted to make sure that I was respectful of everyone's time. The group gesture served as a tool for the participants to respond to each other efficiently. Third, to encourage the participants to hold space for each other. The group members used the gesture to express their agreement and support during the process of storytelling. I hoped that creating a group gesture together could also boost the group's connection and introduced the movement components into the activity. I also sensed the necessity to provide structure for the participants. Thus, I wished that the movement gesture could serve as a non-verbal vocabulary that the members could understand as a collective. The session was continued with the emergent themes summarized in the following sections.

Participants’ Perceptions on the Political Context of the Genocide Event
All participants agreed that there was a strong association between the genocide event and politics. Some participants suggested that the genocide event was pre-meditated government action. Many participants recalled the memory of people in their community taking turns to guard the area where they were residing as early as a week before the event. This evidence suggests there was common knowledge within the community about the government’s plans, and that the government just made it look like it was impulsive. Most of the participants also identified the genocide event as their first encounter with the concept of racism. The participants showed extensive knowledge and education on the genocide event despite the invisibility of the topic on the public platform. One participant mentioned that he had never talked about this topic anywhere else, even with his family. However, it was also not a taboo topic to be talked about.

**Secondary Witness’ sources**

The participants mentioned various sources from where they learned about the genocide event. The two most common sources were families' stories and social media. Some of them also said they learned about the event from the history class at school. However, all participants agreed that our history class in Indonesia did not present the most accurate story of the genocide event in 1998. One participant specifically mentioned that the source of his secondary witness was the projection of the stereotypes, ignorance, and judgments from the Chinese community in neighboring countries, such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Taiwan. The participant mentioned his personal experience of "being pitied" by a Taiwanese through which he felt underestimated and disrespected. The reasons may be that all the Chinese-Indonesians in this group were from a higher socioeconomic status. Many of them take pride in their current living situation, considering the harsh history they went through. For them, their current living situation is the result of their parents' hard work and resilience. Thus, one participant described that the pity feels like an insult.
Another participant also mentioned the annoyance towards Chinese-Malaysians and Chinese-Singaporeans' ignorance. They feel that the Chinese from those two countries tend to enforce their standard on the Chinese-Indonesians without putting our historical background into consideration. Chinese-Malaysians and Chinese-Singaporeans are usually known for keeping up with their Chinese culture. They can speak Mandarin well and receive Chinese-language education; something that the Chinese-Indonesian population considered as a privilege. Most of the participants recalled moments in their life when the community from the neighboring countries looked down on their language ability and expected them to speak better Mandarin.

The group members also remembered the 2016 incident involving a Chinese-Indonesian politician (the first Chinese-Indonesian governor of the capital city in five decades), who was the target of racism and blasphemy accusations. The group members recalled this incident as being very traumatic. The event attracted global attention at that time and triggered trauma responses within the Chinese-Indonesians' community (BBC News, 2016).

Participants’ Knowledge on the Experiences and Situations during the Genocide Event

The participants' experience with the genocide event varied depending on the place where they were residing and their socioeconomic status. The four participants who lived in Indonesia's capital city recalled that the intensity of the genocide was different despite all of them being in the same city. However, I noticed an interesting emergent theme of the younger family member getting sick at the time of the event. Therefore, the adult family member needed to leave the house to get some medications because of the situation, but it was hazardous to go out. I wonder if this phenomenon is related to the manifestation of trauma as somatic symptoms. Some participants also recalled the chaotic scene of the rioters burning and destroying properties. When asked to depict the first image that comes to mind regarding the event, these chaotic scenes dominated the portrayals.
The group members also mentioned several survival strategies employed by their families and relatives during the event: First, fleeing to other countries. The primary witness of the group mentioned about his family fled to Singapore for a month following the genocide event. Second, taking refuge in places, such as a relative's house in other areas or provinces, the hospital, an abandoned building, etc. One participant also recalled their relatives escaped to their house during that period. Third, using native Indonesian as protection. One participant recalled his father's friend to be a native Indonesian person, so they took refuge at the person's house. And fourth, preparing protective gear and self-defense equipment.

**Trauma as a Secondary Witness**

The theme of trauma was prominent among the secondary witnesses. One participant explicitly mentioned that the genocide did not even happen in the city where they resided, but they felt the impact as a Chinese-Indonesian. All participants agreed that this topic was difficult to process. They also seemed to be at a different pace on their healing journey. The conversation brought up many negative emotions, such as sadness, fear, sorrow, coldness, darkness, and numbness. One participant mentioned feeling sad and guilty whenever he remembered his father's sacrifices during the genocide event. He stated that Indonesia was home, but it was not safe. The only primary witness of the group recalled the feeling of fear, panic, and stress while escaping the country with his family. Another participant was also skeptical about the idea of going back to Indonesia in the long run, which suggests the existence of unresolved trauma within this population.

Some participants in the group also mentioned the sense of urgency and pressure that this generation had in preserving our cultural heritage; because the government tried to erase us, we have the pressure to reverse it with our own ability. The participants also discussed the confusion for being in the middle as half Chinese and half Indonesian. Bearing this responsibility while dealing with the dominant culture is not easy. A lot of participants recalled
the feeling of not being enough after trying their best on many occasions. One participant mentioned their struggle in learning Mandarin. They were aware that their Mandarin was not the best. Still, they acknowledged that their ability resulted from their effort in keeping up with the Chinese culture despite the erosion of this culture in Indonesia. However, the dominant culture seems to expect them to speak better Mandarin, which hugely impacts their self-esteem. All participants also recalled feeling paranoid and scared during the 2016 political conflict. They mentioned that they were scared of the possibility for history to repeat itself. A participant explicitly described his wariness over the possible recurrence. He encouraged the other group members to prepare themselves; if it happens again, we need to more ready.

The participants also expressed some resentment towards the native Indonesians. All the negative feelings around the event led to their overprotection towards their kind. For example, all participants stated that they went to a school with Chinese-Indonesian students to be in the majority. One participant expressed avoidance in having a romantic relationship with anyone who identified as native Indonesian. Some participants also recalled being verbally harassed by the native Indonesians. The participants suggested that the Chinese-Indonesians seemed to have their own negative perceptions and stereotypes towards the native Indonesians. They often saw the native Indonesians as "gold diggers" due to their perceived tendency in asking for material supports from the Chinese-Indonesians. The primary witness justified this argument by recalling the moment when he and his family came back to Indonesia from Singapore a month after the event. They found his grandfather's house burnt and dug by the rioters because the rioters assumed that Chinese-Indonesians would bury their valuables under the ground. There was also a little bit of regret and sorrow observed from the participants' responses during the project. There were moments when participants expressed their regrets over our history. Some participants stated that if there was no racism, Chinese-Indonesians could have been the government's ally in building a better Indonesia as a country.
Impact of the Genocide Event on the Chinese-Indonesian Population

The Chinese-Indonesian population is not a homogeneous society. There were two polarities portrayed in the group during the workshop: one group of people agreed on the need to assimilate/acculturate, and another group of people agreed on the need to be protective/separate in response to the genocide event. These differences seemed to be dependent on the participants' upbringings and living environments. For example, the participants who lived in Indonesia's capital city tended to prefer assimilation/acculturation while, in contrast, the participant from another area tended to prefer separation. That bias was also observed from the participants' mixed sense of nationality; some participants developed more profound love towards Indonesia due to a radical acceptance, and another group of participants saw the situation as the opportunity for them to consider other countries as home. Despite the differences on whether or not Chinese-Indonesians should separate from the dominant culture, all agreed that it is difficult for Chinese-Indonesians to practice complete acculturation. Thus, learning to make peace with differences and being different is crucial.

All participants agreed that the genocide event caused their families and themselves to stay away from any political movements and issues. All of them also discussed their struggle with naming culture, especially for the participants born before 1998. Most of them did not have the last name until later in life after the government started to employ the recovery actions. Due to the erosion of their cultural identity, Chinese-Indonesians seem to seek a sense of self through other areas in life. For example, they would also describe and associate themselves with their beliefs.

The genocide event also influences many aspects of our daily life. For example, the participants mentioned the trend of using metal fences in every Chinese-Indonesians household. One participant associated this tendency with the community's attempt to protect and prevent people from surging into our house. Chinese-Indonesians seem to be in constant fear of being
attacked. The group members also noticed that Chinese rituals in Indonesian have started to lose its meaning. The current practice of the traditional rituals seems to be motivated by the material compensations we received during the process. For example, the Lunar New Year is only recognized for its red envelope by this generation of Chinese-Indonesians. All participants believed that the current practice of Chinese rituals in Indonesia is driven by the sense of urgency mentioned previously, which may be weakened in the next generation.

Resilience

Despite the negativities, one of the most significant emergent themes from the project is the high resilience that this population possesses. The participants could foster strong community care, as evidenced by their presence and supports for each other during a vulnerable conversation. They seemed to face their sorrow with a sense of humor and smiles, which could be seen as an inappropriate affect by the Western standard, but it was an efficient coping skill for them. They relied on each other to survive. The responsibility and trauma they shared serve as a factor that strengthens their bond with each other. One participant stated that the event taught him to be fearless; no matter how hard life gets, he will not fall. All participants still identified Indonesia as their home despite having the chance to explore other countries.

One participant acknowledges the strengths we have as Chinese-Indonesians. For example, they mentioned that Chinese-Indonesians tend to have power over the country’s economic condition. This power enables Chinese-Indonesians to upgrade their quality of life stably from one generation to the next generation regardless of the political challenges. Another participant also mentioned that because of his ethnic-racial identity, he could speak three languages effortlessly. There was also a spontaneous discussion during the project on how to combat racism in Indonesia. The discussion concluded that one of the key factors in combating racism is education; better education would allow people to practice analytical thinking, which could speed up the fights against racism.
Hope

Another emergent theme from the group’s discussion was hope. The participants stated that they are still living with the ambiguity, but they learn to embrace it as time goes on. One participant closed the project with a rhetorical question: Who are we in Indonesia? He stated that the answer to the question appears to be less important because he has been learning to embrace his hybrid identity and work on his healing process. The participants also communicated their hope to make home a reality through mutuality with the native Indonesians. The participants declared their willingness to let their guard, but they also wished for improved awareness and accountability within the native Indonesian community. After all these years, it was prominent that the participants were craving for peace and acceptance despite their competence in being strong and resilient.

Participant’s Embodied Experience

The theme of trauma as the embodied experience was noticeable in the project. The primary witness of the group stated that the most vivid memory he remembered was the feelings of hunger and insomnia throughout the event. All participants also presented to be creative and receptive towards the movement activity during the workshop. Due to the limitation of the project, only the participants' upper bodies were observed. However, it was enough to tell that there was a prevalent disconnection between the upper and lower body, as evidenced by the participants' preference in staying seated and only moved with the upper body. The participants tended to move with body half, scapular/arm, head/tail, and diagonal. All participants preferred movement gestures with significant use of symbolism. For example, the participants tended to associate indirect, quick, and strong with chaos and direct, sustained, and light with peace or grounded.

The participants also tended to move in near to medium reach on the horizontal plane, which I understood as their preference for community and group. Some participants also moved
on the sagittal plane and associated the gesture as looking for peace. I translated the movement gesture as their faith in connections and relationships as the key to achieving peace in the larger society. I also noticed the association of even phrasing with stability and grounding and explosive phrasing with chaos. The participants also made a slashing gesture to represent the impression of the rioters in 1998. Some participants verbalized their embodied experience at the end of the workshop, stating that the movement gesture helped them feel lighter after the heaviness of the conversation. The group members described feeling validated and supported by the other group members throughout the project. All participants expressed appreciation towards the community they had.

**Personal Reflection**

I recalled my personal embodied experience while witnessing the primary witness' story. I felt a tingling sensation on my shoulder, which I interpreted as the feeling of pressure and heaviness as I empathized with the story he shared. I recalled the sensation heightened as the participant ended his story by describing the experience as horrible, but he was healing and would continue to do his best to heal. I found his story and resilience to be very inspiring.

The group dynamics touched me throughout the project. I was also amazed by the participants' use of non-verbal language during the discussions. They tended to use their body language and gesture to respond to others and participate in the group. The process seemed to be organic; they would show agreement by nodding, giving a thumb up, putting their hand on the chin to think or show their opinion through facial expressions, such as smiling, looking up, etc. I also witnessed the presence of complete respectability and politeness throughout the workshop. I also noticed that the participants were susceptible to each other's non-verbal languages; they quickly picked up other people's intentions. Their natural reactions had convinced me that DMT was the appropriate approach for this population.
My movement response emphasized the emergent themes mentioned previously in this paper, with an additional emphasis on the embodied cultural homelessness that this group of people went through. It was supported by the context of the national song that the participants chose. The song was about Indonesia as a country and a homeland. My movement response reflected the intensity of the hardship and the resilience within this community. The polarities of regret/sorrow and pride/gratitude were presented. The past symbolizes sorrow and the future symbolizes hope. We embraced the present and defined it as resilience. The example of the movement response is shown in Appendix E.

**Discussion**

This project suggests that "re-assuming' a Chinese identity that has been 'lost' is not a simple matter" (Setijadi-Dunn, 2009, p. 19). The project presents the perspective on the current Chinese-Indonesians' ethnic-racial identity through the lens of six primary and secondary witnesses to the 1998 genocide event who have lived abroad at some point in their life. The dualities and variations on the viewpoints seem to endorse the presence of various factors contributing to the perception of ethnic-racial identity.

**DMT Approach on the Chinese-Indonesian Population**

The theme of our body holding trauma was significantly mentioned in this project. The participants' use of non-verbal language proposes the possibility of utilizing movement as an alternative way to raise their voice. I find it reasonable considering that the body and movement are the next universal language this community shared. I also notice from my workshop that kinesthetic empathy is vital in working with the participants. They tend to be subtle in their needs. This tendency may be endorsed by their historical and cultural background that supports the mentality of not standing up from the crowd. Thus, the Dance/Movement Therapists need to be extremely sensitive in picking up their non-verbal signs and expressions to understand their needs.
I also notice that the participants work well with structure. The structure may provide a sense of security that serves as a reassurance to their trust. At the end of the project, the participants also disclosed that they could not imagine doing the activities with a group of strangers. The participants appeared hesitant to go out of their comfort zone, but it did not mean that they could not be challenged. I believe that the resilience they possess could assist them in dealing with these challenges. In contrast, the participants also seem to be benefited from some space and flexibility within the structure. All participants agreed that they found the conversations in the project to be inspiring and validating. I also think that they may benefit from the therapeutic experience in a long-term group setting. This proposal is relevant to the Chinese-Indonesians' sense of community.

**Participants on Current Chinese-Indonesian Ethnic-Racial Identity**

The participants suggest that the Chinese-Indonesians may associate their sense of self with their sense of belongingness in the community to cope with cultural homelessness. The need for connection and community seems to motivate this community to put the group's benefit before their own, as evidenced by the participants' tendency to step back during a disagreement to achieve union. During the workshop, all participants chose to stay till the end of the session when the session ran over by 30 minutes despite their commitments outside of the project. The participants' responses suggest that the two essential qualities related to safety mentioned in the previous section seem to be based on these two fundamental needs: trustworthiness and a sense of security. I suppose that the needs may be related to the experience with betrayal by the country they claim as a homeland. This experience may be internalized and impact their need for external validation in feeling safe about a connection. They may associate people's interests with the permission to speak up. I notice that the situation may motivate the group to hold onto the social constructs for stability. During the workshop, the participants preferred to share in the order of the oldest to the youngest. The construct may serve as a hint on their role in society,
considering their confusion on their hybrid identity. However, the participants agreed that the community is learning to embrace this hybrid identity.

The participants endorse the existence of intergenerational trauma and experience with social oppression. This situation results in different responses, such as avoidance, resilience, hope, etc. A participant described Chinese-Indonesians as a community that appears to do well from the outside due to our specialization in business and economy, but is struggling on the inside due to unresolved trauma. Unfortunately, the oppressor often uses this reasoning to justify their argument in downplaying the Chinese-Indonesians' experience (Appendix B). The participants suggest that the Chinese-Indonesians are still suffering from the lack of accountability. The native Indonesians and the current government seem to put the blame solely on Suharto's regime. We are seeking justice, recognition, acknowledgment, and proper closure.

**Personal Learning as Dance/Movement Therapy-in-Training**

As a Chinese-Indonesian myself, this project has inspired me deeply. This paper does not only serve as my advocacy work for my community but also my guidance in my learning process as Dance/Movement Therapist-in-training. The article by Aldana (2012) makes me realize the lack of discussion on ethnic-racial identity throughout my life, which has impacted various aspects of my existence. This paper has served as validation and reassurance to my experience.

This project also motivates me to reflect on my personal stance on the various social context within the Chinese-Indonesian community, such as the critiques mentioned by the film in the article by Setijadi-Dunn (2009) regarding Chinese-Indonesians' tendency to make friends with government officials for protection (p. 25). While I initially agree with the opinion, this paper has provided me with another insight into the context. I learn to see that it is inevitable for a person whose life is threatened to find a way to achieve peace. The theme of employing personal connection for survival and protection has also dominated the participants' responses in
the project; this group of people may not exist today if they did not utilize those personal connections in the past. My only wish is for this group of Chinese-Indonesians is to use their power for the good of the community.

However, in my learning process, I also need to be conscious that my status as a privileged Chinese-Indonesian may influence my bias. In combination with the sense of responsibility I have as a Chinese-Indonesian, this fact may be the reason behind my commitment to this paper. Sometimes, as the secondary witness, I noticed that it is very easy for me to judge the decision that the primary witnesses made during the event. However, I also learn to see that they might not be competent enough in handling the situation because the situation was new to them. I think it is the responsibility of this generation to evolve their effort into an effective social movement in this era.

DMT may provide space for the Chinese-Indonesians to express their voice, validate their feelings, process their collective trauma, and achieve healing. This population seems to be looking for acknowledgment from the global audience. Considering DMT as an emerging field, I wish that this community engagement project could bring more "unheard voices" to the surface. I also hope that this paper can at least provide an insight into the struggle that the biculturals and biethnic populations may have across the world and motivates more research on the population. Reflecting on my personal experience and the experience of the participants, these struggles tend to be invisible. DMT has a lot of potential in providing meaningful works for the biculturals and biethnic population. This project has also inspired me to start a similar community support group within my Chinese-Indonesian community.

Some limitations of this project are: First, the project does not have a balanced ratio of gender. Gender role is prevalent in the Chinese-Indonesian society. Thus, I anticipate different results if the project is done with a group of female participants. Second, the online platform. This setting allows the participants and the group leader to only see each other's upper body and
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not feel each other's physical presence. Third, this thesis offers a limited perspective on the Chinese-Indonesians ethnic-racial identity. Considering the heterogeneity of Chinese-Indonesians as a community, this paper only presents the standpoint on the ethnic-racial identity from six Chinese-Indonesian participants as a secondary witness to the genocide event. Fourth, I acknowledge that my bias as the author is included in this paper.

Conclusion

This paper implies that DMT is an efficient tool in working with the Chinese-Indonesian population. This project endorses the existence of collective and generational trauma within the Chinese-Indonesian community. These traumas have not been resolved despite the multiple reversal attempts done by the government. The horrors and the pains continue to haunt the present and future generations. In parallel to the article by Setijadi-Dunn (2009), this paper also presents "how minority communities are framed under different regimes of power but also actively utilize cultural materials as tools toward their own political goals" (p. 22). It is also important to note that the context of ethnic-racial identity is a fluid process that is possibly evolving (Yip et al., 2014, p. 184).

The importance of this paper lies in the theme of "fighting forgetfulness". After two decades of the genocide event, this effort continues; we want our story to be heard and not be forgotten. In parallel to the DMT concept, the emphasis is not on our current living situation but on the journey that we went through; it is not about the end product, it is about the process. The good end product is just a bonus. However, it is unfortunate that our world only appreciates how we look on the outside and not on the inside. That is what makes this work challenging.
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Appendix A

Key Historical Events Within the Chinese Community Leading Up to the 1998 Genocide Event

Indonesia is an archipelagic country consisting of more than 15,000 islands, home to the most populous Muslim community in Southeast Asia (Ananta et al., 2015, p. 1). Indonesia consists of hundreds of distinct native and non-native (without home province/foreign origin) ethnic and linguistic groups. Ananta et al. (2015) states "creating a new classification system for ethnic groups in Indonesia is not an easy task" (p. 39). Clearly, diversity is a huge topic in Indonesia. Indonesia needs to find a way to make peace with ethnic differences. These many various backgrounds led to the national motto of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika", which means "Unity in Diversity" (Ananta et al., 2015, p. 1).

Chinese is one of the ethnic minorities in Indonesia. The latest integrative census in 2010 identifies Chinese amounting to 1.2% of the total population in Indonesia (Ananta et al., 2015, p. 80). This makes Chinese one of the most significant non-native ethnic minorities in Indonesia. As an ethnic minority without a home province in Indonesia, the Chinese population is distributed all over Indonesia with an observed concentration in Sumatra, Java, Sulawesi, and Borneo (Ananta et al., 2015).

Chinese people are noted to begin migrating to Indonesia in the 15th century (Reid, 2001), with significant waves in the 18th and 19th centuries during the start of the Dutch colonization era (Willmott, 2009). The article by Lie and Bailey (2017) gives a brief snapshot of the related historical events that led to the confusion around Chinese-Indonesian identity. Ethnic Chinese has been distinguished from the rest of the population in Indonesia and classified as "foreign orientals" since the colonial Dutch era in the 1600s. During that period, Chinese-Indonesians often functioned as middlemen between the Dutch and the native ethnic in trade and commerce. This role caused Chinese-Indonesians to be favored by the Dutch. This segregation
continued until after the independence of Indonesia in 1945. Indonesian national legislation in the 1950s decided to limit Chinese-Indonesian status in the country by categorizing them as of “foreign descent” and requiring them to apply for Indonesian citizenship if they chose to stay regardless of how many generations had lived in Indonesia (p. 85). A little after the 1950s, Indonesia developed a relationship with China due to the rise of the communist party and the debate around Chinese-Indonesian citizenship status in Indonesia. At that time, Indonesia was under the rule of Soekarno, Indonesia’s first president and the father of the country (Willmott, 2009).

In 1965, an attempted coup under the leadership of General Suharto, one of the Indonesian military leaders, caused a mass murder of hundreds of thousands of members of the communist party (Lie & Bailey, 2017). Chinese-Indonesians' loyalty was questioned due to the association with the party and China (Dirgantoro, 2020). Suharto then became Indonesia’s second president and started the dictatorship journey in Indonesia. He "implemented a series of assimilationist regulations by banning the three pillars of Chinese identity: clan association, ethnic media, and Chinese-language schools (Ananta et al., 2015, p. 226). Chinese-Indonesians were all required to change their name to be more “Indonesian-sounding” (Lie & Bailey, 2017; Ananta et al., 2015, p. 226; Setijadi-Dunn, 2009). A lot of Chinese-Indonesians chose to adopt western cultures and names during this period. They preferred anything but being an Indonesian, and western culture was introduced through colonization, seemingly much friendlier choice to identify with (Lie & Bailey, 2017). Mass media in Chinese language was also prohibited to circulate in the public (Ananta et al., 2015, p. 226; Setijadi-Dunn, 2009). The display of Chinese characters and important holidays and celebrations were banned, and all Chinese-language schools were closed (Ananta et al., 2015, p. 226). I remembered my father once told me how he wished to have a Chinese-language education when he was a child, but it was impossible. My
father and my uncles and aunts would learn the Chinese language in hiding with my grandparents because if the government found out, they could lose their life.

The regime was failing economically in 1998, which then resulted in a genocide event provoked by an unknown party targeting Chinese-Indonesians. Some describe it as "anti-Chinese" riots that happened in several major cities across Indonesia with the worst being in the capital city of Jakarta (Ananta et al., 2015, p. 226; Setijadi-Dunn, 2009). The unknown party blamed the Chinese for causing the economic crisis that was happening due to the association of this ethnic group with the business and economic field in Indonesia. This event marked the collapse of Suharto’s dictatorship. The discrimination act was finally canceled in 1999 with the formation of a new cabinet and government system (Ananta et al., 2015, p. 226).

Due to decades of rejection, Chinese-Indonesians were left in limbo. They were neither Chinese, nor Indonesian, nor Westerner (Lie & Bailey, 2017). Indonesia now opens up its gates towards diversity. After the genocide event in 1998, the government attempted to revitalize the Chinese culture and language in Indonesia; Chinese-language schools reopened, the Lunar New Year became a national holiday, and Chinese-sounding names were recognized (Setijadi-Dunn, 2009). However, it does not mean the discrimination disappeared. As someone who grew up in the country, I do not remember days without fearing for my safety on the street. The situation is worse with my intersectionality as a female. During the genocide, Chinese-Indonesian females were the victims of physical and sexual abuse before being killed by the perpetrators (Setijadi-Dunn, 2009; Cribb & Coppel, 2009). Chinese-Indonesians are still seen to be an easy target for bullying post-genocide. It leads to a significant generational trauma for this population (Dirgantoro, 2020; Setijadi-Dunn, 2009). However, the event has been left behind as an unspeakable tragedy that no one dares to process.
Appendix B

Western/Colonialist Perspective on the Chinese-Indonesians’ History

An article by Cribb and Coppel (2009) titled, “A Genocide That Never Was: Explaining the Myth of Anti-Chinese Massacres in Indonesia, 1965–66” presents an example of the Colonialist perspective on the Chinese-Indonesians’ history. The article attempts to explain why it is not appropriate to describe the anti-communist event in 1965-1966 as a genocide event from the perspective of two Australian authors. As the researcher for this paper, I always pay close attention to the authors' background in every research article I cited. Throughout my research process, I have been more than careful to only include the insider’s point of view, meaning the authors either experienced the event first-hand or have a personal relationship with the victims and the events, the member of the ethnic group and the Indonesian community, or at the very least, they are from the neighboring eastern culture countries. This decision was made as an attempt to have a genuine presentation of the racism issue in the eastern culture as I acknowledge the limitation of individual bias that a qualitative paper could have.

The article attempts to point out that the event of 1965-1966 in Indonesia was not a genocide, rather an anti-communist event with mostly native Indonesians as the victims. The article acknowledges how unsettling the situation was for Chinese-Indonesians even though only a few Chinese-Indonesians were killed during the event due to the ethnic group’s association with the communist party. The article does not forget to point out that this myth seems to only exist among the international audience, while the scholars in Indonesia understand that the event was not a genocide. The article also points out that these myths mostly arise from international media platforms (p. 454-8). I definitely agree with all the arguments mentioned above and appreciate the effort of "clearing up" the misconception surrounding the 1965-1966 event. However, the argument that the authors made surrounding why explaining the myth is important was troubling.
First of all, I argue that the article sends the message that Chinese-Indonesians are over-reacting by comparing our experience with those who suffered during the Holocaust of World War II, which I think is highly inappropriate (p. 459). I personally agree that the Holocaust was an inhumane tragedy, however, considering the complexity of both events, I do not think it is fair to look at them side-by-side. The authors comparison is even more egregious considering their arguments were built on the idea that Chinese-Indonesians do not have the right to seek a certain degree of assistance from the Australian government (p. 459). As much as I agree that the degree of assistance needed by various groups are different, I do not think it is wise for the authors to make such a comparison. Secondly, the article sends the message that it is inappropriate to label the 1965-1966 event as a "genocide" event because it simultaneously accuses the native Indonesians as being racist (p. 460).

As a Chinese-Indonesian, I do not agree that every native Indonesian is racist, but I do agree that there is a significant presence of racism within Indonesian society. I think this argument is self-explanatory considering the pictures of systemic and social racism towards Chinese-Indonesians painted in the previous sections. I am also aware that this racism is rooted in colonialism and one may argue that it is not fair to blame the native Indonesians for it. However, I do not think the Chinese-Indonesians are trying to find a party to be blamed. This ethnic group is seeking accountability and I think it is understandable for the party that is the most benefited by the system to be put in the spotlight. Thirdly, I argue that the authors downplay and de-value Chinese-Indonesians’ experience. The authors argue that it is a huge disrespect towards the victims of the event by labeling the 1965-1966 event as a genocide towards Chinese-Indonesians because they were not the only group affected. The authors state that "the surviving members of the Indonesian Left (members of communism party) experienced discrimination under the New Order that was at least comparable to that suffered by Chinese Indonesians" (p. 460). The authors then go on and on painting pictures of the
discrimination faced by the victims in Suharto's era, which is similar to what Chinese-Indonesians went through. Chinese-Indonesians are not "the least" oppressed, they (Chinese-Indonesians and Indonesian Leftists) are both marginalized societies in Indonesia. Fourth, the article concludes by describing the overseas Chinese community as having "the image of a past genocide, conjured from imperfect memories of an entirely different event,” and that this “memory”, “becomes grounds for setting aside the need to discuss the realities of the present” (p. 461). This viewpoint is clearly problematic for many reasons.

Aside from all the issues described above, it is published in one of the most well-known journals of Genocide Research. I cannot imagine how big of an impact this article could have on international readers. This article is also published in 2009, eleven years after the anti-Chinese event in 1998 and still argues that:

The causes of violence against Chinese Indonesians need not be sought in general racism at all, but rather in the reasons for state weakness and withdrawal and in the thorny problem of generalized violence in Indonesian society. The solution to such violence will not therefore lie in addressing prejudice or discrimination against Chinese Indonesians, even if doing so would be desirable from a general human rights point of view. (p. 460)

I partially agree with this statement, it is true that the violence happening both in 1965-1966 and 1998 are triggered by a political event and a weak government response towards violence. However, if there was no prejudice and discrimination against Chinese-Indonesians, Chinese-Indonesians would not have been the only target for the 1998 event. The authors are convinced their article brings value by analyzing an eastern racism issue using a western analytical perspective and constantly compares an eastern ethnic group's experience with that of a western country. Thus in this paper, I argue that the authors were observing and arguing from a Colonialist position.
Appendix C

Steps in Moving Stories Method

Step 1: Select, Make, Practice
Step 2: Present
Step 3: Reflect
Step 4: Creative Response
Step 5: Share
Step 6: Document
Step 7: Homework/Application
Step 8: Gift

Space and Relationship
Appendix D

The Details of The Workshop

1. Introduction to the project

2. Trauma-informed practice: brief description of the schedule

3. Permission and consent

4. Acknowledgement: Even though we are all Chinese-Indonesians, we came from different upbringings and backgrounds; differences is inevitable.

5. Safety rules: What are the critical traits that encourage us to open up and be vulnerable with a person?

6. Core: space and Relationship
   a. My personal idea of a safe space: trust, compassion, non-judgmental, connection, mutuality, familiarity, community.
   b. What does motivate such ideas?
      i. “Chinese-Indonesian people have undergone ethnic neglect and even eradication from the Indonesian government and mainstream native or pribumi (local native) society” (Kusumaningtyas & Cohen, 2020, p. 153).
      ii. “Chinese-Indonesians have never been acknowledged as one of the accepted ethnic groups in Indonesia as they do not have any connection with one of the geographical areas in the Indonesian archipelagos” (Suryadinata, 2002, as cited in Kusumaningtyas & Cohen, 2020, p. 155).
      iii. “The binary opposition of pribumi / non-pribumi or native / non-native have long been used to judge Chinese-Indonesian’s loyalty to and rights as Indonesian citizens” (Coppel, 1994; Aguilar, 2001, as cited in Kusumaningtyas & Cohen, 2020, p. 155).
iv. “Chinese-Indonesians participate in many charitable, social, and cultural activities which demonstrate their love for Indonesia as well as their loyalty to the country” (Kusumaningtyas & Cohen, 2020, p. 155).

v. “The Chinese-Indonesians, who had never visited China, perceived their Chineseness in connection with the social environment they lived in, the religions they chose to believe, and the ways their parents had raised them” (Kusumaningtyas & Cohen, 2020, p. 155).

7. Make a group gesture

8. Step 1: select, make, practice
   a. Select: What do you know about the 1998 genocide event? (Everyone has five minutes to share)
   b. Make and practice: What image does come up to your mind after listening to the story?

9. Step 2: presentation of the story
   a. Please assign a movement to your image.

10. Break for 10 minutes

11. Step 3: reflect
   a. How does the genocide event impact our community on a personal, group, and the systemic level?

12. Step 4: creative response
   a. Free writing for 7 minutes with song on the background
   b. Please circle the words that stood out the most by skimming the narrative that was written previously
   c. Modified the words into a complete sentence

13. Step 5: Sharing
POST-GENOCIDE CHINESE-INDONESIAN IDENTITY

a. Group leader started an online white board; participants shared their sentences
b. Participants rearranged the sentences into a poem
c. Participants recalled their movement
d. Participants chose a music to be used in the final product
e. Participants rehearsed for the final product

a. Participants take turns to read their line while moving their movement gesture with music in the background
b. The session was recorded

15. Step 7: homework/application
a. How do the participants feel?
b. What does the event mean to them as a Chinese-Indonesian?
c. Body scanning exercise
d. Where do you feel it on your body?

16. End of the project; final discussion

17. Step 8: gift
a. Group leader sent the file of the final product to the participants
Appendix E

Art/Movement-based Response

The Intensity of the Hardship

The Intensity of the Pride/Grateful

The Past/Sorrow

The Future/Hope
The Presence/Resilience
THESIS APPROVAL FORM

Lesley University
Graduate School of Arts & Social Sciences
Expressive Therapies Division
Master of Arts in Clinical Mental Health Counseling: Dance/Movement Therapy, MA

Student’s Name: Iyit Benusia

Type of Project: Thesis

Title: Exploring Post-Genocide Chinese-Indonesian Identity from the Perspective of the Secondary Witness: Dance/Movement Therapy Approach

Date of Graduation: May 22nd, 2021

In the judgment of the following signatory this thesis meets the academic standards that have been established for the above degree.

Thesis Advisor: Meg Chang, Ed.D., BC-DMT