



## Cultural Acculturation of Ethnic Chinese and Ethnic Javanese in Kampung Ketandan Yogyakarta, 1966-2001

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### ABSTRACT

This study examines the cultural acculturation between Chinese and Javanese ethnic groups in Kampung Ketandan, Yogyakarta, during 1966-2001. The research aims to explore the factors driving and inhibiting this acculturation process. A historical method was employed, involving topic selection, heuristics, source verification, interpretation, and historiography. The findings reveal that the acculturation in Kampung Ketandan occurred harmoniously, marked by cultural adaptation processes such as deculturation, enculturation, acculturation, and assimilation manifesting in language, architecture, clothing, names, cuisine, and the arts. For example, the word "kecap" was adopted from Chinese, shop-house architecture became characteristic of Ketandan, the "kebaya encim" was integrated into local dress, and the Chinese-Javanese shadow puppetry emerged as a unique art form. Factors supporting acculturation included education, social contact, and a heterogeneous population, while barriers included ethnic prejudice and economic disparities. The study concludes that the acculturation in Kampung Ketandan fostered a rich and diverse cultural coexistence despite various challenges.

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## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is known for its rich diversity of ethnic groups and cultures. According to a 2010 survey by the Central Bureau of Statistics, Indonesia has 1,340 ethnic groups and 1,211 languages, including 1,158 regional languages and 53 local languages. This diversity makes Indonesia one of the most multicultural countries in the world. One manifestation of this diversity is the cultural acculturation between local inhabitants and the Chinese ethnic group. Gungwu states that this diversity is reflected in the development of acculturation in architecture, arts, trade, and religious celebrations, including the Chinese New Year, which blends with local culture (Akbar, 2023).

The acculturation of Chinese culture in Indonesia has been ongoing for a long time, particularly in cities such as Jakarta, Semarang, Lasem, Surabaya, and Yogyakarta. Koentjaraningrat (2015) defines acculturation as a social process that occurs when a group of people with a particular culture interacts with elements of foreign culture, allowing those elements to be accepted and integrated into their own culture without losing the original identity of their culture (Koentjaraningrat, 2015). One area with a unique history of Chinese community development is Yogyakarta.

The Chinatown of Ketandan Village has existed since the 1830s. The name Ketandan derives from the word "tondo," which refers to tax collectors stationed in Ketandan (Nugraha & Febrianty, 2015). The history of Ketandan Village is inseparable from the role of Tan Jin Sing, a Javanese-Hokkien who became the first Chinese regent in Yogyakarta. Tan Jin Sing was an intelligent individual fluent in Hokkien, Mandarin, and English. His linguistic skills allowed him to act as a liaison between Sultan Hamengku Buwono III and Thomas Stamford Raffles. As recognition of his contributions, Sultan Hamengku Buwono III appointed Tan Jin Sing as regent with the title Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung Secadiningrat and granted him land under his supervision, permitting the Chinese to reside there (Hanggar, 2015).

Political changes in Indonesia over the years have significantly influenced the acceptance of the Chinese ethnic group. During the colonial era, the Chinese and indigenous populations were divided into three social classes (Sujana, 2020). Moreover, during the New Order period, government policies indirectly fractured ethnic unity, and this period was a dark time for the Chinese, as they faced severe life restrictions, trauma, and discrimination (Helmisyah, 2021). However, the stigma against the Chinese in Yogyakarta began to diminish during the Reform Era. Following the repeal of Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967 regarding Chinese Religion, Beliefs, and Customs, the Chinese ethnic group



was freer to introduce and integrate their culture with Yogyakarta's society. Lion dance performances became a cultural entry point for introducing Chinese traditions (Sudono, [2013](#)). Acculturation between Chinese and Javanese cultures in Yogyakarta can be seen in language, arts, and architecture.

Studies on the Chinese in Indonesia show three main trends. First, many studies highlight racial, ethnic, and political discrimination against the Chinese. For example, Murdianto (2018) found that the Chinese still experience prejudice and discrimination in various aspects of their lives (Murdianto, [2018](#)). Second, some studies document anti-Chinese violence and riots, such as the 1998 riots that left a deep trauma among the Chinese (Benny, [2005](#)). Third, studies explore the social interaction between Chinese and Javanese ethnic groups. These social interactions involve various factors affecting their relations in Ketandan Village, Yogyakarta (Kurniawan, [2021](#)). However, studies on the cultural acculturation process and outcomes between Chinese and Javanese in Yogyakarta during 1966-2001 are still rare.

This research aims to complement previous studies on the Chinese in Indonesia by focusing on the acculturation process between the Chinese and Javanese in Ketandan Village, Yogyakarta, during 1966-2001. The study shows that the Chinese and Javanese can coexist and produce acculturation that adds to Yogyakarta's cultural charm. The study is guided by two main research questions: first, how did the cultural acculturation of Chinese and Javanese in Ketandan Village, Yogyakarta, influence the period 1966-2001? Second, what factors supported and hindered the acculturation in Ketandan Village during this period? The study aims to provide a comprehensive examination of cultural acculturation between the Chinese and Javanese in Ketandan Village, Yogyakarta, from 1966-2001.

Based on this background, the authors are interested in examining the process and forms of cultural acculturation between Chinese and Javanese in Ketandan Village, Yogyakarta. This study is considered crucial for three main reasons. First, the cultural acculturation of the Chinese ethnic group represents a cultural heritage that must be preserved. Second, the acculturation process in Ketandan Village shapes a dynamic lifestyle pattern. Third, the cultural manifestations of the Chinese ethnic group have become icons of Yogyakarta, such as "bakpia," a traditional Yogyakarta snack.

## METHOD

This research uses the historical method which includes five main stages: topic selection, heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. The first stage, topic selection, is a very important first step in research, carried out by considering several factors such as the attractiveness of the topic, the availability of sources and data, and the suitability of the topic with the disciplines studied. The second stage, heuristics, is the process of collecting sources relevant to the topic from various places, including UIN Sunan Kalijaga Library, UMSU Library, Jogja Library Center, Sonobudoyo Museum, 2024 Chinese Cultural Festival, and the Central Bureau of Statistics of Yogyakarta Province and City.

The types of sources used include books, journals, historical documents, exhibitions, and artifacts related to ethnicity in Yogyakarta. These sources were chosen because they are relevant to the research, especially related to local history and cultural interaction between Chinese and Javanese ethnicities and their influence on the acculturation of the two ethnicities. The third stage, verification or source criticism, is carried out to assess the validity (external criticism) and credibility (internal criticism) of the sources that have been collected, so that only reliable sources are used. The fourth stage, interpretation, is the process of interpreting sources to avoid subjectivity in the interpretation of facts, by combining data and facts from various sources to obtain an objective understanding and in accordance with the problems discussed. The last stage, historiography, is the preparation or reporting of research results in the form of descriptive writing (Kuntowijoyo, [2013](#)).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### History of Chinese Ethnic Settlement in Kampung Ketandan, Yogyakarta

Before the establishment of Yogyakarta City in 1756, it is believed that the Chinese had already settled in the area. Kampung Ketandan has existed and developed since the 1830s. When the Yogyakarta Sultanate was established, some Chinese individuals were known to have close ties with the Yogyakarta Palace. The Sultan granted the Chinese community land in the late 18th century to build a temple, despite frequent rejection from the native residents of

Yogyakarta. The presence of the Chinese was officially recognized during the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwono I. The name Ketandan originates from "tondo," referring to tax collectors placed in the area (Nugraha & Febrianty, [2015](#)).

The history of Kampung Ketandan is closely linked with Tan Jin Sing, a Javanese-Hokkien who became the first Chinese regent in Yogyakarta. Known for his intelligence and fluency in Hokkien, Mandarin, and English, Tan Jin Sing served as an intermediary between Sultan Hamengku Buwono III and Thomas Stamford Raffles. In recognition of his service, Sultan Hamengku Buwono III appointed Tan Jin Sing as regent with the title Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung Secadiningrat and granted him residency rights in Kampung Ketandan (Hanggar, [2015](#)).

During the Old Order period, Government Regulation No. 10 of 1959 was issued, prohibiting foreigners from engaging in business activities in rural areas, prompting many Chinese to move to Yogyakarta. Most were pure Chinese descendants who eventually settled in the Malioboro area. Later, Presidential Decree No. 14 of 1967 was issued, banning all forms of Chinese cultural activities. This policy caused the younger generation of Chinese to be unfamiliar with their own culture, and during the New Order, economic conditions were dire. The New Order government later implemented policies to stabilize and build the economy by attracting foreign creditors and investors regulated through the Foreign Investment Law (UUPMA) and the Domestic Investment Law (UUPMDN). These policies provided benefits and special treatment to foreign investors, allowing Chinese entrepreneurs to expand their businesses and play a significant role in Indonesia's economy during the early New Order period.

Initially, although Chinese entrepreneurs were given opportunities to develop their businesses, they had to face bureaucratic challenges and security issues from local threats, as seen during the May 1998 riots. These circumstances pushed Chinese entrepreneurs to forge alliances with indigenous elites (Liem, [2000](#)). In Yogyakarta, government elites, particularly the Sultanate, generally maintained good relations with the Chinese community. Several important figures within the Yogyakarta Sultanate were of Chinese descent; even one of Sultan Hamengku Buwono II's concubines was of Chinese ancestry. Many Chinese individuals close to the Yogyakarta Sultanate received noble titles and served in governmental positions. One notable figure was Chinese Captain Tan Jin Sing, who was appointed Regent of Yogyakarta and given the title K.R.T. Secadiningrat. The good relationship between the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Chinese community was also commemorated in a marble plaque brought from China as a tribute to Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX during the celebration of his coronation as the Sultan of Yogyakarta. This plaque remains preserved in the palace complex (Muzakky, [2016](#)).

After the Reform Era, the economic conditions of the Chinese community in Yogyakarta improved significantly due to broader market access. The success of the Chinese in business is undeniable; they are known for their cleverness, diligence, and perseverance in work and wealth accumulation. Despite their relatively small population, their role as traders and their high mobility made their presence significant in enhancing Yogyakarta's economy. Their closeness to government officials also played a vital role in this success.

In cultural terms, initially, the Chinese attempted to preserve their culture, but to be accepted by the Javanese community, they incorporated Javanese elements into their traditions, as seen in Wacinwa (Chinese-Javanese Wayang). However, most Chinese were more familiar with Javanese culture than their own due to Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967, which banned all things related to Chinese culture. This compelled the Chinese community to blend in and adapt to local culture for over 32 years (Prasetya, [2015](#)). During President Abdurrahman Wahid's (Gus Dur) administration in the Reform Era, Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000 was issued, revoking Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967. This allowed Chinese culture to be more widely known, preserved, and showcased to the people of Yogyakarta. Additionally, the economic conditions of the Chinese community improved significantly after the Reform Era due to broader market access.

## Cultural Adaptation Processes in Kampung Ketandan

### Enculturation

In studying the culture of a society and the process of acculturation, it is crucial to understand the concept of enculturation. Enculturation is a key component in the cultural process. Consciously or not, every social action in society is significantly influenced by enculturation, either directly or indirectly. Various examples of enculturation in society are shaped by the media of enculturation, which include family, community, and education. These media play a role in determining the speed and intensity of the enculturation process within the community. Enculturation also occurred in

Kampung Ketandan in the context of cultural adaptation. Examples of enculturation in Kampung Ketandan are evident in the aspects of family culture, community, schooling, and daily life.

### Deculturation

Deculturation occurs when individuals begin to lose cultural values, worldviews, and cultural identities that were previously held. Migrants who move from villages to cities often experience deculturation. At this stage, the acculturation process affects the psychological and social behaviors of migrants, leading them to adopt new identities, norms, and cultural values. This often triggers resistance or rejection of the new culture, sometimes causing migrants to isolate themselves from local residents. Ruben and Stewart (2013) argue that when someone stays far from their comfort zone for an extended period, value shifts occur, known as cultural adaptation. In other words, cultural adaptation is how individuals adjust to changes in social and cultural order (Mohammad, [2022](#)). A clear example of deculturation is seen among migrants who perceive urban life as superior to village life. The longer they live in the city, the more they adopt urban ways of living, gradually abandoning their original culture to align with their new environment.

### Acculturation

Acculturation is the process of blending two or more cultures when people from different cultural backgrounds communicate and interact. Generally, acculturation occurs when new cultural elements are seen as beneficial to social life. This process can encompass all aspects of life, including language, science, technology, and cultural arts. In Kampung Ketandan, acculturation occurred when Chinese immigrants arrived and interacted with the local community. The Chinese brought their culture while the Javanese maintained theirs, resulting in a fusion of both cultures without losing the essence of each. The Chinese began to adapt to Javanese customs, and cultural acculturation in Kampung Ketandan can be observed in language, architecture, clothing, food, names, and Chinese-Javanese shadow puppetry (Wacinwa).

### Assimilation

Assimilation is a social and behavioral process aimed at reducing differences between individuals or groups and enhancing unity and harmony to create a peaceful and secure society. The assimilation process in Kampung Ketandan illustrates how individuals or groups from different cultural backgrounds adjust to one another and integrate into daily life. Through tolerance toward religious and cultural activities, as well as interethnic marriages, Kampung Ketandan residents have successfully fostered an inclusive and harmonious environment. A prominent example of assimilation is the use of the local language by the Chinese community in daily communication. In a religious context, events like "halal bi halal" serve as concrete manifestations of assimilation, where Muslim residents invite neighbors from various ethnic backgrounds to celebrate these important moments together. This not only strengthens individual relationships across cultural lines but also builds community bonds and solidarity in Kampung Ketandan.

## Forms of Acculturation in Kampung Ketandan, Yogyakarta

Acculturation between Chinese and Javanese cultures in Kampung Ketandan have resulted in significant cultural influences in various aspects, such as language, architecture, clothing, food, names, and arts.

### Language

Language is a crucial component of cultural acculturation because it facilitates communication within and between ethnic groups. When a group undergoes cultural acculturation, it demonstrates prolonged interaction. In Yogyakarta, acculturation between Chinese and Javanese ethnic groups is reflected in language. To adapt and foster good interaction, the Chinese adjusted their language to match that of the local population, creating a blend of Chinese and Javanese languages. A study shows that Chinese influences in Javanese are evident in loanwords like "kecap," derived from the Chinese word "tjap," meaning sauce (Interview with Indra Fibiona, January 30, 2024). Some examples of Chinese vocabulary that have been integrated into Javanese include:

Additionally, the Kampung Ketandan community uses Mandarin in communication, such as in monetary terms (e.g., samban, sapek, satyo) and in honorifics like "ci" and "ko" for addressing Chinese individuals in the village. Continuous linguistic interaction has made the Chinese highly proficient in the Javanese language, to the extent that

they can speak exclusively in Javanese in certain situations without mixing in Chinese. However, they still maintain their original identity by mixing Chinese and Javanese in daily conversations (Interview with Fauzi, December 30, 2023).

Chinese Word	Javanese Borrowed Term
<i>Tjap</i> (醬)	Saus (Sauce)
<i>Anglo</i> (洪爐)	Tungku (Stove)
<i>Doufu</i> (豆腐)	Tahu (Tofu)
<i>Bakmi</i> (面条)	Mie (Noodles)

Source: Interview with Indra Fibiona, January 30, 2024.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that language interaction between the two ethnicities results in acculturation that enriches cultural diversity in the archipelago. In addition, language acts as an identity and facilitates communication between ethnicities.

### Architecture

The strategic position of Nusantara, between the Indian and Pacific Oceans and between the Asian and Australian continents, made it a stopover for sailors and traders from various countries, including China. Their presence greatly influenced the architectural development in Nusantara. Initially, residential architecture in Nusantara was dominated by traditional Indonesian designs. However, the arrival of Chinese settlers brought significant changes to the housing architecture (Sudarwani, [2018](#)).

Acculturation in architecture can be seen in several houses and temples (klenteng) in Kampung Ketandan. Buildings with Javanese and Chinese architectural styles stand side by side, and shop-houses (ruko) have become a distinctive feature of Ketandan homes. This is because the Chinese often engaged in trade, requiring their homes to function as both residences and businesses. To accommodate these needs, houses in Kampung Ketandan typically have two or more floors, with the ground floor used as a shop and the upper floors as living quarters. Some buildings retain Chinese nuances, evident in their roofs, windows, and anchor-patterned walls (Nugraha, [2015](#)).

Although many old structures have been replaced by modern buildings, the physical and socio-economic changes in Kampung Ketandan reflect modernization trends. However, these changes are not always accompanied by preservation efforts, leading to the loss of many unique Chinese architectural features. Notable examples include the old buildings north of Beringharjo Market and Anton's house, over 100 years old and still adorned with anchor motifs.





**Figure 1: Architectural forms in Ketandan Village**  
Source: Personal Documentation, March 10, 2024

## Clothing

The forms and results of cultural acculturation in Nusantara are diverse, with one prominent example being traditional clothing. In Yogyakarta, acculturation between Chinese and Javanese cultures is visible in everyday clothing known as "kebaya encim." Kebaya encim, also known as nyonya kebaya, became popular in the early 20th century among Chinese Peranakan women. The term "encim" refers to older married Chinese women who were the primary users of this garment. Initially, Chinese ladies wore "baju kurung" (a loose tunic), but over time, this was replaced by kebaya encim, which was considered more comfortable for the tropical climate of Nusantara (Chintya, [2022](#)).

After the fall of the Chinese Empire in 1911, Chinese women began adopting the fashion style of Europeans, especially the Dutch who occupied the archipelago. Dutch kebaya was then modified by Chinese women, incorporating unique elements such as colors, patterns, embroidery, and accessories. The cut of kebaya worn by Dutch women was flat, while the kebaya worn by Chinese women was designed with a pointed front (called *sonday*) to accentuate the body's curves, creating a slim silhouette (Chintya, [2022](#)).



**Figure 2. Kebaya Encim**  
Source: (Devanny, [2017](#))

Kebaya encim is typically made of sheer materials and must be worn with a camisole. Chinese women also express their identity by choosing kebaya colors believed to bring good luck, such as red, yellow, and green. Kebaya encim became a trend among Chinese women in Southeast Asia, including Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia, each with characteristics adapted to local cultures (Chintya, [2022](#)).

## Food

Chinese culture is one of the oldest and most complex in the world. In Indonesia, the Chinese ethnic group has influenced various cultural aspects, including art, music, language, festivals, and culinary traditions. In Chinese culture, food plays a crucial role as a unifying element, significantly influencing social and economic cohesion (Parwati, [2022](#)).

In Yogyakarta, the Chinese successfully integrated their traditional food into local culture, with "bakpia" being one notable example. Bakpia is a result of the acculturation between Chinese and Yogyakarta cultures. The term "bakpia" is derived from the Hokkien language, "bah-pia," meaning meat and cake. Originally, bakpia in Indonesia was made with pork filling according to the original recipe. However, because the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim, the filling was modified to mung beans to adhere to halal principles. This acculturation process has made bakpia one of Yogyakarta's iconic snacks popular among tourists.

## Names

Names are often seen as identifiers of individuals or entities, carrying particular meanings, values, or associations. In the context of acculturation, the use of elements in Chinese names in Kampung Ketandan demonstrates phonetic similarities with Javanese names. The differences in name elements are influenced by ethnic backgrounds, prompting the convergence of names to align with Chinese norms while considering their meanings. For example, the name 周 (Chou/Zhou) can converge into the Javanese name Subagyo (Interview with Indra Fibiona, January 30, 2024).

The replacement of Chinese names with Indonesian ones was mandated by government regulations stated in Presidential Decree No. 127/U/Kep/12/1966 and Presidential Instruction No. 31/U/IN/12/1966. In this process, many Chinese retained their original names by incorporating elements of their old names into the new ones (Rabith, 2006). In Kampung Ketandan, the Chinese also changed their names to Javanese names while preserving elements of their old names as part of their identity. This change was further influenced by Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967, which required the Chinese to change their names. These name changes reflect the dynamic relationship between the Chinese and the government, as well as their efforts to adapt to shifting political policies.

## Chinese-Javanese Shadow Puppetry (Wacinwa)

The Chinese in Southeast Asia are often viewed as a trading minority without cultural or literary heritage; however, this perception is misleading. They possess a rich cultural legacy, one of which is wayang (shadow puppetry). Wayang, particularly Javanese shadow puppetry (wayang kulit purwa) and Sundanese puppet theater (wayang golek), is highly popular in Indonesia. Other types include potehi puppets, Betawi puppets, and Chinese-Javanese shadow puppetry (Wacinwa) (Mastuti, [2004](#)).

Wacinwa has been performed in Chinese temples on Java for a long time, telling myths and legends of China, such as Sie Jin Kwi and Ceng Tang, using the Javanese language. Wacinwa was created by Gan Thwan Sing (1895-1967) in Yogyakarta in 1925, blending Chinese and Javanese cultures. Wacinwa maintains the style of Javanese shadow puppetry but preserves a distinctly Chinese appearance (Hanggar, [2014](#)).

However, Chinese-Javanese shadow puppetry did not enjoy a long lifespan. After its creation by Gan Thwan Sing in 1925, performances ceased in 1967. Although Gan Thwan Sing trained several puppeteers, they passed away without successors. Unlike potehi puppets, which were banned from being performed by Presidential Decree in 1967, Wacinwa was allowed during the New Order period because the Yogyakarta community-maintained security and regarded the Chinese as part of their own. Despite often being seen as a trading minority without cultural or literary heritage, the Chinese in Southeast Asia possess a rich cultural legacy. Chinese-Javanese shadow puppetry (Wacinwa), blending Javanese wayang kulit traditions with Chinese myths and legends, exemplifies their contribution to enriching Indonesian culture.

## Supporting Factors of Acculturation

### Education

Education plays a crucial role as a supporting factor in the process of cultural acculturation. Through education, individuals have the opportunity to learn about other cultures and understand the differences between their own and other cultures. Education supports cultural acculturation in several ways: 1) Learning About Other Cultures: Education provides knowledge about other cultures, enabling individuals to better understand and appreciate cultural diversity, and; 2) Teaching Inclusive Values and Tolerance: Education instills inclusive values and tolerance, which are essential for creating a harmonious social environment that embraces cultural differences.

### Social Contact

Mutual respect fosters solidarity and unity among residents. When individuals feel respected and accepted, they are more motivated to contribute to maintaining social harmony within the community. This is reflected in active participation in social activities, mutual assistance (*gotong royong*), and support for educational or economic welfare initiatives for fellow residents (Interview with Fauzi, December 4, 2023).

The formation of sustainable traditions and social norms is a result of this mutual respect. By teaching and applying values of mutual respect to younger generations, the Kampung Ketandan community ensures that the harmony and togetherness they have built will endure from generation to generation. This not only enhances social welfare and stability but also helps build a stable and prosperous community in the future.

### Heterogeneous Population

Diverse populations are a significant supporting factor in acculturation, providing social groups from different backgrounds with opportunities to interact, exchange information, and learn from one another. This diversity can encourage social harmony, the formation of new cultural identities, and the reduction of potential conflicts, facilitating positive societal changes. One example of intercultural interaction in Kampung Ketandan is through community meetings or cross-cultural discussions, such as routine meetings held at the village hall. Here, residents from various cultural backgrounds can gather to discuss, share experiences, and learn from each other. These interactions enhance cross-cultural understanding and open opportunities to discover similarities and appreciate cultural differences.

## Inhibiting Factors of Acculturation in Kampung Ketandan

### Ethnic Prejudice

According to Dion (2003), prejudice is defined as a biased, often negative attitude toward a specific social group and its members. Manstead and Hewstone (1996) define prejudice as attitudes and beliefs that demean, express negative feelings, or display hostility or discriminatory behavior toward others. Although discrimination is often associated with prejudice, it has distinct characteristics involving the application of specific prejudices in real life (Murdianto, 2018). Prejudice against the Chinese community is also relevant, with discrimination as its manifestation. Understanding this prejudice is essential for addressing inequality and building a more inclusive and just society in Indonesia.

### Economic Disparities

Anti-Chinese sentiment, often leading to violence against the Chinese in Indonesia, is intertwined with social sentiments and economic disparities. These social sentiments are frequently linked with economic inequality. Behind these sentiments lie prejudices that are sometimes used for specific purposes. Economic disparities, particularly those evident between wealthy Chinese traders and less affluent indigenous entrepreneurs, also contribute to anti-Chinese sentiment. Although cultural interaction between Javanese and Chinese occurs in lower social classes, prejudice against the Chinese persists. Overall, social, economic, and historical factors play roles in shaping anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia, with prejudices often exploited for political or economic gains.

## CONCLUSION

The Chinatown of Kampung Ketandan in Yogyakarta is a tangible example of the acculturation process between the Chinese and Javanese ethnic groups. This process involves various aspects of life, such as language, architecture, clothing, food, names, and arts, demonstrating that the interaction between these two ethnic groups has developed harmoniously. The successful acculturation has created a community rich in cultural heritage, where values from both cultures complement and enrich Yogyakarta's social identity.

This research has limitations, particularly regarding the depth of analysis on the internal dynamics within the Ketandan community, such as socio-economic changes or external factors that might influence the acculturation process. The study is also limited in its long-term exploration of the impact of acculturation on younger generations and how they preserve or adapt this cultural heritage in the modern context. Further studies are needed to understand the more complex dynamics within this community.

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