

## CHAPTER 4

### DATA ANALYSIS

To answer the research questions, the researcher asked several questions that relate to the background information between the participants and the opposite terms. Most of the participants know the opposite terms from their educational environment. There are also participants who know the opposite terms from their entrepreneur area, her neighborhood, her church, from his friend, and her shopping time.

All the Chinese Indonesian participants and four of Javanese participants differentiate the use of addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* after they know there are other ethnic addressing terms. They do that because they want to respect their interlocutors. There are also participants who differentiate the use of both addressing terms because they consider the use of the terms from other people and their ethnicity or physical appearance, whereas other two participants are consistent in using the addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* because one participant said it is his habit and the other one said he is afraid over people for not accepting to be addressed with *Ci-Ko*.

All participants had experiences in getting addressed with the opposite terms. All the Javanese participants were surprised when they were addressed with *Ci-Ko*, while most of the Chinese Indonesian participants feel nothing. In addition, while they were surprised, three of the participants still thought the reason behind their interlocutors addressing them with *Ci-Ko*, such as “Do I look Chinese?” or “Do they have that kind of habit in their family?” A Javanese participant felt pressured because she thought that

their interlocutors might have expected her as Chinese while she has no Chinese ethnically or physically at all. Another Javanese participant stated when he was first addressed with *Ko* by his friend's brother, he felt scared because he did not know whether his friend's brother called him so or not. After he realized that he was the one whom his friend's brother addressed, he felt awkward. A Chinese Indonesian participant also said she was surprised for being addressed with *Mbak* because she was used to being called with *Ci* in her house.

Most of the participants claimed that they are used to getting addressed with the opposite terms again, and they will not reject it at all. They understand why their interlocutors address them in that way. They realize they live in Indonesia where it has many cultures blend together. Other than that, based on two Chinese Indonesian participants' experiences where they used to live in a small city when they were in junior and senior high school, they understand that not all Indonesian people know the Chinese addressing terms. Contrarily, one participant will refuse it subtly to not call her with *Ci* since she feels uncomfortable with it. It is because she thinks she is not a representation of 'Ci people' which should be Chinese.

In every interaction, people may expect what addressing term that they get when they are addressed. It influences the convenience when they talk to their interlocutors. The participants' experiences and feelings in dealing with the terms influence how they choose their addressing terms when they are addressed by their interlocutors. Moreover, they influence how the participants perceive the use of addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko*.

#### 4.1 The Participants' Preference towards Getting Addressed between *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko*

**Table 4. 1**

*Information of the Participants' Preference in Choosing Addressing Terms*

Name (Gender f/m)	Ethnicity	Preferred Addressing Terms	
		Javanese Terms	Chinese Terms
Alea (f)	Javanese	✓	-
Arfan (m)	Javanese	✓	-
Elif (f)	Chinese	-	-
Elia (f)	Javanese	✓	-
Gristi (f)	Chinese	-	✓
Irfandhi (m)	Chinese	-	✓
Julian (m)	Javanese	✓	-
Kemal (m)	Chinese	-	✓
Rudi (m)	Javanese	✓	-
Shinta (f)	Javanese	✓	-
Stefani (f)	Chinese	-	✓
Yoga (m)	Chinese	-	✓

Based on the table above, among twelve participants from both Javanese and Chinese Indonesians, eleven of them prefer to be addressed with the addressing terms based on their ethnicity. Javanese participants prefer to be addressed with *Mbak* and *Mas*, while Chinese Indonesian participants prefer to be addressed with *Ci* and *Ko*. They separate themselves by using the terms from their ethnicity (Urban, 2013). Strangely, one of the participants prefer to not choose any addressing terms.

## **4.2 The Participants' Reasons in Choosing the Addressing Terms**

### **4.2.1 The Participants are Used to Being Addressed with Their Ethnicity's Addressing Terms**

An environment really influences the participants in choosing their preferred addressing terms. In Ra's research (2014), she cited it as 'shaping self', a symbolic interaction theory by George Herbert Mead. Her Chinese Indonesian participants observed themselves since early stage. They realized that they are part of Chinese ethnicity by claiming the addressing terms *Ci* and *Ko*.

Three out of twelve participants prefer to be addressed with the addressing terms based on their ethnicity that has been taught and used since they were young in their family environment. Alea said that she is used to being addressed with *Mbak* because she is the first-born whose little brother is used to addressing her so.

*“Uhm... kalo lebih suka dipanggil, kalo aku lebih suka dipanggil Mbak sih karena kalo dari dulu, kebiasaannya, uhm... apa ya, aku kan di rumah pun punya adek*

*cowok juga gitu. Dia manggilnya bukan kak gitu sih, jadi dia manggilnya Mbak, jadi lebih kayak kebiasaan dipanggil Mbak.”*

“Uhm... I would prefer to be addressed with *Mbak* because it has happened since long ago, it is the habit. In my family, I have a little brother who addresses me with *Mbak*, not *Kak*, so it is habitual to be addressed with *Mbak*.” (Alea; interview; February 8, 2022)

Julian also stated that he is also used to hearing *Mas* since he was young.

*“Lebih nyaman dipanggil Mas sih karena dari kecil udah dengernya kata-kata Mas jadi ya dah terbiasa juga bilang Mas gitu.”*

“I am comfortable to be addressed with *Mas* because since I was young, I am used to being addressed with *Mas*.” (Julian; interview; February 10, 2022)

Arfan explained that the addressing term *Mas* is what he usually hears and uses in his family. It is his comfort zone. He is used to being addressed with *Mas* instead of *Ko* because he might barely notice it if he is addressed with *Ko*. He thought that addressing the term *Ko* is for Chinese people, not for him which is a Javanese.

*“Mungkin kalau harus memilih ya, ini saya pasti akan memilih Mas. Karena kenapa? Menurut saya itu, satu, karena saya memang sudah terbiasa (Dengan kata sapaan Mas) di telinga saya, jadi misalkan "Mas Arfan!" (Lalu direspon) "Yo?!" Jadi mungkin kalo aku dipanggil Mas itu aku masih bisa langsung menengok, jadi aku bisa tahu, "Oh ya." Tapi kalo Ko itu mungkin kan uhm... targetnya tidak benar, maksudnya memang secara kebiasaan juga ya. Memang secara habitnya*

*masyarakat Indonesia juga, secara habitnya masyarakat tertentu kan kalo Ko itu kan ditujukannya untuk orang yang memang Chinese gitu kan, jadi kalo misal dipanggil Ko saya tidak akan tahu kalo panggilan itu tertuju ke saya mungkin. jadi untuk memudahkan dan memang sudah di safe spot ya, di zona nyaman mungkin, lebih enak Mas karena ya itu. Memang harus di zona nyamannya saja.”*

“If I have to choose one of them, I will choose the addressing term *Mas*. Why? I think it is because I am used to hearing *Mas*. For example, "*Mas Arfan!*" (Then the participant replies) "Yeah? " so if I am addressed with *Mas*, I can still notice it. However, if using *Ko*, the target might not be right because it is for Chinese people (men). If I am addressed with *Ko*, I might not notice it. It is a habit for some people in Indonesia, especially Chinese. To make it easier and the addressing term *Mas* is already in the safe spot, it is better to be addressed with *Mas* because I have to be in the comfort zone.” (Arfan; interview; February 11, 2022)

#### **4.2.2 The Addressing Term Suits with the Participants’ Ethnicity and Physical Appearance**

There is an outstanding difference between Javanese and Chinese Indonesian physical appearance (Ariasih, 2016). Javanese people are known for having dark skin and round eyes, while Chinese Indonesian people are known for having light skin and slanted eyes. The participants here really identify themselves based on their ethnicity like how Ra (2014) found in her research that her participants construct themselves based on their originality which is ethnicities.

Seven participants stated that they prefer to be addressed with the addressing terms based on their ethnicity because it suits their ethnicity and physical appearance as well. Gristi and Rudi said that:

*“Sebenere mungkin bukan ‘lebih suka’ ya cuman mungkin kaya merasa lebih uhm... ‘suitable’ aja kalau dipanggile Ci gitu kan karena sesuai sama ya, ya ras ku gitu. Cuman bukan berarti terus langsung kaya apa dikit dipanggil Mbak dikit kaya langsung anti juga gak sih. Ya sebenere sama-sama cuman lebih suitable wae kan kaya ya Cici gitu.”*

“Rather than the word ‘preferable’, I would prefer the word ‘suitable’ with *Ci* because it suits my ethnicity. It does not mean I hate to be addressed with *Mbak* though. They are the same, but I am suitable with *Ci* because of my looks.” (Gristi; interview; February 7, 2022)

*“Aku lebih suka dipanggil Mas karena lebih ini aja sih... lebih cocok gitu kan? Kalo secara fisik lebih cocok, dan lebih apa ya? Lebih pantas lah kalo buat aku lho, gitu sih.”*

“I would prefer to be addressed with *Mas* because it just suits me? I am physically suitable with that addressing term, and... it is just more decent for me.” (Rudi; interview; February 8, 2022)

In their answers above, they stated that their physical appearance is suitable with the addressing terms that they choose. Unlike Rudi who stated it verbally, Gristi used

the “*kan kaya ya Cici gitu*” which used the stereotypical looks of Chinese Indonesian people, those who have light skin and slanted eyes.

On the other hand, rather than using their physical appearance, the participants below stated firmly that their ethnicity are their identity. Based on their statements, they believe that they suit the addressing terms from their ethnicity. No matter how their physical appearance look, they admit each ethnicity as their identity.

*“Oh, kalo ada itu aku milih Mbak sih karena lebih pas ke aku aja. Mbak itu kan kata lain dari kakak perempuan kan? orang yang lebih tua kan perempuan kek gitu. Nah, aku merasa aku lebih pas dipanggil Mbak aja sih. Aku adalah bagian dari Javanese. Ya Ci itu kan buat Chinese ya, jadi aku lebih milih Mbak.”*

“I choose *Mbak* because it suits me. *Mbak* is another word from older sister, right? A woman who is older though. That is why I think it is more suitable to be addressed with *Mbak*. I am a part of Javanese.” (Elia; interview; February 12, 2022)

*“Ko, aku lebih suka dipanggil Ko karena ya... ya emang identitas aslinya kan itu. Seharusnya dipanggilnya kan itu.”*

“*Ko*, I would prefer to be addressed with *Ko* because yeah... that is my real identity, so I should be addressed with that.” (Kemal; interview; February 9, 2022)

*“Sebenarnya aku gak masalah sih mau dipanggil Ci atau Mbak, tapi mungkin lebih ke Mbak aja sih karena saya merasa saya orang Jawa.”*

“I actually do not mind being addressed either with *Ci* or *Mbak*, but maybe I will go with *Mbak* because I think I am a Javanese.” (Shinta; interview; February 10, 2022)



*“Kalo pribadi bingung juga ini. Ya kalo pribadi pengennya dipanggil Ko ya karena memang kalau melihat secara mungkin foto dalam keluarga besarku memang ya aku memang seorang Chinese ya. Secara pribadi itu, pengennya.”*

“I am a little bit confused, but I think I personally want to be addressed with *Ko* because if you see in my family picture... Yeah, I am Chinese, personally I wish to be addressed with it.” (Yoga; interview; February 9, 2022)

This can be verbally the same, but Stefani stated that getting addressed with her ethnic addressing terms by non-Chinese Indonesians also means her interlocutors respect her as Chinese. It is because Chinese is one of the minority ethnic groups in Indonesia (Chen, 2022; Werhoru & Jhon, 2021). In which not all people know their culture, including the use of their addressing terms. She stated:

*“Kalo aku pribadi lebih suka dipanggil Ci ya, karena menurutku panggilan Ci itu seperti kayak gimana ya, menurutku merasa terhormati. Bukan berarti aku dipanggil mbak aku gak dihormati apa gimana. Cuma kayak orang itu lihat aku itu kelihatan kan ya, ya kalo Chinese gitu kan, nah kalo dia manggil aku Ci berarti istilah tu kayak mengakui gitu lah, gimana ya. Kamu tu keturunan Chinese gitu lho misal dipanggil Ci. Kayak mereka tu punya toleran informasi tentang Chinese gitu lho, bukan yang gak tahu apa-apa... Terus kan ada ya orang umum yang gak tahu terus jadi tujuane kayak meledek gitu kan ya, walaupun sebenarnya gak atau bukan.”*

“I personally prefer to be addressed with *Ci* because I think getting addressed with *Ci* for me means getting respect. It does not mean when I am addressed with *Mbak*, it means I get disrespect. I just think when people look at me as Chinese, it also means they acknowledge that there is Chinese. It means they are educated. They sometimes do not have tolerant information about Chinese which they maybe mock us with those addressing terms although we do not know exactly the reason for them doing that.” (Stefani; interview; February 12, 2022)

According to Stefani, few people know Chinese cultures, including the use of addressing terms. Only few of them are educated to respect and tolerate the Chinese people by using one of their cultures, that is their addressing terms. Though some people know, maybe some non-Chinese people may address them with *Ci-Ko* in order to mock them.

#### **4.2.3 The Addressing Term Matches Cultural Stereotype**

Chinese Indonesians are known for having good economy (Setijadi, 2017). Simply, Chinese Indonesians are rich for they have a big role in Indonesia’s economy (Irena & Rusadi, 2019). Irfandhi stated that he prefers to be addressed with *Ko* because he thinks that it means he can be compared to Chinese Indonesians in Surabaya, a big city where people know that Chinese Indonesians in there are wealthy or rich. As what he elaborated:

*“Stereotype bahwa "ya oh berarti aku masih bisa disandingin sama orang," gampangane orang Surabaya kan, orang-orang kota besar kan lebih berduit, lebih*

*mampu lah ya walaupun gak semua, Nah kalo misalkan kayak gitu pandangan orang lebih tinggi daripada kalo kamu pake xxxxx walaupun kebanyakan orang kaya itu malah dia pake baju terserah. Maksudnya menurutku itu karena itu, baju saksake orang kaya tu itu kalo sudah berumur, bener kan? Tapi kalo sing masih muda kan pasti match up, gak mungkin gak, gak mungkin kamu ke mall gak match up terus kamu, "ih orang e ih kayak wong mbabung," ya kan? "ih orang ini opo sih?" kan gak enak to."*

“There is a stereotype that says, "it means I can be compared with other people", that in this case is Surabaya people. People in big cities are known to be wealthy although not all of them. It means they have a higher view of us (with being addressed with Chinese addressing terms) than you wear xxxxx, though most wealthy people wear any clothes. On contrary, young people always try to match up their outfit when they go to the mall, otherwise you will be judged as homeless.” (Irfandhi; interview; February 13, 2022)

According to Irfandhi, young people these days really take care of their appearance and their outfit whenever they go out. They should look stunning so that people who may see them will not judge them badly. Different from those who are addressed with *Ci-Ko*, in Surabaya, it is already a stereotype that they are already rich. This is also stated by Darberg (2019) who said, “The norms regarding a person’s appearance are shown by how the socially superior category assumes the right to have requirements and to comment on their inferiors” (p. 18).

In this case, Chinese Indonesians always wear comfortable outfits (those are t-shirts and shorts). Whatever they wear when they go to some fancy places, they still look wealthy. This is also in line with what is stated in a journal entitled *Chinese Indonesians in the Eyes of the Pribumi Public* by Setijadi (2017). In his research, there is a survey where Indonesian people give their perspective towards Chinese Indonesian. One of the surveys shows that more than 50% of the respondents agree that Chinese Indonesians are economically privileged.

#### **4.2.4 The Participant Realizes Indonesia has Many Cultures that Blend Together**

Uniquely, Elfi did not choose either she prefers to be addressed with *Mbak* or *Ci*. The researcher had framed the question of preferences to her, and she is still with her words. She said:

*“Aku sebenere, apa ya? Manggil dua-duane fine sih, it is okay gitu lho sebenere. Ya tapi kembali lagi kita hidup ini Indonesia gitu loh. Maksud budaya ne pun sudah nyampur juga iya kan. Meh Chinese meh bukan Chinese gitu kan ya udah. Ya apa ya, udah nyampur gitu lho istilah, saling menghargai gitu kan. Nek aku meh dipanggil apapun terserah sih, nek aku pribadi I’m okay gitu, jadi gak "kamu harus manggil aku Ci, kamu gak boleh manggil aku Mbak!" aku gak gitu.”*

“I am actually fine with both addressing terms. We need to go back to the fact that we live in Indonesia that the cultures have mixed, either Chinese cultures or not. We just need to respect each other. I am fine with any addressing terms, it is up to them,

I am okay. I am not going to say, "you have to call me with *Ci*, do not call me with *Mbak!*" I am not that kind of person." (Elfi; interview; February 8, 2022)

Based on Elfi's statements, she realizes that she lives in Indonesia where there are many cultures that already have mixed with one another. In addition, she prefers to not use any addressing terms. She prefers to be addressed with her name. She thinks that it is just an additional term to respect the interlocutor. Sometimes, people can avoid using certain addressing terms (Wardhaugh, 2010).

In general, eleven from twelve participants who have been interviewed by the researcher prefer to be addressed with an addressing term from their ethnicity. However, there is a participant who prefers not to choose addressing terms either from Javanese or Chinese. The reasons behind their preference are: 1) They are used to being addressed with the addressing term; 2) The addressing term suits with their ethnicity and physical appearance; 3) The addressing term matches the cultural stereotype; 4) The participant realizes Indonesia has many cultures that blend together.

#### **4.3 The Participants' Perceptions to the Use of Addressing Terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko***

Their experiences in dealing with the addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* affect how they perceive the addressing terms. In this part, the researcher has categorized every perception from all participants into subheadings. Below are the perceptions from all participants related to the use of addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko*.

#### 4.3.1 Addressing Terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* to Differentiate both Ethnicities

Most of the participants perceive that *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* have the same intended use, which is to address older people. What makes the terms are different is the ethnicities. Arfan also added that both ethnic groups learned to use their own addressing terms.

*“Dari pandangan saya tersebut karena memang itu sudah notebook ya kita sudah tau maksudnya Ko Ci dan Mbak Mas itu ke ras karena memang sudah terdidik begitu dari masyarakat mereka masing-masing yaitu dari ras Jawa dan ras Chinese.”*

“I know what it means because it is already noted on my perspective that *Ko-Ci* and *Mbak-Mas* refer to ethnicities. We are raised according to our our own cultures and norms, in this case, Javanese and Chinese.” (Arfan; interview; February 12, 2022)

Elfi also stated the same reason that she did not prefer one addressing term. She believes that the Javanese addressing term *Mbak* is also common in Indonesia. Therefore, she had no objections using or receiving that addressing term.

*“Nek aku itu melihate, sebenere itu tu kayak cuma ya panggilan yang... ya membedakan ras sih sebenere itu tu. Ya lebih membedakan ras, tapi kalo Mbak sekarang kan lebih general kalo di Indonesia ya.”*

“I actually see those terms as addressing terms that distinguish the ethnicities. However, now the addressing term *Mbak* is more general in Indonesia.” (Elfi; interview; February 8, 2022)

Implicitly, Irfandhi also stated that what causes the difference between those addressing terms is only the ethnicities themselves.

*“... Cuma nek pasti Mas Mbak itu pasti ya kesane Jawa, kalo Ci Ko ya pasti Chinese.”*

*“... For sure, Mas-Mbak are for Javanese, while Ci-Ko are for Chinese.”* (Irfandhi; interview; February 13, 2022)

Back to the statements where Javanese and Chinese Indonesians have significant differences in their physical appearance, according to Elia's experience, she felt pressured when she gets addressed with Chinese addressing term *Ci*. She thought that she is not a representation of Chinese people physically and she is afraid that she might disappoint people's expectations who address her with *Ci*. What she said:

*“Aku cuma kaget aja sih waktu buka notif lha kok dipanggilnya Ci ya. Sedangkan aku tu, terkadang aku merasa kek tertekan gitu lho Tas, aku sendiri tertekan. Sebenarnya mereka panggil aku Ci tu berdasarkan mereka memanggil dari foto, tapi ntar kalo mereka ketemu kan aku udah jelas bukan Chinese gitu lho, jadi aku kayak, aku takut mereka jatuh ekspektasinya sih dengan manggil aku Ci.”*

“I was just surprised when I got a notification like, “Why did I get addressed with *Ci*?”, whereas I sometimes feel pressured. I am afraid that when they address me with *Ci* based on my picture, yet if they look at me directly, that I am not actually Chinese, they might feel disappointed.” (Elia; interview; February 12, 2022)

In the focus group discussion, the researcher asked the Javanese participants whether they feel the same with Elia's or not. All the Javanese participants did not feel the same as what Elia felt. In addition, they only keep their confusion in their mind. Arfan also thought that it is their interlocutors' habit. How people addressing the interlocutors is not always looking at their physical appearance. They address with what they are used to addressing.

*“Kalo dari saya sendiri itu gak, gak merasa tertekan karena saya gak menganggap mereka akan expect sesuatu dari saya berdasarkan panggilan itu, jadi seperti...mungkin saya tetap kokoh dalam jawaban saya, ya itu hanya cara mereka dalam cara mereka yang sudah diajarkan bertahun-tahun dengan mengaplikasikannya di dunia nyata, di luar keluarga, di luar peersnya mereka.”*

“From me, I do not feel pressured because I do not think they will expect something from me based on that addressing term. Like, I will be firm with my answer that it is just a way to apply the use of what they learned for years, which is the use of addressing terms, to people out there.” (Arfan; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Regarding how Chinese Indonesian participants reacted to Elia's condition, Gristi, followed by other Chinese Indonesian participants, said that she may need to address their interlocutors based on their physical appearance.

*“Kalo aku sih tetep bakal manggile sesuai dengan fisik masing-masing ya. Maksudnya apalagi kalo dari omongan si responden ini kan berarti nunjukin kalo dia itu lebih nyaman dipanggil yang sesuai sama fisik e ndeen kan? yang non-Chinese to*



*notabene e gitu lho, jadi tetap nek aku prefer lebih tetep tak bedain sih. Maksud e kalo memang dia fisik e terlihat Javanese ya aku manggil e Mbak Mas, kalo dia terlihat Chinese ya Ci Ko gitu aja sih.”*

“I will keep addressing them based on their physical appearance. Based on what the respondent said, she might show how she is more comfortable getting addressed based on her physical appearance, which is a non-Chinese, so I keep to differentiate the use of the addressing terms based on their physical appearance. If they look like Javanese, I will address them with *Mbak-Mas*, while if they look like Chinese, then I address them with *Ci-Ko*.” (Gristi; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Gristi still thinks about her interlocutors’ feeling and what makes them feel comfortable by choosing the addressing term that will be match to her interlocutors. Kemal also added:

*“Mungkin kalo kita manggil orang lain ya kita lihat dulu lah dia kelihatan Chinese atau gak gitu, jadi kan terkadang juga bisa salah kan? Mungkin dia Javanese, tapi kelihatan Chinese kan bisa aja, gitu.”*

“Maybe if we address other people, we need to look at them first whether they are Chinese or not. We may be wrong like they are Javanese, yet they look Chinese.” (Kemal; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Kemal considers looking at their physical appearance although sometimes there are some Javanese who look like Chinese. The same experience happened when the

researcher looked for her participants. She mistakenly thought that the person she thought was a Javanese was actually a Chinese Indonesian, and vice versa. In this case, choosing an addressing term based on physical appearance is not accurate at all.

However, in the focus group discussion, most the participants were found to keep looking at their interlocutors' physical appearance in choosing an addressing term. Shinta also said that if the addressing term she chose for her interlocutors was wrong, she would gently apologize, then she directly asked what addressing term that her interlocutors preferred.

*"... Tapi kalo misalnya menurutku dia Chinese tapi ternyata dia gak Chinese paling bilang, "oh sorry, tak kirain kamu Chinese," gitu kan? Paling kalo misalkan dia gak terima atau apa aku tetep minta maaf sih, trus yaudah, "kamu mau dipanggil apa?" ...."*

"... However, If I misaddress that they are actually not Chinese I will apologize "I thought you were Chinese" then I ask, "what do you want to address?" (Shinta; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Alea also stated the same. What makes her statement different is that she tries to read the situations, where she needs to see how other people address her interlocutors. If she really has no idea about it, she keeps using what she is used to addressing, that is Javanese addressing terms although she does not know what ethnicity or how old her interlocutors are. She believes that using *Mbak-Mas* means that she respects her interlocutors.

“... Biasanya aku tunggu orang lain manggil dia dulu sih, atau kalau memang harus berkomunikasi sama orang tersebut di waktu itu, aku akan manggil Mbak-Mas soalnya di keluarga dan lingkungan sekitar di rumah terbiasa untuk memanggil Mbak-Mas gitu sih baik itu ke orang yg memang lebih tua atau ke orang yg baru kukenal, tapi aku belum tahu dia lebih muda atau lebih tua dari aku dengan tujuan manggil Mbak Masnya sebagai bentuk dari aku menghargai orang tersebut.”

“... I usually wait for someone else to address the interlocutors first, or if I have to communicate with that person at that time, I will address them with *Mbak-Mas* because I am used to addressing people in my family and my surroundings at home with the terms, whether it is to someone who is older or to someone I just met, but I do not know if they are younger or older than me, so the aim of using the terms *Mbak-Mas* is a form of my respect for the person.” (Alea; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Based on how those participants choose an addressing term based on physical appearance, it means they follow how stereotypes of each ethnic's physical appearance are. It is also stated by Ariasih (2016) that this stereotype happens because of the generalization of physical appearance from a group.

Contrary, Arfan stated that he will keep using what he is used to addressing his interlocutors without watching the conditions, or in this case is his interlocutors' physical appearance. The terms he uses are *Mbak* and *Mas*.

“Oke kalo saya sih tetep mungkin gara-gara kebiasaan. Kalo saya tetap semuanya entah itu Chinese atau Javanese atau makhluk lain itu saya panggil ya Mbak atau

*Mas karena sudah terbiasa memang ya, jadi setiap tak panggil Mbak atau Mas, atau memang pilihan kedua saya manggil kak, biasane itu 3 opsi saya. tapi saya bisa bilang 90% itu saya panggil Mbak Mas, semuanya, rata-rata semuanya.”*

“Alright, for me, maybe because of my habit, I will keep addressing either Javanese or Chinese with *Mbak* and *Mas* because I am used to addressing with those terms. I address every interlocutor with *Mbak* or *Mas*, or for the second option is *Kak*. However, I can say that 90% of me address people with *Mbak Mas*.” (Arfan; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Although they choose the addressing terms based on physical appearance, The Chinese Indonesian participants use another addressing term, which is *Kak* to avoid the mistakes. If they find that their interlocutors are physically Javanese or Chinese Indonesians, they will use the addressing term based on their physical appearance which they believe it is clearly their ethnicity.

#### **4.3.2 Addressing Terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* to Show Politeness and Respect**

The purpose of using an addressing term is to show politeness. The researcher finds out that *being polite* in her participants' perceptions also has a meaning of *being respect*. People can be polite if they can respect other people (Putrihapsari & Dimiyati, 2021). The only different is the ethnicities. In addition, Arfan said the use of addressing terms is only for a way to create a relationship with the interlocutors (Lumbanbatu et al., 2018). Arfan said:

*“Saya hanya memandang kalo panggilan itu memang ya cara mereka untuk menyapa dan untuk memberitahu kita kalo ya we respect you gitu lho, we want to friends.”*

“I only perceive that the addressing terms are indeed their way of greeting and to tell us that they respect you, you know, we want to be friends.” (Arfan; interview; February 11, 2022)

Rudi also believes that the use of the addressing terms is to show politeness and respect. They merely differentiate people based on ethnicity. However, Rudi also added that if the interlocutors whom they address with the addressing terms is not respectful to them as well, they have the right to defend themselves. The same happens to the use of Chinese addressing terms.

*“... tapi dengan ketentuan kalau kita hormati dulu nih maksudnya kalau misalkan dari pihak sana atau pihak yang harus kita panggil Mas atau Mbak tidak menghormati ya. Kita patut untuk, berhak dong untuk membela diri kita gitu lho. Nah, kalo untuk Ci Ko sama aja sih sebenarnya, cuma hanya bedanya adalah Ci Ko ini lebih ke Chinese gitu aja.”*

“... However, note that if those whom we respect do not respect us back, then we deserve to have the right to defend ourselves, you know. Well, for *Ci Ko*, it is actually the same, the only difference is that they are more for Chinese people.” (Rudi; interview; February 8, 2022)

Elia also said that the addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* show politeness. For Chinese addressing terms, she uses the terms *Ci-Ko* for all Chinese Indonesians regardless of the ages. Instead, she considers the status, in this case is as students. This kind of result also can be found in Mutiara and Kuntjara's research (2014) which said, "*Mbak* is friendly enough to be used as an address term towards young-looking females despite the fact that those buyers are probably younger than them. This term is also used towards the older one" (p. 23).

*"... Nah Ci Ko itu tu kan lebih untuk ke Chinese ya, kita ngerti mereka dari Chinese kita manggilnya Ci Ko, tapi aku gak tau nih mereka lebih tua dari aku apa lebih muda dari aku, semua tak panggil Ci. Aku tau mereka gak... lebih tua atau lebih muda dari aku, apa ya, panggilan itu tu tak sesuain gitu lho. Jadi misalnya aku tahu "oh dia angkatan 2017 berarti aku manggilnya kalo gak Ci ya Ko". Sedangkan aku, padahal aku punya temen di angkatan 17 itu dia kelahiran 1 tahun lebih muda dari aku. Jadi dia itu kelahiran 2000, aku kan 1999, aku tetep manggil dia Ko gitu lho karena aku tau, "oh dia angkatan 2017, dia katingku, tak panggilnya Ko.""*

"... The addressing terms *Ci Ko* are more for Chinese people, we know they are from China, so we address them with *Ci Ko*, yet I do not know if they are older than me or younger than me, I still address them with those terms. For example, I know "oh he is from batch 2017 means that I should address him either with *Ci* or *Ko*." For me, even though I have a friend in batch 2017, he was born 1 year younger than me, so he was born in 2000 while I am in 1999, yet I still address him with *Ko*

because I know he is from batch 2017. "He is my senior, so I address him with *Ko*.""

(Elia; interview; February 12, 2022)

One of the Chinese Indonesian participants said that when she gets addressed with *Ci* which is a Chinese addressing term, she feels like she gets respect from her interlocutors. It is because rarely do non-Chinese Indonesians recognize the existence of Chinese Indonesian people and their culture. In the focus group discussion, Gristi and Stefani assumed that their interlocutors have knowledge or have been exposed to the of Chinese culture.

*"Aku nangkep e justru se simple gini, kalo misalkan yang manggil tu Javanese trus dia manggil langsung cik tu aku nangkep e kek yaudah berarti tu dia dari dulu gak asing sama orang Chinese gitu lho, udah se simple itu doang, jadi dia dari dulu sering interact sama orang Chinese, jadi dia tau gimana manggil dari orang Chinese yang lebih tua gitu lho, jadi gak yang sampai mikire sampe menghargai banget gitu-gitu gak sih."*

"I think it is as simple as this, for example, if the person who addresses you is a Javanese and then he/she addresses you right away with *Ci*, that means he/she has never been a stranger to Chinese people, you know. It is just as simple as that. It means he/she always interacts with Chinese people, so he/she knows how to address older Chinese people like that. I do not over think that I got appreciated by them."

(Gristi; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Stefani also added she will be fine if she gets addressed with the term *Mbak* because she knows that she lives in Indonesia where the term *Mbak* is a common term to use.

*“... Semisal aku dipanggilnya menggunakan Mbak pun juga gak masalah ya, notabenenya kan juga tinggal di Indonesia, dan di Indonesia kan panggilan Mbak Mas Kak gitu kan juga umum banget, jadi ya biasa aja, gitu sih Tas.”*

*“... If the person addresses me with Mbak is actually fine too since I also live in Indonesia, and in here, the terms Mbak Mas Kak are also very common, so it is normal. That is all, Tas.”* (Stefani; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Unlike the participants above, Kemal said that he is actually happy whenever he gets addressed with Chinese addressing terms. He also added that although he does not get addressed with Chinese addressing terms, it does not mean he does not look Chinese. His friends sometimes ask him how to address Chinese Indonesians. He thinks that the addressing term *Mas* is universal for all men in Indonesia.

*“Ya terkadang tu kalo baru kenal dipanggil Ko gitu kan ya dari kitanya sendiri tu, kalo dari aku ya, ya ada rasa seneng lah, "oh ternyata aku keliatan kayak Chinese" kayak gitu lah ya, tapi sebenarnya itu udah kek ya sama aja. Toh terkadang, bukan berarti yang manggil aku Mas itu aku langsung kek, "oh aku gak keliatan Chinese," gak kayak gitu. Soalnya banyak juga orang yang gak tahu dia harus manggil apa kalo ke orang Chinese. Terkadang ada yang kayak gitu kan? Nah, di kayak temen-temen ku aja yang di desa itu banyak yang "kalo manggil Chinese tu pake apa sih?"*



*gitu. Makanya, jadi mau dipanggil Ko atau Mas pun gak masalah, tapi at least kalo dipanggil Ko itu kek punya rasa seneng sendiri, "oh aku ternyata keliatan Chinese," kek gitu kan, tapi kalo ada orang manggil Mas gitu kan cuma mikirnya yaudah gak papa, itu toh sapaan untuk manggil orang secara universal gitu menurutku."*

"Yeah, sometimes when people just get to know you, then you are addressed with *Ko*, right for us, if it is for me, yes, there is a sense of feeling happy. "Oh, so I look Chinese," right? but, it is the same. After all, sometimes, it does not mean that if the one who addresses me with *Mas*, I immediately think, "oh I do not look Chinese," it is not like that. It is because many people do not know how to address a Chinese person. Sometimes it is like that, right? Well, like many of my friends in the village ask, "what do you use to address a Chinese person?" That is why, it does not matter if you want to address me with *Ko* or *Mas*, but at least when you address me with *Ko*, I feel happy, "oh, I look Chinese." However, if someone addresses me with *Mas*, I just think it is okay. After all, it is only an addressing term to greet people universally." (Kemal; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Although they feel nothing whenever they get addressed with *Mbak-Mas*, both Gristi and Kemal shared the same view. They said they may feel weird if they get the Javanese addressing terms from other Chinese Indonesians. Kemal thought that it is funny to experience a situation where both Chinese Indonesians address each other with Javanese addressing terms rather than Chinese addressing terms. He likened his

experience to the incident if Javanese address each other using Chinese addressing terms.

*“Cuman mungkin aku bakal merasa aneh kalo yang manggil misalkan gini aku ada adek kelas dia chinese tapi manggil aku Mbak. Anehkan gitu loh, iyakan mungkin aku, aku gak enjoy kalau gitu kasus e cuman kalo sama dia javanese kaya ya udah gitu loh it’s okay, kaya gitu gak apa apa sih.”*

“Maybe I may feel weird if the one who addresses me, for example, I have a junior, she is Chinese, yet she addresses me with *Mbak*. That is weird, you know. Maybe I feel uncomfortable if that is the case, but if the person is a Javanese, it is still okay.”

(Gristi; interview; February 7, 2022)

*“Yang bikin lebih bingung lagi tu, ini temanku, ya bukan temen sih ya, ya kenal lah gitu kan. Dia Chinese nih, tahu aku, tahu ya Chinese dan temannya yang orang itu pun tahu aku Chinese kan, tiba-tiba ya manggilnya itu Mas gitu. Weh kaget aku kan, itu yang lebih janggal itu, sebenarnya lebih janggal itu daripada yang lain, Chinese sama Chinese manggilnya Mas. ya nek aku dhewe diem sih, nek aku diem, Cuma lucu aja, lucu banget gitu lho. Dia manggil ya udah ngikut aja ke dia, dia manggil Mas mau manggil Ko gak masalah, tapi kan kalau dipikir kan ya lucu aja gitu. Kayak misal gini, ini bukan Chinese manggilnya Ci sama Ko lucu kan? Iya itu lucu, jadi gitu.”*

“What makes it even more confusing is that this is my friend, not a friend actually. This person is Chinese, I know it. His/her friend also knows that I am Chinese, yet

this person suddenly addressed me with *Mas*. I was surprised. That was even more odd, actually it is odder than the others, both Chinese addressing with *Mas*. I did nothing, yet it was just funny, you know. He addressed me that way, so I just followed him. He addressed me with *Mas* or *Ko*. It is not a problem, but if you think about it, it is funny. Like, for example, they are not Chinese, yet they address each other with *Ci* and *Ko*. It is funny, right? Yeah, that is funny, so that's it.” (Kemal; interview; February 9, 2022)

#### **4.3.3 Addressing Terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* to Emphasize an Existing Stereotype**

Simply, the participants suggested that Javanese and Chinese addressing terms emphasize the existing stereotype, that is the Chinese addressing terms are used for people who have a higher social class. Some participants perceived that the Chinese addressing terms *Ci-Ko* is known for having good physical appearance and being rich. In Indonesia, it is a common belief that Chinese Indonesians have good economy and social standing (Irena & Rusadi, 2019; Setijadi, 2017).

Alea stated that when she hears the word *Ci*, she imagines a Chinese Indonesian in Surabaya who are fair, tall, and rich.

*“Yang pertama kali tak inget kalo ngomong Ci itu tu, jadi keinget Cici-Cici Surabaya, yang... ya apa ya, maksude aku, kalo menurut penilaianku itu tu kayak yang orang nya tinggi, putih kek gitu. Trus yang dari etnis Chinese juga, yang biasanya rich people kek gitu.”*

“The first thing when we talk about *Ci* is... I remembered *Cici-Cici* from Surabaya, which is... in my opinion, it is like they are tall and have light skin. Then those who are from Chinese ethnicity are also usually wealthy.” (Alea; interview; February 8, 2022)

Gristi also finds out that non-Chinese Indonesians also would like to be addressed with *Ci-Ko* because that means they look better looking.

*“Kalo Ci dan Ko tuh kenapa kesannya lebih tinggi karena mereka itu secara fisik itu kan mereka kaya putih gitu gitu kan. Kalo bagi orang sini tuh terlihat lebih cantik dan ganteng gitu lah bagi budaya apa emmm beauty standardnya sini, jadi orang tu ada beberapa yang lebih suka dipanggil Ci Ko karena berarti tuh "aku cantik nih berarti aku ganteng nih kaya orang Chinese," gitu lho. Kaya gitu sih sebener e, gak kalau aku pribadi gak gitu ya kalau aku pribadi.”*

“For *Ci* and *Ko*, why do they seem higher for their status because they have light skin, right? For some people here, they look more beautiful and handsome, especially for the beauty standard here, so there are some people who prefer to be addressed with *Ci* and *Ko* because it means like, "I'm beautiful," "wow I'm handsome like a Chinese person," things like that. However, I personally do not think like that.” (Gristi; interview; February 7, 2022)

Elia also added why the addressing terms *Ci-Ko*'s level is perceived to be higher than Javanese addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* because those terms are associated with

Chinese Indonesians who live in SCBD Jakarta, and who are most likely rich (Hadistira & Machdum, 2021).

*“Aku ada satu video lagi juga yang bikin aku ngerasa kalo orang tu bakal berubah, bakal lebih memandang kalo Cici-Cici atau Koko-Koko itu pandangnya lebih tinggi dari Mas Mbak sejak ada konten Cici-Cici sama Koko-Koko SCBD tau gak? Nah itu aku mulai ngerasa tau dari situ, oh pantes Mbak itu bisa aja dianggap rendah karena itu bahasanya, sorry ya, sorry to say pribumi gitu lho. Sedangkan bisa aja yang dari Chinese merasa "aku gak pribumi" kek gitu.”*

“I also have one more video that makes me feel like that people will change, they would be more concerned that *Cici-Cici* or *Koko-Koko* has a higher status than *Mbak Mas* since there was *Cici-Cici* and *Koko-Koko* SCBD content, do you know it? So that was when I started to feel like I knew from there. No wonder that the term *Mbak* can be considered as lower because... sorry to say... like it is *Pribumi*'s language, you know, while it may be possible for those who are Chinese to feel like, "I'm not *Pribumi*."” (Elia; interview; February 12, 2022)

From the answers above, the use of Chinese addressing terms get good perceptions and becomes a stereotype. It turns out that this stereotype affects in three ways. They are: 1) The Javanese addressing terms are more suitable for domestic helpers; 2) The Chinese addressing terms influence people's appearance and outfit choices; 3) People increase their social status if they have a relationship with the Chinese people.

**a. The Javanese Addressing Terms are more Suitable for Domestic Helpers**

Some participants noticed how the addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* are interpreted as addressing terms for domestic helpers. TV soap operas, infotainment and the environment around the participants emphasize such use of addressing terms. In TV soap operas, there might be casts as domestic helpers. The casts usually get addressed with *Mbak*. While in an infotainment, it sometimes highlights the part when the artists called their domestic helpers with *Mbak*.

“... Itu banyak kan artis biasane ngomong kayak, "di rumahku tu ada Mbak ini, aku ada mbak ini ini yang ngurus ini." Itu kan persepsi orang Mbak itu bisa aja ke pembantu atau ART gitu kan, jadi kan waktu dari kecil sampe kapan itu kan, kalo pembantu atau ART kan mesti manggilnya bibi ya? Nah aku tu baru tahu kalo pakenya Mbak, ART itu mulai dihalusin bahasa-bahasane sama artis-artis itu tu ya waktu di *Insert* apa *Silet* gitu tu.”

“... A lot of artists usually say something like "I have this *Mbak* at my house", "I have this *Mbak* to take care of this." When I was young, I used to know that to address a domestic helper, we had to call her *Bibi*, right? Then I just found out that people nowadays use the term *Mbak*. The term for a domestic helper may start to be refined by the artists like I watched it on *Insert* or *Silet*, things like that.” (Elia; interview; February 12, 2022)

Alea also added that she used to perceived the term *Mbak* for domestic helpers from her neighborhood.

*“Tapi kalo Mbak personally, uhm... ya itu, yang tadi waktu aku bilang yang awal, Mbak pertama kali tak sebut di lingkungan ku tu buat, uhm, Mbaknya, eh apa sih yang ngurus tetanggaku kek gitu. Terus abis itu juga image nya apa ya, aku dulu-dulu suka nonton sinetron kek gitu kan, yang kalo tiap malem kayak gitu. Nah kadang tu kek ada, apa sih, pemeran ART kek gitu, mereka biasanya manggile Mbak kek gitu.”*

*“However, for Mbak personally, uhm... like what I said earlier, I first mentioned Mbak in my environment for someone who was taking care of my neighbor. Then, uhm... after that, for the image, I used to like watching sinetron that aired every night, right... sometimes there was someone like the ART actors, who usually address them with Mbak.” (Alea; interview; February 8, 2022)*

Unlike the participants above, Stefani was used to perceive that *Mbak-Mas* referred for people who are in the lower social class since she was a kid.

*“Cuma ya itu tadi karena aku dari kecil belajar, terbiasane sama Ci Ko ataupun Oh gitu kan ya, jadi untuk panggilan Mbak, Mbak ataupun Mas itu image e tu, image awal e kan kalo Mbak maupun Mas itu lebih ke 1 orang yang gak Chinese, ke 2 kalo Mbak itu ya ART, pembantu. Terus kalo Mas itu bawahe.”*

*“Like I told you before, since I was young, I am used to using Ci Ko or Oh, so for the term Mbak and Mas, their image was like... first, not for Chinese, and second, they were used for a maid, even the term Mas is lower.” (Stefani; interview; February 12, 2022)*

From the interviews, it is evident that Chinese people's stereotype differentiate people's perception of the addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko*. Therefore, many people want to look like a Chinese so that they can enjoy the wealth and have a social status.

In the focus group discussion, all participants stated they know the stereotype exists, but they doubt that people use this kind of stereotype. Alea said that the stereotype exists because it happens, yet then the stereotype becomes equalized. Maybe the stereotype of Javanese wants to be addressed with *Ci-Ko* is true, but not for all of Javanese. She also admitted that the stereotype almost influenced her mindset to distinguish people who get addressed with *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko*.

*“Aku mengakui stereotype itu ada tapi kek gak membenarkan juga kalo stereotype itu tu kayak dipake gitu lho. Kalo misal stereotype akan orang jawa yang dipanggil Ci-Ko tu mereka pasti seperti itu menurutku gak bener juga, gak bisa disamaratakan ke semua orang, tapi aku gak menyangkal sih kalo stereotype itu ada, dan stereotype itu sempat mempengaruhi mindsetku sih terhadap orang yang dipanggil Mbak Mas sama orang yang dipanggil Ci Ko.”*

“I admit that the stereotype exists, but I do not even justify that it must be used. For example, if the stereotype is used for Javanese people who get addressed with *Ci-Ko*, and think that they must be like that, I do not think it is true either. It cannot be generalized to everyone. However, I do not deny that there is this stereotype, and that stereotype has almost influenced my mindset towards the people who are



addressed with *Mbak Mas* and those who are addressed with *Ci Ko.*” (Alea; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Gristi also thought there is no correlation between ethnicity and wealthiness. She assumed that there are some Javanese who are rich as well.

*“Nek aku juga tidak menampik ya kalo itu ada gitu, stereotype itu ada di society sekarang. Cuma aku juga gak setuju sih karena kalo masalah ekonomi, masalah kaya atau gak e itu kan gak ada hubungan e sama ras ya sebenere kalo menurutku, jadi kayak, maksude yang Chinese pun yang kurang mampu juga ada banyak gitu lho, dan juga kebalikan e kan. Yang Javanese pun yang crazy rich juga banyak, jadi tu maksude gak ada hubungane lah sama, either kamu tu Javanese atau Chinese gitu.”*

“I also did not refuse that it exists. The stereotype is in society now. However, I also do not agree because if it is about the economy or wealth, I think there is no correlation with race. Even the intentions of the Chinese who are less are also a lot, you know. On the other hand, the Javanese who are crazy rich also exist too. It means that there is no correlation, either you are Javanese or Chinese.” (Gristi; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Arfan also added that addressing terms is a tool to get to know the interlocutors, not a barometer of knowing which level of wealthiness they are in.

“... Kalo panggilan itu tetap menurut saya hanya sarana untuk perkenalan. Itu hanya sarana bukan barometer untuk mengukur kita tu posisi ekonominya dimana.”

“... For me, the terms are only a means for introductions, it is only a tool, not a barometer to measure our economic position.” (Arfan; FGD; March 3, 2022)

#### **b. The Chinese Addressing Terms Influence People’s Appearance and Outfit Choices**

Talking about being rich like Chinese Indonesians, previously, a participant prefers to be addressed with Chinese addressing terms so that he can be compared with other rich Chinese Indonesians. In addition, he does not have to give effort in choosing an outfit.

In the focus group discussion, all the participants gave the same reaction. All the participants stated that there is no correlation between addressing terms and outfit of someone to show wealthiness. Alea admitted that in her church, she eyes most Chinese Indonesians wear comfortable outfits, while for Javanese people, they wear proper outfit which they mean by wearing all covered. However, she does not think that it influences how they use an addressing term for it does not have any correlation. She once got addressed with *Ci* while she believed that what she wore is not that tidy which it did not matter how people addressed her.

“Oh, ini jadi tu kalo di gereja ku juga mayoritas kebanyakan Chinese kek gitu kebanyakan kalo yang Chinese tu lebih comfy gitu kalo keluar, sedangkan kalo yang Jawa karena aku sendiri dari Jawa juga jadi diminta buat bener-bener kalo pake

*baju tu yang apa ya, ngomong nya sopan sih, padahal kalo menurutku sopan tu yo standard e orang beda-beda ya, tapi kayak mungkin standard sopan disini tu yang tertutup kayak gitu. Menurutku itu gak mempengaruhi sih sama panggilan Mbak Mas atau Ci Ko nya, jadi sejujurnya aku agak bingung sih sama yang mengasosiasikan dengan pakaian karena menurutku gak nyambung aja gitu. Maksud kalo orang mau pake baju kayak gimana ya terserah dia, kayak meh dia dari Javanese Chinese atau dari etnis laine ya terserah mereka mau berpakaian seperti apa kayak gitu. Gitu sih. Menurutku gak ada kaitannya kayak gitu. Aku pernah dipanggil Ci juga dan posisinya aku dipanggil Ci tu itu dalam lingkungan kuliah gitu lho, dan gak tau sih temen-temen inget style ku apa gak, tapi menurutku style ku tu sangat tidak, maksud gak yang rapi-rapi banget gitu lho kalo kuliah karena aku dulu sering keburu-buru kalo berangkat kuliah.”*

“In my church, most of Chinese’s outfit look comfier, whereas for Javanese, since I am from Java, I am also asked to wear a proper outfit? even though I think a proper outfit has different standards for some people. Maybe the standard of a proper outfit here is having a closed outfit. However, in my opinion, it does not affect the addressing terms *Mbak Mas* or *Ci Ko*. Honestly, I am a bit confused about those who associate the terms with outfit because I do not think they are connected. I mean if people want to wear clothes, it is up to them either they are from Javanese, Chinese, or other ethnicities. In my opinion there is no correlation like that. I was once addressed with *Ci* too in the college environment, you know, and I do not know whether my friend remember my style of outfit or not, but I think my style is very

not... the point is not very neat like if you go to college because I used to rush often when I went to college.” (Alea; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Arfan also admitted that the looks of Javanese sometimes terrible because he experienced that. The thing he wants to highlight is that people need to take care of their outfit for themselves without expecting to get addressed with any addressing terms to get the social class stereotype. The addressing terms once again are used to get to know the interlocutors.

*“... Tapi memang, kebanyakan ada stereotype begitu, kita orang Javanese yang memang maaf lho ya mempunyai fisik yang mungkin memang radak dengan tanda kutip seram atau yang laki-laki rodok seram terus, gali mungkin bahkan preman, saya sudah bertahun- dipanggil begitu. Nah jadi saya bisa bilang kalo memang harus ada extrafer tapi maksude jangan sampe anda itu sampe bener-bener harus mempedulikan penampilan biar saya itu diterima sebagai cik ko tadi itu. Karena balik lagi ke yang awal, kamu tu mau dipanggil cik ko tu untuk apa sih gitu lho, lha wong kita tu menggunakan untuk sarana perkenalan. Jadi pendapat saya itu kalo outfit, itu menurut saya itu terserah anda.”*

“... But indeed, most of them have stereotypes, we are Javanese who... sorry to say, have physical appearance that may indeed be scary, dug maybe even thugs, since I have been called so. I do not mean that you really have to care about the appearance so that you can be accepted as *Ci Ko*. Back again to the beginning, why do you want

to be addressed with *Ci Ko*? We use the terms for introductory facilities. In outfit, in my opinion it is up to you.” (Arfan; FGD; March 3, 2022)

The Chinese Indonesian participants also stated the statement that outfit is not a symbol of wealthiness, instead, it is an expression of showing preferences, and it is subjective. They denied that Chinese Indonesians are known to not care about dressing. People have their own preference in choosing outfit. Gristi said she herself really takes care of what she wears.

“... Soale kayak maksude aku sendiri pun tu sangat sangat care dengan outfit ku gitu lho, kayak sehari-hari gitu, jadi maksude kayak itu tu gak ada hubungan e sama kamu tu mampu atau gak secara ekonomi gitu lho.”

“... The thing is, like me myself is very very careful with my outfit, you know, so there is no correlation with your economy.” (Gristi; FGD; March 3, 2022)

According to Gristi, looking wealthy is not seen from people’s physical appearance or outfit, it comes from people’s personal image. No matter what people wear, if they do not have the aura of being wealthy then it is nothing. What the researcher can catch here is that the same happens if people get addressed with Chinese addressing terms, it does not mean they are already wealthy.

“Sebenere lebih ke, menurutku lebih ke aura gitu lho, jadi kayak orang yang bener-bener mampu pun kalau memang dia barang e biasa aja juga bakal ya kerasa kalo dia tu memang sultan gitu lho, jadi gak melulu tentang outfit itu menurutku aneh gitu sih. Ya nek aku makane omongan kalo bisa dilihat dari penampilan tu salah

*karena itu kan semua balik lagi ke image masing-masing gitu lho, gimana seseorang itu membangun personal image e mereka, jadi ya gitu sih intine sih, jadi balik lagi ke orang e masing-masing gitu lho. ...”*

“It is more to, in my opinion, it is more to the aura, so it is like if the person who is wealthy wears an ordinary item, it will also feel like he/she is still wealthy. I think it is strange if it is only about the outfit. The terms that you can see the wealthiness from the appearance is wrong because it is all back to their respective images. How does someone build their personal image? So that is the point. ...” (Gristi; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Shinta also added her experience where she was not allowed to wear a casual outfit (which means only t-shirt and shorts). She had to wear a proper outfit which she thought was not about looking wealthy, yet it is for their self-determination or image. However, she does not deny that people might judge each other's economy based on what outfit they wear.

*“... Dan mungkin bukannya untuk terlihat kaya ya, ya kita tu berdandan rapi ya untuk pembawaan diri sih. Bener kayak omongannya Gristi untuk pembawaan diri kan, makanya kita dandannya rapi gitu. Kalo orang lihatnya gak rapi tu kek gimana gitu, tapi orang beda-beda ya. Kalo di keluarga ku sendiri kemana-mana harus tetap rapi gitu biar dilihatnya tu enak, tapi gak menepis juga bahwa orang-orang tu kadang ngelihat kayak, misal dandanan e biasa aja, kadang orang kepikiran e kek ni orang ekonominya agak menengah kebawah ya. Kadang kalo misalnya gak*

*rapi itu kan kadang orang ngelihatnya kayak menstereotype ni orang ekonominya menengah kebawah gitu lho, kalo misalnya pake pakaian yang gak rapi gak bagus lah.”*

“... And maybe it is not to look wealthy, but we dressed up neatly for self-nature like what Gristi said. If people see it, then the outfit is not neat, what can I do? People might be different, yet in my own family, we have to be neat. However, it does not disprove too that people who dress casually might be seen that their economy is middle to lower. Wearing outfits that are not neat is not good.” (Shinta; FGD; March 3, 2022)

However, when the researcher asked Shinta to confirm whether her statements also apply to Chinese Indonesians or not, she personally implies that people, including herself, may keep the stereotype that Chinese Indonesians are known to be rich no matter what outfit they wear for the stereotype has been embedded in their mind.

The Researcher: *“Terlepas ni kalo yang pake (baju casual) orang Chinese? Kayak kalo misalnya orang yang berpakaian seperti itu berarti mereka itu menengah kebawah, terlepas kalo yang pake itu tu orang Chinese?”*

Shinta: *“Mungkin, gak juga sih, gak juga kayaknya.”*

The Researcher: “Apart from this, what if they are Chinese (who wear casual outfit)? For example, if people who dress like that (t-shirts and shorts) mean that they are middle-lower class, regardless if the person who wear those are Chinese?”

Shinta: “Maybe, not really.”

**c. People Increase Their Social Status If They Have a Relationship with the Chinese People.**

According to Shinta, another way of non-Chinese Indonesians to have a good privilege like Chinese Indonesians is getting into a relationship with them. If they have a relationship with a Chinese Indonesian, the image stereotype of Chinese Indonesians will also be applied to them, the non-Chinese Indonesians as well. It also means that the non-Chinese Indonesians will get addressed with Chinese addressing terms. She stated:

*“Aku pernah berpikiran begitu. Anggapannya kalo punya pacar Chinese tu derajatnya jadi sedikit naik gitu lho.”*

“I used to think so. The assumption is that if you have a Chinese girlfriend/boyfriend, the status will be improved a little, you know.” (Shinta; interview; February 10, 2022)

In the focus group discussion, some of them realized there is a statement like that, yet all the participants did not agree with that statement. Alea had seen people with that kind of thought, which for them it looks like an achievement. Alea said that people with a relationship based on social class which is their achievement will not be good.

*“Dari aku sendiri pernah lihat dan tau kalo ada orang yang mikir bahwa dengan pacaran sama orang Chinese tu bisa ngangkat derajat, terus ngelihat hal itu sebagai suatu pencapaian gitu, tapi aku sendiri ga pernah mikir kyk gitu. Namanya orang suka atau pacaran kan ya pilihan masing-masing, menurutku ga akan*



*bahagia juga kalau pilihan itu didasari pada status sosial yang mau dicapai atau pacaran dengan, dalam hal ini, orang Chinese supaya dapat status sosial yg diinginkan tadi.”*

“From my own perspective, I saw it and knew that there are people who think that dating a Chinese person can raise their level, like it is their achievement. but I myself have never thought like that. People dating is what they choose. I do not think they will be happy if that choice is based on the social status that they want to achieve, or in this case, dating a Chinese person in order to get the desired social status.”

(Alea; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Gristi also did not agree with the case. She believed that if people really do that means that those people admit that they are lower than Chinese Indonesians. She also stated that with being that kind of person, it means that they already show their mindset in getting into a relationship.

*“Aku ya gak setuju sih soale kalo dia ngomong, misalkan posisi cewek e yang Javanese cowok e yang Chinese gitu ya, terus dia ngomong kalo dengan berpacaran dengan yang Chinese tu lebih tinggi berarti dia mengakui dong kalo dia sebelum lebih rendah? Aneh kan? Maksudnya dong, berarti dia secara gak langsung mengakui kalo lebih rendah kan kalo sebagai Javanese. Padahal kan sebenere ya sama aja gitu lho, gak ada lebih tinggi atau lebih rendah. Sama-sama lah orang sama-sama manusia, cuma beda ras doang gitu kan, jadi menurutku itu menunjukkan mindset e ndeen gitu sih yang ya gitulah.”*

“I also do not agree with that. If it says that, for example, the position of the girl is Javanese, and the boy is Chinese, then the boy says that by dating a Chinese person can elevate him, it means that he admits that he was lower before? It is weird, right? I mean, he indirectly admits that he is lower to being Javanese even though it is actually the same, right? There is no higher or lower. Both people are humans. The case is just different ethnics, so I think people with those thoughts already show their mindset.” (Gristi; FGD; March 3, 2022)

An addition from Shinta, if the base of the relationship is to upgrade the standard or level, it means that the relationship comes from wealthiness instead of love.

*“Kalo misalnya anggepan pacaran sama Chinese trus jadi ngangkat derajat berarti tujuan pacarannya si cewek atau cowoknya ini bukan karena cinta dong, karena harta dong? Ya kan karena ngangkat derajat berarti kan salah satu bagi dia, si cowok ini kan? eh I don’t know cowok atau cewek ini kan kaya menurut dia kan. Kayaknya ada masalah ekonomi, ya gitulah pokoknya.”*

“For example, if you think you are going out with a Chinese person and then raise your status, it means that the purpose of dating the girl or the guy is not because of love, right? Maybe because of wealth? Yes, because lifting status is their aim, right? There seems to be an economic problem, so that is the point.” (Shinta; FGD; March 3, 2022)

#### 4.3.4 Addressing Terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* to Show Power and Solidarity

The use of addressing terms is to show politeness and solidarity. In relation to the use of *Tu* (T) and *Vous* (V), among three categories of *Tu* (T) and *Vous* (V), Mutual V and Mutual T relate to the participants' statements of the addressing terms in showing their relationship.

Alea said that the use of the addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* make her get more familiar with people she talks to. For her, those terms of address are informal, unlike the use of *Kak* which is mostly used for people who belong to the same family. In the participant's club, they apply the mutual *Tu* (T) to show intimacy and solidarity.

*“Terus sama... keknya aku ke doktrin waktu SMA sih. Waktu SMA tuh ikut ekskul gitu kan, ikut ekskul modern dance, trus di ekskul itu tu gak boleh manggil kak gitu, jadi kalo manggil, manggilnya itu Mbak atau Mas dan itu pake namanya mereka, gitu, tapi ada yang Chinese juga, manggil e Ci waktu itu, jadi gak boleh manggil Kak karena emang "eh emang aku kakak mu?" atau kek, kalo Kak tu terlalu formal kek gitu, mereka menganggapnya, jadi manggilnya Mbak aja atau Mas, atau Ci juga boleh, kek gitu.”*

“Then, I think I got indoctrinated when I was in senior high school. I joined an extracurricular modern dance, then in there they did not allow us to address with *Kak*. We should address with *Mbak* and *Mas*, then there was a Chinese person too, so we address them with *Ci*. We were not allowed to address with *Kak* because, "Am I your sibling?" or more like, the addressing term *Kak* is too formal, they think,

so we address each other with *Mbak, Mas*, or even *Ci*.” (Alea; interview; February 8, 2022)

On the other hand, Elia stated that the addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* give distance between the speakers. It means that she applies the mutual *Vous* (V) to show power.

*“Kek lebih sopan dan kita kayak ada jarak gitu lah, aku lebih tua atau dia yang lebih tua dan aku lebih muda, dia lebih muda. Kita ngerti unggah ungguh lah, sopan santun, jadi aku merasa panggilan mas mbak itu cocok untuk mereka yang Javanese atau mungkin orang Indonesia dan memperlihatkan tingkatan uh... ini persepsiku ya, memperlihatkan tingkatan kalo siapa yang lebih tua siapa yang lebih muda.”*

“The addressing terms are politely used and there is a gap between us. I am older than them or they are older than me. We know manners and politeness, so I think the addressing terms *Mas* and *Mbak* are suitable for those who are Javanese or maybe other Indonesians and they show levels. This is my perception anyway, to show who is either older or younger.” (Elia; interview; February 12, 2022)

In the focus group discussion, Alea asserted her statements. The use of addressing *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* is to intimate herself with her interlocutors. Unlike Alea, Arfan gave different statements. He said that the addressing terms can be only used at the beginning to get to know the interlocutors. He stated:

*“Tapi menurut saya itu semua berlaku ya, keempat panggilan itu, Kak juga termasuk, mendekati, mengenal mereka lebih lanjut, dan saat mereka sudah berada*

*di level intimacy yang sudah kita bisa bilang tercapai, itu bisa mengubah caranya memanggil, bisa nama atau bisa yang lainnya.”*

“However, for me, the four addressing terms, including the addressing term *Kak*, apply to approach, to get to know people further. When they are at the level of intimacy that we can say it gets familiar, it can change the way you address them, it can be a name or something else.” (Arfan; FGD; March 3, 2022)

In his statements, what Arfan meant is that the use of addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* can change when there is an intimacy between the interlocutors. In other words, the addressing terms can change once people get familiar with each other. Stefani also agreed with Arfan’s statements. She also added that the use of those addressing terms to strangers is meant to show politeness.

*“Tapi kalo tujuannya sama orang umum atau lagi bersosialisasi yang sekali ketemu gitu cuma sebagai panggilan yang untuk kesopanan aja, gak yang mendekatkan ataupun menjauhkan.”*

“However, if the goal is to interact with strangers or socializing, when you meet them once, it is just an addressing term for politeness, not something that brings you closer or distances you.” (Stefani; FGD; March 3, 2022)

Unlike three participants above, Gristi seemed to disagree Arfan’s statements. Gristi viewed that the use of addressing terms is for neither to get closer nor detached. For her, changing the first-used addressing terms after getting familiar to the interlocutors is odd. Kemal and Shinta also agreed to her statements.

*“Ya gak mendekatkan ya gak menjauhkan sih, karena itu bagiku cuma kata sapaan. Kalo misal kita udah kenal dan taunya oh dia lebih tua ya manggil e Ci Mbak or Ko Mas gitu kan, dan ya gak akan berubah misal udah tau fakta sesungguhnya terus berubah jadi nama gitu gak. Contoh aku sama temen e bf ku, aku kira dia kelahiran 1999 ya karena angkatan 17, eh tapi ternyata dia sama kek aku kelahiran 2000, aku ya tetep manggil dia Ko. sama juga temanku yang ternyata lebih tua itu tetap aku panggil nama karna tau dan nyamannya manggil gitu. Lebih karena sudah kebiasaan dari awal tau cara manggil gitu sih, jadi kalo mau berubah manggil dari Ci Mbak Ko Mas ke nama tok atau sebaliknya tu malah gak enak aku ne.”*

“The terms do not bring either closer or gap because for me, it is just an addressing term. For example, if we already know them and we know, “oh he's older than me,” then we address them either with *Ci Mbak* or *Ko Mas*, right? and it will not change. If you know the real facts about them then it does not mean we change the addressing term into their name suddenly. For example, me and my boyfriend's friend, I thought he was born in 1999, because he was in batch 17, but it turns out that he is the same age as me who was born in 2000, yet I still call him *Ko*. The same thing happens with my friend, who turns out to be older than me, but I still call her by her name because I know and it is convenient to call her like that. It is because of the habit from the start I know how to address them, so if you want to change the addressing term from *Ci Mbak Ko Mas* to the only name or vice versa, I feel awkward.” (Gristi; FGD; March 3, 2022)

In general, the researcher found 4 perceptions towards the use of addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko*. The uses of addressing terms *Mbak-Mas* and *Ci-Ko* are: 1) to differentiate both ethnicities; 2) to show politeness and respect; 3) to emphasize an existing stereotype, that is the Chinese addressing terms are used for people who have a higher social class. This stereotype makes impacts in three ways: a) The Javanese addressing terms are more suitable for domestic helpers; b) The Chinese addressing terms influence the addressee's appearance and outfit choices; c) People increase their social status when they have a relationship with the Chinese people; 4) to show power and solidarity.

