

***Not The Meta:***  
**A Screenplay on the Negative Consequences of Prejudices between  
Young Chinese-Indonesian and Javanese and How to Overcome Them**

**Sendria Immanuel Kristianto<sup>1</sup>, Ribut Basuki<sup>2</sup>**

English Department, Faculty of Humanities and Creative Industries, Petra Christian University,  
Siwalankerto 121-131, Surabaya 60236, INDONESIA  
E-mail: a11210017@john.petra.ac.id<sup>1</sup>, rbasuki@petra.ac.id<sup>2</sup>

**ABSTRACT**

Prejudice has long been a root cause of intergroup conflict worldwide, and Indonesia is no exception—particularly in the relationship between Chinese-Indonesians and Javanese. This creative thesis aims to explore the possible causes of prejudice, how it manifests in everyday situations, and how it can be overcome. In the form of a drama-comedy screenplay, this work uses Intergroup Anxiety Theory to explain why people may develop prejudice and Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory to show how people can mitigate it. The story follows Kevin, a Chinese-Indonesian student, who is paired with his Javanese classmate, Gilang, to compete in a Mobile Legends: Bang Bang tournament. Throughout the story, Kevin is challenged to reflect on and overcome his prejudice, eventually learning to manage his anxiety through mindfulness—a mindset of being open, curious, and aware of different perspectives. Through this creative piece, people can understand the harmful effects of prejudice on society and the meaningful benefits that come from overcoming it.

**Keywords:** Chinese-Indonesian, Javanese, mindfulness, prejudice

**INTRODUCTION**

One of the many reasons for endless numbers of intergroup conflicts is prejudice. Prejudice is “a biased evaluation of a group, based on real or imagined characteristics of the group members” (Nelson & Olson, 2024, p. 10). It is one of the root causes of unfavorable behaviors and performances, such as racism, slavery, suicide attacks, and even wars between groups and nations (Nelson & Olson, 2024). It is a phenomenon that deserves attention and action from those who wish to avoid its harmful consequences.

Indonesia, in particular, does not escape from this problem. One of the detrimental intergroup conflicts driven by prejudice in the country is the infamous May 1998 riots, which included Chinese-Indonesians and Indigenous Indonesians (Himawan et al., 2022). Starting from a biased negative stigmatization toward Chinese-Indonesians by those in power, the event culminated with massive massacres and acts of sexual violence (Fakriansyah, 2023; Himawan et al., 2022). To make matters worse, the adverse impacts of it continue today, such as apparent social gaps between the two groups (Brahma, 2018; Hoon, 2011). It is crucial to address the issue between these ethnic groups and find ways to mitigate it.

A key countermeasure to prejudice involves developing mindfulness, which emphasizes openness, curiosity, and attentiveness to differing perspectives (Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001). This behavior enables people to put aside their deeply ingrained biases during intergroup interactions, fostering a better understanding of viewpoints that they might have otherwise neglected. Nonetheless, as with any behaviors, mindfulness requires an active participation of the actors, who should be motivated in one way or another. Therefore, to reduce prejudice in society, one needs to actively encourage and inspire people to develop mindfulness, and one way to accomplish that is through screenplays.

**Kristianto; Basuki:** *Not The Meta: A Screenplay on the Negative Consequences of Prejudices between Young Chinese-Indonesian and Javanese and How to Overcome Them*

This screenplay explores how prejudice is cultivated in individuals, how it manifests in their attitudes, and how it can ultimately be overcome. Specifically, it focuses on the struggle that Kevin, a Chinese-Indonesian teenager, experiences in facing his own prejudice toward Gilang, a Javanese schoolmate. The work highlights the root causes of Kevin's prejudice, which manifests in his avoidance and aggressive behavior toward Gilang, and shows how mindfulness helps him overcome it.

The significance comes from how the work could influence people of various ages. For adults, the depiction of challenges that young generations experience due to their ingrained prejudice would motivate parents to evaluate their behavior and attitudes toward different groups. For youngsters, the work will facilitate them to understand other groups' perspectives without meeting each other directly. This factor is crucial since individuals tend to live within communities of like-minded or similar individuals, which means there is a lack of intercommunication. Furthermore, there are no other Indonesian movies that specifically depict conflicting moments between young Chinese-Indonesians and Javanese. Although some other movies, like *Ngenest* and *Tanda Tanya*, show some interactions between young generations of both groups, they either focus on adults or romance.

### **Theory & Methodology**

This study is grounded by two major theories, namely intergroup anxiety and anxiety/uncertainty management theory. The intergroup anxiety theory by Walter G. Stephan (2014), a professor of psychology at New Mexico State University, describes numerous reasons why individuals possess prejudice. One of the factors is the attitude and perception from other ingroup members. The perceived beliefs of other ingroup members toward outgroups significantly affect people's own expectations toward them. Another factor is personal experience. One's experiences in facing outgroups will affect their interactions in the future. Lack of intergroup contacts leads to difficulties in empathizing with outgroup members, and negative contacts create fundamental rigid expectancies about interaction with the outgroup.

Stephan's theory also explains the consequences of having prejudices. First is the affective factor, which refers to the emotional aspects involved in intergroup interactions. Individuals might feel "apprehensive, distressed, and uneasy" when they are interacting with outgroups (p. 240). The second consequence is the cognition factor, which refers to the thinking or understanding aspects. Prejudiced people usually concern themselves with the negative psychological (self-embarrassment, discomfort, loss of self-esteem), behavioral (harassment, deception, violence), and evaluations (rejected, stereotyped, disapproved) by outgroup members. They might also be afraid of negative evaluations from other ingroup members from interacting with outgroups. The last consequence is behavioral consequences, which refers to how people behave negatively toward outgroup members. First, people might exhibit non-verbal manifestations of anxiety, including "speech difficulties, increased volume, changes in voice pitch, increased restlessness, averted gaze, postural avoidance, facial expressions of disapproval and annoyance, and general awkwardness" (P. 247). Moreover, intergroup anxiety could influence people to "avoid outgroup members, terminate intergroup interactions quickly, be distracted and not listen carefully, fail to respond appropriately to nonverbal communication cues, be unwilling to help outgroup members, and act offensively or aggressively" (p. 247).

In the screenplay, Kevin's mother passes down her negative attitudes and perceptions to Kevin through her comments and behavior toward Javanese. This attitude makes Kevin closed and avoidant toward Gilang, as he fears negative attitudes and behavior from the members of the outgroup. Moreover, his traumatic experience of getting physically abused by a Javanese student puts a damaging view of all Javanese being rough and violent on Kevin, cultivating his

avoidance and mistrustful behavior toward Gilang. Specifically, Kevin avoids eye contact, displays closed or distant body language, refuses to engage meaningfully, immediately eliminates interaction, and even acts out with verbal or mild physical aggression. He will also deliberately give only the minimum effort when working or playing alongside Gilang.

The methodology of this study employs secondary research. It involves searching through online sources, library collections, and academic journals to gather information related to prejudice, Chinese-Indonesians, and Javanese. The researchers aimed to use the most recent and credible sources to ensure accuracy and relevance for the screenplay. Once a general understanding of the topic was formed, the researcher organized the ideas into a structured outline, which served as a guide for further investigation and evidence gathering.

For the creative process, the researcher mostly used large language models and followed a general screenplay writing process. The AI tool helped keep track of the theories and arguments that had been built before. It also explained how the story could use the theories, which gave the researcher many ideas and a better understanding of how to create the creative work. However, even though the AI could quickly generate a story based on theories and prompts, it still lacked details about the environment and people in the chosen setting, which made the story feel less natural. Because of this, the researchers decided to write the story manually, starting with the premise, creative principle, plot, step outlines, characters, and conflicts. The writers also asked their peers to find any weak parts of the screenplay. By doing this, the story's elements reflect the topic in a more realistic and accurate way.

## CONCEPT OF THE CREATIVE WORK

The screenplay employs drama-comedy or dramedy genre. Dramedy is a subgenre of comedy that focuses on how the characters face and eventually prevail over painful, realistic events, ones in which “a film viewer can readily see himself/herself” (Selbo, 2015, p. 85). Dramedy takes place in the real world, which consequently covers real issues that have real consequences that most audiences would have encountered. This aspect of dramedy will allow each audience to have a new perspective, including stereotypes, about something in society that probably opposes the one that they possess at the moment. Moreover, Selbo also states that this genre aims to allow its viewers to empathize with and identify with real-life emotions (Selbo, 2015). Related to our issues, this genre will help both young Chinese-Indonesians and Javanese audiences to have understanding and sympathy with each other, although they never had a chance to meet in an intimate way due to the long-lasting prejudice between them. Some of the dramedy works that influence this thesis are *Ngenest* (Prakarsa, 2015), *Green Book* (Farelly, 2018), and *Eighth Grade* (Burnham, 2018).

The story will also take place in a contemporary setting, which is characterized by the usage of technology. One of the practices is mobile gaming culture, involving games like *Mobile Legends: Bang Bang*, *League of Legends*, and *Free Fire*. One of the consequences of this culture is the emergence of new vocabularies like *META* (Most Effective Tactics Available)—referring to current winning strategies across gaming platforms. This treatment is utilized to reflect the reality of young generations today, which makes the story relevant and engaging to young audiences.

The literary device applied in the screenplay is montage techniques. In the film world, the term montage is used to describe a rapid sequence of different shots that convey “passages of time, changes of places, or any other scenes of transition” (Reisz & Millar, 2010, p. 87). The purpose of this method is usually to display a series of necessary pieces of information in the story that have little emotional significance (Reisz & Millar, 2010). It doesn't require detailed

**Kristianto; Basuki:** *Not The Meta: A Screenplay on the Negative Consequences of Prejudices between Young Chinese-Indonesian and Javanese and How to Overcome Them*

explanations, and having screenwriters describe everything in detail would be difficult and time-consuming.

### **Premise and Creative Principle**

The premise of this creative work:

A Chinese-Indonesian teenage boy with a deep prejudice against Javanese is forced to team up with one for a Mobile Legends: Bang Bang tournament, challenging his beliefs and leading up to an unexpected friendship.

The creative principle goes as follows:

I will demonstrate how a Chinese-Indonesian protagonist overcomes his prejudice against Javanese people by forming a genuine connection with a Javanese classmate after they are forced to team up.

### **Logline and Pitch**

The logline for my creative work goes like this:

Kevin, a Chinese-Indonesian teenager, thinks that his new school will allow him to make friends and compete in Mobile Legends: Bang Bang tournaments—until he's forced to team up with the one person he has been avoiding: a Javanese classmate.

Meanwhile, the pitch goes as follows:

- a. KEVIN (16), a Chinese-Indonesian teenager, transfers to a new school hoping to finally make friends and join a Mobile Legends: Bang Bang tournament.
- b. But his plan takes an unexpected turn when he's forced to team up with GILANG (16), a Javanese classmate he holds deep prejudice against due to past trauma.
- c. As they clash, compete, and slowly connect, Kevin is forced to confront his beliefs, leading him to form a team that brings him closer to his dream of competing professionally in Mobile Legends: Bang Bang.

### **Synopsis**

Kevin, a Chinese-Indonesian teenager, enrolls at Harapan Cerah Senior High School, a private school in Sidoarjo, hoping to be able to compete in Mobile Legends: Bang Bang (MLBB) tournaments. Throughout middle school, he struggled to fit in and never found friends to play or compete with, largely because he was a Chinese-Indonesian in a predominantly Javanese school. Determined to change that, he searches for fellow Chinese-Indonesian classmates in his new school whom he believes to be more accepting than his previous schoolmates. However, his efforts do not seem to bear a great result since grouping with some Javanese students is his only choice to enter the MLBB tournament in the school. At first, Kevin feels anxious and uncomfortable whenever he interacts with Gilang due to his prejudices toward him. However, as they practice and spend time together, Kevin gets to see Gilang's kindness and empathy toward him and the entire team, which makes Kevin see Gilang in a more positive light. Kevin begins to feel more at ease around Gilang and starts making an effort to engage in conversation. Nevertheless, he feels conflicted—unsure whether to continue pursuing friendships with his Chinese-Indonesian classmates or to embrace his bond with Gilang. Gilang's position as the little brother of Kevin's past bully does not help the situation as well. In

the end, he decides to let go of his prejudices and fully accept Gilang as his close mate, which enables him to win the school's MLBB tournament.

## Characters

### Main characters

- Kevin Alexander Wijaya  
Age: 16 years old

Kevin is an only child from a working-class Chinese-Indonesian family, living in a mixed-ethnicity neighborhood. His casual clothing reflects his easygoing appearance, but beneath that, Kevin is smart, driven, and charismatic. His greatest passion is Mobile Legends: Bang Bang, a game he plays obsessively and competitively. Despite his talent, he has never had the network or community to compete at a higher level due to lack of relationships with his Javanese peers. To escape that circumstance, Kevin enrolls in Harapan CeraH Senior High School, a private institution predominantly attended by Chinese-Indonesian students. He believes that in this new environment, he will finally be able to make real friends and form a team to pursue his dream of competing in a Mobile Legends tournament.

### Supporting characters

- Gilang Mahendra  
Age: 16 years old

Gilang is the younger of two. He was born into a working-class Javanese family. He is phlegmatic, calm, and a little bit witty. He usually sits in the corner and likes to observe the situation around him. Before entering Harapan CeraH, he had studied in a public school since his elementary years. Like Kevin, he enjoys playing Mobile Legends and often plays it during leisure time. He has great knowledge about the game and is capable of creating exceptional strategies to win the game.

- Bagas Mahendra  
Age: 19 years old

Bagas is Gilang's older brother. He is 19 years old and in his third year of high school. He is studying in a public school. He is pretty talkative and friendly. However, his appearance can be a little bit intimidating, scaring people around him. He was a friend of the student who bullied Kevin a few years before.

- Lukas Budiyo  
Age: 16 years old

Lukas is the only son of a wealthy Chinese-Indonesian family. He is tall and quite athletic. He loves to play Mobile Legends with his group, FOMO. He likes to get away from a difficult situation, like doing homework, by getting others to do it for him. He also loves to play sports and gets attention from his peers. When he sets his sights on something, he becomes so ambitious that he will do whatever it takes to achieve it.

- Jonathan  
Age: 16 years old

Jonathan is the second child in his family. He was born into a middle-class Chinese-Indonesian family. He is an embodiment of what people call "nerd." He wears glasses. He is pretty introverted. He avoids interacting with his schoolmates. He always plays Mobile Legends alone at lunchtime. He likes watching anime. He usually takes the "offlaner" role in Mobile Legends. He feels Mobile Legends gives him more control of a situation than reality. He speaks softly.

**Kristianto; Basuki:** *Not The Meta: A Screenplay on the Negative Consequences of Prejudices between Young Chinese-Indonesian and Javanese and How to Overcome Them*

- Dimas

Age: 16 years old

Dimas is the only child in his family. He was born into a middle-class Javanese family. His visuals are like any average male student at school. He always enrolled in public school before he entered high school. He is usually high-spirited. He loves to talk and react to what other people say. He usually takes the “gold laner” role in Mobile Legends.

- Yosafat

Age: 16 years old

Yosafat is the oldest child in his middle-class Timorese family. Before he entered high school, he lived in Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara. He is an exceptionally bright student who loves to make jokes and laugh loudly. He gets sleepy easily, especially in a situation when he cannot move or talk. He usually talks and plays with Dimas. He takes the “Roamer” role in Mobile Legends.

- Kevin’s mother

Age: 39 years old

She is a Chinese-Indonesian single mother. She works hard to fulfill Kevin’s needs. She got divorced a long time ago from her husband. She can only afford to buy a rented house. She has a deep-ingrained prejudice against Javanese. Her attitude stems from her parents’ influence and lack of interaction with Indonesians of Javanese descent.

- Robert Gunawan

Age: 29 years old

Robert is a Chinese-Indonesian teacher who works at Harapan CeraH Senior High School. He is the homeroom teacher as well as the advisor for the Mobile Legends: Bang Bang extracurricular club that Kevin and Gilang belong to. He is wise, empathetic, and playful. He cares deeply about his students and wants the best for them. He has several experiences competing in some MLBB tournaments and willingly shares his knowledge with his students.

## Conflict

Conflict is someone or something that is in opposition to a character(s) (Field, 2005). It can take the form of a struggle, a quarrel, fear of life, fear of others, or anything. Nevertheless, conflict is generally categorized into two major characteristics: internal and external. External conflict is “where the conflict is outside the characters,” both physical and emotional ( p. 246). In my story, Kevin will deal with Gilang, his Javanese teammate, and Lukas, his final enemy in the school’s MLBB tournament. Kevin will have a conflict or fight with Gilang, as they both cannot accept each other’s behavior. Lukas, on the other hand, functions as Kevin’s obstacle to winning the tournament and uniting with Gilang and the others.

Internal conflict occurs within a character. It can be “emotional, emotional, or mental (Field, 2005, p. 246). In my screenplay, Kevin struggles with his own prejudices and stereotypes about Javanese people, which are embodied by Gilang. Kevin is afraid of being treated negatively by Gilang in his tournament’s journey. This fear makes Kevin mistrustful toward Gilang, which creates a big fight between them. This conflict will negatively affect the whole team’s condition, and it will decrease the chance for them to win the tournament.

## CONCLUSION

This paper attempts to depict the root causes of prejudice toward other groups within individuals, how it manifests in their behaviors, and the way people can overcome it through screenplay. Intergroup anxiety theory provides an explanation of the underlying causes of Kevin's prejudice—such as deep-seated prejudices from prejudiced parents and negative personal experiences toward outgroups—and how it affects Kevin's behaviors—involving avoidance and aggressive behaviors (Stephan, 2014). Meanwhile, anxiety/uncertainty management theory sheds light on how Kevin should perform mindfulness—being open, curious, and aware of outgroups' perspectives—in order to overcome his prejudice (Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001). By applying these two theories, this creative piece will leave a strong impression on audiences about the harmful effects of prejudice on society and the meaningful benefits that come from overcoming it. Prejudice hinders the development of future relationships and creates division within society. However, by fostering mindfulness, society can move toward greater unity and prosperity.

## REFERENCES

- Field, S. (2005). *Screenplay: The foundations of screenwriting*. Delta.
- Adi, Y. A., & Bahri, M. T. (2023). Conflict and Perspectives: The Social Construction of Chinese Ethnic Citizens against Natives in Surakarta, Indonesia after the May 1998 Riots. *RESIPROKAL: Jurnal Riset Sosiologi Progresif Aktual*, 5(1), 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.29303/resiprokal.v5i1.278>
- American Psychological Association. (2014). *Social Psychology Examines Interpersonal Relationships*. <https://www.apa.org/education-career/guide/subfields/social>
- Barker, T. (2019). *Indonesian cinema after the new order: Going mainstream*. HKU Press.
- Brahma, S. (2018). THE POSITION OF ETHNIC CHINESE IN INDONESIA. *IMPACT: International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature*, 6.
- Burnham, B. (Director). (2018, August 3). *Eighth Grade* [Comedy, Drama]. A24, IAC Films.
- Derrick, L. (2020, October 15). *Why Scriptwriting is a Major Part of Video Production—Blog—Top Notch Cinema*. [https://www.topnotchcinema.com/blog/why-scriptwriting-is-a-major-part-of-video-production\\_ae42.html](https://www.topnotchcinema.com/blog/why-scriptwriting-is-a-major-part-of-video-production_ae42.html)
- Etania, R. B., & Indriawati, T. (2023, August 29). *Tragedi Sampit: Konflik Berdarah antara Suku Dayak dan Madura Halaman all*. KOMPAS.com. <https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2023/08/29/170000479/tragedi-sampit--konflik-berdarah-antara-suku-dayak-dan-madura>
- Fakhriansyah, M. (2023). *25 Tahun Krisis: Rakyat Ngamuk, Etnis Tionghoa Jadi Sasaran*. CNBC Indonesia. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230512160541-4-436931/25-tahun-krisis-rakyat-ngamuk-etnis-tionghoa-jadi-sasaran>
- Farrelly, P. (Director). (2018, November 16). *Green Book* [Biography, Comedy, Drama]. Participant, Dreamworks Pictures, Innisfree Pictures.
- Gudykunst, W. B. (1998). Applying anxiety/uncertainty management (AUM) Theory to intercultural adjustment training. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 22(2), 227–250. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0147-1767\(98\)00005-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0147-1767(98)00005-4)
- Gudykunst, W. B., & Nishida, T. (2001). Anxiety, uncertainty, and perceived effectiveness of communication across relationships and cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 25(1), 55–71. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767\(00\)00042-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(00)00042-0)
- Gudykunst, W. B., & Shapiro, R. B. (1996). Communication in everyday interpersonal and intergroup encounters. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20(1), 19–45. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767\(96\)00037-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(96)00037-5)

**Kristianto; Basuki:** *Not The Meta: A Screenplay on the Negative Consequences of Prejudices between Young Chinese-Indonesian and Javanese and How to Overcome Them*

- Himawan, E. M., Pohlman, A., & Louis, W. (2022). Revisiting the May 1998 Riots in Indonesia: Civilians and Their Untold Memories. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 41(2), 240–257. <https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034221084320>
- Hoon, C.-Y. (2011). Mapping ‘Chinese’ Christian schools in Indonesia: Ethnicity, class and religion. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 12(3), 403–411. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-010-9144-7>
- Houser, B. B. (1978). An examination of the use of audiovisual media in reducing prejudice. *Psychology in the Schools*, 15(1), 116–122. [https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6807\(197801\)15:1<116::AID-PITS2310150122>3.0.CO;2-G](https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6807(197801)15:1<116::AID-PITS2310150122>3.0.CO;2-G)
- Industri Film Indonesia | Invest Indonesia*. (2018). BKPM. <https://www.investindonesia.go.id/id/artikel-investasi/detail/peningkatan-pasar-film-nasional-dalam-mendukung-industri-film-indonesia>
- Lasseter, J. (Director). (1995, November 22). *Toy Story* [Animation, Adventure, Comedy]. Walt Disney Pictures, Pixar Animation Studios.
- Marta, R. F., & Suryani, A. (2016). Dampak Kekuatan Informasi Film Ngenest terhadap Penilaian Komunitas Stand Up Indonesia di Jakarta. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, 3(1), 77. <https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v3i1.101>
- NABABAN, W. M. C. (2023, January 4). *Tahun 2023, Penonton Film Indonesia Ditargetkan Pecahkan Rekor Baru*. [kompas.id](https://www.kompas.id/baca/humaniora/2023/01/04/tahun-2023-penonton-film-indonesia-ditargetkan-pecahkan-rekor-baru). <https://www.kompas.id/baca/humaniora/2023/01/04/tahun-2023-penonton-film-indonesia-ditargetkan-pecahkan-rekor-baru>
- Nelson, T. D., & Olson, M. A. (2024). *The Psychology of Prejudice* (3rd ed.). New York : The Guilford Press.
- Prakasa, E. (Director). (2015, December 31). *Ngenest* [Comedy]. StarVision Plus.
- Radatz, E. (2018). *The Potential Benefits of Using Humor to Reduce Prejudice and Violence*.
- Reisz, K., & Millar, G. (2010). *The technique of film editing* (2nd ed., reissued). Focal Press.
- Russell, W. B. (2009). *Teaching social issues with film* (transferred to digital print 2010). IAP.
- Selbo, J. (2015). *Film genre for the screenwriter*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Setyaningrum, P. (2022, March 15). *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka: Penyebab, Kronologi Konflik, dan Kesepakatan Helsinki Halaman all*. KOMPAS.com. <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2022/03/15/141817678/gerakan-aceh-merdeka-penyebab-kronologi-konflik-dan-kesepakatan-helsinki>
- Shah, V. (2023, October 19). *The Role of Film in Society*. Thought Economics. <https://thoughteconomics.com/the-role-of-film-in-society/>
- Stephan, W. G. (2014). Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research, and Practice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 18(3), 239–255. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868314530518>
- Syavira, F., & Amindoni, A. (2021, October 1). *Tionghoa Indonesia dalam pusaran peristiwa 65: Pengalaman, kenangan dan optimisme generasi muda*. BBC News Indonesia. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-58732398>