Colorism "Ideology": The Legacy of Colonial Mentality in The Jakarta's Gen-Z Mixed-Race

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Abstract

Colonialism left a big impact on power relations at the social level. One of the most prominent is the ideology of "colorism" which sees a person's position and ranking based on racial features and skin color, thus created racial hierarchy. The problem is, this indication is still happening today, the lifetime of Generation Z (Gen-Z) who was born in the 21st century, when the world has become increasingly converged by globalization and easy access to information. The "ideology" of colorism still persists by placing the white race as a race that is considered superior and has higher privileges compared to the "indigenous" race. But we wanted to explore whether the same trend holds true for Gen-Z of white and "indigenous" descent. Through the Postcolonial approach, we conducted a survey of 152 respondents and semi-structured interviews of mixed race and "indigenous" people in Jakarta and found that the colorism tendency only applies to those who are fully "white", but not fully to mixed races. However, this mixed race still gets a lot of benefits from this racial condition, as well as often finds discrimination.

Keywords
Mixed-race, racial hierarchy, colorism, postcolonialism, colonial mentality

1. Introduction
After colonialism, the Western beauty standard is still imprinted until now in the time of Z Generation (Gen-Z), the current generations that will likely be more active in the scene of global politics (Dolot, 2018). Social media such as Tiktok, Instagram, and Twitter helps Gen-Z, through beauty influencers, to associate their beauty to the Western ideals of beauty, marked by brighter and lighter skin and hair tone. This Western ideal of beauty is socially, culturally, and even politically privileged, and creating a certain kind of superiority of particular races (Golby et al., 2001; Ross, 1901).

Gen-Z is also not immune from this tendency. In the case of Indonesia, as exemplified by research by Tanu (2017) who conducted an interview in one of the international schools located in Jakarta, where some of the respondents are mixed whether half white half Indonesia or half white half Oriental, one of the respondents answered that she would rather be called white than Indonesian. Her caucasian father told her that she's mixed but she still refused to be called like that and persisted to be called '*bule*', and Indonesian term for foreign descent that considerably seen as an "upper race" (Tanu, 2017: 216). From an interview with Hannah Al Rasyid who is mixed French Indonesian that was conducted by Magdalene explained that being mixed-race is a pride to herself since the stereotype benefited her. Soap operas in Indonesia also shows this tendency, as well as beauty pageant events that several times wins people with mixed Caucasian race. For example, the winner of Puteri Indonesia (Miss Indonesia) 2019 was Frederika Alexis Cull who represented DKI Jakarta is a British-Batavian descendant (CNN, 2019). She was also protruding in the Miss Universe by occupy the top 10 spot which is higher than any Indonesian ("natives") representative ever sent to the same events.

This is undoubtedly legacy of the lingering-longstanding colonialism that persist even generations has changed. Even people with mixed-race are still trying to define their own identity through those traces of colonialism and silently looked up to the racial hierarchy without even realizing it. European colonialism inherits some kind of hierarchical social classes which classified most of the races in the world into levels or ranks in which white race assumes highest positions. At least in Indonesia, this racial hierarchy consist of three levels with the white occupies the upper ranks, the traders from Far East occupies middle ranks, and the indigenous as the lowest ranks (Bashi, 1998; Tanu, 2017; Howell & Emerson, 2018). This colonial legacy throws us back to the Enlightenment, when the idea of European superiority was acclaimed by the great progress in culture, science, technological and economic advancement, and bureaucratization and transferred this mentality to the world, thus creating a sense of superiority and domination. This globalization of Western perspectives, or "Westernization" creates a sense of power relations among the colonials and the colonized – a creating an immutable phenomena of race superiority. Foucault once said that domination is a reply to a series of domination that was created and running in circles until these days (Devetak, 2011).

1.1. Objective

Against this backdrop, this research aims to explore the persistence of the racial hierarchy as colonial legacy in influencing the privileged identity of mixed-race of Gen-Z in Indonesia. This cross-discipline research between socio-anthropology and international relations will find its significance in discussing the power relations inherited by longstanding history of colonialism and how the Gen-Z contextualize themselves in the upcoming future as nation leaders amid the uncertainties bring about by globalization, Westernization, and all efforts to strive as a nation. It will also interesting to see it in the light of the turmoil of politics of identity which potentially disintegrate the nation.

2. Literature Review

The Impact of Colonialism to Racialist Mentality

Colonialism has made a sizeable remnants on countries that were colonized in the social, economics, cultural, and political context. "Racial hierarchy" as one of its protruding impacts is not unfamiliar. Like social class, both terms talk about stratification of certain communities in this world. While defined differently among countries around the world, the term racial hierarchy is known as a stratification system that considers the superiority and the inferiority of certain races in the world (Song, 2007). Albeit differs in their colonial history, almost in every country the top of the class is occupied by the whites. Song pointed out several examples of the form of racial hierarchy in several places (country or continent) such as in Africa and America. It then brought up the term privileged for the superior races that the situation sometimes creates a negative impact such as oppression to the 'lower rank' race in the racial hierarchy. In Indonesia itself, the term racial hierarchy was formed by the Dutch colonies when they occupied the country for 350 years long. A discourse or narrative was created from the event of colonialism since it was impactful in colonized countries; involving the domination and power relations (Foucault, 1982; Olssen, 2003; Raulet, 1983). This type of domination and power relations based on racial difference often termed as "colorism". Colorism itself defined as a worldwide event or phenomenon about certain status or privileged by the color of some people or we can say it base on race (Steele, 2016), and its persist even today.

In the 20th century Indonesia, since the creation of classes based on their race, people of mixed-race descent were placed in an ambiguous position. If the father (from the Caucasian part) acknowledges them that they are legally part of the highest rank, and most of them look white, while if they are not acknowledged by the father and the physical appearance is not as expected, then they are the same as the natives (Hewett, 2015). This is also backed by the *ius sanguinis* law that determine one's citizenship based on the father's side. This intersectionality benefits the mixed-race descent greatly by putting them into the privileged ranks in the society.

The term 'Indos' appears as a term for people of Dutch descent at first who were born in the land of 'Indies'. Beauty standards in Indonesia are heavily influenced by the Europeans colonials, especially the Dutch. In Indonesia white skin, sharp nose, round eyes, and a tall body are the standard to be called beautiful by the society (Jefferson & Stake, 2009; Saraswati, 2010). In the film industry, the actors and actresses are mainly dominated by mixed-race, or "Indos", or "blasteran" to refer to the same conception (Nas et al., 2009). Until now the Indonesian film industry has made "Indos/blasteran" as a protagonist male character and female antagonist character because they said that their physical appearance is more suitable for that kind of roles (Yudhistira et al., 2014).

However, while the Caucasians have always been superior since then, the case of mixed-race identity is rather unclear or even ambiguous. The term "otherness" can be interpreted to be aimed at those who still have a dilemma

regarding their own identity, for example it occurs to children with mixed descent and that term can be a motivation for them to establish their own identity (Root, 1990). Mixed-race is the result of mixed marriages or also known as inter-racial marriages. During the Dutch colonization in Indonesia, mixed marriages occurred between the Dutch soldiers and Indonesian local women (indigenous). The result of this mixed marriage is known to be called 'Indos' which is now best known to describe Indonesian in general with mixed descent in Europe (Hewett, 2017). However, during the colonial era, 'Indos' belongs to the lower rank of the European social class, while for the Indonesian local community 'Indos' was included in the upper-class category who used could go to school, have a job, and so on (H. Sjaardema, 1946; Hewett, 2017; Rutten, 2017). Hewett later mentioned in her other work, that no matter how different their background and history, every Indonesians with mixed European descent will be known as 'Indos' (Hewett, 2019).

Apart from Indonesia, almost every country in Asia suffer from colorism. Fairer skin is one of the main elements to be beautiful in almost all Asian cultures. It clearly explained how Western beauty standard has become an 'international' beauty standard (Li et al., 2008). Korean are known to be strict in terms of beauty standards. South Korea is a great example. Koreans considered themselves as beautiful if their skin are white, their eyes are round, their nose are sharp, and their hair are blonde (Murray & Price, 2011). This phenomenon also occur in India and Bangladesh in such way it creates a discrimination within the country (Ayyar & Khandare, 2013).

These colonial legacies are vastly analyzed through the theory of Postcolonialism. This theory explained the legacies of colonialism that affects the culture and outlook of the people from the country or group that has been colonized. The term 'post' from this term does not mean the situation of the state "after" being colonized, but rather describes the legacy or persistent traces of colonialism in a country or group that has been colonized, even after their independence (Seth, 2011) is such way it creates a "pathology" in society.

Postcolonialism was formed with the aim to eliminate Western hegemony that continues to influence world society. As explained by Yang, Zhang and Wang in 2006,

> "... post-colonialism wants to eliminate Western hegemony by combining Eastern and Western cultures or it can be called 'hybridity', but it does not want to create another hegemony, the new thing is the process of combining these cultures due to post-colonialism is focused more on analyzing the impact of colonialism on culture that affects the perspective of society that used to be colonized" (Yang & Zhang, 2006).

Therefore, postcolonial theory is very relevant to analyze on racial hierarchy as Aschroft said,

> "Colonialism has an impact on society and culture in country that was colonized, postcolonial theory itself focuses more on its analysis of culture and outlook that have a big impact from colonialism and still carried over to this day" (Ashcroft, 2017).

Postcolonial Theories are not a single, all-encompassing theory to understand the impact of colonialism towards contemporary society. There are three variants which is commonly referred to as "Holy Trinity" (Young, 1995) consists of Said, Spivak, and Bhabha. Each of these variants are post-structuralism, socio-economic, and subaltern (Wilkens, 2017), that emphasizes different definition and role but is still included in one post-colonialism study. Post-structuralism always questioning on facts and beliefs that succeed that strengthening the domination and strength of an actor in International Relations. Post-structuralism also argue that 'knowledge' leads to the domination and strength of an elite actor then it distributed forcibly to others (Morrow, 2018). Socio-economic variants of the theory explains the social and economic disparities that exist in the world between actors. Here, economic activities determine a narrow definition of profit orientation, production and distribution (Laville, 2003). The subaltern variants as emphasizes by Spivak gave an appreciation which also contained criticism on the projects of this collective subaltern study which attracted the attention of post-colonial actors as well as to those activists who were involved in criticism on ethnic groups and minorities on a global scale (Byrd & Rothberg, 2011).

Here, we would utilize post-structuralism as our main approach. We argue that, *first*, we believe that domination and power relations plays an important role in the racial hierarchy in the International Relations study. *Second*, the racial hierarchy is not always involving socio-economics disparities, albeit benefits certain actors in the economic fileds. Economic benefits may be seen in its causality as the effects of a certain identity of an actor hold in society. *Third*, we believe that this condition caused by the inveterated mentality from longstanding history of colonialism that operates differently around the world. Reflecting from the case of "Indos" or "blasteran" in Indonesia, we can argue that there are impossible to compare mixed-race in Indonesia to the other region in the world. This is due to the difference of the power relations that operated between countries, as well as the differences in the material and social resources. *Fourth*, the practice of racial hierarchy also inherited through the use of language as its symbolic channels; for example, through names preferences. Language as the symbolic channels of power relations plays an important roles in the perpetuation of privileged identity. Power is a word that became the main

question and a significant thing for Foucault, he said that "*while the human subject is placed in relations of production and signification, it is equally placed in power relations which are more complex*" (Foucault, 1982).

Devetak also explained that Genealogy, especially the notion of it, is very crucial to many post-structuralist perspectives in international relations (Devetak, 2011; p. 189). Foucault's Genealogy is used as a research method in International Relations and as one among several Foucauldian historical-critical perspectives for interpreting the social and political world (Vucetic, 2011). Genealogy is a perspective which throws its focus on the process of the origin construction, or in the easier way is like the history of history. History itself creates a series of domination and as Foucault says it is a play of domination that is repeated until now (Devetak, 2011; Olssen, 2003). Devetak discussed post-structuralism based on Nietzsche and Foucault's notions, which clearly explained the differences in its perspectives of post-structuralism. But both clearly stated that the idea of post-structuralism is linked to the method of genealogy that exposes the relations on power and knowledge in international relations. Foucault outlook on power has develop into the term of 'governmentality' where it refers to "the historical emergence of techniques and tactics of 'government at a distance', and a 'governmentalization of the State', where the state becomes oriented primarily to managing and regulating populations" (Selby, 2007). For Foucault's genealogical investigations towards post-structuralism, discourse or 'discursive formation' is one of the core concepts (Çalkıvik, 2017). Basically, Foucault's view on post-structuralism was running around the term of power, on how power holds the relations on the social nexus.

To further explain the suitability of post-structuralism with the main problem of this paper, the concept of post-structuralism is divided into four (4) themes, namely:
1. Power relations exercised through language (discourse/narratives): the relationship of power from the interaction or bond between actors who have strength and power with actors that are weaker. This power relationship is embedded in the "social nexus" where if there are no power relations in the society, the conditions will become abstracts (Foucault, 1982). From Foucault's view on power, we can link into International Relations by questioning sovereignty, territory, population, and the essence of the state as an actor (Bigo, 2017).
2. Otherization/alteration/binary construction: differences that are intentionally created to prove the superiority of the object being compared (Wilkens, 2017).
3. Hybridization: a production to form a culture and new cultural practices through the merging of ancestral cultures that previously stood on their own or exist because several cultures gather in one place and form something that previously did not exist (Dear & Burridge, 2005).
4. Materialization/reification of discourse/narratives: discourse that occurs as an incident in social practices (Wilkens, 2017).

3. Methods

Data Collections Method

This research employs a mixed methods by collecting data through snowball sampling technique conducted by distributing questionnaires to the targeted community (especially from participant to another participant) that are linking to the main topics of this research. The questionnaire also enriched by more intimate data by conducting interviews towards the targeted community. These data then triangulated with the secondary data through literature such as journals, books, and investigative media to validate the results.

Data Analysis Technique

To analyze the data obtained, we conduct the data reduction, data categorization, and interpret it using thematic analysis technique. The themes derived from four conception of Post-Structural version of Postcolonialism approach and become the basis to generate the categoty of themes as well as determining questionnaire and interview questions. The questions for questionnaire and interviews elaborated as follows in table 1:

Table 1. Themes Categorization

Themes	Descriptions	Indicators
Power relations exercised through language (discourse/narratives)	Power relations can be explained as the relationship between the powerful actor and powerless actor, or in other words the ruler and the controlled.	1. Narration on the superiority of Caucasian 2. Legitimacy towards Caucasian superiority.

Creation of others/otherization/alteration/ binary construction	Differences that are deliberately created to prove the superiority of the object that are being compared.	1. Construction towards oppositional differences in racial superiority.
Hybridization	The result of a merger of two or more cultures which form a culture that previously did not exist.	1. The occurrence of cultural exchange 2. Essentiating an occurrence of conflict due to cultural differences.
Materialization of discourse/narratives	Discourse that occurs in an event of social practices.	1. Narration of racial superiority into social practices.

4. Results and Discussion

The case of mixed-race identity is not familiar or rare. Not only in Indonesia, but any country with the history of colonialism is experiencing the same feeling of superiority or inferiority complex towards some races. Almost all countries in the region of Southeast Asia are experiencing colonialism, except for Thailand that was never been colonized. Philippines, for example, colonized by Spain and still perpetuating its colorism legacy. As stated by Ocampo (2016) that many people, especially the Western are presuming the Philippines as the "Latinos of Asia", with all its exotism. The local people still feel inferior to people with white skin and the beauty standard still looks up to the Western culture. Meanwhile, the mixed-race tends to feel ambiguous about their own identity and treated differently because they look white. It creates a stereotype in the Philippines society that states that people of mixed-race, especially half white are all considered beautiful or handsome (McFerson, 2002).

Indonesia and The Philippines societies are similar. Whitening, brightening, and lightning qualities are mostly advertised in the skin care and make-up products to overcome the inferiority of people of colors. Both countries are so fond of beauty pageant competitions. The title of Miss Philippines in 2018 was achieved by Catriona Gray who is an Australia-Philippines descent. While in Indonesia, there are several winners of beauty contests that are mixed-race such as Frederika Alexis Cull (Puteri Indonesia 2019) that also represent Indonesia in Miss Universe 2019 and Achintya Nilsen who is the winner of Miss Indonesia 2017 that represent Indonesia in Miss World 2017. Most people then perplexed on why most of them that represent their countries are not "pure-blooded" or a native, and why it is always people with Western looks that can occupy the highest position in such pageants. It is 21st century, after all. But our mentality – Gen-Z mentality – still fall behind the colonial era.

We collect data by questionnaire towards 152 respondents from Jakarta region, Indonesia, with 107 female and 45 male respondents that include people are mixed-race and non-mixed with relatively balanced in quantity. 72 mixed-race (Caucasian- "native") descent (47%) and 80 non-mixed people (53%) are willing to be surveyed online. We asked several questions to determine the effects of colonialism towards privileged identity of the mixed-race. These questions are divided to determine the dominance of whites at the level of socio-cultural and linguistic practice, and are aimed at seeing the effect of this on the mixed-race who inherits the colorism tendency. In addition, respondents from non-white and non-mixed backgrounds were also asked the same questions for the same purpose. With each mixed and non-mixed, the writer centered on the age between 15-28 years old which is still a part of Gen-Z. The questions and the data displayed as follows in table 2:

Table 2. Data display

Themes	Questions	Race	Answer		
			Yes	**No**	**Others**
Narration on the superiority of Caucasian	Is the white race recognized as better race by society?	MR NM	37 37	8 11	27 32
Legitimacy towards Caucasian superiority	Do you feel that the white race is superior to other races?	MR NM	11 17	47 40	14 23

Construction towards oppositional differences in racial superiority.	Are people of mixed race often recognized as different from others?	MR NM	31 25	8 19	33 36
The occurrential of cultural exchange	Does MR have difficulty accepting cultural differences and difficulties in adapting in their social life?"	MR NM	29 44	43 36	- -
Legitimacy of racial superiority into social practices	Is the privileges granted to the MR legitimated?	MR NM	16 14	21 34	13 27

Legend:
MR: mixed-race respondents
NM: non-mixed race respondents

Through snowball sampling, the writer decided to filter the answer from 152 respondents into mixed (MR) and non-mixed (NM) who agree or fill in "yes" as their answer. If the respondents said "yes" then we can see the significance of each indicator from 4 main themes of this research. The results of these sampling basically can be categorized as limited and purely centered in the problem of race, not in its intersectionality with gender, socio-economic conditions, and other variables. In addition to the questionnaire, we also conducted interviews with 5 MR respondents from the questionnaire respondents to gain indepth understanding about how colorism affects their social relationships from their point of view. Some of the respondents decided to unreveal their identity due to the sensitivity of the issue and other reasons.

Colorism "ideology" is indeed still persist in today's society, consciuosly and unconsciously, resulted in the inequality of opportunities among mixed-race descent and of those non-mixed. This is a clear proof of unequal power relations. The picture from the society of people with Caucasian blood will rank high up while the locals now will occupy the rank below the Caucasian. The stereotype then gives the certain race its own privilege in the society. Yes, most of them admitted that the whites are recognized as a powerful race than any other races, but most of them also think that they are just like any other races here in Indonesia. With question "*is the white race recognized as better race by society*?", the survey results show that 37 respondents from MR (51.3%) and 37 respondents from NM (46.25%) answer that they acknowledge the superiority of the whites as dominant answer, with mere 8 MR respondents (11.1%) and 11 NM respondents (13.75%) answer "no", with 27 MR (33.75%) and 32 NM respondents (40%) answers other options. But interestingly, the narration of white superiority is not always legitimated, both by MR and NM, with survey results show that 47 MR respondents (65.27%) and 40 NM respondents (50%) answer "no" for the question related to the legitimacy of white races ("*Do you feel that the white race is superior to other races?*"), with 11.27% MR and 21.25% NM answer "yes", while 19.44% MR and 28.75% NM answer othe options.

We fascinated by the survey results and triangulate these results with interviews. Based from the interviews to the MR, we infer that the MR are thinking that they live here as minorities, which can both be seen as a negative or positive way. The privileges are for the whites, not for the MR. Almost all the MR we interviewed did not agree that Caucasian are better than any other and realize that the idea of the stereotypes that were created by society. They think that in this era (at least for them) there is no such thing as who is more superior or feels inferior towards each other. On the other hand, they are aware that NM puts higher expectations for them. They are aware that locals are seeing them with so much expectation and calling them as '*bule*' (the white), but still, they think that they are just them.

This is again confirmed by the results from the question "*are people of mixed race often recognized as different from others?*". We provide three answer choices in the survey: "yes", "no", and "cannot be said to be completely different" as alternative answers that are more normative. The survey results showed that 33 (45.8%) MR respondents and 36 NM respondents (45%) answered this other option. In this case, we consider that the differentiation related to race and ranking based on race is full of normative values that cannot be fully answered with a clear cut answer by the respondents. However, as many as 31 MR respondents (43.05%) and 25 (31.25%) NM respondents said that the difference between the two groups was indeed real and left the number not too significant for those who answered "no" (11.1% MR and 23.75% NM).

Through interviews, almost all MR respondents have experienced different treatment in their peer group, especially when the people around them do not know their background. Several treatment differences, such as experiencing bullying at school, being mistaken for a foreign tourist, and being highly charged when buying souvenirs compared to their NM peers and being considered good at English. Sekar, a MR respondent from Indonesian-France descent said that being different has a positive and negative impact for her. One day in Bali, people thought that she was a foreigner and charged high when she bought souvenirs while her cousin paid a lower price. Proficiency in English is worth to mention because it is a privilege for most Indonesian people who are weak in English, as well as showing superiority characteristics when someone can speak English. Especially if the person is of Caucasian or MR race, there seems to be a correlation between being white and proficient in English, although not all MR are descendants of Anglo-Saxon speaking people. At this point, NM's inferior mentality emerges. NM will feel proud to hang out with MR and converse in English. But what is more interesting is NM's response when she finds out that MR is not fluent in English. Hence, the bullying. Colorism "ideology" also shows NM's inferior mentality and the tendency to discriminate MR in the social relations. One of the striking example for this practice was experienced by NE, Dutch-"indigenous" descent, who are often asked *"how to whiten and brighten their (NM) skin"* while she answer *"isn't the answer is obvious?"*. She admitted that it feels annoying to be differentiated.

On the other hand, this phenomena is only occurs in Indonesia. Our MR respondent, N, an Australian-"indigenous" descent, said that physical appearance really play a key role here. While in Indonesia, people had so much expectation for her because she looks white, but if she visits Australia they say that she looks Asian and experienced discrimination there. Before she finally got her identity card, she was really confused about herself, who she is and where she comes from, that was the question she asked to herself every day. She felt ambiguous towards her own identity and her citizenship. While N felt so much hardship about those who differentiate, the other respondents are only aware that the society differentiate them, but they do not take that position seriously.

This analysis gives us a background on why they are treated differently. We asked our survey respondents *"do mixed race people often have difficulty accepting cultural differences and difficulties in adapting in their social life?"* The questionnaire actually brings out an unexpected result from the MR side. From two indicators of hybridization, one of them unexpectedly not synchronizing. For the indicator occurrence of cultural exchange, here the mixed-race people never find it difficult to accept cultural differences as 59.7% MR respondents never experience the difficulty. Meanwhile, 55% NM respondents admitted that it will be hard to accept cultural differences. While the result of the questionnaire claimed most mixed-race respondents did not find it difficult, the respondents we interviewed think otherwise. Another indicator which is about conflict that happened because of cultural differences showing not significant results. Both MR and NM respondents almost answered depending on the situation.

Based on the interview, they sometimes feel ambiguous about their own identity and experienced several issues in accepting different cultures. N once told the writer that being mixed makes her experience something bewilder. Before she got her identification card, she was actually still asking herself about her own identity and citizenship, especially when her parents decided to split up. She said *"since I was 10 until 18 years old, I always wondering who I am and what my actual identity because I feel unclear about everything"*. Until then, she wonders if it was right for her to be the citizen of where she stayed then, let alone here in Indonesia the citizen can not have double citizenship. Alicia, our next respondent, said that she is still confused about her own identity, which is actually influenced by the expectation from people around her whether from her friends or even her teachers at school. Because she grew up here in Indonesia, she first felt that she was just like any other Indonesian people but because of others' reaction to her, she then felt the ambiguity of her own identity. But luckily for her, even though there are so many expectations coming towards her, she does not feel any burden and can adapt well with her surroundings.

When it is translated to the social relationships, the privilege of MR is indeed rejected by most respondents. We asked both group *"is the privileges granted to the MR legitimated?"* and gaining results of 29.2% MR respondents and 42.5% NM respondents answered "no" rather than "yes". If we talk about privilege of being MR, people will be divided into two opinions, whether thinking that the term is a positive or a negative meaning. In a postitive meanging, means that MR can gain benefit simply by being a MR, from interview it is revealed that Alicia is aware of the privilege for being mixed-race, because of her physical appearance that is more like '*bule*' she often treated more than any other kids in her school. Especially when there is a school event, she will be picked as an MC and favored by the teachers and other students. After being an MC people were rushed to take a picture with her simply because she does not look like her NM peers, and it considered an achievement for NM to befriend MR and giving them a sense of "pride".

On the other hand, she is also aware that those kinds of actions that she received can be harmful to other students and can create jealousy between her and other people. On the other hand, Wenny, our next respondent, was also aware of that privilege but she did not feel like it was necessary to think more about the special treat. She is one of those people who think normatively that she is as equal as any other people regarding any races.

5. Conclusion

Postcolonialism discusses the issue of power relations between people with white racial backgrounds who are often considered to have privileges in society. This issue then emerged as an "ideology" of colorism, which placed the privilege only on the basis of differences in skin color and racial features. This is supported by the embodiment of this mentality into social practices that preserve the racial and color-based social system of colonial heritage, even long after the practice of colonialism ended. In the case we studied, this tendency is still passed down to the generation born in the 2000s or 21s century, otherwise known as Gen-Z.

By taking samples of Gen-Z aged 18-25 years from Jakarta, we conclude that this colorism tendency still persists until this research is made. Both the MR and NM groups realized that the superiority of the white race could be clearly iterated. But the same thing is not fully felt and experienced by MR. As a figure who is only half white, they are still often discriminated, although not to a destructive level, as is the discrimination between the Hutu and Tutsi races in Rwanda. In fact, often this discrimination does not occur in a negative sense, it even tends to benefit them in their social relations. However, we realize that this study is still too early to conclude more comprehensively on the tendency of colorism and colonial privilege inheritance, given the unrepresentative sample size and the limited survey area in Jakarta. Further studies need to be carried out to obtain a more accurate picture of this phenomenon in various regions in Indonesia.

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