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Heritage of Nusantara specializes in religious studies in the field of literature either contemporarily or classically and heritage located in Southeast Asia. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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CHINESE MUSLIM PREDICAMENT IN INDONESIA'S POST REFORMATION

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Abstract

Indonesian Chinese with no exception Chinese Muslim in Indonesia has stepped into a considerable freedom during the current Reformation era. As like as many other Chinese Indonesians who take a part in creating integration model without abandoning their ethnic identity, Chinese Muslim have also shown similar endeavor. However, within the context of post-Reformation democracy, it seems that Chinese Muslim solely fights against any other Indonesian Chinese group and other Muslim community in Indonesia at the same time. Study about Chinese Muslim in Indonesia after Reformation is briefly undertaken ranging from its political contexts, cultural, and economy alike. Some scholars who interest in its cultural realm have been dealt with the important role of Chinese in spreading Islam into Nusantara in 14th Century. Here, Admiral Cheng Ho was an influential figure to introduce Islam to local people in northern coastal area of Java Island. It sounds that it is unlike with many other scholars who convince that Islam came to Java in the hand of Gujarat traders. This paper tries to explore the existence of Chinese Muslim in Jakarta during the current Post Reformation era. To complete this paper, I try to combine data that taken from in-depth interview with literature review and personal observation on some people and signs of Chinese Muslim in Jakarta.

Keywords: *Group Identity, Identity changing, PITI, Imlek Celebration, Ceng Ho Mosque.*

Abstrak

Tionghoa Indonesia tanpa terkecuali Tionghoa Muslim di Indonesia menikmati kebebasannya di era Reformasi. Sebagaimana halnya kelompok Tionghoa Indonesia lainnya pembela model integrasi tanpa menanggalkan identitas etniknya, Tionghoa Muslim juga melakukan hal yang sama. Akan tetapi, pada tataran demokrasi post Reformasi sekarang ini terlihat Tionghoa Muslim menempuh jalurnya sendiri berhadapan dengan kelompok Tionghoa lainnya serta berhadapan juga dengan masyarakat Muslim pada umumnya. Studi tentang Tionghoa Muslim di Indonesia pascareformasi telah banyak dilakukan, baik yang menelisik mulai tentang konteks politik, budaya dan hingga ekonomi. Beberapa sarjana yang juga sejarahwan yang menggeluti budaya Tionghoa meyakini bahwa Islam menyebar di Nusantara di Abad 14 Masehi ditengarai adanya keterlibatan Panglima Cheng Ho yang membawa Islam di wilayah pesisir utara Pulau Jawa. Hal ini berbeda dengan banyak sarjana lainnya yang meyakini Islam datang ke Jawa di tangan para pedagang dari Gujarat, India. Paper ini mencoba untuk menggali eksistensi Muslim Tionghoa di Jakarta, terutama di era pascareformasi sekarang ini. Untuk melengkapi penulisan paper ini, saya mengombinasikan data dari wawancara mendalam dengan review literature serta pengamatan terhadap beberapa figur Muslim Tionghoa dan symbol-simbol yang melekat pada mereka.

Kata Kunci: *Identitas Kelompok, Perubahan Identitas, PITI, Perayaan Imlek, Masjid Ceng Ho.*

Introduction

Since the fall of New Order regime, there has been a drastically changing in Indonesian society including Chinese Indonesians and Indonesian Chinese Muslim (herein after referred as Chinese Muslim). Culturally, there are no longer restrictions and discriminations against them set by state policy. Thanks to their strong network, most of them can rebuild and reassert their new identity during the Reformation era. Even, they can keep improving their community without abandoning their Chinese identity.

It was widely known that during the New Order era the Chinese minority suffered the most exploited. They have become the target of marginalization. Forms of marginalization were varied like for example, there were very limited occupations they

could undertake specifically some jobs connected with the governmental institutions. Suryadinata reckons that they were marginalized by suspicious record they connected with Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) which was followed by government's endorsement for citizen to become believer of non-Chinese religions (Suryadinata, 1997: 160). As a result, many of them decided to abandon their ancestral religions and decided to convert into non-Chinese religion such as Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Islam as well.

Indeed, many books and journals exploring Chinese Indonesian have been numerous since 1960s focusing on political participation of Indonesian Chinese, their economic domination and their cultural marginalization alike. For example, Slamet Mulyana (1968) reckons that Chinese Muslim had contributed in spreading Islam in Java Island, by arguing that the first king of Islamic state on Java, Raden Patah, had a Chinese Muslim mother. In his book, he assembled a written record from Javanese chronicles and inscriptions on stone and metal, from Chinese chronicles composed in China for the imperial court, and from Chinese chronicles composed in Java, in order to compare events narrated, to establish names of kings and dates, and to identify major figures of the age from his diverse materials. He concluded that the origins of political Islam in Java lie in Java's Chinese Muslim history (Al Qurtuby, 2003: 40; Taylor, 2005: 149-150). In addition, Admiral Cheng Ho was an influential figure who brought Islam into Indonesia archipelago in the 14th Century, though Indonesia's Ministry of Religion rejected the preposition that the Chinese contributed to the Islamization of Indonesia (Taylor, 2005).

However, linking the Chinese to Islam's origins in the Malay-Indonesian world is a sensitive subject in Indonesia. And yet there is a persistent association between the Chinese and Islam, especially in traditions narrating Islam's early beginnings in Java (Taylor 2005: 151). It seems that it will be difficult to connect the role of Chinese sailor in the past with the current feature of Chinese Indonesian since most of them are now following religion other than Islam. Nonetheless, we can find some Chinese

Muslim group in some part of Indonesia, although still remain a small group.

Dickson, who carried out research about Chinese Muslim in Surabaya post Reformation, has written about Chinese Muslim in Surabaya where the community could organize their own cultural and religious expression openly. According to Dickson, Chinese Muslim in Surabaya that are organized by *Persatuan Iman dan Tauhid* (PITI or Unity of Faith and Monotheism) wants to be accepted and valued by both the Chinese Indonesian community and the Indonesian Muslim society in general. PITI members do not act as if they are the victim of marginalization. They are active and take a serious role in bridging between two communities. PITI's outreach activities are one way PITI asserts the place of Chinese Muslims in Indonesian society (Dickson, 2008: 4). It is not unlike with Dickson, Wang Wei describes the Chinese Muslim community in Surabaya where the mosque of Cheng Ho was established. Reportedly, it accommodates the Chinese Muslim to celebrate *Imlek* since the first day of its opening on 13 May 2003 (Muzakki, 2009: 194).

Not unlike its Surabaya fellow, Chinese Muslims in Jakarta have also been trying to articulate their effort to protect the continuity of their community. They are defining themselves as having a certain identity group amongst other Chinese Indonesians. However, within the contexts of fast growing economy and of political changing, they are still considered as a vulnerable group since they take a line of competition with other big Chinese groups. This threat was started when they decided to convert to Islam.

Identity Changing on Indonesian Chinese

Identity, as cited on Burke (2005: 3) is the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person. In other perspective, identity shaping is mostly depending on the frame that one intends to do on the particular situation. In addition, identity changing is also could be examined by studying on

how a new or apparently new cultural feature may have been shaped by the underlying structural principles of the changing culture in response to changing economic, political, social, or even ecological conditions. This approach allows us to view culture in a dynamic way (Tan, 1988: 7).

Thus, identity formation is always changing from time to time and following the social changing in society. It depends on the situation and the current context respectively. By referring to this account, being Chinese Muslim means that it is the final process resulting from long dialogue with particular condition and context dealing with their Chinesesness. On this basis, Chinese Muslims is viewed as a new identity rather than an old identity so long as it is regarded as a part of tradition that generating from the past.

In line with this, it might be troubled to accept a conviction that Chinese predecessor was took part in spreading Islam into this country. It will also be contrary with regard to the history of Chinese migration outlined by some historians. Wang Gungwu for instance, examines the migration of Chinese people to the Southeast Asia region in 18 century onward by distinguishing it into four different patterns, i.e. trader pattern (*huashang*), coolie pattern (*huagong*), sojourn pattern (*huaqiao*), and decent or remigrant pattern (*huayi*). Definitely, these patterns overlapped in time as well as in many other ways but are quite easily identifiable (2003: 5-10).

If we observe those Wang' notions, it seems that we will reject the notion that Islamization in Java was promulgated by Chinese immigrants. Perhaps, it was a merely coincidence event at that time where Chinese voyage group had anchored their ship to the northern coast of Java Island for certain purpose, like for example trading (referred as *huashang*) and sojourning (referred as *huaqiao*) alike. Moreover, there were not significant evidences corroborating that Chinese immigrant followed Islam as their religion. Rather, they maintained their ancestral belief by building many Chinese temples across the country. For that reason, Chinese community perceived Islam as religion for inferior

group of people. Also, some Islamic teachings in fact contradict to Chinese culture (Coppel, 1983).

Probably for the matter of strengthening its power, the colonial government never issued a policy to make an encountering between Chinese immigrant and local Muslim possible. Instead the colonial government issued a policy to classify citizen based on race and religion. The policy divided citizen into three different classes, i.e. Europeans, Asian (V*reemde Oosterlingen)* or foreign oriental (such as Indians, Arabs, and Chinese), and indigenous (Inlanders). A Staatsblad 1855-2 jo.1 stated a basic division of Dutch East Indies inhabitants into various groups like above mentioned, although foreign oriental (which included most Chinese) were originally equated with natives (Lindsey: 42).

Tong (2010: 133) also notes that in early Dutch colonial era, the distinction between Europeans, Chinese, and the local citizen was openly manifested on clearly defined lines. They were either European, native, or Chinese. One' legal racial status determined where one could live, the taxes one paid and the laws which one was subjected. In everyday life, it also determined what a person could wear. A native could not wear European clothes; neither could a Chinese male cut off his queue. These racial distinctions were constructed openly in Dutch colonial society.

As a result, during Indonesia' post Independent Chinese merchants have sustained their position as intermediary in distributing daily basis over indigenous people (*pribumi*). Henceforth, their position was deemed as a stranger group and never fully accepted by the local or *pribumi*, although they can still maintain good network with elite of government body. Here, marginalization and discrimination occurs when one group felt as they have low position or inferior upon another group. As a matter of identity, the group that accused as dominant group has a vulnerable entity since the lower one always struggle to defeat the dominant one.

In this political environment, Indonesian Chinese had tried to change their identity, especially when they responded to the question of national identity, whether they chose Chinese main-

land nationality or Indonesian nationality. To some extents, this factor contributed to the fact that they were became the target of hatred from *pribumi*. To overcome such condition, some young Chinese activists, such as Abdul Karim Oei Tjeng Hien and Junus Jahja encouraged their fellow Chinese to abandon their religious identity and converting into Islam (Suryadinata, 1997; Coppel, 1983). This is an example of how identity of Chinese that combined with Islam was defined when Chinese want to decrease the tension between them and local (*Pribumi*). Also, it is a type of responding the particular situation when individuals want to take a particular role in society, a member of particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person.

Even Junus Jahja, one of the Indonesian student activists in Netherland in 1950s, was very active in sounding such the idea of such assimilation approach. He believed that the discrimination against Chinese ethnic in Indonesia will be abandoned if the Chinese itself could change their traditional belief and convert into Islam. Thus, it will be an advantage for Chinese if they can diminish the hatred from the indigenous population or *pribumi* (Jahja, 2009). Latterly, Jahja himself converted to Islam in 1979 after the years of struggle and in the following years, the other Indonesian Chinese like Budi Satyagraha (a local legislative member in Yogyakarta, 1999-2004) and Jos Sutomo (a successful plywood conglomerate in East Borneo) decided to convert to Islam too.

Surviving New Identity: Chinese Muslim in Jakarta

Under repression of authoritarian regime, some individuals of Chinese tried to absorb a new identity. At the time, there were a number of Indonesian Chinese searching a new identity. They tried to suit themselves with Islam identity and began as a Muslim novice (*mu'allaf*). Unfortunately, there was no exact number of Chinese Muslim at the time, except some their elite members were frequently seen building their close connection with the state apparatus. Networking with the state' apparatus allowed them to establish the Association of Indonesian Chinese Muslim

(*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* or PITI) as the first and foremost Chinese Muslim organization in Indonesia. In the following years, *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* was changed into *Pembina Iman dan Tauhid Islam* (or Cultivators of the Islamic Faith and Theology), which is still an abbreviation of PITI. It is due to comply the state obligation to abandon Chinese of Indonesian Chinese in the 1970s (Suryadinata, 1997; Dickson, 2008). The first PITI' General Secretary was an elite army member. Obviously, during the New Order regime the Chinese Muslim was under supervised by state apparatus in which put them under surveillance of state as like as other Indonesian Chinese groups.

There are several reasons on why they convert to Islam. One of the main arguments is related with economical and political hardship they experienced as the effect of marginalization. Another argument is to abolish negative sentiment over Chinese which then followed by changing Chinese name into more Indonesian names. Like for example Junus Jahja has had a Chinese name Lauw Chuan Tho, latterly he changed his Chinese name into Indonesian-Arabic name. Jahja himself says that he was a one of the campaigners of Indonesian nationalism among Indonesian Chinese student in Netherland. To his Chinese fellow, he argued that race is what people anthropologically really are, but nationality is what people politically think they are. He states that nationality is built by the feeling of a fellow sufferer and not by the race. For that reason, it is no longer appropriate when nationality constructed merely by ethnically based (Jahja, 2009).

Jahja' vision on national identity seems to be similar to those who have assimilation approaches and views. Jahja once experienced intensely debate and got criticism from his Chinese fellow when he was studying in Rotterdam for pursuing his master degree majoring in Economic. His view on assimilation became sharpening since he had spent his time with many Javanese students and many other Indonesian from various part of Indonesia. At that time, he was appointed as the leader of *Chung Hua Hui* (CHH), a student movement with its Dutch-oriented movement (Suryadinata, 1981) and finally he urged to dissolve this organi-

zation and suggested his colleague to move to *Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia* (PPI or United for Indonesian Students). Jahja (1997) admitted that CHH had inclined to Chinese mainland nationalism. To deal with his vision, he decided to convert to Islam in 1979 (Interview by the author, 8 April 2011).

From 1960^{s} to 1980^{s}, some Chinese Muslim leaders such as Junus Jahja, Budiyatna and their fellows often visited many academic figures in some universities as well as Ulema in the *Majlis Ulama Indonesia* (MUI-Council of Ulama in Indonesia). They felt that meeting with the academician must be done in order to show the existence of PITI, generally the existence of Chinese Muslim. It should be noted that in early May 1986, the Muhammadiyah University in Yogyakarta in conjunction with *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* foundation (Jahja group) and two other organizations had jointly organized a seminar in Yogyakarta addressing the issue of Islam and its national integration. Reportedly, many scholars attended and presented their paper at the seminar. About hundred participants also joined the seminar (Suryadinata, 1997).

Chinese Muslims in Jakarta have been trying to show a perpetual effort in shaping their new identity as real Muslim that differ from other Chinese group as well as majority Indonesian Muslim. They wish to build their own mosque as like as Chinese Muslim in Surabaya do. Surabaya PITI' chapter successfully completed building their own mosque in 2002. Probably, this mosque is regarded as the first mosque with its Chinese architecture in Indonesia. The mosque has named after Cheng Ho (Zheng He), a Chinese admiral who assumed to spread Islam in the archipelago. To show Chinese character, Chinese architecture is drawn in the mosque. Inside the mosque, there is a relief depicting Cheng Ho and a model of one of his ships put outside the mosque. Another Ceng Ho mosque was also built in Jember, East Java, about 197 km southward of Surabaya (http://www.nu.or.id/page.php, accessed April 10, 2011).

It seems that the main reason behind the plan to build a certain Chinese mosque in Jakarta is to get a wider attention from Chinese Muslims. Chinese Muslim in Jakarta urge to have

their own mosque by outlining the following reasons. Firstly is to attract many more Chinese to become Muslim novice (*mu'allaf*). Secondly is to help them to build networking with other Chinese organizations that are predominantly non-Muslim. In so far, they feel less confident to engage with any Chinese group since they have not yet a representative mosque comparing to any other Chinese religious of worship. This plan once proposed to the Jakarta provincial government. According to Syarif Tanudjaja, a leader of Chinese Muslim in Jakarta, the Governor Fauzi Bowo promised to support this plan by providing land in the area of former Jakarta International Airport of Kemayoran in Central Jakarta (Interview by the author, 13 March 2011).

In reality, there is another Chinese Muslim group in Jakarta, namely Yayasan Karim Oei with its main mosque is located at Lautze Street, Jakarta. Similar to the PITI' goals, this organization aim to help Chinese Muslim to be a pious Muslim. Although both organizations offer a similar goals i.e to cultivate *mu'allaf* conviction on Islam from Indonesian Chinese family, they never worked together in serving *mu'allaf* or other religious activities. Rather, they run their own activity separately regarding with their own objective.

The Problem after Changing Identity to be Muslim

Presumably, Chinese community around the world has similar characteristic in respecting family. The existence of family is not solely intending to support the individual, but rather the individual who existed in order to continue the family (Baker, 1979). As Baker pointed out there are at least two important concepts among Chinese community; filial piety and continuum of descent (see also Yao, 2000).

With regard of new Chinese Muslim conversion, it is truly hard to defend their choice. It can be an object of criticism since they decided to leave their parent' religion or belief. Some Chinese Muslims whose I interviewed with had explained that they realize respectively about these concepts and it consequences if they ignore. According to them, their parent and their sibling took care of them as like as occurred in many other

Chinese families. The conversion to be Muslim itself, however, is merely an individual choice that it cannot be explained with exact words. In return, the decision then got objection from other family members. Generally, when they decided to convert into Islam, soon they felt being excluded from their big family. It is the first problem they face from their family after deciding to be Muslim.

As it has outlined above, there are definitely several reasons about why they converted to Islam. Nevertheless, one of the main reasons is that it is an individual choice to seek a solution for securing his life in the future. The causes are many such for example, when they married to Indonesian Muslim women. For them, converting to Islam is a strategy and a mean to secure themselves and the future of their new family. Indeed, it can be said that it is almost impossible for Chinese who converted to Islam without any particular causes behind the conversion.

However, after changing their faith does not mean that the whole problem is over. Some problems still remain unresolved and need to be solved. Culturally, Chinese Muslim will meet any difficulties regarding with performing filial piety (*hao* or *xiao*) to their parent and the rest family member. A number of Chinese Muslims had told me this issue when I met them in a small Chinese mosque in Jakarta. When they declared their new religion, it suddenly shocked their family. Even, one informant told me that his mother shouted him angrily by asked him a notorious question, "(by convert to Islam) will you be looking for poorness? Will you eat *jengkol* (a kind of poor taste vegetable)?" Thus, Chinese Muslims are inevitably facing any kind of objections from their family member, because most of them think Islam is a religion for foolish people. Obviously, there is a theological contradiction since Muslim must have to pay homage to their parent, but latterly their faith in is no longer the same.

Another potential cultural clash coming to Chinese Muslim is when they celebrate Chinese New Year (or *Imlek*, Bahasa). After becoming Muslim, some Islamic clerics had told them that celebrating any other Chinese traditional rituals such as worship-

ping to statues, images and other symbols are no longer suited to Islamic teaching. This kind of hurdle makes Chinese Muslim a bit shocked to realize after conversion into Islam (interview by author with Budi Satyagraha, July 2008).

Festival of Chinese New Year has become a tremendous event in post-Sohearto era. Indonesian Chinese community has been celebrating Imlek elsewhere in many cities of Indonesia, specifically in city where Indonesian Chinese community exists. This festival appears to have been emerged a new problem for Chinese Muslim, because it sparks a serious discussion about the justification of Imlek in Islam. For many assimilationists and also Chinese *mu'allafs,* Chinese New Year should be abandoned at all. It is irrelevant with Islamic teaching because there is no obligation for Muslim to celebrate that event. In contrast, celebrating Imlek means it will disturb the process of assimilation with local citizen. Shockingly, one Chinese Muslim informant told the following statement, "(By celebrating Imlek) Why Indonesian government seems to Chinesized Indonesian people. We have been so long leaving this ritual and my family shunned me because I had not celebrated it anymore. I don't understand why it happened" (Interview by the author, 8 April 2011).

However, a recent development of some Jakarta PITI member shows to have a moderate perception in undertaking Imlek celebration. Unlike with the previous one, they argue that it has not a religious festival anymore, but rather a Chinese ethnic festival reflecting the coming of the changeover of the year. According to them, there is no link between Imlek and any particular religion. Henceforth, PITI Jakarta chapter has finally held Imlek ceremony by hosting communal gathering and inviting state' apparatus such as the Minister of Religious affair and some Middle East country' Ambassadors in their Imlek celebration festival in 2011. PITI leader acclaim that they have continuously been holding this ceremony though there is still a disputable debate over the appropriation of this ceremony in Islam.

Perhaps, one of the most extraordinary moments in celebrating Imlek that ever held was happening in Yogyakarta when

Chinese Muslim had celebrated Imlek in Suhada mosque in 2003. According to Satyagraha, one of the Chinese Muslim leaders of Yogyakarta, this event was massively exposed by both local and international mass media. At the time, his group initiated of what so-called "Sholat Imlek" or Imlek Praying in the Suhada mosque at morning day of the Imlek day. Unfortunately, in a following year, local Islamic radical group leader who got objection on Imlek praying protested it by arguing blatantly that Imlek was not connected with Islam. Therefore, it was inappropriate manner to celebrate Imlek in mosque. In response to this protest, Imlek Praying then no longer conducted anymore in Syuhada Mosque (Interview by the author, 8 December 2008 in Yogyakarta).

Currently, some Chinese Muslims who are member of PITI stating fearlessly that they proud to have a "three in one identity". According to Tanudjaya, his group is trying to blend three different identities i.e. Chinenesness, Muslim, and Indonesian into singular identity (Interview with the author, 13 March 2011).

Hurdles from Local Muslim Fellow

Another problem that Chinese Muslim faces is with regard of the response of other Muslim fellow from indigenous population. Although they had changed their religion and converted into Islam, the majority Muslim does not totally acknowledge them. They feel that their fellow Muslim as the majority population still perceiving them as like as many other Chinese. Such prejudice perception is still alive although now they become Muslim.

However, Chinese Muslim and the local Muslim could go hand in hand in a certain case like for example to manage the operation of a mosque. Perhaps, this is a sign of networking between Chinese Muslim and local Muslim. This can be seen at Al-Amin mosque, a PITI' mosque in Glodok of Jakarta for instance, where a local Muslim serving as *muażżi̇̄n* (a person who shouted the name of Allah to invite Muslim to do *salat* together in mosques), and as *i̇̄mām* (leader) in *ṣalāt* (communal praying),

and as a cleaning service staff of the mosque alike. Exactly, this mosque used to be as shop house, but now it changed into mosque. Friday sermon is also provided here. Likewise, Sunday gathering for learning Al-Qur'an and Ḥadīṡ is also scheduled regularly.

Here we can assume that there is still a problem such an exclusion from local Muslim to Chinese Muslim and vice versa. It seems that local Muslim has more knowledge about Islamic teaching than Chinese Muslim. The late Junus Jahja told the author that it is extremely difficult for *mu'allaf* of Chinese Muslim to be well Arabic spoken and al Quran chanting as good as many Indonesian Muslim do. It is mainly because they have never learned al Quran and other Islamic teachings thoroughly before. Once he regretted to see the phenomenon that a local Muslim figure he had already knew disbelieving the real motivation of Chinese to be Muslim. Then, Jahja remember an event where the conversation between a new Muslim from Chinese and a Muslim leader occurred. Initially, the former had intended to declare *syahādat*(acknowledgment of Oneness God and Muhammad as His Massage for official signing as a Muslim), but it went through unhappy response from the Muslim leader as he asked the following question, "Do you really want to be a Muslim?" The Chinese answered angrily: "Sir, I have just insulted by my family member at my house before I came here because of my decision to be a Muslim, and now you are also humiliating me like this."

Jahja understand that it is not easy for Chinese to become a good Muslim since there is still a huge resistance from their family member. Henceforth, he requests to the majority Muslim to be able to give respect to the Chinese converting to Islam. The majority Muslim must understand it, because it is extremely hard for Chinese to leave their own family culture and belief, and to some extent, being a solely Muslim in their family (Interview by the author, 8 April 2011).

Absolutely, this feature gives us a new understanding about Chinese Muslim beyond the fact that their fellow majority Mus-

lim still excluding them too. Chinese Muslims are still regarded as just simply a small Muslim group who had been tried to construct a new identity that unlike with the Chinese majority. For that reason, Chinese Muslims have to build a strong relation and to strengthen internal capacity for their future like for example upholding services at al-Amin mosque and Lautze Mosque in Jakarta, and also Cheng Hoo mosque in Surabaya. Besides, they could also maintain a good relationship with outside Muslim group.

Networking with Other Chinese Group

Being experienced an exclusion from their Chinese fellow, Chinese Muslim institution such for example PITI has been run independently. As long as they admitted, there have never been doing networks between Chinese Muslims and other Chinese organizations. Although some elite Chinese Muslims have already acquaintance with some other elite Chinese groups, they never tried to do a collaborative working to a certain purposes. Instead, they believe that they are currently no longer the similar group.

When they stepped into a new world, namely "world of Islam", Chinese Muslim are encouraged by some Muslim clerics to leave Chinese practices and cultural expressions. It is because there are some contradictions between Islam and Chinese religion in terms of viewing god and prophet for instance. While the former is worshipping the Oneness Allah, the latter is worshipping the goddess Kwan Iem and any other god or goddess. Also, the former is framed as the monotheist religion, while the latter is constructed as the polytheist religion (Interview by the author with Syarif Tanudjaja, 13 March 2011).

Tanudjaya also told the author a story of group of Chinese businessmen (famously known as *guanxi*) in Jakarta which consists of approximately ten businessmen. Initially, they could work together and help each other to operate a retail business. Soon after, the cooperation became shaky when one of them was known to be a Muslim. Most of them denied the decision taken by one of their fellows to be a Muslim. Consequently, they

threatened him to left his new religion and back again to their previous religion in order to save his position in their business group. Tanudjaya and his colleague in PITI have tried to advocacy this case. They wanted his friend to strengthen his ties with other businessmen and to keep his new faith.

Nonetheless, there is still a prejudice from Chinese about Chinese Muslim. A Chinese business woman who lives in Surakarta, Central Java which whom I have interviewed with, said that the Chinese Muslim that had decided to be Muslim was only to gain some advantages for their business. Her statement based on her understanding that religion for Chinese is a form of material thing that will help them to pursuit happiness in this worldly life. According to her, happiness and material possession are more important than any other things. She knew well a few name of Chinese businessman who converted into Islam in Surakarta. She also noticed their background to convert to Islam (interview by the aouthor with the anonymous informant in Surakarta, October 2010).

It is indeed a kind of dilemma for Chinese Muslim as like what Jacobsen has outlined (in Dickson, 2008). He explores this kind of dilemma, that according to him, Chinese Muslims are now in a predicament. He argues that Chinese Muslims were and are shunned by fellow Chinese, who regard them as betraying 'Chinese culture and identity as well as threatening their societal position' by adopting the religion of the inferior indigenous people.

Furthermore, this thing will help us to understand why Chinese Muslim cannot build a strong and positive network with their Chinese fellow. And addition, they do not think they are acceptable to their local Muslim fellow. Consequently, it will exacerbate the position of Chinese Muslim in the field of Islamic discourse in Indonesia. It is also blurred the future of Chinese Muslim in Indonesia.

In other words, this feature can help us to understand why the number of Chinese Muslim has been remaining static, although it has already passed through several decades. Even, I was sur-

prised to know that according to an elite Chinese Muslim in Jakarta once said that the real number of Chinese Muslim family which is very active in the PITI' Jakarta chapter are no more than 20 families in total. However, they sustain to continue to make a progress so far through some religious activities. Although the number of Chinese Muslim in Jakarta is only less than hundreds or thousands follower, we can still see that some of them are now become preachers, syariah economic experts, and herbal medical doctors as well. To name of few are Koko Liem, Syafii Antonio, Hembing Wijayakusuma, etc.

Conclusion

Some arguments underpinning religious conversion to Islam by Chinese in Indonesia post independent are mostly related with the effects of marginalization led by the New Order policy on Chinese minority group. It was an idea to abolish a negative sentiment over Chinese Indonesian by changing religious identity. This effort was coincident with the idea to change Chinese name and replace it by Indonesian or Javanese name. During the New Order period, some assimilationist defenders were willing to change their religion and converting into Islam.

Although they have become Muslim, like as many as other populations in Indonesia, some Chinese Muslim in Jakarta still feels uncomfortable enough. It seems that they tend to be fully Muslim and a fully Chinese at the same time. Hence, they desire to construct their own mosque just like Surabaya' PITI did. They want to justify their own identity to constitute a three in one identity into single identity; being Chineseness, being Muslim, and being Indonesian. Perhaps, it can be understood when they intended to have a certain mosque, an oriental mosque that will be accomplished their new identity. With regard to identity theory, this conversion forms new identity for Chinese since identity formation is always changing from time to time. It will always be following the social changing in society and depending on the particular situation. By referring to this account, being Chinese Muslim means that it is the final process resulting from

long dialogue with particular condition and context dealing with their Chineseness.

To constitute their new identity, Chinese Muslim in Jakarta upholding a three in one identity and planning to build Cheng Ho mosque in Jakarta. As Chinese Muslim has already entered into "world of Islam," they are encouraged to leave their Chinese practices and cultural expressions requested by some local Muslim clerics. It is because there are some contradictions between Islam and Chinese religion in many aspects including the concept of god. While the former is constituted as monotheist religion, the latter is constructed as polytheist religion.

It is also noted that Chinese Muslim became vulnerable since they are regarded betraying the Chinese custom. In this regards, they find themselves in confusion to deal with the outreach (*dakwah*) movement and to develop their community. This feature can help us to understand why the number of Chinese Muslim has been remaining static, although it has already passed through several decades since they started to make identity changing.

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Heritage of Nusantara is a specific journal for the studies of Nusantara heritage. Nusantara meant in this journal is the areas covering Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunai, Southern Part of Thailand, Southern Part of the Philipines and also Timor Leste.

Heritage of Nusantara is a peer reviewed journal using bilingual (English and Arabic). The aims of the journal is to introduce the richness of the cultural legacies or heritage of Nusantara in particular and to show its relations as well as contributions to the world heritage in general by publishing the research papers, articles and literary criticism or book reviews concerned. It is hopefully intended to give a better and wider outlook and understanding to the readers concerning the heritage of Nusantara, and above all offers a wide variety of analysis on how to preserve and develop the heritage of Nusantara.

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e.g. Bantz, C.R., 1995. Social dimensions of software development. *In.* J.A. Anderson, ed. Annual review of software management and development. Newbury Park, C: Sage, 502-510.

Reference to an article in a journal

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e.g. Evans, W.A., 1994, Approaches to intelligent information retrieval. Information processing and management, 7 (2), 147-168.

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e.g. Silver, K., 1991. Electronic mail: the new way to communicate. *In:* D.I. Raitt, ed 9th international online information meeting, London 3-5 December 1990. Oxford: Learned Information, 323-330.

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   Author/editor. (Year). *Title* [online]. (Edition). Place of publication, Publisher (if ascertainable). Available from: URL [Accessed Date].

   e.g. Holland, M. (1996). *Harvard system* [online]. Poole, Bournemouth University. Available from:-http://bournemouth.-ac.uk/servicedepts/lis/LISPub/harvardsyst.html [Accessed 15 Apr 1996].

   Library Services. (1995). *Internet user glossary* [online]. North Carolina, North Carolina State University. Available from:-
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   e.g. Korb, K.B. (1995). Persons and things: book review of Bringsjord on Robot-Consciousness. *Psychology* [online], 6 (15). Available from: gopher://wachau.ai.univie.ac.at:70/00/-archives/psycholoquy/95.V6/0162 [Accessed 17 Jun 1996].

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   e.g. Brack, E.V. (2 May 1995). Re: Computing short courses. *Lis-link* [online]. Available from: mailbase@mailbase.ac.uk [Accessed 17 Apr 1996].

Jensen, L.R. (12 Dec 1995). Recommendation of student radio/tv in English. *IASTAR* [online]. Available from: Listserv@ftp.nrg.dtu/dk [Accessed 29 Apr 1996].
It should be noted that items may only be kept on discussion group servers for a short time and hence may not be suitable for referencing. A local copy could be kept by the author who is giving the citation, with a note to this effect.

4. **Reference to personal electronic communications (E-mail)**

Sender (Sender's E-mail address). (Day Month Year). *Subject of Message.* E-mail to Recipient (Recipient's E-mail address).
Lowman, D. (deborah-lowman@pbsinc.com). (4 Apr 1996). RE>>*ProCite and Internet Refere.* E-mail to P. Cross (pcross@bournemouth.ac.uk)

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Reviews must give an objective comments and critics on the quality of the article and not on the author's personality. It is worth noting that the comments and critics given should be based on academic arguments.

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السنة الثالثة، العدد 1، 2014

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مساعد هيئة التحرير:
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كوسنانتو
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الصورة (The illuminated frontispiece - folios 1 *verso*-2 *recto*) في الغلاف الأمامي مأخوذة من الصورة في المقالة *The Idea of an Old Qur'an Manuscript: On the Commercialization of the Indonesian Islamic Heritage*

محور هذه المجلة هو تزويد القراء بمعلومات حول خطة إندونيسية ودولية في تطوير المؤلفات والتراث الديني من خلال نشر المقالات والتقارير البحثية ومراجعات الكتب.

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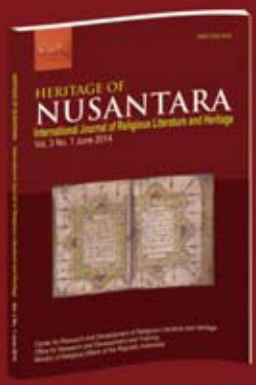

The Idea of an Old Qur'an Manuscript:
On the Commercialization of the Indonesian Islamic Heritage
Edwin Wieringa

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