

Mapau Na Maloppo Batu: The Concept of Cultural Adaptation and Identity of Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba, South Sulawesi

Abu Muslim^{a,*}, Nensia^a, Rahmatullah^b, Suriati^b, Saifuddin Amin^c

^aBadan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional, Indonesia.

^bUniversitas Islam Ahmad Dahlan Sinjai, Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia.

^cMuhammadiyah Islamic College, Singapore.

*corresponding author: abu.muslim@brin.go.id

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Abstract

This article aims to explore the concept of cultural adaptation and the identity of Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba, South Sulawesi. Through a life story approach, this study employed observation on the daily life of key participants, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The results of the study showed that Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba experienced culture-sensitive adaptation process where their individual backgrounds and life experiences interacted with Islamic teachings and *Bugis-Makassar-Konjo* culture through assimilation. The cultural adaptation was visible in various aspects of life, such as religious practices, traditions, language, food, and social behaviour. In addition, the Chinese Muslim identity in Bulukumba resulted from a fusion of Chinese cultures and non-Chinese Muslims. This identity was reflected in language, appearance, and religious practices. Through life story studies, this research provided a comprehensive picture of how individuals experienced cultural adaptation and developed identity as Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba, known as *Mapau na maloppo batu*, as a manifestation of honesty and sincerity to be kind to fellow human beings.

Keywords: *chinese muslim; cultural adaptation, mapau na maloppo batu.*

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk memahami konsep adaptasi budaya dan identitas Tionghoa Muslim di Bulukumba melalui pendekatan *life story*. Metode yang digunakan adalah observasi kehidupan sehari-hari tokoh kunci, wawancara mendalam, serta dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Tionghoa Muslim di Bulukumba mengalami proses adaptasi budaya yang sangat peka kultur, dimana latar belakang dan pengalaman hidup individu yang mengintegrasikan antara ajaran Islam dan kultur Bugis-Makassar-Konjo melalui proses asimilasi. Adaptasi tersebut terlihat dalam berbagai aspek kehidupan, seperti kepercayaan agama, tradisi, bahasa, makanan, serta perilaku sosial. Selain itu, identitas Tionghoa Muslim di Bulukumba juga merupakan hasil dari perpaduan antara budaya Tionghoa dan orang-orang Muslim non-Tionghoa. Identitas tersebut tercermin dalam penggunaan bahasa, penampilan, dan praktik keagamaan. Melalui kajian *life story*, penelitian ini memberikan gambaran yang komprehensif tentang bagaimana individu mengalami dan memahami konsep adaptasi budaya dan pembentukan identitas sebagai Tionghoa Muslim di Bulukumba yang dikenal dengan istilah *mapau na maloppo batu*, sebagai manifestasi kejujuran dan kesungguhan untuk berlaku baik kepada sesama manusia.

Kata Kunci: *Tionghoa muslim, adaptasi kultural, mapau na maloppo batu.*

Introduction

The Chinese who settled in South Sulawesi originated from various ethnic groups including Hok Kian, Wuhan, Fu Kuan, Kuang Tong, Hakka, Kanton, and Tio Tjio (Bahrum, 2003; Effendy, 2004; Ramli, 2015). They had different cultural backgrounds that can be classified into two groups, namely: pure Chinese and half-breed. This grouping reflects differences in value orientation. Half-breed Chinese are not only Chinese born in Indonesia, but the result of mixed marriages between Chinese and Indonesians. Meanwhile, pure Chinese are not only those born in China, but also associated with the level of adjustment and acculturation of Chinese migrants to Bugis Makassar culture as the dominant culture. Another source mentioned that *Cina Totok* is a Chinese who was born in China and settled in Indonesia. *Cina Peranakan*, on the other hand, are children

of full-blooded Chinese who married native Indonesians (Gondomono, 2013).

The spread and diaspora of Chinese in South Sulawesi then expanded to several areas with the motive of economic development and access, as well as the development of the work system. During this expansion, cultural adaptation was built. The economic cities in South Sulawesi including Parepare, Bantaeng, Bulukumba and Bone attracted the attention of Chinese ethnic amid tough competition in the capital (Makassar). Bulukumba, for instance, became one of the Chinese diaspora areas for its potential economic development and access. Additionally, this region was of social and religious significance by Chinese diaspora, as some tycoons converted to Islam and became respected leaders in the area.

Today, the barrier between local people and Chinese in Bulukumba has become thinner; while the unfair, discriminatory and pejorative treatment towards Chinese has also been diminished. More and more Chinese who converted to Islam, moreover, became more confidently showing their religious identity and along with their ethnic identity. For example, the PITI (*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia*) immersed itself in the local society (Y. Z. Abidin, 2022; Aripudin et al., 2022; Mahfud, 2018; Wai Weng, 2023; Zuhri et al., 2021).

The existence of Chinese Muslims is becoming more visible, while on the other hand, exclusivity is being more exposed. Chinese name change into Indonesian names is no longer needed as it was in the New Order era. Rituals and religious ceremonies are allowed, and acculturation becomes normal. Even though here and there, the perception of exclusive religion for Chinese is still embraced and

influential on interaction between Chinese and Muslims. The adaptation process is therefore does not always occur smoothly (Aripudin et al., 2022; Rahmawati et al., 2018; Wai Weng, 2023; Wang, 2018). There is always dialectic between culture and identity in Islam (Muslim, 2016, 2019) including between Chinese and Muslim culture in Bulukumba. This condition happens because Chinese ethnics and Muslims have different structures, affiliated religions and cultural structures towards Islam (Putro, 2014) . Interestingly, these two structures can merge naturally, eventually forming a new community, namely Chinese Muslims.

This study is relevant to be conducted as it gives birth to new study focus, namely religious moderation born from the dialectical process between the culture and identity of the Chinese Muslim community. As a minority in Indonesia, Chinese Muslims have unique life experiences in facing cultural and religious challenges of being different from the majority population (Purwati & Rusydiyah, 2020; Wahyudi, 2020; Yunariono & Andriati, 2020; Zuhri & Wahyudi, 2021). Moreover, Chinese Muslims in South Sulawesi live in a society with a solid and distinctive culture. As such, they struggle to maintain their Chinese identity while adapting to the local culture and religion. Although there have been many studies on Chinese in Indonesia, there are still a few studies that specifically discuss the life experiences of Chinese Muslims in building their identity and adapting to the surrounding environment. Therefore, studies focusing on Chinese Muslims' cultural adaptation and identity using the life story approach is essential to deepen the understanding of their life experiences.

This study aims to investigate the cultural adaptation and identity of the Chinese Muslim community in Bulukumba, which can be summarized into three main questions: How is the existence of Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba? How is adaptation in terms of nationality and beliefs occurred? Also, how is the adjustment of traditions and culture with the local community?

To answer this question, the article uses the cultural adaptation and identity adaptation theories as the basis of the study. It assumes that Chinese Muslim communities in Bulukumba experience complex cultural adaptations in their daily life practices. It can be seen in their practice of language and communication adaptation, religious traditions, customs and culture, religious education, and participation in the community. Moreover, this study assumes that at the stage of identity adaptation, the Chinese Muslims of Bulukumba are aware of their dual identity potential between Chineseness and Indonesianness; hence the selection and emphasis of their identity will be heavily influenced by values and beliefs reconciliation, as well as family and community support. Indeed, the adaptational process is unique from one to another, even between one region and another with diverse cultural backgrounds and practices (Ferrer-Wreder et al., 2012; Utami, 2015a).

Literature Review

Cultural Adaptation and Identity Adaptation Theories

Adaptation and identity formation are important aspects of the lived experience of Chinese Muslims in Indonesia, particularly in South Sulawesi. Chinese Muslims have a unique history and cultural background that shapes their identity and influences their adaptation to their surroundings. As a minority group, they face various

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challenges in maintaining their religious and cultural practices while navigating the social and political dynamics of their local communities (Z. Abidin, 2018).

Cultural adaptation theory refers to how individuals or communities adjust to a new culture. This adaptation process occurs when individuals or groups move to a new environment with different norms, values, and procedures from their home culture. As newcomers, people who come to a new environment will need to act, interact in the social environment, and participate in wider society (Ward, 2013); one way is by holding certain roles in the social environment as a form of assimilation and adaptation which in the process constructs a new identity adaptation (Cormoş, 2022). The process of cultural adaptation, lifestyles, perspectives, and integration efforts will result in diverse acceptance and cultural change (assimilation or acculturation). In the social and cultural context of ethnic diversity, it is inevitable that each ethnicity also has a different culture from other ethnic cultures (Erlangga et al., 2021)

Over time, the newcomer begins to recognize the new culture and embrace the local cultural norms and values they have become familiar with. However, previous cultural patterns also influence adaptation (Utami, 2015b). Identity adaptation theory refers to how individuals develop and maintain their identities in new or changing cultural contexts. When a person moves to a culturally different environment, they may experience changes in their identity in response to the new environment in the form of identity search, identity crisis, or identity integration. It is due to the dominance of the local culture that controls daily lifestyle, which can force

migrants to conform. However, it is not as if all things change, some things transform, and some remain the same.

In short, both cultural adaptation and identity adaptation theories aim to understand how individuals or human groups adapt to a new cultural environment. For example, when the Chinese community moves to a different cultural environment, such as when they move to another country or experience significant changes in the cultural environment in which they live, they also face challenges and opportunities to adapt. This process can involve unique cultural changes and complex identity integration, but with time, patience, and experience, individuals can adjust and develop a rich identity.

Studies on Chinese Muslims in Indonesia

Several studies have explored the experiences of Chinese Muslims in Indonesia, highlighting the ways they negotiate their identities and carry out their religious and cultural practices in a predominantly Muslim society (Ahmad, 2018; Purwati & Rusydiyah, 2020; Weng, 2014, 2019; Zuhri & Wahyudi, 2021). Lee and Othman found that Chinese Muslims in Indonesia often experience challenges in accepting and maintaining their cultural identity while adhering to Islamic practices (Gunawan, 2018; Ramli, 2019). Similarly, Chinese Muslims in Indonesia were obliged to negotiate between their ethnic and religious identities, and their adaptation to the local culture is a complex process involving cultural preservation and assimilation (Muzakki, 2010).

Other studies focused on the role of education in facilitating the adaptation of Chinese Muslims in Indonesia. For example, school and university provide an essential space for Chinese Muslim students to learn Islamic values and practices while preserving their

cultural heritage. Additionally, studies on the role of media in shaping perceptions of Chinese Muslims in Indonesia have been explored, highlighting the need for more excellent representation and visibility in mainstream media (Purwati & Rusydiyah, 2020; Rahmawati et al., 2018; Wahyudi, 2020; Zuhri & Wahyudi, 2021)

These studies show that Chinese Muslim identity in Indonesia is strongly influenced by Indonesia's social, political, and religious contexts. Chinese Muslims have a unique and complex identity, and the role of religion in their lives is vital. However, they also face challenges maintaining their unique identity within the wider Indonesian society. Overall, the research on Chinese Muslims in Indonesia highlights the importance of understanding this group's unique challenges and opportunities in everyday life. As Indonesia continues to develop and change, it is important to continue conducting research by examining the experiences of minority groups, such as Chinese Muslims, to promote social inclusion and greater cultural understanding.

Method

This present study was conducted qualitatively with a life story approach (Clough et al., 2004). The participants are Chinese Muslims living Bulukumba Regency, South Sulawesi who have experience of cultural adaptation and identity transformation. Informants were selected based on specific criteria such as: community figures (recognized by the community), have resided for many years, and have occupations. Data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews on informant's life story on adapting and developing their identity as Chinese Muslims (Bonn & Holstein, 2019). Cultural and personal approaches and kinship were the entry

point to explore information with reclusive Chinese Muslims. It was done carefully and thoroughly to ensure their openness and willingness to be interviewed (McCracken, 1988; Rainford, 2021). In addition to interviews, researchers also observed informants in everyday life situations to complement the collected data (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018).

The collected data were analysed using narrative analysis (Holstein & Gubrium, 2015; Sharp et al., 2019) by identifying the main narratives from the respondents' life stories (Mufid et al., 2023). Then the stories were examined more deeply to gain a deeper understanding of the experience of cultural adaptation and identity transformation of Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba, South Sulawesi. The validity of the research was maintained by triangulating the data and comparing the interview results with data from other sources. The reliability was obtained by conducting observations and interviews with people of similar characteristics (Burke, 2014; Zuev & Bratchford, 2020). The research was conducted following ethical research principles such as privacy and confidentiality. Informants have given their consent prior to data collection (Wiles, 2013).

Through the life story approach, this study explored individuals' life experiences to understand their backgrounds, identities, social contexts, and how they adapt to the environment. The key concepts in Life Story research require in-depth personal narratives, a holistic understanding of the individual's life, and interpreting the subjective meaning of the life story. The participant recruitment process requires the identification of their life experiences relevant to this research and an in-depth interview process using open-ended questions to encourage them to describe their life experiences in

detail. The reliability level in Life Story Research involves Internal Reliability, where researchers maintain consistency and cohesion in research interpretations and findings, thus minimizing researcher bias. External Reliability: It provides a space for data triangulation by collecting additional data from various sources to strengthen research findings. Subjective Reliability involves constant self-reflection in the adaptation process and the researcher's involvement in understanding personal perspectives and experiences that support the finding interpretation. Participant Reliability, by maintaining open lines of communication to validate and double-check the research findings and obtain feedback (Luttrell, 2005) (Atkinson, 1998; Zohrabi, 2013). By using this approach, the research can gain deeper insights on how Chinese Muslims build their identity and adapt to the local culture. This article can benefit the broader community in understanding Chinese Muslims' challenges and opportunities in establishing their identity.

Result and Discussion

The Existence of Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba the Land of Panrita Lopi

In Bulukumba, the economic behaviour principles of the Chinese ethnic depend on their understanding of the policy and socio-political conditions of the Chinese ethnic presence in this Islamic-majority area. This economic behaviour eventually leads to a safe and neutral business. It seeks to fill the space of figure-based Islamic religiosity by mingling more into the region, causing a less risky safety and welfare for them.

The people of Bulukumba are usually calling Chinese by the term "Cina." In many aspects, Chinese in Bulukumba as with its

associations in South Sulawesi and beyond, is associated with the trading. In tracing and identifying the Chinese in Bulukumba, most local people identify Chinese by referring to the name of the shop, some others can mention the name of the owners, but none of local was able to fluently mention their real Chinese names.

“Kalau tidak salah, Cina Muslim di Bulukumba itu antara lain Toko Sinar, Toko Loka 21, Toko Baja Raya Jaya. Kalau sudahmaki ke situ, ketemu dengan yang punya toko siapa tau bisa ditunjukkan lagi toko-toko mana yang Cina nya Islam.

(If I'm not mistaken, Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba include Toko Sinar, Toko Loka 21 and Toko Baja Raya Jaya. Go there and meet the shop owners. Maybe you can get more info on which shop that are the Chinese Muslim ones)” (Mujahid Jurumiah, age 56).

Although very limited, the community's knowledge and identification of Chinese Muslims was enough to signify that their existence was known to the Bulukumba community. Possibly, this identification could be influenced by the fact that Chinese Muslims have been doing business in this city for a long time. It is also possible that they have been so integrated into the community, at least in terms of providing the community needs through the traded products, which indirectly provided access to primary, secondary and even tertiary needs of the local people.

If traced further, the origins of the Chinese Muslims residing in Bulukumba cannot be separated from Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi. Those who migrated to Bulukumba initially chose to do so in order to expand their family businesses in Makassar. Therefore, their family affiliations are also closely tied to the kinship system established in South Sulawesi. It is mentioned that the existing

tycoons in Makassar are from ethnic groups such as Hokkien, Fu Kuan, Kuang Tong, Hakka, Wuhan, Canton, and Tio Tjio. However, if traced to Bulukumba, the small number of Chinese Muslims mostly come from Hubei-Wuhan descent, while some also come from Hokkien. Despite their small number, Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba, in addition to being affiliated with specific organizations and associations for the Chinese community, such as PITI (Indonesian Chinese Muslim Association), PSMTI (Indonesian Chinese Clan Social Association), and IPTI (Indonesian Chinese Youth Association), are also affiliated with the Interfaith Communication Forum (FKUB) and other organizations.

Another striking social fact was that using the title Haji before one's name symbolizes a respected social identity in Bulukumba. The title Haji is an identity widely used by the local Islamic community as a significant social marker. It indirectly becomes an entry point for Chinese Muslims to build social relations and closeness with the community as part of the development of Islamic social relations in Bulukumba. Someone who is Haji meant they performed the fifth pillar of Islam by going to Mecca and performing the haji. Almost all generations of early Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba succeeded in building cultural adaptation with the community after their Hajj pilgrimage. Therefore, the identity of Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba was recognizable not only because of the name of the shop, but also because the owner of the shop was Haji or Hajah, such as Haji Ondo, Haji Syamsuddin, Haji Abu Bakar Asiang, Haji Pemeng, and Haji Susandi Tendean.

Some experiences of Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba have shown that cultural adaptation has been carried out with kinship

approaches. The strengthening of the tycoons' power relations and role-taking has been quite significant in determining their position in the society of *Bumi Panrita Lopi*. It was done to maintain community relations by presenting community-friendly business practices. It is not only about affordable prices but also the hospitality in providing workspace for natives in their shops. This portion is engaging as an adaptation pattern of the Chinese “front stage” in carrying out their leading role as a trader.

In addition, the front stage role of the Muslim Taipan community also shows flexibility, discipline, a strong work ethic, and thoughtful economic calculations. It also shows their perseverance and proficiency in trading, giving them a remarkable quality and characteristic in the community's eyes. Symbolically, this trading practice and experience convey a message to the natives that they are used to such trading patterns and culture in a way as a manifestation of the hardworking Chinese life principle. Almost every day of their lives leaves no room for idleness. A consistent attitude in scheduling the opening and closing of the shop and the relationships built during the time the shop serves the community is highly noticeable. Such a culture seems to be reconciled with the culture of the Bulukumba people, who are *Bugis-Konjo* with all their wisdom which is a mirror of *assitinajang* (propriety), *matinulu* (diligence), and *manini* (wary). Both are naturally dialectic as a pattern of interaction based on cooperation, reciprocity, and complementarity. It is practised through religious cooperation, such as the construction of houses of worship, emphasising the principle of *assamaturuseng* (kinship) in the economy, and even cooperation in traditional medicine.

Through those fundamentals, their Islamic adaptation is relatively easy to carry out regarding trading behaviour that upholds honesty and avoids suffocating the community with unreasonable pricing. In principle, this aligns with Islamic values, which, if carried out with full awareness, could bring special rewards socially and economically. In fact, people indirectly make general assumptions regarding how the tycoons manage the economic system in such a way and become aware that they roll out the economic system by taking less profit, but with stability in the flow of goods, as a difference to the way the indigenous people trade.

They also make Islam one of the entrances to an effective adaptation pattern. Several reasons made the Chinese choose Islam as their religious teaching or become a new brother (convert) of the Chinese; even though the Bulukumba people in the 17th century embraced Islam, the Chinese could get along well and were accepted in inter-religious relations. The Bulukumba people feel no disturbance, creating a harmonious association. In general, Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba did not become Muslims because of their origin. Instead, they convert to Islam due to several factors, such as heredity, association, marriage, spiritual calling (*hidayah*) and through religious studies (Azra, 2015; Woodward, 2017) .

Learning Islamic knowledge should be carried out gradually from the basic level onwards, which aims to provide basic Islamic knowledge to converts, including knowledge of practical Islamic rituals. It is done because, for a convert, the conviction of truth has been well understood when deciding to convert to Islam. Therefore, the study of Islam should be unrestricted by delivering material oriented to theological matters and Islamic morals only. Instead,

delivering material on practical ritual worship is also important to be given intensively and systematically (Rosmini et al., 2016). In the context of Bulukumba, this process can be seen in the figure of a businessman named Haji Roy who, despite being the son of a successful Chinese merchant, decided to study Islam with a local *Ustad* and learning (*rukayah*) as an entry point to the society. Haji Roy also chose to follow the level of Islamic learning from the basics to the higher levels while still showing a very modest personality. It made him quickly adapt to the social situation of Bulukumba, as well as the Islamic religious system he practices daily.

Mapau na Maloppo Batu: The Concept of Honesty By Haji Roy

His Chinese name is *Liauw Ci Joe* (廖慈乔), who then, after saying two sentences of the shahada, was given the Islamic name Muhammad Asfar Wandi by the people of Bulukumba, who is familiarly called Haji Roy. This man of Hubei-Wuhan China descent, whose ancestors are said to have set foot in the Nusantara around 200 years ago, is the 10th of 11 children. Haji Roy chose the path of Islam as a manifestation of guidance, which was realised through marriage. Haji Roy converted to Islam as one of the important requirements to marry his wife, Hj. Rugawati Simburi Patola, a Bugis woman from Tanaberu-Kindang Bulukumba. Their marriage was later blessed with five sons: Muhammad Akbar Wandi Liauwri, Muhammd Aksar Liauwri, Muhammad Iqbal Wandi Liauwri, M. Syahran Affandi Liauwri, and Muhammad Abdullah Liauwri. At the time of this research (February 2021), Haji Roy and Hj. Ruga were awaiting the birth of their ninth grandchild.

The figure of Haji Roy was widely known in the Bulukumba community as a modest Chinese Muslim. There was always a

positive narrative that Haji Roy and his family show the attitude and character of the Chinese people in Bumi Panrita Lopi, which was acceptable to the people of Bulukumba. "Mapau na Maloppo Batu" was an attitude that H. Roy believes as a manifestation of honesty that is very important to be applied in his daily life, both as a Chinese trader and as a Muslim.

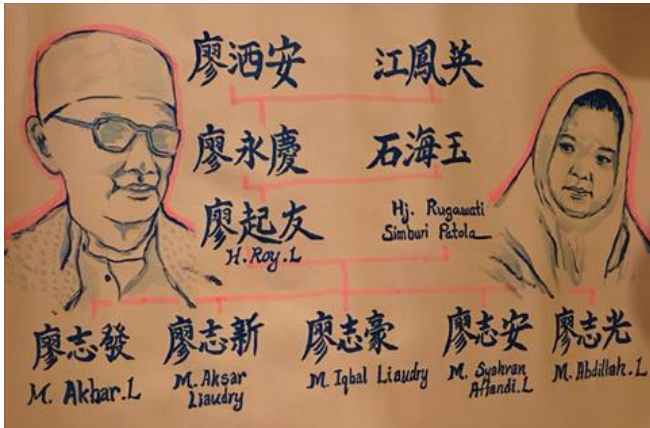


Figure 1: Family Tree of H. Roy (Liauw Ci Joe) 廖慈乔.
(Documentation by: Abu Muslim, February 2021)

Before embracing Islam, Haji Roy or Muhammad Asfar Wandu or Liauw Ciauw (age 42) was educated in a Confucian family. He converted to Islam after having dream in which he heard the *adhan* and a voice telling him to pray immediately to be saved in this world and the hereafter. He learned Islam by reading more books and participating in Islamic activities at the mosque. He recited the *shahada* at the Muhammadiyah Bulukumba Mosque.

“Ketika itu pada sepertiga malam yang dingin, saya merasa berada dalam situasi antara sadar dan tidak sadar, seperti seorang yang berjalan menyendiri tanpa arah dan tujuan. Ada sekitar beberapa lama saya berjalan saja dalam keheningan subuh-subuh nya Bulukumba. Sampai akhirnya saya menyerah dan duduk tersungkur

dalam keadaan yang tidak berdaya. Dalam situasi itulah kemudian sayup-sayup saya mendengar suara orang mengumandangkan azan. Di tengah azan itulah ada isyarat yang menyuruh saya memanjatkan doa keselamatan dunia akhirat. Tersentak diriku rasanya setelah tiba-tiba saya terbangun dari tidur. Ternyata itu hanya mimpi.

[It was a cold late night, and I felt like I was between a state of consciousness and unconsciousness, like a lone traveller without direction and purpose. I walked around for a while in the stillness of Bulukumba's dawn. Until I finally gave up and sat down in a helpless state. In that situation, I faintly heard the sound of an *adhan*. In the middle of the *adhan*, a sign told me to pray for the world's salvation in the hereafter. I was shocked when I suddenly woke up from my sleep. It turns out it was just a dream] (H. Roy, Age 42).

After the dream, Haji Roy met someone who was considered to have spiritual prowess to interpret the cues in the *adhan* and the prayer for salvation that made him momentarily in such a calm and very solemn situation. Haji Roy went to KH Mappiare to ask and tell his dream. That was the beginning of the guidance for him. After all, KH Mappiare had led Haji Roy to the understanding that *Hidayah* was in the hands of Allah or under His absolute will and power. It means that a person can only try to convince someone else to embrace Islam, but it is only Allah who moves their hearth to accept it. Therefore, the conversion of a Chinese to Islam is not only in the hands of the preachers but also in the hands of Allah SWT through His guidance.

Haji Roy recited his *shahada* on August 10, 1982, in condition to his marriage to Hj. Rugawati Simbori Patola (a Muslim Kindang

woman). Haji Roy recited his *shahada* at the Bulukumba Muhammadiyah Mosque under the guidance of *Ustad* Abu Na'im.

“sudah menjadi pengetahuan umum, bahwa salah satu motif keberislaman etnis Tionghoa adalah melalui perkawinan. Tentu tidak sedikit yang akhirnya benar-benar menjadikan Islam sebagai pedoman hidupnya, meski boleh jadi awalnya hanya sebagai prasyarat yang harus dipenuhi atas ketertarikannya kepada perempuan pribumi untuk diperistri, namun di balik itu pula terdapat oknum yang pada akhirnya menjadikan Syahadat sebagai sekadar alat pencapai tujuan tertentu seperti misalnya supaya bisa mengawini orang Bulukumba, tapi setelahnya, menemukannya di masjid menjadi perkara yang cukup sulit. Tentu ini jadi pekerjaan rumah kami di Kemenag sekaligus tantangan untuk pembinaan pasca pengislaman

[It is well known that marriage is a common motive for Chinese to convert to Muslim. Certainly, there are not a few who eventually really make Islam a guideline for their lives, although it may initially be only as a prerequisite that must be fulfilled for their interest in local women to be married, but behind that, there are also people who ultimately make Shahadat as a means of achieving certain goals such as marrying a local, but after all, it is even rarely finding them in the mosque. Of course, it is the challenge for the Ministry of Religion and a challenge for post-Islamisation guidance]” (Interview with Head of the Ministry of Religion of Bulukumba Regency, 2021).

There is an interesting narrative related to this marriage-based religious adaptation, particularly in Bulukumba. It can be seen more particularly when a non-Bulukumba Chinese has a particular interest to a local Bugis woman. In addition to being a marriage prerequisite, the *shahada* or embracing Islam was a challenge to indicate the candidate's seriousness and earnestness. From this case, there are

patterns of social continuity following the religious adaptation of Chinese Muslims. *First*, when a Chinese shows his seriousness to embrace and learn Islam, there is a potential for him to become the community's role model and figure. *Second*, when a Chinese only embrace Islam for merely to get married, they were seen to not show the seriousness of Islamic religiosity in their lives after marriage, then social respect will remain the same for the converted Chinese.

Haji Roy was categorized into the first level of socio-religious continuity, where his *shahada* reflected in his sincerity in learning Islam. Certainly, this was inseparable from the spiritual experience he gained through dreams. H. Roy also obtained his Islamic knowledge from many Islamic scholars and/or the *Kyais* and *Ustad* who guided him in his search for an Islamic path. They are, among others: KH Abdul Karim (Kiayi Mappiare), KH Zainuddin Dg. Manggapi, Ustad Abu Naim Dg. Palawa, H. Akmal Bair, Ajier, KH. Abdul Jafar Puang Lompo, Indra Jaya, Zainuddin Botoe, etc. This positioning has built Haji Roy's modesty which made him more notable than around other hundred Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba.

Another special thing that makes Haji Roy acceptable to the people of Bulukumba was his ability in alternative medicine. Haji Roy inherited this advantage from KH Abdul Karim or more familiarly known as Kiayi Mappiare. When anyone got sick in the sense of non-medical illness, the people of Bulukumba went to Kiyai Mappiare for healing.

“Kalau ada yang kesurupan, dan atau menunjukkan gelagat tidak normal dengan perangai liar dan teriak-teriak tidak teratur yang lazim dikenali dengan gejala penyakit yang tidak bisa hanya disembuhkan melalui pendekatan medik, maka belumlah Kiyai Mappiare

menyentuh orang tersebut, sekadar memasuki kamarnya saja, orang kesurupan itu bisa langsung tersungkur jatuh

[If someone is possessed and or shows unusual behaviour with wild temperament and irregular shouting that is commonly recognized as a symptom of a disease that cannot only be cured through a medical approach, then even before Kiyai Mappiare has touched the person, simply entering his room, the possessed person can fall instantly]”

It is how people were often told about Kiyai Mappiare's special abilities which are well-known by the people of Bulukumba. One of those who inherited the ability was Haji Roy, who also passed it to his son Muhammad Iqbal Wandu.

“Siapa yang Sakit? Kenapa mau ketemu dengan Haji Roy?”

(Who is sick? Why do you wish to visit Haji Roy?)”
(Jurumiyah, a local resident)

It was Mujahid Jurumiyah's response to the researcher when being asked about the possibility of meeting Haji Roy. The question was commonly asked by the people of Bulukumba. Still, for outsiders, it left a question of why Haji Roy was associated with sick people. It turns out that Haji Roy was known not only for being a Chinese Muslim but also for his ability to heal people. This role was an important point in strengthening the adaptation and acceptance of the Bulukumba community towards Haji Roy, who was no longer seen as merely a Chinese descendant. Haji Roy was acknowledged as a part of the Bulukumba community. Even for Chinese descendants in Bulukumba, Haji Roy was seen as the main figure of the Chinese in Bulukumba.

“Kalau ada orang Cina yang tidak mengenal Haji Roy, berarti dia orang baru di Bulukumba

(If there's a Chinese person who doesn't know Haji Roy, that means he's a newcomer in Bulukumba)” (Ahong, food stall owner in Bulukumba).

For Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba, learning Islam was an important matter that also required recognition and the ability to accept the teachings earnestly. The result is part of studying knowledge relevant to the situation and environment in which it was demanded. Chinese Muslims like Haji Roy and his family were probably very lucky to have qualified teachers who led them to understand the true nature of Islam. The cases of many other Chinese Muslims after embracing Islam were like 'chickens losing their mother'. They recited the *shahada*, but they could not find the path.

Tradition and Cultural Adjustment

Chinese who moved to Bulukumba came from various ethnic groups and different cultural backgrounds and religions. They can be categorized into two major groups: *Cina Totok* and *Peranakan*. *Cina Totok* refers to Chinese born in China from both Chinese parents. They carry Chinese culture and tend to be orientated towards their ancestral country (PRC). In contrast, *Peranakan* are Chinese descendants from Chinese father/mother marrying local people. They are born and raised in Indonesia and tend to accept many elements of local culture and behave like natives. In Bulukumba, *Peranakans* usually use Malay-Chinese or Indonesian and Makassar's as the language of daily conversation.

Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba are mostly converts. Before embracing Islam, they believed in various religious teachings, including: Christianity, Confucianism, Buddhism, and others. The

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conversion of Chinese community to Islam was based on various means and backgrounds. Surely, these Chinese Muslims have gone through adaptation to the Islamic and local culture. Therefore, the concept of adaptation is needed to promote understanding for the Chinese Muslim community.

Basically, Chinese Muslims are generally active in developing Islam, such as holding recitations and gatherings (*arisan*) among Chinese Muslims and local Muslims. Chinese Muslims have a role in the economic field, education, religion, or belief. Particularly the role in the field of religion is in Islamic education activities. The formation of PITI (*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia*) as a forum for Chinese Muslim descendants shows an effort from Chinese ancestors in the Nusantara to maintain religious activities and traditions in each of their lineages.

In addition to teaching how to establish a relationship with God (Allah) also emphasizes the relationship between fellow human beings aimed at creating a harmonious life that creates peace and with nature always to be harmoniously maintained. Judging from this, Chinese people who convert to Islam quickly accept it well because the beliefs and customs among Muslims are the same, resulting in the goal of protecting and protecting family, fellow humans and nature being well implemented.

Chinese Muslims are known as one of the community groups whose religious beliefs and attitudes reflect moderation in Indonesia. The religious moderation shown by Chinese Muslims is inseparable from the strong bonds of tradition in their lives. Chinese tradition and religiosity are two integral things, regardless of whether Chinese Muslims or Chinese who have converted from non-Islamic religions

to Islam. A person can be Chinese and Muslim at the same time, making their categorization become Chinese Muslim.

From the perspective of religious or Islamic attitudes, this step is understood as part of a moderate diversity model, a religious attitude that maintains tawhid and sharia values without abandoning cultural or local values. Accommodation of traditions despite converting to Islam is also practiced by the Chinese Muslim community. Although some traditions were originally full of mythical and ritual values that tend to be polytheistic (shirk), Chinese Muslims still carry them out by doing some value reconstruction, e.g., the tradition of lighting incense as a ceremonial item is reconstructed as part of aromatherapy for relaxation.

Through such religious practices, the Chinese Muslim community claims to display a moderate or non-extreme religious model. It is a religious pattern that tries to consistently practice the values of Islamic teachings in the Qur'an and hadith but still seeks to harmonies with ethnic traditions. In maintaining and socializing the moderate religious model, this community is very intense in conducting internal community development. One of the substantial efforts in implementing this is by conducting Islamic studies in a directed and structured manner so that they can carry out the religious sharia they believe in without giving up their ethnic identity in community plurality.

The preaching activities among Chinese Muslims are still considered to be limited. Therefore, they need to mingle with the local Islamic communities to fulfil this need. As such, Chinese Muslims adaptation to Bulukumba social culture was beyond socio-cultural assimilation but also religious assimilation. When a Chinese

embraced Islam, it would impact the (internal) preaching movement that they do. This movement was, of course, a process of cultural assimilation between local Islamic traditions (Bugis-Makassar-Konjo) and the Chinese people culture or traditions. This religious need was indicated by Ikbal Wandu to Haji Roy, his father, when he wanted to choose a school for his daughter named Mecca:

“Pak... Sudah waktunya Mecca masuk Taman Kanak-Kanak. Tadi pagi saya ke Wahdah, di sana ada TK Islam terpadunya. Sepertinya Mecca cocok sekolah di sana, supaya fondasi Islamnya bisa ditanamkan pelan-pelan. Saya juga pengen anak saya bisa belajar agama sekaligus bergaul dengan teman-temannya yang lain, siapa tau bisa belajar bahasa Bugis. Untuk urusan antar jemput, biarlah oleh saya dan mamanya bergantian supaya lebih mudah berbaur dengan masyarakat setempat”

[Dad... It is time for Mecca to join kindergarten. This morning I went to Wahdah, where there is an integrated Islamic kindergarten. It seems that the school suits Mecca, so her Islamic basics can be instilled slowly. I also wanted my child to learn religion while socializing with her other friends; she might learn Bugis Language at once. As for the pick-up and drop-off, her mum and I will take turns so it is easier to socialize with the locals)” (Muhammad Ikbal Wandu).

Culture is a source of virtue which is often inseparable from religion. The Chinese as an ethnic group firmly holds and maintains their ancestral traditions and culture. When the Chinese convert to Islam, the traditions and culture they knew and often did before are perpetuated by reconstructing the values underlying the traditions and culture. It ensures that the Chinese maintain their identity without contradicting with the values from their Islamic faith.

One of the Chinese traditions that the Chinese maintain is *Ceng Beng/Cing Ming* Day, an annual grave pilgrimage day. This *Ceng Beng* day falls on April 5th of each year or the 15th of the 7th month of the Lunar New Year. For Chinese Muslims who still carry out the *Ceng Beng* or *Cing Ming* tradition, the grave pilgrimage is considered a means of gathering with extended family and preaching their Islamness, even though it is only *da'wah bil hal*, a *da'wah* by showing good manners. Chinese Muslims carry out the *Ceng Beng* tradition by not performing myths and ritual practices that are in line to Islamic beliefs. For example, honouring ancestors by praying in their homes while displaying photos of ancestors and praying to them, is no longer done by Chinese Muslims. Likewise, grave pilgrimage is no longer limited to a particular time as in the *Ceng Beng* tradition. However, as Islam recommends, people can do a grave pilgrimage anytime (Rosmini et al., 2016).

In addition to the *Ceng Beng* tradition, the Chinese New Year celebration is also one of the Chinese traditions still practiced by Chinese Muslims. Chinese New Year usually falls in the second month of the Chinese calendar, February. For the Confucian people in Indonesia, performing thanksgiving prayers on the eve of the Chinese New Year is an act of worship following their religious beliefs. This prayer contains a deep spiritual meaning for the Confucian people. However, for the Chinese Muslims, the tradition is more as a momentum to gather with extended family who also come from different religious adherents. Many Chinese converting to Islam still live with their extended families in a small neighbourhood, even in one house with heterogeneous religions as told by Haji Roy, who, when he converted to Islam, still lived with his Confucian father, mother and siblings. This phenomenon

certainly employed the self-adjustment of a Muslim to adjust with their non-Muslim family, because they want to maintain *silaturrahim* with their extended family. For this reason, the pluralistic religious attitude of some Chinese Muslims is unavoidable. Sometimes a family of different religions gathers with their Muslim family members on *Eid al-Fitr* or *Eid al-Adha* (Islam); at Christmas, they gather again to eat together, and on Chinese New Year, they also gather even if some of the family members are Muslims or Christians. This religious fact shows the attitude of tolerance toward religion held by Chinese Muslims.

Regarding the Chinese New Year Celebration, in some ways, the context of celebrating love by sharing for Haji Roy's family has long been abandoned. No more Chinese New Year ornaments decorating his house. For Haji Roy, Chinese New Year is a culture, and for Chinese people who do not celebrate it when they become Muslims, it is not something that should be exaggerated. In other words, although Chinese New Year celebrations in the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism are considered part of religious traditions, for the Chinese Muslims of Bulukumba, the existence of Chinese New Year is reconstructed as part of a cultural tradition, not a religious practice. This reconstruction integrates the existence of Chinese Muslims who have their own identity with Islam as a religion that accommodates tradition as a medium of *hablun min al-nnas* which becomes a religious perfection of a true Muslim.

Even so, it does not mean that Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba do not have the opportunity and socialize their Muslim identity, one of which is shown by their house of worship. Building a mosque, was also an important goal of Haji Roy. He intended to build a mosque,

but not with the help and charity of others. He believes Allah will open the door of sustenance in response to his efforts and prayers. He had so much belief that that a mosque will one day be built by his hands. From how he wrote the nominal figures on a cheque addressed to his third child that morning and the humbleness to those around him, people believe that the mosque will stand soon. Although perhaps it would not be named the Cheng Ho Mosque like other Chinese Muslim mosques, but Haji Roy would choose a name that gives a sense of Bulukumba culture.

From the examples above, it can be concluded that Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba applied some elements of cultural adaption, including: 1) *Language and Communication Adaptation*. The Chinese Muslim community in Bulukumba adopted the Indonesian language as the main language in their daily interactions. They learned and used the Bahasa (including local language) to communicate with the local people extensively. It enabled them to interact more easily and actively participate in their social and cultural life. 2) *Religious Practices*. Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba harmonize their Islamic religious practices with Chinese traditions and culture. They performed religious rituals and celebrate Islamic festivals such as Ramadan fasting, five daily prayers and Eid celebrations. However, they also retained some Chinese cultural practices that do not contradict Islamic teachings, such as celebrating Chinese New Year or adapting Cap Go Meh Eid tradition into Islamic social and cultural context. 3) *Custom and Cultural Adaptation*. Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba also integrated elements of Chinese customs into their daily lives. They maintain using traditional Chinese attire in cultural events and performing arts in an Islamic context. 4) *Religious Education*.

Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba engaged in Islamic religious education to deepen their understanding of Islamic teachings. Some of them enrolled in Islamic education at Islamic boarding schools or institutions, integrating religious knowledge with local values and Chinese culture. 5) *Participation in society*. Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba actively participated in social and community life. They were involved in social, political, and economic activities at various levels. It allowed them to build harmonious community relationships and ties with diverse cultural groups.

Besides cultural adaptation, Chinese Muslims in Bulukumba also experienced identity adaptation in some forms. One, *Double Identity Awareness* (i.e., Chinese Muslim individuals realise that they have a double identity consisting of Chinese cultural and Islamic religious identities). They recognize and understand the differences and similarities between both identities. Two, *Identity Selection and its Accentuation* i.e. Chinese Muslim individuals choose the way they combine and emphasize their Chinese cultural and Islamic religious identities. Some Chinese may further emphasize their Chinese culture, while others focus more on their Islamic identity. Family, neighbourhood, and personal experiences may influence this preference. Three, *Reconciliation of Values and Beliefs*, i.e. Chinese Muslim individuals seek to harmonize Chinese cultural values and beliefs with Islamic teachings. They seek similarities and harmony between Chinese cultural values (such as: bravery, work ethic, and respect for ancestors) and Islamic values (such as: justice, compassion, and devotion to God). Four, *Adaptation to Family and Community Supports*, i.e. family and community play an essential role in adapting Chinese Muslim identity. Support and recognition from family and similar communities can give individual Chinese

Muslims a strong sense of identity and provide them with the confidence to integrate their two identities. It shows that Chinese Muslim identity adaptation in Bulukumba was a unique process, where they have different experiences and preferences in combining Chinese cultural identity and Islamic religious identity.

Conclusion

For Chinese Muslims to survive in Bulukumba, their power relations and ability to take on leadership roles must be strengthened. Social relations are built based on cordial and welcoming business practices towards the Bulukumba indigenous population. The existing economic system places a premium on reasonable costs and emphasises hospitality by giving local people positions in their shops. From this perspective, Chinese Muslims are skilled in trade and market integration. They also demonstrate a strong work ethic and a high level of discipline. The diligence, perseverance, and relationship-building shown in serving the community in their shops provide a sense of hard work that the neighbourhood can emulate. Such culture combines with the culture of the wise Bugis-Konjo people of Bulukumba; the two naturally interact dialectically based on reciprocity, cooperation, and complementarity.

The concept of cultural adaptation based on the philosophy of *Mapau na Maloppo Batu* (Honesty is truly manifested as a mirror of kindness) revolves around the central figure of Haji Roy, a devout Muslim and Chinese businessman. It is acquired and created based on his spiritual and life lessons through the study of religious knowledge.

Incorporating Islamic principles into daily life helps develop cultural sensitivity and Chinese Muslim identity in Bulukumba. The strength

and empowerment of sincerity, compassion, honesty and good traits are reflected through the implementation of a laborious and persistent work ethic and a high spirit of striving in the economic sphere. It can ultimately serve as a social model. In addition, they combine religious and regional customs as a kind of assimilation that respects religious beliefs. Further, they focus on modifying Chinese and Islamic customs and cultures that consistently maintain civil and respectful interpersonal relationships.

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