A CHINESE INDONESIAN MOSQUE'S OUTREACH IN THE *REFORMASI* ERA[1]

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In the post-Suharto *Reformasi* era, Chinese Indonesians are enjoying new freedom to express their culture. The ethnic Chinese number around three million, making up about 1.5% of the nation's population (Suryadinata 2004c: vii). Chinese Muslims constitute a minority religious group within this minority ethnic group, and little research has been done on them. Jacobsen (2005) puts forward a pessimistic view of the place of Chinese Muslims in modern Indonesian society, even calling them 'a redundant legacy of history' (2005: 87). He describes them as positioned awkwardly between the predominantly Muslim population and the Chinese, most of whom follow traditional Chinese religions or Christianity.

This paper presents a case study of the Chinese Muslim Association of Indonesia (*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* – PITI) in Surabaya, questioning whether Jacobsen's view holds for this group. It focuses on PITI's Islamic outreach (*da'wah* or *syiar*) among Chinese.[3] PITI in Surabaya is based at the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque, built in 2002 on a large block of land near the centre of the city. The

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[1] This paper was presented to the 17th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia in Melbourne 1–3 July 2008. It has been peer reviewed via a double blind referee process and appears on the Conference Proceedings Website by the permission of the author who retains copyright. This paper may be downloaded for fair use under the Copyright Act (1954), its later amendments and other relevant legislation.
[2] I am grateful to Michele Ford and Adrian Vickers for their assistance in the preparation of this paper.
[3] *Da'wah* refers to Islamic propagation, usually within the Muslim community but also to non-Muslims. *Syiar* refers to displaying or spreading Islam.

mosque is named after Cheng Ho (also known as Zheng He),[4] a Chinese admiral who is said to have helped spread Islam in the archipelago in the 15th century (Tanudjaja 2007–2008; Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia 2007–2008d).[5] Embracing their newfound freedom, PITI in Surabaya is asserting the place of Chinese Muslims in Indonesian society, confidently expressing 'Islamic Chineseness'. This paper begins with some background about the Chinese in Indonesia, and then proceeds to examine Jacobsen's (2005) views concerning Chinese Muslims, before introducing PITI and discussing the case study of PITI in Surabaya.[6]

The Chinese in Indonesia and Chinese Muslims

Chinese Indonesians experienced discrimination under the New Order regime, and Chinese culture was repressed. From the 1960s, the regime implemented assimilationist policies to deal with what it saw as 'the Chinese problem' (*masalah Cina*) (Chua 2004).[7] Under these policies, the use of Chinese characters in publications and advertisements was banned. The one exception was the newspaper *Harian Indonesia*, which was published in Mandarin and Indonesian. It was kept under government control. Moreover, Chinese language schools were closed. Chinese socio-political organisations and public Chinese cultural events, such as Chinese New Year celebrations, were banned. The government also encouraged the Chinese to change their names to sound more Indonesian (Suryadinata 2004a: 2–3; Allen 2003: 384–5; Lindsey 2005: 55–6; Chua 2004).

In the *Reformasi* era, Chinese culture is in revival and the Chinese are forging new identities. Nowadays, there is no longer an official 'Chinese problem', and much of the legislated discrimination against ethnic Chinese has been removed (Chua 2004: 476).[8] Chua (2004: 476) argues that during the sympathetic presidency of Abdurrahman Wahid, 'the agency to define Chinese ethnicity was taken away from the state and largely given to the Sino-Indonesians themselves.'[9] President Wahid and his government permitted the public celebration of Chinese New Year and the use of Chinese characters, and allowed

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[4] Although the mosque is named after Cheng Ho, often spelt with one 'o', it is called the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque, spelt with two 'o'.

[5] Indonesian historian Slamet Muljana put forward the theory that the Chinese played a role in the Islamisation of Java. The New Order regime banned his book in 1971 (Lombard and Salmon 1993: 116; Hifzhillah 2005).

[6] I conducted fieldwork at the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque in January and February 2008. A list of interviews is provided at the end of the paper. All translations of Indonesian language material, including interviews, are my own.

[7] Policies towards the Chinese were not entirely assimilationist, however. Some policies served to separate the Chinese from other Indonesians and mark them out as different (Suryadinata 2004a: 2–4; Turner 2003: 348). For example, Chinese ethnicity was coded on identity cards and Chinese Indonesians were essentially confined to the business sphere for work (Giblin 2003: 356). Chua (2004) argues that within the 'Chinese problem' framework, the New Order regime characterised the whole Chinese population as a wealthy minority through 'marginalisation: extinguishing Chineseness', 'discrimination: making the Chinese visible' and 'stigmatisation: ethnicising a class problem'.

[8] For a discussion of the post-Suharto reforms, see Lindsey (2005: 57–63). Lindsey (2005: 57) in fact argues that the process of reform has 'often been disappointing, as public debate has been more concerned with symbolism than practical reality.'

[9] See Purdey (2003) for an account of the debate concerning integration and assimilation in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and the re-emergence of this debate in the *Reformasi* period.

many schools to teach Mandarin (Turner 2003: 347–8). Wahid even claimed to have some Chinese ancestry himself (Heryanto 2008). President Megawati Soekarnoputri declared Chinese New Year to be a public holiday from 2003 (Turner 2003: 348). The *barongsai* (Lion Dance) has become symbolic of the newfound freedom for Chinese cultural expression (Allen 2003: 389). Turner (2003: 338) argues that there has been a 'public re-emergence of the Chinese consciousness, hitherto suppressed for more than thirty years.' The regime which encouraged the 'effective erasure of Chinese identities in the public sphere' (2003: 348), is gone, and now many Chinese 'are adopting a new tactic of "ethnic promotion"' through politics, the media and civil society groups (2003: 349).

In order to evaluate the place of Chinese Muslims in Indonesian society, Jacobsen (2005) considers the 'minorisation' of the ethnic Chinese. As a result of several historic processes, Jacobsen argues, the Chinese came to be a distinct, separate group. Firstly, he places great emphasis on the shift in Southeast Asian Islam from syncretic and tolerant to more orthodox and exclusive, resulting in a significant decline in Chinese conversions to Islam from the 19th century (Jacobsen 2005: 75–7). Secondly, he discusses the changing demographics of Chinese migration and how this reinforced the community's minority status (Jacobsen 2005: 76, 86–7). Thirdly, Jacobsen (2005: 77–8) describes how the non-assimilationist Dutch colonial policy drew distinctions between indigenous people and 'foreign Orientals', and the Dutch used Chinese as intermediaries between the colonialists and the indigenous people. The Chinese came to regard Islam as the religion of the inferior indigenous people, so it had little appeal. One problem with Jacobsen's discussion is that at times, he equates the 'minorisation' of the Chinese, as a whole, with the 'minorisation' of Chinese Muslims, with no explanation for why this is legitimate.

Jacobsen (2005: 82–6) discusses conversion to Islam amongst the Chinese and the place of Chinese Muslims in contemporary Indonesia. He refers to Brown (1989: 115), who believes that significant numbers of Chinese converted to Islam only once the New Order began. The *Yayasan Ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Islamic Brotherhood Foundation) endeavoured to convert Chinese to Islam (Brown 1989: 115).[10] According to Jacobsen, Chinese Muslims are 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

[10] In 1981, assimilationist figure Junus Jahja (he changed the spelling of his name to 'Yunus Yahya' in 1985 (Brown 1989: 115)) and four others established *Yayasan Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, with the aim of conducting *da'wah* among the Chinese – especially intellectuals, entrepreneurs and youth (Jahja 1982: 243–4). Less than two years later, Junus Jahja (1983: 350–1) expressed his pleasure at the success of the foundation's activities. The foundation had helped two Chinese sport champions and their husbands to perform the hajj. It had also arranged for a Chinese Muslim leader to preach in Jakarta. Junus Jahja (1983: 350) explains, 'we publicised all this on a large scale through the mass media so that the public, especially those of Chinese descent in Indonesia, know that there is rapid growth in Islamic *da'wah* among their fellow Chinese.' He also mentions other activities of the foundation, such as publishing books and other material, as well as connecting Muslims with the Chinese community on Islamic holidays (Jahja 1983: 350–1).

(Jacobsen 2005: 86). On the other hand, even if Chinese convert to Islam, they cannot assimilate into broader society, and are viewed with suspicion by the indigenous people. They are therefore 'caught in a no-man's-land between the ethnic Chinese and the rest' (Jacobsen 2005: 86).[11]

There are two main problems with Jacobsen's discussion of the place of Chinese Muslims in contemporary Indonesia. Firstly, Jacobsen (2005: 83) admits that there is little information on the relationship between Chinese Muslims and other Chinese, and between Chinese Muslims and other Muslims in Indonesia. He proceeds to refer to studies concerning Malaysian Chinese Muslims, drawing tentative links with the Indonesian case (Jacobsen 2005: 83–5). However, he does not clearly examine the similarities and differences in the circumstances of the Chinese in the two countries in order to justify extrapolating from Malaysian examples to the situation in Indonesia. Secondly, although the changes in the experience of Chinese Indonesians after the fall of Suharto are mentioned earlier (Jacobsen 2005: 80), Jacobsen's discussion fails to address the influence of these changes on Chinese Muslims.

Jacobsen (2005: 87) observes that more empirical data on Chinese Muslims in Indonesia are needed. This paper's case study of PITI in Surabaya aims to provide some information on Chinese Muslims in the *Reformasi* era, a topic Jacobsen entirely neglects. This case study suggests a less pessimistic view of the place of Chinese Muslims in Indonesia than that described by Jacobsen. PITI in Surabaya in no way considers itself to be a 'redundant legacy of history' (Jacobsen 2005: 87) – it is confidently engaging in society and is very relevant to the contemporary Indonesian scene. It aims to be accepted and valued both among the Chinese Indonesian community and the general Indonesian Muslim society. PITI members do not act as if they are victims of marginalisation. They are active and take seriously their role as a bridge between communities. PITI's outreach activities are one way PITI asserts the place of Chinese Muslims in Indonesian society.

PITI

PITI was established in Jakarta, 14 April 1961 (PITI 2005: 13). It grew out of the Chinese Muslim Association (*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa* – PIT), which was established in Medan in 1936 and moved its headquarters to Jakarta in 1953 (Lombard and Salmon 1993: 130).[12] On 6 July 1963, the Muslim Chinese Association (*Persatuan Tionghoa Muslim* – PTM) merged with PIT in the new organisation PITI

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[11] Giap (1993: 71) makes a similar point, in the context of the 1930s, where the convert's position 'was a hovering one' as they were not accepted fully by either the Chinese or the non-Chinese population.

[12] According to Giap (1993: 71), PIT aimed 'to raise the prestige of Chinese Muslims and to found a Muslim missionary institute for the propagation of Islam, especially among the Chinese population.' He refers to one leader of this organisation who believed that Chinese Muslims should not try to rid themselves of their Chinese identity and that being Muslim is compatible with remaining Chinese (Giap 1993: 71–2).

(Budiman 1979: 42).[13] Giap (1993: 76) regards PITI as an organisation that supports the assimilation of the Chinese in Indonesia. He describes PITI as helping interested Chinese to study Islam and convert, as well as carrying out social initiatives. According to Suryadinata (2004b: 120), members of PITI had typically been poor, but in the New Order the situation changed, as many wealthy and educated Chinese joined. This occurred 'especially after new blood, like Junus Jahja' converted and joined the organisation.

Along with the rest of the Chinese Indonesian community, PITI experienced discrimination under the New Order regime's assimilationist policies. Abdul Karim (1982) describes some of PITI's trials. In 1972, the central board of the organisation requested permission from the Minister of Religion to publish the Qur'an and a *da'wah* magazine partly in Mandarin. Permission was refused on the grounds that the initiative could encourage 'exclusivity', contrary to the government's assimilationist policies (Karim 1982: 199–201). Also in 1972, the Attorney General banned the use of the organisation's name because it was considered 'exclusive'. As a result, the PITI leadership informed the Attorney General that the organisation had been disbanded, and ten days later reported that they had established an organisation called *Pembina Iman Tauhid Islam* (Cultivators of the Islamic Faith in the Divine Unity). The abbreviation 'PITI' was maintained and much of the leadership remained unchanged (Karim 1982: 201–2).[14] In 1994, authorities detained and interrogated two of PITI's leaders in Surabaya after the organisation published a section of the Qur'an, Juz Amma, in the original Arabic with translations in Indonesian and Mandarin (interviews).

PITI's most active region is East Java, centred on Surabaya (Willy Pangestu, pers. comm. sms 2008). The organisation was established at the provincial level in East Java in 1988, and Bambang Sujanto was chosen as leader (PITI Jawa Timur 2008).[15] PITI was active in East Java even when the organisation was not functioning in other regions before 2000 (Willy Pangestu, interview). As mentioned above, PITI in Surabaya has built its own mosque, the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque. There are plans to extend the mosque once the necessary funds are available (Abdul Chalim, interview).[16] Next to the mosque is PITI's East Java headquarters. The complex houses PITI's offices for Surabaya and East Java as well as offices for *Yayasan Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo* (The Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo Foundation). The foundation was established in 1995, and its main purpose is to raise financial support for PITI, especially in East Java

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[13] There is some discrepancy in the information concerning the year PITI was established. According to Abdul Karim (1982: 198), there was a change of leadership in PIT in 1961, and PITI was established in 1963, through the merge with PTM.

[14] The organisation is now officially referred to as *Pembina Iman Tauhid Indonesia d/h. Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia*, recognising its former name (PITI 2005: 13).

[15] See Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (2007–2008a) for information about Bambang Sujanto. He continues to be a prominent leader in PITI.

[16] See *Pelita* (3 August 1983) for information about the conversion of Abdul Chalim, a former national wrestling champion. See also Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (2007–2008c) for information about this prominent PITI leader.

(PITI 2005).[17] Also part of PITI's complex are a pre-school, badminton courts and a canteen. Chinese culture is very evident here – acupuncture is available and Mandarin language classes are held weekly. A *pengajian* (Qur'an study) is held in the mosque on Sunday mornings. The busiest time of the week is Friday, when hundreds of men of various ethnic backgrounds come to the mosque for prayers. The mosque is no longer large enough to hold all those who attend, so every Friday temporary shelter is erected (personal observation).

Expressing 'Islamic Chineseness'

PITI in Surabaya is making the most of the newfound freedom to express Chinese culture in the *Reformasi* era. Like other Chinese, PITI members are adopting what Turner (2003: 349) calls a 'new tactic of "ethnic promotion"', through the work of their organisation. PITI is unique, however, in that it promotes Islam along with Chinese ethnicity, delivering the message that 'Chineseness' is compatible with Islam. The organisation believes it is important for all to hear this message in order to break down barriers between Chinese Muslims and other Muslims in Indonesia, and to make the Muslim faith more accessible to non-Muslim Chinese. PITI uses the resurgence of Chinese culture to its advantage in its outreach activities among Chinese Indonesians. It endeavours to maintain good relationships with the rest of Indonesian society, including fellow Muslims and fellow Chinese. In fact, fostering these relationships is a central part of PITI's aim to function as a bridge between Muslims and Chinese in Indonesia (PITI 2005: 11; Tanudjaja 2007–2008).

One way that PITI in Surabaya expresses 'Islamic Chineseness' is through its mosque, the first mosque in Indonesia with Chinese architecture (PITI Jawa Timur 2008). The Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque is a clear statement that Islam and Chineseness are compatible. Since its dedication in 2003, the mosque has become a tourist attraction. The mosque is well set-up to receive visitors and 'to share information about the history of Admiral Cheng Hoo, the mosque's architecture and the development of *syiar* at the Cheng Hoo Mosque' (Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia 2007–2008b). A quadrilingual (Indonesian, English, Mandarin and Arabic) handbook about the mosque is available for visitors. According to the handbook, the mosque's architecture, resembling a Chinese temple, is intended to display the Chinese Muslim identity and to commemorate (*mengenang*) the Chinese people's ancestors, the majority of whom were Buddhist (Yayasan Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo c.2007: 6). Abdul Chalim (interview) says that their aim in building such a mosque was to facilitate *da'wah* among Chinese. Chinese are used to going to Chinese temples, he says, so they feel more comfortable approaching a Chinese-style mosque.

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[17] To avoid unnecessary confusion, I refer to PITI throughout this paper, although sometimes it would be more correct to refer to *Yayasan Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo*.

Outside the mosque, there is a relief depicting Cheng Ho and a model of one of his ships. The story of Cheng Ho is of symbolic importance to PITI. By sharing the story, PITI shows that it is normal to be Chinese and Muslim. In addition, the story shows that the Chinese are an important part of Indonesia's history, including its Islamisation. Chinese Muslims should thus be valued as part of the wider Muslim community in Indonesia.[18] The handbook about the mosque (Yayasan Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo c.2007) tells the story, emphasising Cheng Ho's good character – how he respected followers of other religions, lived peacefully with others and helped the poor. Cheng Ho is portrayed as a model to follow.

One of PITI's aims is to help new converts and those interested in Islam to learn more about the faith. Such people can consult with Muslim leaders at the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque complex. Classes for new converts are held at the complex on weekends. According to the teacher of the classes (interview), half of those who attend are Muslim, while the other half are still non-Muslim. As an organisation with many members who were originally from non-Muslim backgrounds, PITI is strategically placed to help people of Chinese ethnicity with their specific issues (Willy Pangestu, interview).[19] PITI gives support to Chinese in living as Muslims in their non-Muslim family environments (Tanudjaja 2007–2008).

Inquirers and new converts can also find out information about PITI and Islam by reading PITI's publications. These include a new version of the controversial 1994 publication of Juz   Amma, with translations in Indonesian, English and Mandarin. It is printed in a book called 'Guidance for a New Family Member' (*Tuntunan bagi Saudara Baru*), which was launched at the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque's fifth anniversary celebration in 2007 (Hsn 2007). The book also includes a guide to reading the Arabic Qur'an and information on the obligatory Muslim prayers (Yayasan Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo 2007). In addition, PITI in East Java produces a monthly magazine called *Komunitas* (Community), which contains articles about PITI's recent activities, the activities of other Chinese organisations, aspects of Islam and Chinese culture, the place of Chinese culture in Indonesia, as well as stories about converts.

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[18] References to Cheng Ho and other historical links with Chinese Muslims are not new among those conducting *da'wah* to Chinese. See Junus Jahja (1982) in which Chinese in the New Order are encouraged to return to Islam, the religion that was brought from China centuries ago by figures such as Cheng Ho. Junus Jahja emphasises that early Chinese immigrants were from Muslim regions in China. See also Yayasan Rahmat Semesta (1979: 51).

[19] This was evident from my conversations with several Chinese who attended the classes for new converts. One came to PITI to enquire a week before he converted in the mosque. He says he felt more comfortable approaching PITI (*'merasa lebih cocok ke PITI'*), where there are many fellow Chinese. Another recent convert told me he wanted his body to be cremated, and he intended to ask a Muslim teacher at PITI whether that would be acceptable. Another converted to Islam before he married in 1993. Around 2001, he came to PITI in Surabaya. He chose PITI because 'we all liked eating pork in the past.' He started attending the classes for new converts a month before our conversation, and he also recently decided not to eat pork anymore.

Willy Pangestu (interview) observes that since the establishment of the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque, there has been extraordinary growth in the number of conversions at PITI's East Java headquarters. According to one report (Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia 2007–2008d), the large number of conversions is proof that the mosque 'has become an effective centre for *da'wah* and *syiar.*' Simple conversion ceremonies are held in the mosque after the Friday prayers or in the mosque's office (personal observation). Those who convert may or may not be Chinese. In 2007, 57 people converted at the mosque (Ta'mir Masjid Muhammad Cheng Hoo Indonesia 2008). According to Burnadi (interview), 75% of those who convert do so because they want to marry a Muslim. PITI tries to ensure these people understand what it means to become a Muslim, and encourages them to attend the classes for new converts.

One way that PITI in Surabaya engages with other Chinese Indonesians and the broader Muslim community is by holding large events. Even during the New Order, PITI in Surabaya organised celebrations, to which it invited non-Muslim Chinese (Willy Pangestu, interview). Nowadays, PITI is free to express Chinese culture at such events. With the media present, PITI's display of 'Islamic Chineseness' is spread to many. At the end of Ramadan, PITI invites thousands to its celebration (asking each other's forgiveness – *halal bihalal*) in the grounds of the mosque complex. The celebration includes Chinese cultural forms such as singing, dancing and *barongsai* (Abdul Chalim, interview). According to Abdul Chalim (interview), one aim of using Chinese cultural forms is 'to demonstrate and display that Chinese culture does not conflict with Islamic or Indonesian culture.' Burnadi (interview) hopes that by inviting non-Muslim Chinese to the celebration at the end of Ramadan, PITI can demonstrate that Islam is not a 'frightening religion', but rather loves peace.

To celebrate Chinese New Year, PITI hosted an impressive Gala Dinner in Surabaya International Business Exhibition and Convention Centre, on 8 February 2008 (personal observation). Thousands of people, mainly Indonesians of Chinese ethnicity, packed a beautifully decorated convention hall to enjoy a banquet and entertainment. Each item was introduced in Mandarin and Indonesian. The program included an Islamic song or two alongside Chinese items. In a brief address, Bambang Sujanto wished everyone a happy Chinese New Year and thanked those who had donated to flood victims through the organisation. Later in the proceedings, Abdul Chalim led a prayer for the few Muslims present before the singing and dancing extravaganza resumed. At the conclusion of the evening, people were handed a copy of PITI's *Komunitas* (Community) magazine as they left the convention hall. The celebration was clearly both Islamic and Chinese. Like the celebration held at the end of Ramadan, the Gala Dinner provided Chinese Indonesians with a friendly encounter with Islam, in a Chinese context – an opportunity for *da'wah*. It also demonstrated to Chinese Indonesians that Chinese Muslims are still very much Chinese.

Through such events, PITI expresses both its Muslim and Chinese identities, and shows that they are compatible.

PITI in Surabaya clearly tries to build strong relationships with fellow Chinese, and to present a good image of Islam to them. Another way PITI does this is through cooperating with non-Muslim Chinese organisations for charity. PITI's good relationship with other Chinese is evident in the support they receive from outsiders. Most of those who live around the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque are non-Muslim Chinese. They donate food and drink for Muslims to break their fast at the mosque during Ramadan (Burnadi, interview). Non-Muslim Chinese even donated to help build the mosque (Abdul Chalim, interview).

Not only does PITI in Surabaya foster its relationship with fellow Chinese Indonesians, but it also has strong ties with the broader mainstream Muslim community in Indonesia. At the official level, the heads in East Java of the Indonesian Council of Ulamas (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia* – MUI), Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah are advisors for PITI (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PITI 2006). The speakers for the Friday sermon and Sunday *pengajian* in the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque are often Muslim leaders from NU or Muhammadiyah. Non-Chinese Muslims also help in the running of the organisation and participate in the mosque's activities (personal observation). In the Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque, Chinese and non-Chinese Muslims mix freely. Here, at least, the relationship between Chinese Muslims and other Indonesians is one of respect and goodwill.

Conclusion

This case study is not consistent with Jacobsen's (2005: 87) view of Chinese Muslims as a 'redundant legacy of history.' Surabaya's Chinese Muslim community is actively negotiating a place for itself in Indonesia's multi-ethnic, multi-religious society. PITI in Surabaya is fostering its relationships with fellow Chinese and fellow Muslims and enhancing its role as a bridge between the communities. It is making the most of the new climate of openness and the public re-emergence of Chinese culture to present Islam as peaceful, tolerant and compatible with 'Chineseness'.

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Interviews

Name	Date	Position
Burnadi	7 & 11 January, 2008	head of the *ta'mir* (management) of Muhammad Cheng Hoo Mosque
Abdul Chalim	11 & 18 January, 2008	head, PITI East Java 1994–1998; leader in *Yayasan Haji Muhammad Cheng Hoo*
3 anonymous	19 & 20 January, 2008	attended class for new converts
anonymous	20 January, 2008	teacher of class for new converts
Willy Pangestu	8 February, 2008	secretary, PITI's central leadership board, Jakarta