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BEING CHINESE CHRISTIANS IN THE *TOTOK* CHINESE CHURCHES IN SURABAYA:

Continuity and Change of Identities

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the identities of Chinese Christians in the totok Chinese churches in Surabaya. The Chinese Christians refer to those who arrived in Surabaya from mainland China as Protestant Christians in the 1900s. They established the first Chinese church - the Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (THKTKH) in Surabaya. The THKTKH has become two independent synods, namely Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, or the Church of Christ the Lord) and Gereja Kristen Abdiel (GKA, or the Abdiel Christian Church). The totok Chinese churches refer to churches that conduct the church services in the Chinese language or Mandarin (Guoyu). The article examines the culture, language, and origin of the Chinese Christians. After almost a century in Surabaya, there are some continuity and change of the Chinese Christian identities. They still regard themselves as totok, but the meaning of totok has changed. They embrace not only Chinese culture; but also mixed Chinese culture with Western culture and Indonesian culture, which results in the so-called hybrid culture. The Mandarin is used in the church services, whereas Indonesian language and English are also employed. The originality of the congregations is no longer mono-ethnic, which is Chinese. The Chinese churches have become multi-ethnic churches consist of various ethnicities in Indonesia.

Keywords: Chinese Christian, Protestant Christianity, social identity, *totok* Chinese

INTRODUCTION

Chinese Christians have a long history in Indonesia. They have existed for more than a century in Indonesia since the Colonial period (Soleiman and Steenbrink,

2008). The numbers of Chinese Christians are not many in Indonesia. Among the 1.20 percent who regard themselves as Chinese descend of the total Indonesian population based on the 2010 census (Arifin et al., 2016), estimated about 42.8 percent are Christians, with 27.04 percent Protestants and 15.76 percent Catholics (Chong, 2019). Surabaya is the second-largest city with the Chinese Indonesian community in Java after Jakarta, which is 5.19% of the country's total Chinese Indonesian population (Arifin et al., 2016). There is no official data on how many Chinese Christians in Surabaya.

Even though they have been living in Indonesia for a long time, Chinese Christians face challenging disidentification, negative perceptions, and stereotyping towards their ethnic identity as Chinese and religious identity as Christian. They are regarded as homogenous, not heterogenous (Chong; 2016; Suryadinata, 2005; Widjaja, 2010). Last year, I presented the Chinese Christians' heterogeneity in one of the Islamic universities in Surabaya. The participants, mostly Muslim lecturers and students, responded to the presentation by stating that they regard the Chinese Christians as homogenous. As a matter of fact, the Chinese are highly heterogeneous with regard to dialect, culture, and economic backgrounds. Many of them speak Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochiu, and Hakka. This experience shows the disidentification of Chinese ethnicity. The assumption that Chinese is homogenous still exists today.

In May 2017, the Indonesia National Survey Project (INSP), sponsored by the Yusof Ishak Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) and the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI), conducted a survey of 1,620 respondents from various ethnics, economic, education and religious background from 34 provinces in Indonesia. Charlotte Setijadi (2017) presents the result, which shows that ethnic Chinese is still negatively perceived in terms of their economic privilege and national loyalty. They are suspected of being loyal to China. They are also perceived as being exclusive and distant in their relationship with the indigenous. Most respondents do not want ethnic Chinese to lead in governmental positions. After two decades of reformation, stereotyping towards ethnic Chinese still exists (Kuntjara and Hoon, 2020). However, racialization has decreased towards those who are ethnically different compared to the pre-reformation era

Christianization is the biggest obstacle for other religions' acceptance of Christianity (Husein, 2005; Mujiburrahman, 2006). Furthermore, Christianity has been viewed as a colonial religion due to the memory of the past that the Dutch colonial was Christians and mostly Chinese were Christians (Husein 2005). The negative perceptions of ethnic Chinese and Christianity make Chinese Christians

vulnerable undergo violence and ‘othering’ in relations with other ethnic groups and religions. Identification and recognition of ethnic and religious identities are essential to building harmony and equal relationship in the context of multiculturalism like Indonesia.

Studies on Chinese Christians, particularly in *totok*¹ Chinese churches are not much and mainly were conducted in Jakarta. *Totok* Chinese churches mean those that still have bilingual (Mandarin/Indonesian) or Mandarin services (Hoon, 2016). Chang-You Hoon(2016) and Susy Ong (2008) researched Gereja Kristus Yesus (GKY, or Church of Jesus Christ), representing *totok* Chineseness, the largest Chinese church in Jakarta. Hoon’s finding, shows that most *totok* Chinese churches belong to the Evangelical movement, which “regards the promotion of Christian fellowships and to spread the Gospel as its objective.” Susy Ong notes that in GKY, the services are conducted in the Chinese language to the elderly. Meanwhile, for a younger generation, the services are held in the Indonesian language because they are not mastering in the Chinese language.

Susy Ong also studied of Chineseness on Chinese church in Gereja Reformed Injili Indonesia (GRII, or Indonesian Reformed Evangelical Church) in Jakarta. For Ong (2008), even though using the term ‘Indonesian,’ the church’s orientation is more Chinese than national (Indonesian) as its ministry focuses on Chinese. Despite Ong’s finding, GRII’s focus is also on nation-building through the establishment of the Reformed Center for Religion and Society (RCRS) in 2006 (reformed-crs.org).

Meanwhile, Markus Domingus L. Dawa studied Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, the Church of Christ the Lord) in Surabaya and Malang from a historical perspective (2017). In his opinion, the New-Order regime's assimilation program failed to change the Chineseness of the GKT to be local or to have Indonesian identity. Chineseness is still well preserved in GKT. This paper aims to enrich the currently scarce publications on the subject of Chinese Christians, particularly in Surabaya.

The Chinese Christians who originated from mainland China had come to Surabaya almost a century. How do they construct their ethnic and religious identities in the Chinese church in Surabaya? What the continuity and change of the identities? This paper attempts to answer these questions by examining the culture, language, and origin of the Chinese Christians in the Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (THKTKH) Surabaya. THKTKH is currently becoming two independent synods,² namely

¹ *Totok* refers to China-born Chinese, pure-blood, and speak dialects or Chinese daily (Chong, 2016; Hoon, 2015; Ong, 2017).

² Synod is a council of the church

Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, or the Church of Christ the Lord) and Gereja Kristen Abdiel (GKA, or the Abdiel Christian Church). Some identities of the *totok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya have changed. Some have continued to respond to the government policies and affect interaction within-group (other Chinese dialects) and out-group (Muslims as the biggest population in Surabaya and Indonesia).

It uses the theory of social identity, which is identified as the main idea (Jenkins, 2008). It also employs the concept of ethnicity that “with a shared cultural identity, language, and origin (Kim, 2011). The primary data was collected through open and in-depth interviews with ten Chinese church leaders and activists who are familiar with the history and activities of their churches. They are the first, second, third, and fourth-generation³ members in those *totok* Chinese churches. The participants-observations method was used to understand the Chinese Christians’ social and cultural contexts. Besides, it used magazines and documents published by the Chinese churches. The secondary data are books, journals, or literature reviews from previous researchers on *totok* Chinese Christians. The finding will be explained through a historical overview of THKTKH, hybrid culture, language, and origin – regarding first, second, third-generation in *totok* Chinese churches (GKT and GKA) in Surabaya. This paper uses the terms *totok* Chinese churches and *totok* Chinese Christians interchangeably to refer to Chinese Christians of GKT and GKA in Surabaya.

THE TIONG HOA KIE TOK KAUW HWEE (THKTKH) SURABAYA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Chinese Christians in Indonesia are comprised of two groups regarding conversion to Christianity. The first one was those who became Christian after they arrived in Nusantara, which was later termed Indonesia. This group was evangelized and ministered by Western, Chinese, and local missionaries (Soleiman and Steenbrink, 2008). They founded *peranakan*⁴ Chinese churches, such as Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI, or Indonesian Christian Church) (Ong, 2008; Setiabudi, 1994). The second group was the Chinese who had been Christian before they arrived in Indonesia, the so-called *totok* Chinese Christians (Daulay, 1996; Dawa, 2017).

³ The first-generation is the migrants from China. The second-generation and so forth are those born in Surabaya.

⁴ *Peranakan* refers to local-born Chinese. They have mixed-blood from one side of their ancestors, or their father was from mainland China, and their mother was local Javanese. They are of Chinese

The *totok* Chinese Christians from mainland China have been present since the 1900s (Dawa, 2017). They were originated from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces as the parts of the third wave of Chinese immigrants in the early 20th century until the 1940s (Handinoto, 2015).⁵ This first-generation, China-born Chinese Christians were from various sub-ethnics or dialects and church denominations (Dawa, 2017; Pitcher, 1893). They were Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, Hinghwa, and Hakka. In their homeland, they were members of Baptist, Presbyterian-Reformed, Lutheran, Anglican, Methodist, and other denominations.

Ethnicity and religion are important for migrants because they give meaning, identity, and a sense of belonging (Kim, 2011). Nevertheless, ethnic identity is challenged by their being away from their homeland (Yang, 1999). According to the theory of assimilation (Kim, 2011), the originality of culture will decline due to the assimilation with the host culture. Ong Hok Ham (2017) identifies that migration in groups or individuals will affect the strength or weakness of ethnic identity. It explains why the Chineseness of Chinese in Java is different from Chinese in Sumatera and Kalimantan. Chinese immigrants in Java usually came individually or in small groups. They were heavily interacted with the local people and fused more easily with the local culture, which eventually depreciated or even removed their original culture. They lost the ability to speak their ancestors' language as they adopted the local culture and married the local women. This group is referred to as *peranakan*, unlike Chinese in North Sumatera, Bangka, Belitung, or Pontianak. Their Chineseness has stronger than Chinese in Java. They came to those cities in groups and large numbers. They came to work in the farming or mining industries that belonged to the Dutch entrepreneurs. When they arrived, they brought along their structure and social organization from their homeland. Because of their large numbers, these communities still apply the Chinese culture in their groups.

However, the Chinese Christians from mainland China in Surabaya, even though they came in individual or small groups, maintain and even have strong Chineseness. The reason for this was the existence of the Colonial government's policy termed the *Wijkenstelsel* law (1836-1917) which divided the population by race. Residential areas were divided by ethnicities. The Chinese lived at the East side of Jembatan Merah, around Kembang Jepun, Kapasan, and Pasar Atom that so-called *pecinan* (Basundoro, 2009). The Arabs lived around Masjid Ampel. The Dutch and Europeans mostly lived around Jembatan Merah and Simpang.

⁵ The first wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in Surabaya in the early 13th or 15th century till the end of the 17th. The second wave came from the period of the 18th to the end of the 19th century (Handinoto, 2015).

Meanwhile, the indigenous lived in a *kampung* (village) located behind the tall structures belonged to the Europeans. Their ethnic identity will get thicken when they solely interact with the same ethnic group.

Instead of losing their religiosity, the first-generation of Chinese Christians in Surabaya founded houses of worship based on their dialects: Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, and Hinghwa (Dawa, 2017). Bhikhu Parekh (2008) notes that while important changes take place, people turn to religion. For migrants who had undergone many changes in life in the new land, religion is important. According to Fenggang Yang (1998, 1999), who studied Chinese Christian migrants in the United States, the Christian fellowships were the place where the immigrants find social belonging, psychological and spiritual peace. It was similar to the *totok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya. Peter (pseudonym), 81 years, Hokkien, first-generation, was born in Gulangyu island in Fujian province.⁶ He came to Surabaya with his mother and his four brothers in 1949. His family was a member of THKTKH. He and his brothers' joined the church choir. The church was the place where he could develop his singing talent and leadership skill as a church activist.

The Hokkien's house of worship developed into the church by the United States Episcopal Methodist Church in 1909. Afterwards, the other dialect groups joined the church. It was started by the Cantonese (1910), then Fuzhou, and Hinghwa (1918). In the beginning, the services were held in Hokkien. As the number of each dialect increased, services were held in their respective dialects at different hours. The church locates at Samudra street, North Surabaya. It has been using until now. In 2009, Surabaya's city government decreed the church building as a part of the city's heritage.

The United States Episcopal Methodist Church ended their working-term in Java, including Surabaya, in 1928. The world economic crisis in the decade of the 20s and early 30s had led the Methodist church to reorganize its mission strategies in 1927 (Daulay, 1996). They closed the ministry in Java and Kalimantan, focusing only on Sumatera. The Methodist church mission was replaced by the Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (NZG). Nevertheless, NZG tended to ministry among *peranakan* Chinese churches than *totok*. The Methodist church's decision to leave Surabaya was the beginning of the Chinese church's became independence. In 1928, the *totok* Chinese church, with the last support of the United States Episcopal Methodist Church, registered the *totok* Chinese church to the Dutch government under the Foundation of Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (THKTKH) Surabaya.

⁶ Interview with Peter (pseudonym), the first-generation of the Hokkien, a church leader, on February 24, 2020.

The THKTKH is the first ethnic Chinese church in Surabaya. (Daulay, 1996; Dawa, 2017; Koentjoro, 2013; Soleiman and Steenbrink, 2008).

The THKTKH church leaders were chosen based on their respective ethnic groups (Dawa, 2017). They also invited preachers from mainland China. After some time, those preachers went back to China and were replaced by somebody else. They arranged and paid for these religious meetings. This explains why lay-people leadership is a distinctive characteristic of the Chinese-speaking churches until the present time.⁷

The teachings that prohibit the practicing of Chinese traditions, such as ancestor worship, have made Christianity categorized as a Western religion by the Chinese. The saying “one more Christian, one less Chinese” was frequently used to quip converted Chinese-Christians, implying that they are “traitors to the nation” (Hoon, 2013; Yang, 1999). In the United States, the tension that regarded Christianity as a Western religion was overcome by integrating Confucianism into Christianity (Hoon, 2013). Confucian values align with the Weber concept of Protestant ethics or a worldly asceticism, such as success, hard work, being thrifty, and delayed gratification.

In Surabaya, the tension of being identified as Western teaching dissipated when a Chinese preacher, John Sung, 38 years, Hinghwa, the son of a Methodist pastor in mainland China, came to the archipelago invitation from a Hinghwa community. In 1939, Sung did spiritual revivals among the Chinese Christians in Surabaya and several other cities (Batavia, Bandung, Medan, Makassar, and many others) (Sung, 2012). He came to Surabaya four times. The first visit was in 1937. The other ones were in January, September, and November 1939. The attendees who came to his meeting numbered around one thousand to two thousand people. Chinese people were willing to close their shops and came to the service every day. Surabaya was out of stock of the Bible, and 5000 hymn books were sold out and reprinted. On his next visit, he held a Bible Study Conference. Many Chinese converts to Christianity. The numbers of Chinese Christians were increasing significantly, about 700 Chinese converts to Christianity (Gunawan, 1989). The meetings were held at the *Stadstuin*, the City Theatre and Gardens (today is known as the Bank of Indonesia’s building). In his ministry, Sung used the Chinese language and wore Chinese clothes. Sung was an example of the Chinese could be Christian and Chinese as well.

⁷ The interview with Harianto (pseudonym), the second-generation of the Hakka, a church leader, on May 18, 2019, and February 13, 2020.

Today, the THKTKH has become two independent synods, namely Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, or the Church of Christ the Lord) and Gereja Kristen Abdiel (GKA, or the Abdiel Christian Church). GKT synod currently consists of ten churches; meanwhile, GKA synod has five churches in Surabaya. Their number, which was initially only ten persons (1909) regarded as probationary⁸ members, increased into 11 persons (1911), 47 persons (1912), 49 persons (1916), 249 persons (1925), 315 persons (1937), and 434 persons (1939). In 1970, adult members of GKT in Malang and Surabaya were 3,399. The data was undertaken by Indonesian churches in cooperation with the Research and Study Institute of the Indonesia Council of Churches (Cooley, 1977). Not all the *totok* Chinese churches have complete data of numbers of congregations. From the church newsweekly of ten churches of GKT and five churches of GKA in Surabaya, collected on June 23 until July 2, 2019, the adult participants were 6,084.

HYBRID CULTURE

The *totok* Chinese Churches in Surabaya have been influenced by Western culture, Indonesian culture, and Chinese culture. The mixture of cultures has made “in the between spaces... that initiate new signs of identity,” which Homi Bhabha (1994) said as a hybrid. Chang-Yau Hoon quoted Laclau (2006) that “hybridization does not necessarily mean decline through the loss of identity. It can also mean empowering existing identities through the opening of new possibilities. The negotiation of different cultures creates a characteristic of “neither... nor”, “the same but not quite” (Bhabha, 1994).

Western culture influences occurred when Western missionaries did not just bring religious teaching but also embedded Western culture. The way of dressing, musical instruments (piano), and the liturgy of worship, including the choir's formation, have adopted the Western-style's. The hymnbook used is a Western hymn, which is translated into the Chinese language and Indonesian. The hybrid culture can also be seen in church buildings. There are several former church buildings belong to Western missionaries (Dutch, Armenian). The Western-style was retained; however, the Chinese style was added, such as the church's name the *Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee*, written in Chinese character. The building's inauguration plaque was also written in Indonesian and Chinese language. The church bell's loud chiming can be heard surrounding the first Chinese church at

⁸ ‘Probationer’ is the internal policy of the Methodist church before people could be a full member. The people went through a series of teaching classes, such as discipleship training and being baptized to be a full member (Daulay, 1996).

Samudra street, indicating the service hour started. Church bells chanted as a sign of the service hour are practiced by many churches in the West. In some churches, pictures of Western missionaries with quotes in English are displayed to encourage the congregation about the mission.

Celebration of the Chinese New Year in the *totok* Chinese churches shown the hybrid culture. Chinese New Year has been celebrated openly again in churches since the post-1998 when Abdurrahman Wahid was president (1999-2001). I had a chance to participate in the Chinese New Year celebration in one of the Chinese churches in Surabaya. The service was bilingual in which the Chinese language interpreted into the Indonesian language. The worship leader said that it was a welcoming spring celebration in China. However, as Chinese descent, they do not fully embrace Chinese tradition. The celebration of Chinese New Year was to express the gratitude of God's blessings. They asked God to help them be faithful Christians in the following year. They provided empty angpao (red envelopes usually filled with money as a gift). The congregation filled the angpao with money. It was given to the church as a thanksgiving, an offering to God. Most of the congregation wore red clothes. It was not connected to the gods as in Chinese beliefs but as a symbol of happiness. The way they celebrate Chinese New Year has shown that it is "the same but not quite" with authentic Chinese culture.

DIALECTS, CHINESE LANGUAGE, AND BILINGUAL

As mention previously, the *totok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya founded houses of worship based on dialects: Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, and Hinghwa. They did not understand other dialects, only their own dialect. For *totok* Chinese, other dialects seemed like a foreign language (Nio, 1961). They prefer to use Malay or Indonesian language to communicate with other dialect groups. Further, the Chinese generation who was born in Surabaya did not really understand the dialects anymore. For instance, most of the Cantonese children could not read nor write Cantonese. The Cantonese raised funds to assist Cantonese school in 1921. However, the school was eventually closed after four years due to the lack of teachers since most of them returned to China (Dawa, 2014).

According to Nio Joe Lan (1961), after second-generation, Chinese descent would not have an ability to speak Chinese anymore. However, the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (THHK) that established in Surabaya, in 1903, helped the Chinese to maintain the Chinese language. The *totok* Chinese mostly studied at THHK. Meanwhile, the *peranakan* Chinese studied at the Hollands Chinese School (HCS) which established by the Dutch colonial government (Sai, 2016). When the Chinese language or Mandarin (*Guoyu*) became the "national language" accepted as lingua franca -

commonly used as a medium language to communicate among Chinese, the church services changed the usage of dialects to the Chinese language.

In the New-Order era, the government issued an assimilation program that forbade the using of the Chinese language in public. Chinese schools were forced to be close down in 1966. These policies affected the ability to master Chinese language among Chinese Christians - especially those born after the 1960s and did not have any chance to study at Chinese schools. As a result, some of the Chinese Christians continued to study in Indonesian schools. Some of them discontinued the study because they hoped Chinese school would reopen. Usually, the generation who were not studied in Chinese school cannot speak Chinese anymore, as experienced by Maria (pseudonym), a member of GKA.⁹ Afterwards, the church services have not only been conducted in Chinese but translated into the Indonesian language (Mandarin/Indonesian) since the 1970s. The number of Indonesian-speaking congregations increases compare to the Chinese-speaking congregations. Later on, the Chinese churches added fully Indonesian-language services.

Even though the Chinese language was prohibited from being used in public, it was still allowed in Chinese churches.¹⁰ In order to preserve the ability to master the Chinese language, one of the Chinese branches, GKA started a Mandarin course in 1973 (Elyonpedia Magazine, 2017). The highest number of attendees in the Mandarin course was 400 participants, Chinese and non-Chinese, Christian and non-Christian background. Those interested in learning the Chinese language are not only of Chinese descent but various ethnic groups and religions.¹¹ Anybody can learn and speak the Chinese language by taking Mandarin courses. The ability to speak Chinese is no longer exclusive to Chinese descent. Even though “language is the most visible marker of identity” (SAI, 2016), however, nowadays, speaking Chinese daily cannot identify ethnic identity as *totok* Chinese anymore. Therefore, for Halim, *totok* is a person who still knows his Chinese family roots and has a Chinese family in mainland China even though he or she is born in Indonesia.¹²

Hariato (pseudonym), 73 years, the second-generation leader in GKA, who is fluent in Chinese, stated that even though his children took a Mandarin course since they were very young, the children prefer to use the Indonesian language when conversing with him. Benny, 24 years, the fourth-generation, a member of GKT,

⁹ Conversation with Maria (pseudonym), the second-generation, activist in GKA, on June 28, 2019.

¹⁰ The interview with Surya (pseudonym), 70 years, the second-generation of the Hinghwa, a church leader, on February 27, 2020.

¹¹ The interview with Halim (pseudonym), 64 years, the third-generation of the Hinghwa, a Mandarin teacher, on February 11, 2020.

¹² Idem.

experienced the same case. He uses the Indonesian language when conversing with his parents. He stated:

[Saya] pakai agak formal [Indonesia], karena bahasa Surabaya kan lebih agak bahasa gaul gitu. Jadi saya agak kurang enak kalau ngomong sama orang tua dengan bahasa Jawa.

([I] use a rather formal (Indonesian) language because my Surabayan Javanese language is somewhat colloquial. I feel it is not appropriate to use it when conversing with parents).”¹³

Benny masters English better than Mandarin. His parents asked him to study Mandarin in China, but he preferred to study another subject in Singapore. However, his interactions with international people opened his eyes to the importance of fluently mastering the Chinese language. It has motivated him to study Mandarin. Halim (pseudonym), 64 years, the third-generation of the Hinghwa, a Mandarin teacher, conveyed the same thing. He and his children use the Javanese or Indonesian language rather than the Chinese language in daily conversation. Furthermore, he said that having a Chinese name or speaking Chinese after taking Chinese language courses cannot identify someone as *totok*. A person who still knows his Chinese family roots and has a Chinese family in mainland China even though he or she is born in Indonesia can be categorized as *totok*. For this reason, he regards himself as *totok* although he was born in Surabaya.

The dynamics of Chinese language usage indicate that the mastering the Chinese language is not a representation of ethnic identity anymore. The importance of the Chinese language is related to globalization, not solely to ethnicity. Albeit, the Chinese church has been conducted in the Chinese language for almost a century; the younger generations are not motivated to master the language. They prefer to master English. English songs are sung in the youth services frequently. Thus, the languages that used are mixed of the Chinese language, Indonesian language, and English. The need to learn the Chinese language has risen when facing the need to use the Chinese language in the global community.

MONO-ETHNIC CHURCHES TO MULTI-ETHNIC CHURCHES

The origin of *totok* Chinese churches (GKT and GKA) was mono-ethnic – Chinese – that consist of various sub-ethnics or dialects. They were mostly Hokkien,

¹³ The interview with Benny (pseudonym), 24 years, the fourth-generation of the Hokkien, on March 20, 2020.

Cantonese, Fuzhou, and Hingwa. Other dialects were Hakka and Teochiu. Among dialect groups, there were a dynamic relationship, stereotyping, and contestation. Stereotyping is a collective identity, not just an individual interaction process but also a collective process (Jenkins, 2008). For instance, Hokkien was regarded as having the highest status, non-Hokkien were second in the community (Salmon, 2009). The Hokkien's first-generation brought financial capital to trade. They could trade well, and many succeeded in business. According to Skinner (1979), the southern part of Fujian province where the Hokkien came from is an important region in Chinese foreign trade history. However, not all Hokkien was wealthy people, like Peter, 81 years old, a Hokkien's church adherent. He came to Surabaya with his mother and four brothers at ten years old. They were looking for a better life. His relative, who settled in Ambulu village, East Java, encouraged his family to migrate to Indonesia. They were helped by his father's family when they first arrived in Surabaya as they were not materially wealthy.

Another example, Hakkas are stereotyped as the cunning people who like to take advantage of others.¹⁴ Skinner (1979) writes that the Hakka used to live in the non-fertile hills in Guangdong's inland areas. A Hakka informant explains that Hakkas had to work hard to be able to survive in a difficult condition which gave them a bad reputation. Nevertheless, when they first came to the archipelago, not all of them were poor. Harianto's mother was a professional midwife when she came to Surabaya. She helped many people to give birth safely. His father did some trading jobs. Harianto himself is currently a very successful entrepreneur who had passed on the business to his children. He is an activist in the Chinese Christian and supports the church and the community in many ways. Stereotyping is just one aspect of cognition and identification. Understanding the moment when the stereotyping started will help us understand them (Jenkins, 2008).

For Chinese's first-generation, kinship matters because it helps them survive in a foreign land. Chinese Christian first-generation were helped by their family, who had first settled in Surabaya. According to Steph Lawler (2014), the identity of non-Western is based on kinship ties. Consequently, a family name is important for *totok* Chinese. A sense of belonging, inherited business is preferable to those who are related by blood ties. Lawler quotes David Schneider (2014) says that kinship can go through "the order by blood (children and parents, siblings, cousins)" or "the order by law (spouse, in-laws)."

¹⁴ The interview with Cornelius (pseudonym), a church leader, on June 3, 2019.

Nevertheless, for the Chinese Christian first-generation, the meaning of kinship is not limited to the traditional concept, which is through blood ties but also tied by people who give a significant contribution to their life. In a case of those who did not have a family by blood ties in the new land, they were helped by the same dialect group. Surya's grandparent, the Hinghwa's first-generation, ran away from the Japanese invasion. His grandparent migrated to Surabaya in the 1930s. They did not have a family - blood ties in Surabaya. His grandparent was helped by the Hinghwa, opening a little grocery store. For Surya and his family, the unfamiliar Hinghwa who helped them is like their new family.

Furthermore, the first-generation could have two family names, their father's family name and the given name that belonged to the host who adopted them in the new land. During the Dutch government, in order to ease the administrative requirement, many hosts accepted the newly-arrived immigrant as their family (Oei and Sari, 2012; Wu and Ngo, 2015). The kinship changes to the broader sense as to how "people create similarity or difference between themselves and others" (Lawler, 2014) like experienced by the first-generation.

Afterwards, the congregations of mono-ethnic churches are no longer based on the same dialect groups as it was first founded. The usage of the Mandarin, not dialects, allow interactions among different dialect groups. The inter-dialect group marriages caused the existence of mixed dialect groups in Chinese churches. Not many still belong to pure dialect groups. When the Indonesian language is used in the church services, the Chinese churches become more accessible to other ethnic groups.

The church leaders of GKT and GKA estimate their congregations and pastors about 90 percent are of Chinese descent, and ten percent are from various ethnicities, such as Batak, Javanese, Manado, Nias, and Sumbawa. The non-Chinese congregations have joined the Chinese churches for pragmatic reasons. They either live near the church buildings, work at churches, or because their Chinese friends encourage them to join the church.

In Chinese churches, identification of similarity is not by ethnicity but occupation and roles in the community. The Chinese and non-Chinese Christians get along well when they have the same business or the same social status, regardless of ethnicity.¹⁵ Non-Chinese Christians, although their number is small, do not feel inferior. They can be accepted very well by the Chinese Christians, as stated by

¹⁵ The interview with Simon (pseudonym), 61 years, the third-generation of the Fuzhou, a church leader, on May 18, 2019.

Yusuf (pseudonym), 51 years, a Manadonese.¹⁶ Yusuf and his family have been a member of the Chinese church for more than ten years. A similar experience shared by Ruben (pseudonym), 48 years, a Sumbawa born.¹⁷ He married a Chinese church member. Ruben observes that the acceptance into the Chinese Christian group is not by ethnicity but by the same value of life, such as hard work, or politeness toward the elders.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the identities of the Chinese Christians in Surabaya cannot be separated from the process of identification which they experienced in history. Identity is the result of social construction that never ends, but also by everyday's life experiences. For the older generation, ethnic identity is more dominant than religious identity. On the contrary, religious identity is more dominant for the younger generation. It can be known from the election of wife or husband. The same ethnicity or dialect matters for the older generation. However, for the younger generation, the similarity of religion is more important than ethnicity.

Moreover, they still perceive themselves as Chinese, but each generation gives a different meaning to it. The older generation still carries a strong Chinese identity which is not the case with the younger ones. Their identity has been embedded in being Chinese Indonesian. It can be seen in badminton games between China and Indonesia. The older generation supports China's team, but the younger generation takes side with the Indonesian's. The younger generation has no longer emphasize their ethnic identity because they already experience global interactions. It means, there is no more depth in meaning towards the Chinese identity among the present generation compared with the previous ones. However, religious identity is still important to them.

There are some continuity and changes of the Chinese Christian identities in the Chinese churches, namely the meaning of *totok* Chinese. These are seen from the way they carry out Chinese culture, the usage of Chinese language, and their originality of ethnicity. The meaning of *totok* Chinese is changing, not identified by the place of born in mainland China, the Chinese language they speak daily, or a Chinese name, like Chinese in Manado. A person who knows their Chinese root, and still has relations with their family in mainland China without a mixed-ethnic

¹⁶ The conversation with Yusuf (pseudonym), 51 years, a Manadonese, a church leader, on May 18, 2019.

¹⁷ The interview with Ruben (pseudonym), 48 years, a Sumbawa born, a church leader, on May 23, 2019.

marriage, can be considered as *totok*. As an institution, the Chinese churches, even though they conduct services in Mandarin, however, due to the mixed-ethnic congregations and some services usage fully of the Indonesian language, it is more appropriately referred as the Mandarin-speaking churches or the Chinese-speaking churches rather than the Chinese churches.

The culture embraced by the Chinese churches is not only Chinese culture. It becomes mixed-culture of Western culture, Chinese culture, and Indonesian culture – that so-called hybrid culture. The process of becoming a hybrid culture cannot be separated from the influence of the Western missionaries who ministered among the Chinese Christians. The interaction of Chinese Christians with congregations from other ethnic groups in Indonesia also affect the richness of hybrid cultural development within the Chinese churches.

Languages used in the Chinese churches are no longer based on dialects, but mixed-languages – Mandarin, Indonesian, and English. Likewise, the congregations of the Chinese churches are not only mono-ethnic group - the Chinese, but various ethnics in Indonesia. Henceforth, the Chinese churches change to be multi-ethnic churches, even though mostly the congregations are Chinese descent.

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