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CHINESE MUSLIM NATIONALISM: MEASURING THE LOVE OF LAND FOR THE CHINESE ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN JEMBER

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Abstrak: *In Indonesia, nationalist consciousness has recently been facing many problems, threats, and concerns about daily life security. The threat has shifted from armed threats to threats of poverty, ignorance, backwardness, hunger, diseases for which no cure has been found, scarcity of employment opportunities, unemployment everywhere, arbitrary actions of those in power, crime, SARA, national disintegration, anti-nationalist terrorism, narcotics trafficking. Illegal drugs are troubling the future of the younger generation. One of those who got the effect was ethnic Chinese residents. This research was conducted with the ethnic Chinese locus in the Indonesian Chinese Islamic Association of Jember, focusing on how the Jember ethnic Chinese Muslim community views nationalism. What is the process of instilling nationalist values among the ethnic Chinese Muslim community of Jember? This research aims to trace the nationalism of the ethnic Chinese Muslim community in Jember towards Indonesia and the process of instilling nationalist values among them so far. This research uses a qualitative paradigm with a narrative research approach. The results of this research show that the nationalist values of Jember's ethnic Chinese Muslim community have been ingrained since birth because the Jember Chinese Muslim community was born in Indonesia, not in China. Ethnic Chinese who were born in Indonesia to Chinese citizens in China are called overseas, which is why they are considered not to be genuine Chinese citizens because they were not born and distributed in the land of their ancestors. Nationalism is not just a saying; nationalism is a necessity that Jember's ethnic Chinese Muslims firmly hold. His nationalist experience was formed by practising the values of Pancasila. Forms of instilling and strengthening nationalism among member ethnic Chinese Muslims by holding regular discussions, mutual respect, tolerance, participating in state activities, cooperation and defending the country.*

Kata kunci: *Nationalism; Indonesian Chinese Islamic Association; Jember.*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country located between two oceans, namely the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, and between two continents, namely the Asian continent and the Australian continent, which is a place of intersection between oceans and continents. With Indonesia's location like that, Indonesia has become a place for the spread of religion, making it a strategic country for the meeting of various religions in the world. Indonesia's geographical factors as a maritime country have encouraged the emergence of very diverse ethnic groups. This ethnic diversity makes this country a diversity of ethnic cultures, customs, languages, kinship systems, family life patterns, social and power structures, belief systems and so on. Differences in ethnicity, nation, religion and others, as good Indonesian citizens who uphold the foundations of the Indonesian state, must always love and respect tolerance between religions, tribes and nations (Azima et al., 2021).

In defending its country, Indonesia adheres to the principle that every citizen has the right and obligation to defend and defend the independence of the country for which they have been fighting, including all Indonesian people and all Indonesian territory. The proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, shows that the Indonesian people cannot be separated from the nation's struggle in order to maintain and fulfil the newly proclaimed independence. The participation of the people in fighting to defend against the Japanese army, as well as when fighting against the allied troops, fighting in the regions provides proof of the participation of the Indonesian people (Said, 2019).

Today, it must be acknowledged that nationalist consciousness is facing many problems, threats and concerns about daily life security. The threat has shifted from armed threats to threats of poverty, ignorance, underdevelopment, hunger, diseases for which no cure has been found, scarcity of employment opportunities, unemployment everywhere, arbitrary actions of those in power, crime, SARA, national disintegration, anti-nationalist terrorism, narcotics drug trafficking. Illegal drugs are troubling the future of the younger generation. Please improve it to ensure national unity and the integrity of the Indonesian state. The values of nationalism need to be possessed by every citizen in order to create a nation that is strong, united, tolerant, safe, and peaceful, just so that it has the potential to become a developed and prosperous nation (Widiyono, 2019).

Indonesia consists of various ethnic groups, such as Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Minang, Minahasa, and tribes in Papua. Apart from that, some nations come from outside the archipelago, such as the Chinese, Arabs, Europeans and others who consider the archipelago their homeland. The ethnic Chinese community has been present in Indonesia for centuries. They merge with residents who have a long history of ups and downs and have travelled a path that is not easy. Ethnic Chinese are immigrants, even though their arrival occurred centuries ago, so their existence is no longer new. This is by the fact that the majority of Chinese people in Indonesia come from South China who call themselves Tang people, while North Chinese people call themselves Han

people (Khairiah & Walid, 2020). The ancestors of Chinese people in Indonesia immigrated in waves thousands of years ago through commercial activities. Their role appeared several times in Indonesian history, even before the Republic of Indonesia was declared and formed. Records from China state that the ancient kingdoms in the archipelago were closely related to the ruling dynasties in China. This factor then fosters trade and traffic of goods and people from China to the archipelago and vice versa. This historical fact cannot be erased and must be accepted as part of Chinese people's life in Indonesia. So, ethnic Chinese citizens must have the same nationalist values as Indonesian citizens (Setyawati & Rusdiana, 2022).

Until now, some people think that the values of Chinese ethnic nationalism in Indonesia are still lacking. For example, during the commemoration of Indonesia's Independence Day, it is rare to find ethnic Chinese participating in the event. This indicates that the values of ethnic Chinese nationalism in Indonesia are still shallow. Apart from that, most ethnic Chinese in Indonesia are just looking for profits in business. They are more innovative and more agile compared to native Indonesians when it comes to doing business. Until now, 90 per cent of the wheels of the economy and business in Indonesia are still controlled by people and groups of ethnic Chinese descendants and immigrants or migrants. This is no longer strange news in Indonesia. This has been the case since the days of kingdoms in the archipelago until now. Many of them have become conglomerates and money kings in Indonesia (Hidayat et al., 2023; Lieyanty & Pudjiati, 2022).

Furthermore, are the ethnic Chinese Muslim residents of Jember also like that? This research will highlight and look at it, with several problem formulations, namely, what is the view of the ethnic Chinese Muslim community of Jember towards nationalism? What is the process of instilling nationalist values among the ethnic Chinese Muslim community of Jember? The gap in instilling nationalist values in ethnic Chinese families has given rise to debate. There are families where it is easy to instil nationalistic values. However, there are also families where it is difficult to instil nationalist values. The low level of nationalist values that occurs reflects this. Because of this, it is necessary to instil nationalist values in ethnic Chinese families. To give rise to nationalist values, initially, there must be human awareness. Furthermore, they are expected to understand and implement the cultivation of nationalist values in everyday life.

Research with this theme is actually not the first time research has been conducted. Similar research has been carried out by several researchers, namely research conducted by Kurnia Setiawan with the title "Pembuatan Narasi Peran Etnis Tionghoa Pada Masa Perang Di Indonesia". In this research, Setiawan examined the role of ethnic Chinese in the process of Indonesian independence through the 2021 Indonesian Agents of Change Festival, which included competitions, exhibitions and webinars (Setiawan, 2021). Not only that, on another occasion, Kurnia Setiawan conducted similar research in collaboration with Ninawati Lihardja and Meiske Yunithree with the title "Pemantapan Nilai-Nilai Kebangsaan Bagi Etnis Tionghoa". In Setiawan's research, he explained the importance of Pancasila to be understood and practiced in everyday life for ethnic

Chinese, with practical steps, the INTI (Indonesian Thionghoa) Association carried out training on Strengthening Pancasila Values (Taplai) (Setiawan et al., 2020). Apart from Setiawan, there is also research by Diba Sofinadya and Warsono with the title “Praktik Toleransi Kehidupan Beragama pada Masyarakat Etnis Tionghoa di Kota Surabaya”. In this research, Sofinadya practiced photographing various ethnic Chinese in Surabaya. The results of his research prove that the practice of religious tolerance in the ethnic Chinese community in Surabaya has reached the democratic stage which is characterized by various practices of tolerance both in the family and community environment (Sofinadya & Warsono, 2022). Finally there was research conducted by Moh Adomatussa with the research title “Toleransi Antara Etnis Madura Dengan Etnis Tionghoa Di Pecinan Kabupaten Bangkalan Madura”. Adomatussa describes the basic values that were developed as the basis and boundaries of tolerance between the Madurese ethnic group and the Bangkalan Madurese Chinatown Chinese ethnic group (Adomatussa, 2017). From several previous studies above, in terms of locus there is no similarity to this research. Likewise, thematically there is no similarity at all with this research. For this reason, the novelty value of this research is clear, so it is very worthy to be carried out.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach, as a procedure for identifying and describing phenomena that occur in natural settings. This research will describe the process of expressing Nationalist values in the ethnic Chinese community under the PITI Jember organization. This research seeks to reveal in depth and naturally the phenomena that occur in the research setting inductively to find meaning and significance. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach, where humans are the main data source and the research results are sentences or statements that correspond to actual situations. Qualitative research is research that uses a natural setting, with the aim of interpreting phenomena that occur and is carried out by involving various existing methods (Moleong, 2008a).

The data sources for this research are literature and interviews with ethnic Chinese Muslims in Jember which were conducted in 2023, precisely in January-May. Sources interviewed included the chairman of the Jember Indonesian Chinese Islamic Association and several of its members. From the data obtained, it is then processed using content analysis to then draw a conclusion.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

History of Chinese Ethnic Nationalism

The definition of nationalism is the political and social attitude of groups that have the same language, territory, and similar ideals and goals, with a deep sense of loyalty. Etymologically, nationalism comes from the Latin word nation, which means a nation united by birth. For this reason, if related objectively, the most common things put forward are race, religion, civilization, region, country and citizenship. These are the main

factors or elements of nationalism that are objective and very strong in shaping nationalism and help the rapid evolution of nationalism towards national formation. In the beginning, there was an equality of the factors mentioned above. Gradually, there was an additional element, namely the equal rights of everyone to play a role in their group or society and the equality of economic interests, which is what is called modern nationalism. Hence, nationalism plays a vital role and positive in supporting the emergence of unity and oneness.

Nationalism, regardless of its various forms of appearance, was born as a response to the forces which, since the French Revolution revolutionary, transformed the western “imperium” into an “emporium” which throughout the following centuries, managed to expand its penetration to almost all corners of the earth's surface. Under the slogans “liberate”, “egalite”, and “fraternity” in European society, Nationalism is the meaning of democracy; therefore, through a “nation-state”, democracy can be realized. Through colonialism, in other societies outside Europe, nationalism manifested itself first and foremost as a movement for independence from colonial domination and thus as a democratic movement.

Hertz stated that there are four types of nationalist ideals inspired by all nations, namely: a) the struggle to realize national unity, which includes unity in the fields of politics, economics, society, religion, culture and unity and solidarity, b) the struggle to realize nationality which includes freedom from foreign domination or interference from the outside world and freedom from internal forces which is not national or which wishes to convey the nation and state, c) the struggle to realize solitude, distinction, individuality, authenticity or specialness; and d) the struggle to create distinctions between nations that gain honour, authority, prestige and influence.

Based on historical facts, Chinese people are known to have come to Indonesia for a long time. Their arrival was not only for trade purposes but also for other purposes, such as spreading Buddhism and other knowledge, such as literature. According to historical records, the beginning of the arrival of Chinese people to Indonesia can be traced back to the Han Dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD). At that time, China had opened trade relations with Southeast Asian countries, and according to records, Chinese people had already come to Java (Djawa Dwipa). During the Tang Dynasty (618 – 907 AD), there were also Chinese people in the Srivijaya Kingdom. In the second half of the 9th century, when the rebel army led by Huang Chao occupied Guangzhou, Chinese Muslims and large numbers of Arab and Persian merchants who lived around Guangzhou flocked to flee to Srivijaya. Furthermore, during the Ming dynasty, Chinese people accompanied Admiral Cheng Ho's seven expeditions to the archipelago (Yuanzhi, 2005).

At the time of Cheng Ho's first arrival, there were already many ethnic Chinese on the islands of Java, Sumatra and Kalimantan. At the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and the beginning of the Ching dynasty (1644-1911), the number of ethnic Chinese immigrants coming to the archipelago increased. This was due to the Manchu attack on the Ming Dynasty, so many Chinese people migrated to avoid war. The migrants mostly came from provinces in Southern China, such as Kwangtung, Fukien, Kwangsi and

Yunan provinces. The migrants do not come from one ethnic group but at least eight ethnic groups with different languages. Most Chinese people in Indonesia come from four ethnic groups, namely Hokkien, Hakka or Kheh, Tiu-Chiu, and Cantonese people (Purcell, 1987).

In Indonesia, the Hokkien tribe lives by trading; the Cantonese people, besides having trading skills, also have skills in carpentry and technology; the Hakka people work in mining, so they are often found and live in mining areas such as Bangka and Belitung, and the Tiu-Chiu people do much business in the plantation sector (Purcell, 1987). If in 1628, the number of ethnic Chinese residents in Batavia only amounted to 3,000 people, then in 1739, it had increased to 10,574 people. In 1815, of the total population in Java of 4,615,270 people, there were 94,441 people (2.04%) from the Chinese group (Realino, 1996).

Colonialism, Position and Chinese Ethnic Nationalism

The Dutch colonial government used the principle of divide and impera to control its colonies. When compared with the native population, the Dutch population is tiny. In its efforts to control the majority native population, the colonial government used certain community groups, for example, the native aristocratic group, who were allowed to occupy government positions and foreign minority groups, such as the Chinese, who were only allowed to operate in the economic sector. The Dutch colonial government carried out a policy of separatism between population groups or tried to isolate one group from another (Zein, 2000). The population is divided into three groups: first-class citizens consisting of Dutch and white people; second-class citizens consisting of *Vreemde Oosterlingen*, namely Indians, Arabs, Chinese and other foreign Eastern people; and third-class citizens consisting of indigenous residents. Classification of social classes gives rise to exclusivism because each society is positioned in its own social stratification and cannot be mixed.

Chinese people also experience discriminatory legal and judicial treatment. In criminal cases, Chinese defendants had to be tried in *Landraad*, a court for native citizens, because in the criminal law regulations, Chinese people had the same status as natives (*gelijgesteld met de Inlanders*). In civil/civil cases relating to matters of trade, debts and inheritance, Chinese justice was handled by *Raad van Justitie*, namely justice for Europeans, especially since 1848, the Dutch East Indies trade law (*Wetboek van Koophandel*) included Chinese people in its jurisdiction. Towards the end of the 19th century, the Dutch colonial government also issued other regulations whose essence was to limit the movement of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. Through *Wijkenstelsel*, the colonial government created several ethnic Chinese residential centres in several large cities in Indonesia, which were called Chinatown villages. The ethnic Chinese were physically isolated so that the ethnic Chinese and the indigenous population were wholly separated. Apart from *wijkenstelsel*, the colonial government also implemented *passenstelsel* (road pass), which required ethnic Chinese to ask permission to travel.

The initial milestone in the emergence of Chinese nationalism was the founding of *Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan* (THHK), or Chinese association in Jakarta, by Western-educated

Chinese people. Discriminatory legal and judicial treatment by the Dutch Colonial government has raised national awareness among ethnic Chinese in Indonesia. The key to improving the position of the Chinese is the advancement and protection of the state. This Chinese nationalist movement demanded equal rights between Chinese and Dutch people. According to Onghokham, the nature of this movement is exclusive, meaning that it is a movement for its group and has nothing to do with anti-colonialism, even though the movement is anti-colonial. THHK established many schools for ethnic Chinese citizens and educated them to become Chinese nationalists. The textbooks used at THHK are generally imported from China or Singapore, the contents of which are not suitable for the conditions in Indonesia. As a result, THHK students feel alienated from their community and homeland, even though they have lived in Indonesia for generations (Suryadinata, 2002).

As THHK schools developed, revolutionaries who supported Sun Yat Sen came to the Indies and became teachers at THHK schools. In 1909, they founded Soe Po Sia, a reading association that spread information and political propaganda to Chinese people. In this association, lessons, books and periodicals for the Chinese public were provided.

The Peranakan Chinese language newspaper Sin Po supports Chinese political nationalism. They urged the Chinese community in the Dutch East Indies to abandon Dutch sovereignty and withdraw from local political institutions but become actively involved in politics in China.¹⁶ The Sin Po nationalists had no desire to cooperate with the Dutch. They want equality with the Dutch before the law. They also demanded Chinese education for the Chinese in the Dutch East Indies. With the collapse of the Manchu Empire in China, the Chinese people began to dare to tell the native people that the new republic would soon expel the Dutch, and the Chinese would become their rulers and masters. They demanded that the natives call them “toean” and give them respect, just as the natives did to the priyayi and the Dutch.

Chinese ethnic nationalism oriented towards the Dutch East Indies was represented by the Chung Hwa Hui (CHH) political organization founded in 1928. This movement received support from Peranakan intellectual circles. This group advocates accepting Dutch sovereignty and actively participating in local political institutions, including the Volksraad (People's Council). CHH leaders supported Dutch education more than Chinese education because they saw it as an excellent way to succeed in colonial society. The CHH people were dissatisfied with the Chinese community's low (inferior) legal status in the Dutch East Indies. They demanded a legal status that would place the Chinese group on a par with Europeans (Dutch) and the Japanese group, which was seen as a European group, before the law. However, these efforts were unsuccessful because the Dutch authorities feared that such a movement would anger the native population and cause chaos in colonial society.

In Indonesia, 1932 the Indonesian Chinese Party (PTI) was founded, which directly opposed Chung Hwa Hui. PTI called on the Chinese people of the Dutch East Indies to identify themselves as Indonesian people and agree with the efforts of Indonesian nationalists to form a self-government and ultimately an independent

Indonesia through constitutional means. PTI is anti-Dutch and rejects Chinese nationalism. PTI collaborated with the Indonesian nationalist movement. Apart from the PTI, quite a few ethnic Chinese people in Indonesia were involved in the world of national movements; they took part in achieving independence. For example, the participation of ethnic Chinese in the "Youth Pledge" laid an essential foundation for the birth of the Indonesian nation, namely Kwee Thiam Hong, Oey Kay Siang, John Lauw Tjoan Hok, and Tjio Djien Kwie. Apart from that, four Chinese people sit on the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Efforts for Indonesian Independence (BPUPKI), namely Oei Tjong Hauw, Oei Tiang Tjoei, Mr. Tan Eng Hua, and Liem Koen Hian. The ethnic Chinese who helped formalize the 1945 Constitution in the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) was Jap Tjwan Bing.

Nationalism of the Jember Chinese Muslim Community

Regarding the nationalism of the Jember Chinese community, it was concluded that the Jember ethnic Chinese Muslim community's view of nationalism was extraordinary. This can be proven from the results of interviews, which (will be) presented in this research. Based on the results of interviews conducted with Edy Darmawan, Chair of the Indonesian Chinese Islamic Association (PITI) Jember, it turns out that the issue of Nationalism has been ingrained since birth. Ethnic Chinese interpret nationalism as a necessity because they were born and raised in Indonesia. For this reason, their spirit of nationalism is in love with the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. This is due to historical facts that the involvement of ethnic Chinese in the independence process was extraordinary.

In 1932 the Indonesian Chinese Party (PTI) was founded, which directly opposed Chung Hwa Hui. PTI called on the Chinese people of the Dutch East Indies to identify themselves as Indonesian people and agree with the efforts of Indonesian nationalists to form a self-government and ultimately an independent Indonesia through constitutional means. For this reason, for them, the values of nationalism among ethnic Chinese have been ingrained since birth. Moreover, Chinese people were born in Indonesia, not in China.

According to Haji Song Tjai, a PITI Jember figure, ethnic Chinese who were born in Indonesia to Chinese citizens in China are called overseas. They are considered not to be native Chinese citizens because they were not born and distributed in the land of their ancestors. For this reason, there is no need to doubt ethnic Chinese nationalism because, for them, nationalism is not just words but must be proven with actual steps involving and contributing to the country. Moreover, based on the history of this nation's independence journey, many Chinese figures were involved in the independence process. There are ethnic Chinese in the "Youth Pledge" who have laid an essential foundation for the birth of the Indonesian nation, namely Kwee Thiam Hong, Oey Kay Siang, John Lauw Tjoan Hok, and Tjio Djien Kwie.

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helped formalize the 1945 Constitution in the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) was Jap Tjwan Bing. Nationalism for ethnic Chinese is a principle that should be upheld and practised in everyday life. This is by the breath contained in the Pancasila values.

The process of planting and strengthening Nationalism among Jember's Chinese Muslims is carried out in several ways. There are several activities for cultivating and strengthening nationalism, namely in the form of regular discussions by the PITI Jember management and the Jember Chinese Citizens Association (PWT). Then, show an attitude of mutual respect and respect and be tolerant of the differences in Chinese society. Cultivating Nationalism is also carried out by participating in and organizing state activities, such as holding ceremonies to welcome independence and other activities. The hope is that with these state activities, the spirit of nationalism in Chinese society will strengthen. Apart from that, another activity carried out in the process of cultivating Nationalism among the Chinese community is to mingle by working together with the surrounding community if there are community activities. This shows no differences in ethnicity, race and religion in everyday life. Especially about activities related to nationalist attitudes

CONCLUSION

The views of the Jember ethnic Chinese Muslim community towards nationalism are extraordinary, it is proven that nationalism has been ingrained since birth. Jember's ethnic Chinese interpret nationalism as a necessity, because they were born and raised in Indonesia. For this reason, their spirit of nationalism is in love with the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The form of the process of planting and strengthening Nationalism among Jember's Chinese Muslims is carried out in several activities including the Planting and Strengthening of Nationalism in the form of Regular Discussions carried out by the Jember PITI administrators and the Jember Chinese Citizens Association (PWT); participate in and organize state activities. Such as holding ceremonies to welcome independence, then other activities.

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