

***PERSATUAN ISLAM TIONGHOA INDONESIA (PITI) YOGYAKARTA,
1998-2000***



A GRADUATING PAPER

Submitted in Partial Fullfillment of the Requiments for Gaining
The Bachelor Degree in History of Islam and Culture

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Assalamu 'alaikum warahmatullah wabarokatuh

Setelah melakukan arahan, bimbingan dan koreksi terhadap naskah skripsi berjudul :

Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI) di Yogyakarta, 1998-2000

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MOTTO AND QUOTES

Je pense donc je suis

-Desacrates

“I do get some rest sometimes but I don’t quit “

DEDICATION

I dedicate this one to my Dad and my Mom

My family

Friends and my colleagues

To Kamal A. Razak, Chrissy Megariotis, Maura Lillis, Afrit and Jati

ABSTRACT

Tionghoa Muslims as a minority entity in Indonesia in general and Yogyakarta in particular is interesting to study. This thesis is trying to explain the Tionghoa Muslim community previously known as *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa* (PITI) from 1998 until 2000 and also PITI Dakwah Strategy. PITI which recognizes as a social-religion organization had turned into significance organization during the Reformasi in Indonesia.

The New Order ruled by Soeharto had policies on races, religion and cultural practices, which considered to remove the segregation platform among the society in Indonesia. The policy was then recognized as integration and assimilation policy. In the other hand, the policy proposed by the ruler was not well accepted by Tionghoa in general, tend to be a discrimination and prohibition policy. Meanwhile, In Yogyakarta PITI was established in 1970, the idea was to unite Muslims and also to do Dakwah (preaching) within Tionghoa Muslim community. This research finds that Tionghoa Muslim conducted Dakwah among the Tionghoa community in several ways, through *Pengajian*, building mosques, and pilgrimage to Mecca. In addition into that, to emphasize and strengthen PITI and its members, PITI also conduct counseling program for a new Tionghoa convert to Islam.

The members of PITI blended with local Muslims and built a bridging-culture in between. To do so, the Islamization which carried by PITI accepted with ease either by local Muslims or non-Muslim Chinese community. The coexistence between PITI with the other communities in Indonesia and Dakwah in peaceful way, has brought impact on gaining its members to convert to Islam also gives trust from local people. This research uses historical approach to analyze PITI development in Yogyakarta from 1998 until 2000. He is known as a figure who also supported Chinese in general. This paper would be presented in chapters and focused its discussion to explain the relation between PITI and local people in Yogyakarta using structural-functional theory. The writer limits this paper from 1998 until 2000 due to it is 2 years after the Reformation and in the early phase of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) era as a president.

Keywords: Islam, *Tionghoa*, PITI, Assimilation

FOREWORDS

All praises are belong to Allah and it was His Mercy so that I could have my writing done. Shalawat and Salam are dedicated to Muhammad SAW, the prophet and the messenger who help us from the darkness into the light, his guidance lead us to the right path of life.

I would like to say thank you very much for everyone who kindly assist me to have my writing done. I am very glad to have you all. I dedicate my writing to my beloved mother and father, the one who has guided me since I was small and also the one who happened to be my motivation in every steps I had done.

The research *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa in Indonesia* (PITI) in Yogyakarta, 1998-2000 comes into existence due to researcher had been a while conducting religion trip which in part of the trip consist of visiting Tionghoa graveyard, in the grave yard there were not only the confucianists but also some were muslim graveyard. It comes to the researcher mind, the grow of muslim Tionghoa in Yogyakarta.

The research after all has finished and there were people who help me. Thus I would also like to say thank you very much to *Kepala Jurusan SKI 2018* Dr. Sujadi M.A. and Dr. Muhammad Wildan M.A., the one who always help me on almost everything. I am very thankful as well to my beloved future wife who has been kindly assist me, borrowing books from the library. Then I would like to also say thank you to Abdul Aziz who also help me to lend me references so that

the research done. I would also like to address my thank s to people who supported me so that this work done perfectly. To Galih , Pak Rahardjo, Afit , Elga, and all who helped me.

Yogyakarta, 1 Juli, 2018

Sidik Setiawan

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of The Study

This paper discusses about PITI in Yogyakarta from 1998-2000. Specifically, this study tries to explain the circumstance of Tionghoa muslim in Yogyakarta after May 1998 riot until the government policy on recognition of Confucianism as one of legal religions in Indonesia. The researcher argues that before the recognition, Tionghoa community, includes Tionghoa muslim, treated discriminatively, both by the government and the non-Chinese community.¹

Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI) was an Islamic organization was founded by Abdul Karim Oei Tjeng Hien, Abdusomad Yap A Siong and Kho Goan Tjin on April 14, 1961. PITI was a merged organization of the two former Chinese Muslim organizations namely Persatuan Islam Tionghoa (PIT) led by Abdusomad Yap A Siong and Persatuan Muslim Tionghoa (PMT) led by Kho Goan Tjin. PITI's establishment was a positive response towards the suggestion given to Abdul Karim Oei by K.H. Ibrahim, the chief of Central Board of Muhammadiyah. Ibrahim said that the preaching of Islam to Chinese would be

¹ Discussion about Tionghoa ethnic as victims of May 1998 Riot for example Johaness Herlijanto, "The May 1998 Riots and The Emergence of Chinese Indonesians: Chinese Movements in the Post-Soeharto Era", *Asia Pacific Research Forum Issue 27 Vol.3* 2005.03. See also Hellwig, Tineke, and Eric Tagliacozzo. *The Indonesia Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Durham: Duke UP, 2009.

more effective if it was conducted by Chinese themselves who have embraced Islam.²

After the fall of Soeharto regime in May, 1998, a significant alter occurred on Tionghoa's position in Indonesia. To revitalize Tionghoa's rights on religious and cultural practices, Abdurrahman Wahid, the elected president in 1999 called off Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 14 year 1967 which restrains religious and cultural practices of Tionghoa. The next regime which was Megawati, Imlek (the Chinese Lunar New Year) recognized as one of the national holidays in Indonesia.³

During the post New Order, the organization (PITI) which was established in 1961 appeared significantly in the process of conversion for Tionghoa society into Islam, building mosques with Chinese architecture in Indonesia. In addition into that, the organization has also creates partnership with the other Tionghoa organizations held cultural and social activities, Tionghoa's celebration days Imlek and Peh Cun for instance.⁴

Historically Dakwah movement to Muslim Tionghoa conducted by PITI had spread to places in the decade of 1970s. Meanwhile in Yogyakarta, the establishment of PITI initiated by figures of Persaudaraan Djemaah Haji Indonesia (PDHI) along with figures of Muslim Tionghoa. Some of well-known

² Hadi, Umar, *Islam in Indonesia: A to Z Basic Reference*. Jakarta: Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Indonesia, 2011. page 173

³ Rezza Maulana, "Pergulatan Identitas Tionghoa Muslim: Pengalaman Yogyakarta", *Kontekstualita Vol.26 No. 1*, p. 117-118.

⁴ Weng, Hew Wei, "Beyond Chinese Diaspora and Islamic Ummah: Various Transnational Connections and Local Negotiations of Chinese Muslim Identities in Indonesia". *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 29, No. 3 2014, p. 627-656.

figures were, KH. Abdul Kahar Muzakkir, GBPH H. Prabuningrat, KH. M. Djoenaid, KH. R. Therus, H. Muhadi Munawir, KH. Ali Maksum, and KH. A. Mukti Ali.⁵

In the history of Indonesia, Tionghoa, including Tionghoa muslim is in vulnerable condition especially during an unstable political circumstance. Tionghoa had often become victims of discrimination, violence and riot. The researcher assumes those conditions influenced the progress of Dakwah conducted by PITI. The riots against Tionghoa could be seen during the first years after the independence (late 1940s), while during the last guided democracy regime (in the middle of 1960s), and post New Order on May 1998. In New Order, Tionghoa even become target of discrimination practices which systematically arranged by the regime.⁶

The New Order regime applied assimilation policy on Tionghoa ethnic and forbid activities that considered as “China”, especially in public spaces. For example, the Tionghoa asked to change Tionghoa names into Indonesian names, also celebrating Tionghoa’s religious traditions; the Tionghoa were also forced to close Tionghoa schools⁷.

To respond the assimilation policy, at least there were two responses from Tionghoa, some of them support the policy and actively promoted the idea that Tionghoa should blend into Indonesia and leave the Tionghoa identity. Whereas

⁵ Rezza Maulana, “Pergulatan Identitas Tionghoa Muslim”, p.123

⁶ Johanes Herlijanto, “The May 1998 Riots, p.67-69.

⁷ *Ibid*

the rest, mainly the business class Tionghoa, seems to rely on the regime in order to protect the businesses by building patron-client relationship.⁸

The May riot in Jakarta, 1998 and the other areas become a sudden-phenomenon for societies. Although victims of the riot were not only Tionghoa but also from various ethnic groups, blossomed opinion among the societies during the riot was anti-Chinese. The opinion received easily by the societies as anti-Tionghoa due to buildings were burned and destroyed belong to Tionghoa. The argument of anti-Tionghoa also emphasized by the fact that anti-Tionghoa yells shouted while the rioters damaged building. Moreover, there were numbers of Tionghoa girls were raped during the riot.⁹

Based on the previous descriptions, this thesis assumes that May 1998 Riots influenced the Dakwah activity performed by PITI. The previous research on PITI shows the military coup in 1965 and government choice to ban PKI (Indonesia Communist Party) had strong influenced on Tionghoa religion conversion into Islam. The same thing occurred during the New Order era, the assimilation presidential instruction, aimed to detach Tionghoa tradition in Indonesia increases influx of Tionghoa conversion to Islam. As it is the intention of assimilation policy, the conversion dispatch is due to abandon “The Chineseness” in Tionghoa.

⁸ *Ibid*

⁹ *Ibid.*

B. Scope of The Study and Problem Statement

The research studies about PITI in Yogyakarta 1998-2000. Whereas temporal limitation of this research in 1998 due to Reformation occurred in 1998 and the fall of Soeharto throughout the Reformation riots passes and bring Tionghoa into victims. The researcher assumes that the riots gives influences on PITI's Dakwah activities. Meanwhile the year 2000 chosen due to in this year occurred an interregnum of New Order into a new governance ruled by Abdurahman Wahid which recognized Confucianism as a legal religion in Indonesia.

Research Questions :

1. How is the PITI Yogyakarta in 1998-2000?
2. What is the Dakwah strategy used by PITI Yogyakarta 1998- 2000?

C. Objective and Significance of The Study

The purpose of this research is to examine the dynamic of Dakwah PITI in Yogyakarta. Theoretically, this research will have its contribution to provide recent facts and answers discourses among the scholars about Muslim Tionghoa's role on Islamization, especially after the New Order. Practically this thesis could also be a reference on Tionghoa Muslim in Indonesia after the New Order in particular.

D. Literature Review

The studies on PITI and Tionghoa muslim in Indonesia had already conducted by scholars. The studies covers historical approach and development of PITI, and the role of Tionghoa muslim on Islamization of the archipelago, the relationship between Tionghoa muslim and government. A researcher sees, a research on a specific circumstance of PITI and its Dakwah strategy as Muslim Tionghoa Dakwah organization after the riot in 1998 until 2000 has not been done yet. Some of literatures focused on PITI and Tionghoa muslim in general, are as follows:

First, a Thesis Reza Maulana entitled “Pergulatan Identittas Tionghoa Muslim: Pengalaman Yogyakarta” on Kontekstualita Journal Vol. 26, No. 1 2011. On his article, Maulana tries to see the history of Muslim Tionghoa’s development from the beginning of the arrival in 18th century until after Reformation. Maluana noted that in the New Order, Muslim Tionghoa keeps its soft attitude towards assimilation policy from the regime. After Reformation, the Muslim Tionghoa reached its freedom on expressing identity as Tionghoa, blend in, between Islam identity and Tionghoa. The researcher finds that the article is able to present a preview on Tionghoa muslim in Yogyakarta comprehensively. But one of the aspects which has not covered was the social change occurred after 1998, especially related to May 1998 Riot, on its dynamic Dakwah Tionghoa muslim conducted by PITI.

Second, a thesis entitled “Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI) Semarang 1986-2007” by Jonan Wahyudi, an undergraduate student of SKI UIN

Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta in 2010. The thesis specifically addressed PITI on the Islamization of Tionghoa in Semarang. Wahyudi concludes that PITI Semarang is not only as a Islamization space but also becomes a bridge to accommodate social elements such as non-muslim and the Tionghoa muslim, it also transmits aspirations of Muslim Tionghoa to the government. Although has a same topic, the thesis and this research, have its basic differences, at least two differences, first is Wahyudi conducted the research PITI Semarang, whereas this research will have its focus on PITI in Yogyakarta and discusses responds and strategy of PITI Yogyakarta after May 1998 Riot until 2000.

Third is an article entitled “Beyond Chinese Diaspora and Islamic Ummah: Various Transnational Connections and Local Negotiations of Chinese Muslim Identities in Indonesia” written by Hew Wai Weng on *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* Vol.29, No. 3 2014. On his article Weng argues that Tionghoa muslim in Indonesia is not singular, but it has variants of diversity based on the influence among Islam transnational, Middle East areas, Islam from China, and Indonesian “indigenous” Islam. PITI in Weng’s opinion, its organization is one of the kind of Islam which tries to combine the influence of Tionghoa and Indonesian Islam, mainly seen from Tionghoa mosques architecture in Indonesia.

Another research conducted by Muhammad Agus Munif on his thesis “The Role of Cheng Ho on Islamization in the Archipelago”, SKI UIN Sunan Kalijaga 2013. The thesis pivot is Cheng Ho capacity on Islamization in the Archipelago which the main argument is in Chinese theory. Related to this paper, the thesis

provides valid information of early phase Chinese muslim contribution on Islamization until today, PITI.

After reviewing literatures, researcher did not found a paper mainly focused on PITI after 1998 riot. Thus, this paper aimed to complement the previous papers on Tionghoa muslim in Indonesia, especially on PITI.

E. Theoretical Framework

In accordance with the problem statements of this paper the study uses historical approach based with four main activities, heuristic, critic, interpretation and historiography. By using the approach, the aim of this paper is to gain a critical history writing which tries to dig the background, relations, and the development of PITI in Yogyakarta as socio religious organization emphasized on Dakwah and Islamization.

Therefore, social theory is required to reveal many aspects of life structured in the past so that it gives a meaning. On this paper, the researcher uses Structural-Functionalism approach which brought by Talcott Parsons. The approach as it was developed by Parsons is able to be applied through the following assumptions:

1. Society is seen as a system, a set of interconnected, there are relations between this parts.
2. There are relations which influence each other in a society.

3. Social consensus, order and integration are important, which allows society to continue and share norms and value towards a common goal, thus conflict is able to be minimized.

F. Research Method

This research is both library and field research that using two types of data, primary and secondary data. Primary data gathered by collecting information on PITI Yogyakarta. Secondary data is taken from book, journals, thesis, dissertation, and websites related to Tionghoa Muslim in Indonesia in general, specifically in Yogyakarta. This research uses historical method, a set of rule and systematic, to gather historical data effectively, to analyze critically, and proposing synthesis taken from research results and present it¹⁰. According to Kuntowijoyo, to gain a perfect research, a researcher should comes through the following steps, which are : heuristic, verification, interpretation, and historiography¹¹.

1. Heuristic

The early phase of this research is obtaining data. The data taken from books, articles, papers, journals, thesis, and dissertation related to PITI in Yogyakarta 1998-2000. The writer sorted data taken from sources mentioned above.

2. Verification

On this phase, the researcher processed all data gathered and sorted it to verify data.

¹⁰ Dudung Abdurrahman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah Islam* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011), p. 104.

¹¹ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya, 1995), p. 89.

3. Interpretation

Interpretation is to explain the meaning of obtained facts through synthesis with historical explanation. The researcher interpretation applied as a mechanism to analyze data which taken from various writing related to this thesis theoretical framework.

4. Historiography

Historiography is the last part of historical research method. Historiography is the writing history which presented or explained outcome of a historical research. The researcher writes Systematically this research is presented in scientific writing method and uses its language style.

G. Paper Organization

The research consists table of contents which divided into four chapters in which chapter one focuses on introduction, background of study, scope of study and problem statement, objective and significance of study, literature review, theoretical framework, research method and thesis structure.

Chapter two explains about historical context on the establishment of Tionghoa Muslim community in Yogyakarta. On this chapter is mainly focused to identify background of the Tionghoa muslim community establishment which consist of three factors; first, diaspora of Tionghoa ethnic group to Indonesia, especially during the Mataram Kingdom in the 18th century; second, Tionghoa

Muslim comes into community which commenced from the Islamization period in form of religious conversion; third, the establishment of PITI as socio-religious organization.

Chapter three will have its discussion which covers the history and development of PITI in Yogyakarta from 1970s until 1998. This chapter divided into three sub sections; first is the history of PITI in Yogyakarta and relate it to the religious conversion of Tionghoa after 1965; the second sub section discusses on PITI development in Yogyakarta and the areas of Tionghoa in Yogyakarta. At last, the third sub section study on PITI's strategy performing Dakwah before 1998 with the New Order policy context as the appraisal.

Chapter four examines responses and Dakwah strategy of PITI after the riot in 1998 until its Dakwah strategy in 2000. Whereas this chapter is also presented in two sub sections; first section is the riot in 1998 and its impact on Tionghoa; the second section carries responses and PITI dakwah strategy after the riot in 1998.

Chapter five is the Conclusion and Suggestions which includes conclusion and Suggestions. The finale chapter explores answers of two problem statements of the paper, while the following chapter consists of suggestions.

CHAPTER II

The Development History of Tionghoa Muslim in Yogyakarta

A. Overview on Tionghoa Muslim in Indonesia

As an archipelago form of a nation, Indonesia consists of multi-ethnic groups, it can be seen on its country national slogan Unity in Diversity. The diversity in Indonesia is not merely the ethnics but also the dialects, cultures and religions. Indonesia is also recognized as a country with majority Islam as the most-practiced religion. Indonesia largest Islamic population in world; per 2000 census most Indonesians (86.1 percent) Muslims (mostly Sunni—see Glossary) and observe Islamic practices to varying degrees; another 5.7 percent Protestant, 3 percent Roman Catholic, 1.8 percent Hindu, 3.4 other, including Buddhist, and unspecified religions. Animism practiced in some remote areas¹².

Islam in Indonesia has arrived in the 8th century but appeared to gain power in 13th century. First Islamic kingdom which was found in Aceh, dated in 14th century, it was Samudra Pasai. As the Melacca strait (*Selat Malaka*) takes important role in trading during 14th century, there were influx of Muslims merchants. Economical intercourse which occurred during first settlement of Islam was the most important part of its religion to spread in

¹² edited by William H. Frederick and Robert L. Worden, *Indonesia: a country study 6th ed.* (Washington D.C: Library of Congress, 2011), p.xxxii.

Indonesia. The traders from Gujarat India, thus Indonesia is Indic. In addition into that, The expansion of Silk Road of which connecting Asia mainland until Indonesia or it was known as Asia the Archipelago, has affirmed Ming dynasty in China to deploy representative to kingdoms in Indonesia, it allows a direct interaction between the locals and Tionghoa merchants who were also Muslim. It was also mentioned on Malay Annals of Semarang that Hanafite Muslims were employed by Ming dynasty.

Cheng Ho (Zheng He) was the admiral who led the journey and sent out by Ming dynasty to India Ocean. Emperor Yung-lo of Ming dynasty honoured Cheng Ho by appointing him commander over thousands of people who served as the Ming Empire's "secret police" (Seagrave 1999)¹³. Zheng He's surname is Ma which indicates a muslim. In Zheng He voyage to India Ocean, there were companions travelled along with him, Heo Shien, Ma Huan, and Fe Shien, all of them were muslims. A Vice Commander secretary was Ha San, a figure who fluent in Arabic and known as Imam Sin An mosque. Zheng He and its naval sojourned countries including Indonesia, it was more than thirty-seven countries: ranging from Indonesia seaports, notably Palembang, Banten, Cirebon, Semarang, Gresik, and Surabaya then to Cylon¹⁴.

The arrival of Zheng He had become significant turning point on Tionghoa muslim in Indonesia. Apperance of Zheng He brings acculturation with

¹³ Sumanto Qurtuby, "The Tao of Islam: Cheng Ho and the Legacy of Chinese Muslim in Pre-Modern Java", *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2009, p. 56.

¹⁴ Sumanto Qurtuby, "The Tao of Islam", p. 56.

society in Indonesia which was known as Hindu and Budha believers. As one of the facts of its acculturation is Sam Po Kong built by Zheng He. Millieu of muslim Tionghoa in Indonesia had increased after the sojourn of Zheng He and its naval. The crisis occurred in Java due to Hindu Budha kingdoms collapsed in 15th century, thus it poses economical issue for the fallen kingdoms. In the other hand, the fall of Hindu Budha kingdoms and the conquest of Demak over Majapahit generates significant growth of Islam, hence Islam form structurized society instead of sporadic community. In addition into that, the political hegemony which was Hindust and Buddhist turns into Islamic political dominance with Demak reinforcement. The reinforcement had also brought Demak to a central of Islam.

In this precolonial era, the role of Chinese becomes substantial. Apart from Demak was ruled by Indo China descendant, its kingdom also employed Chinese workers to build vessels. Thus it enlarges commerce relationship between Java and China. The argument confirmed by Ying-yai Sheng-lan, as he mentioned on his account that there were three groups of people in this country (read: Java), amongst the groups was prosperous Chinese¹⁵.

¹⁵ Ying-yai Sheng-lan mentioned three kinds of people are 1) the Mohammedans, who have come from the west and have established themselves here, their dress and food is clean and proper, 2) the Chinese, being all people from Canton, Chang-chou, Chu'an-chou (the latter two places situated in Fukien, not far from Amoy) who have run away and settled here, what they eat and use is also very fine and many of them have adopted Mohammedan religion and observe its percepts, 3) the natives, who are ugly and uncouth they go about with uncombed heads and naked feet and believe defoutly in devils, theirs being one of the countries called devil-countries in Buddhist books. The foods of these people is very dirty and bad, its for instance snakes, ants and all kinds of insects and worms, which are held a moment over fire and then eaten; the dog; then have in their house eat and sleep together with them without being disgusted at all (Mills 1970:93; Groenveldt 1960:49) Sumanto Qurtuby, "The Tao of Islam: Cheng Ho and the Legacy of Chinese Muslims in Pre-Modern Java", *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2009, p. 62

During the colonial era Tionghoa was treated discriminatively. The *Devide Et Impera* policy which initiated by Dutch grants society classes, it consists of European (read: Dutch) as the first class and Tionghoa also the Indigenous (Pribumi) as the second class. The class segregation is aimed to separate Tionghoa and Indigenous. It turns out that Dutch also gives Tionghoa a mandate on tax, the tax submission is collected by Tionghoa thus as time goes by some Tionghoa earn stable income. In the opposite, the Indigenous remained in poverty. Hence, a gap begins between Tionghoa and the Indigenous.

The gap which occurred in the colonialization era was accommodated by Indonesia's first president, Soekarno after Indonesia gain its independence in 1945. Soekarno carried issue of Tionghoa nationality on Dutch-Indonesian Round Table Conference in 1949. According to his resolution every Tionghoa, includes muslim Tionghoa, who was born in Indonesia has a right to decide on their nationality, either to be an Indonesia or a Tionghoa nationality. Some Tionghoa remains to be Indonesian citizenship whereas some of them responding it and become Chinese citizenship. According to Ministry of Human Rights and Law, there were about 390.000 Tionghoa rejected the Indonesian citizenship, most of them were the Totok descendant.¹⁶ There are two kinds of Tionghoa in Indonesia after the 1949 resolution on nationality referendum, also in muslim Tionghoa, *Peranakan* and *Totok*. *Peranakan* means Tionghoa born in Indonesia and submitted as

¹⁶ Wilmott, 1961 in Dawis, Aime. *Orang Indonesia Tionghoa Mencari Identitas*

Indonesian citizenship. While *Totok* Tionghoa is the one who was born in Tiongkok and remains as non-Indonesian citizenship.

The experience of Tionghoa as it was mentioned on the previous explanation becomes a significant consideration during the New Order regime. Under the New Order regime, its government issues a policy on assimilation that aimed to reduce problems between Tionghoa and the Indigenous.

B. New Order Policy on Tionghoa

As a result of perception and behavior towards Tionghoa, Indonesia government policy was then influenced by the behavior of distinguishing Tionghoa and the Indigenous as two separated groups. Its behavior also collide with citizenship regulation and economical policy. During liberal Democracy, the Indonesia government sets Pluralism as a notion. Then during the guided democracy, its governance proposed integration and assimilation but both policies were applied gradually. At the beginning, Tionghoa descendants born in Indonesia were not allowed to build Tionghoa schools, there were also limitation on foreign Tionghoa activities. However, assimilation was completely put in use during the New Order¹⁷.

On December 1966, the New Order regime thrown out a policy which regulates on Tionghoa descendants but hold Indonesian citizenship to convert

¹⁷ Leo Suryadinata, *Negara dan Etnis Tionghoa: Kasus Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2002), p.14-15.

Tionghoa names. Its regulation shows that Indonesian government yearned for assimilation acceleration of foreign citizenship descendants into Indonesian one. Names transformation as it is mentioned on the decree considered as method of acceleration on assimilation¹⁸. Thus, under the New Order governance, Indonesia warmly welcome the names conversion decree from Tionghoa into Indonesian names.

There were various argument on names conversion decree. Some of the arguments noticed that its decree is a form of political action. They argue eventhough Tionghoa convert their names, it does not guarantee their life is at ease (for example to obtain licenses, education, and to live amongst the Indigenous). Meanwhile, some argue that to fit Tionghoa in Indonesia is important. They assured that “Tionghoa problems” will have its solvency through a total assimilation. Whereas in between, there was an argument noted that become Indonesia does not mean to indigenize Indonesia thoroughly. This argument tends to explain the midst opinion. It is a pride that they carry by living with their origins anscestor and hope to remain as a Tionghoa¹⁹.

In term of cultural prohibition, the New Order regime also attempted to set limitation on Tionghoa culture and tradition. At this point cultural displays not only become forbidden to be performed in public areas but also to celebrate Chinese New Year which is *Imlek*, *Barongsai* show, and *Cap Gome* celebration were also prohibited. In addition into that, transformations was

¹⁸ Leo Suryadinata, *Dilema Minoritas Tionghoa* (Jakarta: Grafiti Press, 1984), p.172.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

also required for *Klenteng* and changed its place into *Wihara*²⁰. Confucianism was not recognized as one of Indonesia's official religions, to use Chinese as a first language was also not allowed it is include of its usage at schools, newspapers, and public spaces²¹. The prohibitions were able to be identified on Presidential Decree in 1967 which pronounced as follows:

“...religion, belief, and Chinese (read:Tionghoa) traditions (in Indonesia) that originally from their ancestor land with its manifestation might poses abnormal influence on psychiatric, mentality and morality Indonesian citizens and hence, the tradition inhibit assimilation in a normal way”²².

Besides, the effort to set limitations on Tionghoa in Indonesia *Badan Sensor Film* (Censorship Foundation) Jakarta forbids advertisements written in Chinese characters to be advertised on Mandarin films. The regime also outlined on movies screening from Hongkong and Taiwan. However, the prohibitions on related to Mandarin films carried disadvantageous on economical aspect and due to economical reason, the government finally allow Mandarin movies screened at cinemas²³.

The overview of muslim Tionghoa in Indonesia has also the same history as Tionghoa in general. Discrimination treatment which conducted by the Indigenous had already begin since the colonial era. The segregation of

²⁰ *Klenteng* is a prayer place for Chinese Immigrants, in a *Klenteng* is not only consists of Confucianism but also Buddhism. Meanwhile *Vihara* is specifically for Buddhism, it is a place for Buddhist to perform prayers.

²¹ Leo Suryadinata, *Negara dan Etnis Tionghoa*, p.16.

²² Leo Suryadinata, *Dilema Minoritas Tionghoa*, p.169.

²³ *Ibid.*,p.171

society proposed by Dutch influenced the Indigenous until today. In addition into that, the New Order start ruled Indonesia from 1965, also known after the fail of military coup practiced by Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The idea of China and communism was suggested during the regime of Soeharto. Thus, from 1965 until 1998 Tionghoa in Indonesia was not certain where to stand, neither on government side nor military side.

C. Muslim Tionghoa in Yogyakarta

Tionghoa entered Yogyakarta at the same time as the Yogyakarta sultanate established. In 1755 Giyanti Treaty was signed and split Mataram Kingdom into two parts, Surakarta and Yogyakarta. After 1755 Tionghoa merchants arrived in Yogyakarta to do commerce. There were influx in numbers of Tionghoa merchants appearance in Yogyakarta after time. As a result, a Tionghoa merchants named To In initiated an idea to rent a toll in order to perform commerce in a good way. The agreement of Toll rent agreed by Sultan Hamengkubuwono I. After the agreement on toll rental, the access of Tionghoa commerce comes with no troubles. Thus it increases number on Tionghoa merchants, the Yogyakarta kingdom chooses To In as a chief of tax collectors for Tionghoa on toll payment but also tax in general includes building rentals.

The separation of Mataram kingdoms into two, Yogyakarta and Surakarta, causes unstable economical condition to Yogyakarta kingdom, however the

existence of Tionghoa merchants had helped its kingdom to stabilize the economical condition. Through toll payment and the other infrastructure rentals not only stabilize the economical condition, but also its activity has gained Tionghoa and the Royal family relationship, hence its relationship becomes enormous. Socially marriage between males Royal family with females Tionghoa occurred.

The number of Tionghoa growth in Yogyakarta according to Raffles record (1811-1816). He noted that Tionghoa in Yogyakarta was 2.202 Tionghoa, consists of 1.201 males Tionghoa and 1.001 females Tionghoa²⁴. Meanwhile the number of muslim Tionghoa in Yogyakarta based on its monography data per district in 2007 is 788 persons, which is about 8% percent of Tionghoa in Yogyakarta²⁵.

The early story of muslim Tionghoa in Yogyakarta begins with Yogyakarta kingdoms. It was Sultan Hamengkubuwono I initiated to invite Kyai Tumenggung Reksonegoro that also happen to be a muslim Tionghoa in Semarang and a regent of Semarang, move to Yogyakarta, upon Sultan Hamengkubuwono I request. After Tumenggung Reksonegoro moved to Yogyakarta, he was inaugurated as Religious Advisor. After Tumenggong Reksonegoro, then it was Tan Ji Sing appointed by the Sultan Hamengkubuwono III as a regent chief of Yogyakarta and ordained as Kanjeng Raden Tumenggung Secodiningrat. But before Tan Ji Sing was

²⁴ Hamim, which is mentioned by Hamada A, Mahaswara, "Muslim Tionghoa Sebagai Jembatan Budaya: Studi Tentang Partisipasi dan Dinamika Organisasi PITI Yogyakarta", *Shahih*, Vol. 2, Nomor 1, Januari-Juni 2017, p. 84.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.85

assigned as a regent chief of Yogyakarta, he was introduced to Islam by Kyai Tumenggung Reksonegoro, also by Reksonegoro guidance Tan Ji Sing embraced Islam and becomes a muslim.

The area of muslim Tionghoa in Yogyakarta is not centerized at one place, but spread into areas, there was no such a “China Town”. Muslim Tionghoa tend to move from place to place instead of stay in different areas. One of the reasons, due to safety and its society acceptance on a Tionghoa convert to Islam. In most cases family that has relatives or siblings converted and embraced Islam will have discrimination by its family, so that a new place is required in order for them to begin a new life as muslim Tionghoa. Since muslim Tionghoa in Yogyakarta deals with commerce activity to fulfil their daily life. Thus, they tend to live near the city of Yogyakarta which is close to the commerce activity.

CHAPTER III

PITI YOGYAKARTA

A. PITI At Glance

Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI) was an Islamic organization was founded by Abdul Karim Oei Tjeng Hien, Abdusomad Yap A Siong and Kho Goan Tjin on April 14, 1961. PITI was a merged organization of the two former Chinese Muslim organizations namely *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa* (PIT) led by Abdusomad Yap A Siong and *Persatuan Muslim Tionghoa* (PMT) led by Kho Goan Tjin. Haji Yap Siong originally from Moyen Cina and become a muslim in 1931. He initiated *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa* (PIT) in Deli Serdang, North Sumatera. Through PIT, he started to do Dakwah from North Sumatera until South Sumatera and crossed to West Java which finally he also travelled until East Java. Mandarin was the first language the he uses to perform Dakwah and also to obtain permission from the colonial reigm so that Dakwah is performed safely. In the other hand Kho Goan Tjin found *Persatuan Tionghoa Muslim* in Jakarta, 1953.

In 1954 Haji Abdul Karim Oei initiated a meeting with Haji Yap Siong and Kho Guan Tjin in Jakarta. The meeting was mainly to discuss on development of muslim Tionghoa organization. Another resource stated that PITI establishment was a positive response towards the suggestion given to

Abdul Karim Oei by K.H. Ibrahim, the chief of Central Board of Muhammadiyah. According to the advice of him Dakwah to Tionghoa will have its effective impact if it was conducted by the Tionghoa themselves who have embraced Islam²⁶. Thus, in 1954 PIT and PTM unite then become *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* (PITI). Despite of that, before the 1955 election, PITI dispersed due to different perspective within its organization role on political fragment. However, in 1961 PITI re- established and the year 1961 declared as the anniversary of PITI.

In the course of its history, PITI encountered a problem related to the word “Tionghoa” used by organization. Following the failed coup d’tat of PKI (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* or Indonesian Communist Party), popular as “Gerakan 30 September (G-30-S)” 1965, the New Order regime promoted programs for nation unification and nation character building. Accordingly, the government prohibited the use of symbols such as terms, languages and foreign traditions especially those coming from China or Tionghoa which were believed to be the obstacles for the implementation of the programs.

The use of the word “Tionghoa” in the abbreviation “PITI” was then prohibited. By the considering that the preaching of Islam to the Tionghoa descendants had to continue, the central board of PITI changed its organization acronym into *Pembina Iman Tauhid Indonesia* on December 15, 1972, maintaining the former abbreviation “PITI”. After the end of the New

²⁶ Hadi, Umar, *Islam in Indonesia: A to Z Basic Reference*. Jakarta: Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic Indonesia, 2011. page 173

Order era, followed by the so-called reformation era, in May, 2000, the PITI resumed the use of its previous name “*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia*”.

The existence of PITI gives a new fresh opportunity for the society. The organization was formed along with assimilation and decrease the gaps or problems between Tionghoa and the Indigenous through religious strategy. To produce acceptance of PITI, the members of its organization adopt being a Javanese muslim. Nevertheless, the existence of PITI has obstacles. Muslim Tionghoa is considered as a minority within Tionghoa ethnic itself. This matter is due to Tionghoa ethnic percentage is less than 10% of Indonesia’s society in 1970. Meanwhile, the option to be a muslim seen as a tough session to non-muslim Tionghoa because if someone converts to Islam, the one will have rejection of their own family.

The point at issue of PITI comes to existence is to unite muslim Tionghoa and Indonesian muslim, muslim Tionghoa with non-muslim Tionghoa, and Tionghoa ethnicity in general with the Indigenous. PITI vision is to form *Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin* which literally means peace. The main program of PITI focuses on the introduction of Islam to the Chinese descendants and the provision of guidance to the new converts (muallaf) in order to be able to apply Islamic teachings in the millieu of their family who are still non-Muslim. The guidance is also given to help them adjust the situation in their work place which probably becomes unfriendly after they become Muslims. PITI also gives advocation and protection to those who have problems with their family and environment do to their conversion to Islam.

As the other organization, PITI also has symbol and colors which implies its organization directions. The symbols and colors of PITI indicates,

1. Form of symbol

a. Pentagonal shaped symbolizes the pillar of Islam.

b. The words Allah and Muhammad represent Islamic Aqeedah which based on Holy Quran and Hadith.

c. The moon and the stars indicate the Power Allah as the creator of the universe and so does Islam is peace.

d. The word PITI is the acronym of its organization.

2. Colors

a. Green

Green symbolizes fertility, peace, and happiness.

b. Yellow

Yellow means Nur Ilahi or the light of Allah enlighten souls and hearts.

c. White

White implies the pure heart

d. Black

Black represents efforts and struggles.

3. Symbol Signification

The significance of PITI's symbol is represent determination and persistence to be a muslim thoroughly (*Kaffah*). To achieve betternes of Faith (Iman) and to create prosperous society.

4. Flag

Furthermore the flag of PITI is in rectangular shape with white as a basic color and PITI symbol in the middle.

After officially established in 1961, and especially step in the decade of 1970s, PITI spread to places in Indonesia, such as, in Central Java, East Java, Yogyakarta, Jakarta, Jawa Barat, Bengkulu, Bangka Belitung, Jambi and other places. In the case of PITI Yogyakarta, the organization was initiated by some muslim figures of *Persaudaraan Djemaah Haji Indonesia* (PDHI).

PITI has also Vision and Mission statement which defines its organization Vision which terminologically means sight, a thought and concept whereas ethimologically Vision means concern or preparation for the future. Meanwhile Mission means a specific task which a group or a person charged.. PITI vision is to form Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin and as a mission of its organization is to unite Tionghoa muslim with the Indigenous muslim. Thus PITI defines its organization to aim both Tionghoa muslim and the Indigenous muslim so that it establishes mutual relationship.

PITI main agenda is to establish Dakwah among the Tionghoa muslim so that the member of PITI is able to achieve Islamic teaching. The agenda or timetable for PITI to work is a vital point due to it helps PITI to analyze correct strategy to perform Dakwah within the Tionghoa muslim. The program of PITI are :

1. Provide guidance for its organization members.
2. Conduct meeting (pengajian), religious discussion, and organization discussion.
3. Organize and contribute to Islamic Celebration day or events.
4. Charity

B. The History and PITI Development in Yogyakarta

The committee of PITI Yogyakarta comes into existence in 1970, or over a decade after PITI in Jakarta established. It is due to the awareness to form an organization within the muslim Tionghoa in Yogyakarta and political escalation widen with leaden steps. Additionally, The minority circumstance of Tionghoa community in general also creates slow motion environment to organize social-religiou association.

Then on 20th September 1970, PITI Yogyakarta and its committee were formally introduced—in which the organization establishment was not pioneered by the awareness of internal politic, but was pioneered by figures of *Persaudaraan Djemaah Haji Indonesia* (PDHI); Prof. H. Kahar Muzakir, GBPH. Prabuningrat, KH. M Djoenaid, KH. R. Therus, H. Muhadi Munawir, KH. Ali Maksum, and KH. A. Mukti Ali that then invited Kwee Sing Djwan and Tan He Liang to set up PITI as Dakwah organization of Tionghoa in Yogyakarta.

Geographically, the office of PITI Yogyakarta is located in Gedongtengen, Yogyakarta. Thus seen from its office location, PITI Yogyakarta is in strategic location. In addition into that, its office near by the Keraton Yogyakarta, as the central business area in front of Keraton Yogyakarta, Malioboro. Tionghoa area of Yogyakarta is also centralized inside the city of Yogyakarta, which is around Gondomanan, Gondokusuman, Danurejan, Gedongtengen, Jetis, Tegalrejo, Ngampilan and Mergangsan.

The number of muslim Tionghoa at the early phase of PITI establishment in Yogyakarta was limited. Hence some of them become of PITI committee board²⁷:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| Chairman | : Iksan Budisantoso |
| Secretary | : Akmad Susantoso |
| Treasurer | : Yudi Kurniawan |
| Head of Social Welfare Division | : Muh. Hudi |

The early stages of PITI was not a fruitful progress. Problems appear due to PITI Yogyakarta depends on PDHI fundings. Moreover, the muslim Tionghoa was afraid to join PITI because it might leads to exclusivism and socially seen as low level person by signing up with a religious organization that affiliated to the Indigenous, also the in the other side, almost all the members of PITI were economically unstable, so its member tend to do works instead of develop PITI.

²⁷ Fahmi Rafika Perdana, *Integrasi Sosial Muslim-Tionghoa: Studi atas Partisipasi PITI DIY dalam Gerakan Pembauran* (Yogyakarta: Datamedia, 2008), p.35.

As a consequence of the chairman of PITI, Budisantoso moved to Jakarta. Then in 1984, an election was held to choose a new chairman. It was Budi Satyanugraha elected as the next chairman. Under Budi Satyanugraha period PITI has developed significant growth.

C. *Dakwah* PITI 1970-1998

Dakwah terminologically means *Da'a*, *yad'u*, *da'watan* which means exclaimed, to call, to encourage, to engage and supplication. Meanwhile Ethimologically *Dakwah* implies a process to convey certain information or exclamation in order people follow its messages.

During the New Order, PITI had stagnant progress. Based on assimilation effort performed by the New Order, cultural attires which attached to Tionghoa identity should be removed because it is considered as the affiliation with Communism in China. By issuing a Presidential Instruction (Instruksi Presiden) No. 14 Year 1967 means the prohibitions against Tionghoa communities in Indonesia comes to existence, includes Imlek celebration. The instruction was also forbids Tionghoa to display cultural attractions (e.g., *Liong*, *Barongsai*, *Potehi*) in public spaces. The cultural attractions were only allowed within Tionghoa community itself²⁸.

²⁸ Hamada Adzani Mahaswara, "Muslim Tioghoa sebagai Jembatan Budaya: Studi tentang Partisipasi dan Dinamika Organisasi PITI Yogyakarta" *Shahih Vol.2 No.1 2017*. P. 2

PITI *Dakwah* at its first part was in collaboration with PDHI. PITI and PDHI members take turn to held *Pengajian Rutin*²⁹. Furthermore, the rest of PITI activity is to help a *Muallaf*³⁰ Tionghoa. Furthermore, the rest of PITI activity is to help a Muallaf Tionghoa that encounters problem, in most cases rejected by a family since the Muallaf practices Islam and the family disagree. As it was quoted by Maulana, a young lady, Be Han Nio from Banyuwangi, was expelled out of her family since she embraced Islam. Then PITI Yogyakarta helps her by funding her higher education to a medical school in Yogyakarta³¹.

PITI expresses confidence as a representative of muslim Tionghoa since its organization was established. The Chairman and Secretary of PITI Yogyakarta, Iksan Budi Santoso and Ahmad Sutanto, openly call themselves as muslim Tionghoa. In most occasions, both of them were invited as *Penceramah* or speakers on Islam, mainly in Kulon Progo and Klaten³². During Ramadhan there are places which invited them to be a *Penceramah*³³.

Notice on significant development of PITI, PDHI proposes PITI to form a language education institution for Mandarin in Yogyakarta. However, it went into failure due to Sudomo as *Panglima Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan*

²⁹ *Pengajian Rutin* in Arabic *At-Ta'allimu* which means to learn. So to attend *Pengajian* also known *Ta'lim* means to learn. *Ta'lim* is usually performed at a certain place while also reciting Holy Quran.

³⁰ *Muallaf* literally means to surrender and submission. The term used by most muslims to call someone who just embraced Islam.

³¹ *Ibid*

³² *Penceramah* is a term used by Indonesian to call someone who conducts a preaching or lecturing. *Penceramah* means the Preacher.

³³ *Ibid*

Ketertiban did not grant clearance³⁴. On the contrary, the committee of PITI summoned by judiciary to clarify the issue.

This problem appears due to the New Order under Soeharto removes exclusivism as it is mentioned on a letter July 15, 1972 No. MA/244/1972. To respond it, PITI has also changed its acronym into “*Persatuan Iman Tauhid Indonesia*” which before was “*Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia*”³⁵. After the existence of letter No. MA/244/1972 PITI was controlled by military dominance that influenced on the election of its organization committee, those who were close to military will have its chance to be elected. As a consequence until mid of 1980s PITI was dimmed.

In the mid of 1980s, Budy Setyanugraha also recognized as prosperous entrepreneur assist PITI on its organization financial conditions, Budy Setyanugraha has also openly admit as a Tionghoa. Thus PITI re-undertakes its organization activity during Budy Setyanugraha period. Since the record of Budy Satyanugraha was on social and politics, in 1999 he was elected as a representative of *Partai Amanat Nasional* (PAN) at the parliament in Yogyakarta³⁶. Budi Satyanugraha that also known as a successful entrepreneur able to manage PITI financial condition and carries out social activities. So that, PITI’s members are not limited to the muslim Tionghoa but also the non-Tionghoa. In addition, Budi Satyanugraha has also develop

³⁴ *Panglima Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban* and shortened as *Pangkopkamtib* literally means The Commander of Security Recovery and Stabilization that was formed by the second president of Indonesia, Soeharto in 1965 after the coup.

³⁵ *Ibid*

³⁶ *Ibid*

PITI on its social activities such as charity to Tionghoa muslim in particular. The participation of PITI to social activity in Gunung Kidul during Budi Setyanugraha leadership has brought PITI enlarging its network, a good way of publicity for PITI.

Cultural performances which it used to be separated by Tionghoa muslim and the non muslim Tionghoa has become blend into one during Budi Satyanugraha time.

CHAPTER IV

The Riot 1998 and Dakwah PITI Yogyakarta 1998-2000

A. 1998 Riot Overview

The May 1998 riots which happened in Jakarta and some other cities on May 13th until 15th 1998 shocked Indonesian society as well as the world. The riots made the capital of Indonesia resemble a dead city for several days. It was reported that about 704 buildings and houses were damaged or burned during the riots while more than a thousand of people died (Pattiradjawane 2000: 225, 230-238).

Although the victims in those riots were people from diverse ethnics, the opinion which regarded the riots as anti Chinese riots was spread among the Chinese as well as non Chinese communities. This kind of opinion was easily accepted among the people since most of the buildings damaged or burned were those which were owned by Chinese Indonesians. It was also reported that the rioters shouted anti Chinese yells while they were damaging or burning those buildings (Pattiradjawane 2000: 224). Moreover, there were also rape cases which targeted some Chinese Indonesian ladies as victims (Pattiradjawane 2000: 238-247).⁷ Observing all what happened, it is understandable if a journalist who works for a prominent daily newspaper in

Indonesia wrote that the May riots could be considered as the worst tragedy experienced by the Chinese Indonesians (Pattiradjawane 2000: 252).

As it was mentioned above, before the May Riots, many Chinese Indonesians regarded the state and its apparatuses, particularly the military, as the main party which could protect them during unstable conditions. Some years before the tragedy, when some riots happened in some towns in Indonesia, Chinese in Jakarta as well as in other cities near to military camps would feel that they were safe because their cities were guarded by military troops. Even few months before the May riots occurred, an idea that Jakarta could become a target of such riots would be regarded as ridiculous either by Chinese Indonesians or by non Chinese people, not only because Jakarta was the capital of the country, but most importantly because the city was protected by a number of battalions of the Indonesian military forces. In other words there was a belief among some Chinese Indonesians (if not among all of them) that the presence of the state's apparatuses, particularly the military, could guarantee their safety and security whether during the normal periods or during the critical days.

But this trust on the military seemed to be in crisis when the May riots unexpectedly happened. The fact that the riots happened in a city protected by military had surprised the Chinese Indonesians as well as Indonesian people from other ethnic groups. But among the Chinese, the feeling was deeper since they were one of the groups that bore the brunt of the riots. Moreover, in some cases, the riots continued to happen though the military troops had

already been in the location. In other cases, it was reported that the military or police did not even exist in the location and just came after the situation began to calm down (Pattiradjawane 2000: 228). This kind of situation had made some Chinese Indonesians reconsider their previous opinion that they could rely on the military as well as on the state in general for their safety.

The upright association between Tionghoa and the Military is able to be traced on the New Order policy that allows Tionghoa to develop its economical empowerment. At the same time, the appearance of military as political power (illegal) strengthen stakeholders position which called as Cukong. Cukong is a Hokkien word for “Sir”, but in Indonesian the term Cukong used to indicate “Tionghoa businessmen” that publicly known as business acumen and able to do partnership with the rulers, mainly in cooperation with the military³⁷. The outcomes of its partnership are, governmental contracts, investments, and the other funds to develop businesses, thus it generates Cukong into enormous stakeholder during the New Order.

Through this way, Liem Sioe Liong, the founder of Salim Group, also considered as successful businessman, becomes the richest man in Indonesia and built his own business empire with total income of 9 million US dollars in 1990.

³⁷ Aimee Dawis, *Orang Indonesia Tionghoa Mencari Identitas* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2010),p.30-31.

In the context the New Order, corruption, collusion and nepotism. (KKN) and privileges which give to Cukong triggers the displeasure of the Indigenous. The practices of KKN had become a reason on economical depression of Indonesia in 1997 monetary crisis. The hostility on Soeharto as the president during the New Order, gas prices increased, rations was also expensive, resulted the government collapsed. In between May 12 and 14 occurred riots. In addition into that, The Tionghoa had become the target of mass abomination. During the Riot, houses, businesses, shops belong to Tionghoa were destroyed. In further, Tionghoa was also raped, robbed and died³⁸. However, although the U.S newspaper, it was The New York Times, focused on violences towards Tionghoa, the Indonesian newspaper tend to expose less on Tionghoa. As a result, the lack of crime evidences created less-consciousness on Indonesia's society and uncertainty³⁹.

B. The 1998 Riot Impact on PITI Yogyakarta

Reformation and May Riot 1998 had connected to Yogyakarta. Known as student city, Yogyakarta hosted universities. The Riot which was mostly dominated by student demanding the New Order that ruled by Soeharto expanded into ethnicity abomination, especially to Tionghoa in general. The incident which happened in Yogyakarta, also the famous one was died during a protest on Jalan Gejayan, thus its incident known as Gejayan Tragedy.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

On May 21st, 1998 Soeharto as the ruler of the reign, New Order, published his resignation. After the fall of the New Order, transformations takes place. Political atmosphere in Indonesia becomes revitalized from the authorianism into democracy. Thus, Tionghoa also experienced its changes. Politically after the Fall of the New Order, Tionghoa that tend to be abstain on politic from that time and then becomes concern on its nation political circumstance. Tionghoa turned to be activists to struggle on its right and existence which was dichotomized in the New Order⁴⁰. Culturally the new governance ruled by Abdurahmman Wahid gives Tionghoa rights on celebration its traditions, it includes the Tionghoa religions recognition.

In Yogyakarta context, the reformation set in motion seen by the Tionghoa-based organizations come into existence, those were, *Paguyuban Budi abadi* (Hoo HapHwee), *Paguyuban Bhakti Loka*, *Paguyuban Haka Yogyakarta*, *Paguyuban Fu Qing*, *Perhimpunan Indonesia-Tionghoa* (INTI) *Pengurus Daerah Yogyakarta*, (Perkumpulan Urusan Kematian Jogjakarta (PASTI), and *Yayasan Persaudaraan Masyarakat Jogjakarta* (YPMJ). There were also social organizations established by Tionghoa, like Hash (Cycling Sport Club), *Paguyuban Mitra Yogyakarta* (Pamitra), Internatioanl Rotary, Lion Club, *Yayasan Budha Tzu Chi*, and *Paguyuban Pedagang Malioboro* (PPM)⁴¹. The mentioned organizations were not allowed to exist. Besides PITI, there were three other organizations allowed during the New Order,

⁴⁰ Wibowo dan Thung Ju Lan (ed.) *Setelah Air Mata Kering: Masyarakat Tionghoa Pasca Peristiwa Mei*. Jakarta: Kompas. 2010.

⁴¹ Rezza Maulana, "Pergulatan Identitas Tionghoa Muslim", 128-129.

Paguyuban Budi Abadi, PUKJ, and Bhakti Loka. The organizations were allowed due to those have concerns on Tionghoa funeral and marriage.

In the other hand, Yogyakarta manages to remain in peace due to high tolerance of its people. PITI Yogyakarta did not face major problems during the riot 1998. PITI still able to conduct its meeting in sense of Islam as religion. It did not affect the Indigenous towards PITI.

C. Response and Dakwah Strategy of PITI in 1998-2000

Since its establishment, PITI aimed to conduct Dakwah among Tionghoa. PITI has also important role as a cultural broker in which it assists Tionghoa blending into the society. Thus, as PITI in Jakarta, the one in Yogyakarta also build partnership with non-Tionghoa organizations, such as, NU, Muhammadiyah, and MUI. Apart from enlarging its organization's network, PITI also has harmonious relationship with certain elements, for example, Paguyuban Bhakti Putra, Paguyuban Tukang Becak, Yayasan Sosial Tunas Melati, Panti Asuhan Yatim Putra Islam, dan beberapa kampus di Yogyakarta. Meanwhile from the non-muslim Tionghoa, the existence of PITI is welcomed positively. The positive respond is explained by Ahmad Susanto, "The respon of non Muslim Tionghoa friends is considereably positive, because they are not forbidding the existence of PITI. It is considered positive because also in the other hand, they (the non-muslim Tionghoa) had asked on why Islam forbids consuming pork. These sort of question poses curiosity

about Islam and it usually remains as a curios, until they are explained clearly”⁴².

Regarding to the May 1998 Riot, PITI Yogyakarta had contributed significantly to seize the mass which was about to set Gardena Shopping Centre on fire. As it was explained by Fahmi Rafika Perdana that Gardena Shopping Centre was set on fire which scares shops around it. In that circumstance, there was a person that took advantages of a tangle which happened between the Shopping Centre, it was Tionghoa, The provocator provoked people to trigger angers, thus the mass gathered and put the angers. But due to some PITI figures were around, the mass was smoothly seized. At this point, according to Perdana, the voice of muslim Tionghoa is more likely to be heard by the people since it was muslim to muslim advices⁴³.

On its Dakwah, PITI Yogyakarta has its significant development during Budi Satyanugraha from 1984 until 2003. Some of the Dakwah strategis are:

a. Pengajian Anggota

Pengajian anggota is the activity which gives lectures about Islam to all PITI members. As monthly activity, PITI will have its agenda once in a month, with addition of charity activities.

b. Personal Approach

The approach that is used by PITI for its new member is to meet face in face, in which it turns out that a Muallaf will have its confidence after

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

embraced Islam and to perform prayers, it is due to in most cases, a new Muallaf lack on its confidence.

c. Home Visit

PITI Dakwah strategy tends to emphasize on its community strength which implies its members will have agendas to visit the other members house. Thus, it strengthens its organization solidarity.

From the strategy above it shows that PITI has its movement strength on building good relationship with its members and provides guidance so that Tionghoa muslim has strong relationship. The membes of PITI even has its low in number before Budi Setyanugraha, it shows increase after the Dakwah strategy applied, especially on its home visit and the personal approach. It is measured by the participants of recent Imlek at Ketandan Yogyakarta in 2018 that PITI contribute on cultural performance, *Rebana*. Hence, PITI re blends both with the Indigenous muslim and the non muslim Tionghoa. In 2000, PITI changes its movement into cultural perfomances, since it is proven effective to introduce its movement and also to blend.

As an organization, the existence of PITI office in Yogyakarta contributes significant role. To organize Dakwah if a host unavailable it will be replaced in term of place, to PITI office. The coordination which held by PITI tend to be in personal approach.

Dakwah which conducted by PITI did not change on its principles as it mentioned above. There are also medias which used by PITI to spread its organization Dakwah, these are the medias :

1. Mass Media

To send its Dakwah messages, PITI uses mass media so that it is able to be read by its members. The medias are electronic media and printed media, such as, Radio, Television, Magazines, Bulletin and Newspaper.

2. Family Relationship

At this point, PITI uses the personal approach and home visit principles on its Dakwah strategy. Family relationship implies that PITI accommodates family way of communication to spread Dakwah, by doing conversation and religious lesson discussion.

3. 1-0-1 (One-O-One)

This media of Dakwah elaborated by PITI based on Pengajian and home visit strategy. The media implements face to face meeting with its organization members and the preacher (*Muballigh*).

Although, as it was mentioned above that PITI Yogyakarta uses both printed media and electronic media but practically PITI Yogyakarta did not maximize its action through both medias. It is seen from the website of PITI Yogyakarta which does not have its update information on PITI Yogyakarta agendas. Meanwhile for the print media, PITI Yogyakarta only distributes its magazines or news updates on bulleting within the community. Thus it is not

broadly known that PITI Yogyakarta has its publicity. Besides, there were also obstacles which creates turbulence within its organization to perform Dakwah. On this paper, there are at least two factors, internal obstacles factors and external factors.

Internal Factors :

1. Less consolidation and communication in between organization and its members. Thus it poses lack of communication within the organization.
2. PITI Yogyakarta has low organization management in which it triggers overlays activities and double functions of its organization committee.
3. Funding has important role on PITI Yogyakarta development, in all activities PITI Yogyakarta still funded by Budi Setyanugraha as the chairman of PITI Yogyakarta, even previously funded by PDHI.

Meanwhile the external factors are :

1. It is found different understandings among the members, so that activities which planned to be held did not successfully acted.
2. On term of deliver Dakwah contents are less interested.

Analyzing from the obstacles above, PITI Yogyakarta has taken its policy to set Dakwah through social medias recently. It attracts young members to sign up group of PITI members on facebook and twitter. In some cases, researcher

found that the facebook group account of PITI Yogyakarta which runs by younger age is active and updated. On the regards increasing number its organization members PITI Yogyakarta has its partnership since according to Budi Satyanugraha PITI Yogyakarta showed its significant turn even there was a fail or low number of its members. The Dakwah policy which changed proven effectively to gain members within young muslim Tionghoa. To emphasize its movement the guidance program that provides platform for its members to study comprehensively about Islam has undergone continuously.

By analyzing the Dakwah strategies and obstacles which found in PITI Yogyakarta, there are some influences affect its organization members. The influences are :

1. In term of understanding Islam, members of PITI Yogyakarta are able to understand Islam comprehensively.
2. PITI Yogyakarta is a provides a space for its member to study about Islam.
3. Members tend to be solid if the activities conducted with interesting content of Dakwah.
4. Funding shall be not limited by its organization structures, broaden its network on government side of proposal fits its organization problem on funding.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

A. Conclusion

Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia (PITI) was an Islamic organization was founded by Abdul Karim Oei Tjeng Hien, Abdusomad Yap A Siong and Kho Goan Tjin on April 14, 1961 in Jakarta. PITI comes to existence as positive respond given by Haji Abdul Karim Oei that concerned on muslim Tionghoa, since the Dakwah of Islam will have its effective impact if it was conducted also by Tionghoa. In addition into that, PITI is aimed to unite muslim Tionghoa and Indonesian muslim, muslim Tionghoa with non-muslim Tionghoa, and Tionghoa ethnicity in general with the Indigenous. The development of PITI in general was not fruitful, it encountered with problems PITI due to its organization carried the word related to “Tionghoa” used by its organization. The issues of exclusivism and communism are the problems in which give impact on PITI development, thus PITI had changed its name organization.

From the previous explanations, the researcher concludes with the following facts: First, PITI Yogyakarta established in 1970s initiated by muslim Tionghoa and the non-muslim Tionghoa, especially the PDHI committee. The main focus of PITI is concentrated on its organization Dakwah among the Tionghoa, especially on giving a new shelter to Muallaf which in most cases the Muallaf needs assistance due to rejections occurred

within their families after the conversion and embraced Islam. In addition into that, PITI also contributes on society blending that is muslim Tionghoa and non-muslim Tionghoa, Tionghoa and to the Indigenous. PITI also held *Pengajian* which gives its organization members further studies on Islam.

Second, the PITI Yogyakarta Dakwah Strategy are at least divided into three. *Pengajian anggota* is the activity which gives lectures about Islam to all PITI members. As monthly activity, PITI will have its agenda once in a month, with addition of charity activities. Kedua, Personal Approach, is the approach that is used by PITI for its new member is to meet face in face, in which it turns out that a Muallaf will have its confidence after embraced Islam and to perform prayers, it is due to in most cases, a new Muallaf lack on its confidence.. Third, Home Visit, is PITI Dakwah strategy tends to emphasize on its community strength which implies its members will have agendas to visit the other members house. Thus, it strengthens its organization solidarity. PITI Yogyakarta has also become significant during the riot May 1998 since it is able to seize small riot In early 2000 after the fall of New Order which was also important turning point for Tionghoa muslim, it gives spaces for PITI to broaden its movement, seen from the Imlek celebration with the non muslim Tionghoa. PITI Yogyakarta tries to consolidate with the Indigenous muslim through its organization movement. PITI Yogyakarta plays important role as a bridging way or cultural broker for both sides, the government and the society.

B. Suggestion

There are some suggestions from the researcher for PITI and its development:

1. To face the future challenges for PITI, to unite its organization and its members are important. Thus it creates the agendas of PITI fulfilled.

2. The charity and guidance agenda which was established by PITI since its first time shall exist although there might be changes on its organizational structures. So that a new Tionghoa convert to Islam has comprehensive understanding on Islam.

3. To blend with the Indegenous muslim, it is need to be considered empowerment side by doing economical partnership.

4. Evaluation shall be made since it occurs overlays activities and double functions on its organizational structures. The human resources of PITI Yogyakarta shall be Young in mind and flexible on its Dakwah contents.

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