BEING CHINESE CHRISTIAN IN THE *TOTOK* CHINESE CHURCHES IN SURABAYA: Continuity and Change of Identities

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ABSTRACT

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

Keywords*:* Protestant Christianity, Totok Chinese, Social Identity, Chinese Christian.

INTRODUCTION

Chinese Christians have had a long history in Indonesia, existing for more than a century since the Colonial period (Soleiman and Steenbrink, 2008). Indonesia's number of Chinese Christians is relatively small, only 1.2 percent of the total country's population regarded themselves as Chinese descendants in the 2010 census (Arifin et al., 2016). Of this number, it is estimated that about 42.8 percent are Christians, with 27.04 percent Protestants and 15.76 percent Catholics (Chong, 2019). Surabaya is the second-largest city with the Chinese Indonesian community in Java after Jakarta, with approximately 5.19% of the country's total Chinese-Indonesian population (Arifin et al., 2016). There is no official data on how many Chinese-Indonesian Christians are in Surabaya.

Even though they have been living in Indonesia for a long time, Chinese Christians face challenging dis-identification, negative perceptions, and stereotyping about their ethnic identity as Chinese and religious identity as Christians. They are regarded as homogeneous, not heterogeneous (Chong; 2016; Suryadinata, 2005; Widjaja, 2010). Last year, I presented about Chinese Christians heterogeneity in an Islamic university in Surabaya. The participants, mostly Muslim lecturers and students, responded to the presentation by stating that they have previously regarded Chinese Christians as homogeneous. In reality, the Chinese population is highly heterogeneous with diversity in dialect, culture, and economic backgrounds. Many of them speak Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochiu, and Hakka. This anthropological evidence shows the dis-identification of Chinese ethnicity. However, the assumption that Chinese is homogeneous still exists today.

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

Christianization is the biggest obstacle for other religions' acceptance of Christianity (Husein, 2005; Mujiburrahman, 2006). Furthermore, Christianity

has been viewed as a colonial religion due to the memory of the past that the Dutch colonists were Christians and most Chinese were Christians (Husein 2005). The negative perceptions of ethnic Chinese and Christianity make Chinese Christians vulnerable to violence and 'othering' in relations with other ethnic groups and religions. Identification and recognition of ethnic and religious identities are essential to building harmony and equal relationships in the context of multiculturalism like Indonesia.

There are limited studies on Chinese Christians, particularly regarding *totok*[1] Chinese churches. The few existing ones were mainly conducted in Jakarta. The term *Totok* Chinese churches refers to those that still have bilingual (Mandarin/ Indonesian) or exclusively Mandarin services (Hoon, 2016). Chang-You Hoon (2016) and Susy Ong (2008) researched Gereja Kristus Yesus (GKY, or Church of Jesus Christ), representing *totok* Chineseness, the largest Chinese church in Jakarta. Hoon's findings show that most *totok* Chinese churches belong to the Evangelical movement, which regards "the promotion of Christian fellowships and to spread the Gospel" as its objective. Susy Ong notes that in the GKY, services are conducted in the Chinese language for the elderly. Meanwhile, for the younger generations, services are held in the Indonesian language because the youth are not fluent in their cultural language of Chinese.

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

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

The Chinese Christians who originated from mainland China came to Surabaya nearly a century ago. How have they constructed their ethnic and religious identities in the Chinese church in Surabaya? What is continuous and/or changing in their identities? This paper attempts to answer these questions by

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

examining the culture, language, and origin of the Chinese Christians in the Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (THKTKH) Surabaya. THKTKH is currently breaking into two independent synods,[2] namely into Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, or the Church of Christ the Lord) and Gereja Kristen Abdiel (GKA, or the Abdiel Christian Church). Some identities of the *totok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya have changed. Others have continued to respond to government policies that have impacted interaction within-group (with other Chinese dialects) and out-group (with Muslims, the biggest population in Surabaya and Indonesia).

It uses the theory of social identity, which is the main idea of Jenkins' 2008 work. It also employs the concept of ethnicity being "with a shared cultural identity, language, and origin" (Kim, 2011). The primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with ten Chinese church leaders and activists who are familiar with the history and activities of their churches. They are the first, second, third, and fourth-generation[3] members in *totok* Chinese churches. The participant-observation method was used to understand the Chinese Christians' social and cultural contexts. It additionally used magazines and documents published by the Chinese churches as primary sources. Secondary data was gathered from books, journals, and literature reviews from previous researchers on *totok* Chinese Christians. The findings will be explained through a historical overview of THKTKH, hybrid culture, language, and origin – regarding first, second, third-generation in *totok* Chinese churches (GKT and GKA) in Surabaya. This paper uses the terms *totok* Chinese churches and *totok* Chinese Christians interchangeably to refer to Chinese Christians of GKT and GKA in Surabaya.

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

Chinese Christians in Indonesia are two groups regarding conversion to Christianity. The first group consists of those who became Christian after they arrived in Nusantara, which was later termed Indonesia. This group was evangelized and ministered by Western, Chinese, and local missionaries (Soleiman and Steenbrink, 2008). They founded *peranakan*[4] Chinese churches, such as the Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI, or Indonesian Christian Church)

[2] Synod is a council of the church

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

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

(Ong, 2008; Setiabudi, 1994). The second group consists of Chinese who were Christian before they arrived in Indonesia, the so-called *totok* Chinese Christians (Daulay, 1996; Dawa, 2017).

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

Ethnicity and religion are important for migrants because they give meaning, identity, and a sense of belonging (Kim, 2011). Nevertheless, ethnic identity is challenged by their being away from their homeland (Yang, 1999). According to the theory of assimilation (Kim, 2011), the originality of culture declines due to assimilation with the host culture. Ong Hok Ham (2017) identifies that migration in groups or individuals either strengthens or weakens ethnic identity. It explains why the *Chineseness* of Chinese in Java is different from *Chineseness* of Chinese in Sumatra and Kalimantan. Chinese immigrants ttoo Java usually came individually or in small groups. As a result, they greatly interacted with the local people allowing them to fuse more easily with the local culture, which eventually depreciated or even removed their original culture. They lost the ability to speak their ancestors' language as they adopted the local culture and married local women/men. This group is referred to as *peranakan,* unlike the Chinese in North Sumatera, Bangka, Belitung, or Pontianak called the Totok. Their Chineseness is stronger than Chinese in Java. They came to those cities in groups and large numbers to work in the farming or mining industries that belonged to Dutch entrepreneurs. With their arrival, they brought along structure and social organization from their homeland. Due to their large numbers, these communities still practice Chinese culture in their groups.

However, the Chinese Christians from mainland China in Surabaya, even though they came in individual or small groups, maintain and even have strong Chineseness. The reason for this was the Colonial government's policy of *Wijkenstelsel* law (1836-1917) which divided the population by race and residential areas by ethnicities. The Chinese lived on the East side of Jembatan

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

Merah, around Kembang Jepun, Kapasan, and Pasar Atom in the so-called *pecinan* (Basundoro, 2009). The Arabs lived around Masjid Ampel. The Dutch and Europeans mostly lived around Jembatan Merah and Simpang. Meanwhile, the indigenous lived in a *kampung* (village) located behind the tall structures belonging to the Europeans. Thus, their ethnic identity strengthens when they solely interact with members of the same ethnic group.

Instead of losing their religiosity, the first-generation of Chinese Christians in Surabaya founded houses of worship based on their dialects: Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, and Hinghwa (Dawa, 2017). Bhikhu Parekh (2008) notes while significant life changes are taking place, people turn to religion. For migrants who had undergone many changes in life in this new land, religion became especially important. According to Fenggang Yang (1998, 1999), who studied Chinese Christian migrants in the United States, the Christian fellowships were the place where immigrants found social belonging, psychological, and spiritual peace. These places were similar to t*otok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya. Peter (pseudonym) a Hokkien male 81 years old was a first-generation Indonesian, initially born on Gulangyu Island in the Fujian province.[6] He came to Surabaya with his mother and his four brothers in 1949. His family was a member of THKTKH, where he along with his brothers, joined the church choir. The church was a place he could develop his singing talent and leadership skills as a church activist.

The Hokkien's house of worship developed into a church by the United States Episcopal Methodist Church in 1909. Afterward, the other dialect groups joined the church. It was first joined by the Cantonese (1910), followed by the Fuzhou, and Hinghwa (1918). In the beginning, the services were held in Hokkien. As the number of speakers of each dialect increased, services were held in their respective dialects at different hours. The church is located at Samudra Street, North Surabaya where it is still used in services. In 2009, the Surabaya city government decreed the church building part of the city's heritage.

The United States Episcopal Methodist Church ended their working-term in Java, including Surabaya, in 1928. The world economic crisis in the decade of the 20s and early 30s led the Methodist church to reorganize its mission strategies in 1927 (Daulay, 1996). They closed ministries in Java and Kalimantan, focusing only on Sumatra. The Methodist church mission was replaced by the Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap (NZG). Nevertheless, NZG tended to ministry among *peranakan* Chinese churches more than *totok*. The Methodist

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

church's decision to leave Surabaya was the beginning of the Chinese church's independence. In 1928, the *totok* Chinese church, with the last supporting act from the United States Episcopal Methodist Church, registered the *totok* Chinese church to the Dutch government under the Foundation of Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee (THKTKH) Surabaya. The THKTKH became the first ethnic Chinese church in Surabaya. (Daulay, 1996; Dawa, 2017; Koentjoro, 2013; Soleiman and Steenbrink, 2008).

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

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

In Surabaya, the tension of being identified as Western teaching dissipated when a Chinese preacher, a 38-year-old Hingwa man by the name of John Sung and the son of a Methodist pastor in mainland China, came to the archipelago after receiving an invitation from a local Hinghwa community. In 1939, Sung undertook spiritual revivals among the Chinese Christians in Surabaya and several other cities (Batavia, Bandung, Medan, Makassar, and many others) (Sung, 2012). He came to Surabaya four times, with the first visit in 1937. The subsequent visits were in January, September, and November 1939. The attendees who came to these meetings numbered between one to two thousand people. Chinese people were willing to close their shops to attend to the service every day. Bibles in Surabaya were out of stock, and 5000 hymn books were sold out and reprinted. On his next visit, he held a Bible Study Conference and many Chinese converted to Christianity. The numbers of Chinese Christians increased significantly, with about 700 Chinese converts

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

to Christianity (Gunawan, 1989). The meetings were held at the *Stadstuin*, the City Theatre and Gardens (today is known as the Bank of Indonesia's building). In his ministry, Sung used the Chinese language and wore Chinese clothes. Sung was an example of the Chinese being Christian while incorporating elements of Chinese culture as well.

Today, the THKTKH has become two independent synods, namely Gereja Kristus Tuhan (GKT, or the Church of Christ the Lord) and Gereja Kristen Abdiel (GKA, or the Abdiel Christian Church). The GKT synod currently consists of ten churches; meanwhile, the GKA synod has five churches in Surabaya. Their number, which was initially only ten people (1909) regarded as probationary[8] members, increased to 11 people (1911), 47 people (1912), 49 people (1916), 249 people (1925), 315 people (1937), and 434 people (1939). In 1970, adult members of GKT in Malang and Surabaya were 3,399. The data was collected by Indonesian churches in cooperation with the Research and Study Institute of the Indonesia Council of Churches (Cooley, 1977). Not all the *totok* Chinese churches have complete data of numbers of congregations. From the church newsweekly of ten churches of GKT and five churches of GKA in Surabaya, collected on June 23 until July 2, 2019, the adult participants were 6,084.

HYBRID CULTURE

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

Western culture influences occurred when Western missionaries embedded Western culture in addition to bringing religious teaching. The clothing style, musical instruments (piano), and the liturgy of worship, including the choir's formation, adopted a Western-style after being exposed. The hymnbook used is a Western hymn, which is translated into Chinese and Indonesian languages. The hybrid culture can also be seen in church buildings with several former church buildings belonging to Western missionaries (Dutch, Armenian). The Western-style was retained, but Chinese style was added, such as the church's

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

name "Tiong Hoa Kie Tok Kauw Hwee" written in Chinese characters. The building's inauguration plaque was also written in Indonesian and Chinese language. The church bell's loud chiming can be heard surrounding the first Chinese church at Samudra Street, indicating the service hour started. Church bells chanted as a sign of the service hour are practiced by many churches in the West. In some churches, pictures of Western missionaries with quotes in English are displayed to encourage the congregation regarding the mission.

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

DIALECTS, CHINESE LANGUAGE AND BILINGUAL

As previously mentioned, the *totok* Chinese Christians in Surabaya founded houses of worship based on Hokkien, Cantonese, Fuzhou, and Hinghwa dialects. They did not understand other dialects, only their own. For *totok* Chinese, other Chinese dialects were like a foreign language (Nio, 1961). They prefered to use Malay or Indonesian language to communicate with other dialect groups. Further, the Chinese generation born in Surabaya did not fully understand their families' dialects anymore. For instance, most of the Cantonese children could neither read nor write Cantonese. The Cantonese raised funds to assist Cantonese schools in 1921. However, the school was eventually closed after four years due to the lack of teachers since most of them returned to China (Dawa, 2014).

According to Nio Joe Lan (1961), after the second-generation of Chinese Indonesians, Chinese descendents would lose their ability to speak Chinese. However, the Tiong Hoa Hwe Koan (THHK) that was established in Surabaya,

in 1903, helped the Chinese to maintain the Chinese language. The *totok* Chinese mostly studied at THHK. Meanwhile, the *peranakan* Chinese studied at the Hollands Chinese School (HCS) established by the Dutch colonial government (Sai, 2016). When the Chinese language or Mandarin (*Guoyu*) became the "national language" accepted as a lingua franca - a commonly used as a medium language to communicate among Chinese, church services changed the usage of dialects to the Chinese language.

In the New-Order era, the government initiated an assimilation program that forbade the use of the Chinese language in public. Chinese schools were forced to close down in 1966. These policies affected Chinese Christians' ability to achieve fluency in the Chinese language - especially those born after the 1960s who did not have the chance to study in Chinese schools. As a result, some Chinese Christians continued to study in Indonesian schools. Some of them discontinued their studies hoping Chinese schools would reopen. Usually, the generation who did not studied in a Chinese school could not speak Chinese anymore, as experienced by Maria (pseudonym), a member of GKA.[9] Afterward, the church services were not only conducted in Chinese, but also translated into Indonesian (Mandarin/Indonesian) post 1970s. The number of Indonesian-speaking congregations increased compared to the Chinese-speaking congregations. Later on, the Chinese churches added fully Indonesian-language services.

Even though the Chinese language was prohibited from being spoken in public, it was still allowed in Chinese churches.[10] To preserve the ability to gain fluency with the Chinese language, one of the Chinese branches, GKA started a Mandarin course in 1973 (Elyonpedia Magazine, 2017). The highest number of attendees in the Mandarin course was 400 participants, consisting of both Chinese and non-Chinese, and Christian and non-Christian backgrounds. Those interested in learning the Chinese language were not only of Chinese descent but various ethnic groups and religions.[11] Anybody could learn and speak the Chinese language by taking Mandarin courses. The ability to speak Chinese was no longer exclusive to those of Chinese descent. Even though "language is the most visible marker of identity" (SAI, 2016), however, nowadays, speaking Chinese daily cannot identify ethnic identity as *totok* Chinese anymore. Therefore, for Halim, a *totok is* a person who still knows his Chinese family roots and has a Chinese family in mainland China even

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

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

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

though he or she is born in Indonesia.[12]

Male Harianto (pseudonym) is 73 years old and a second-generation leader in GKA, who is fluent in Chinese. He stated that even though his children took Mandarin courses since they were young, the children preferred to use the Indonesian language when conversing with him. Benny, 24 years, the fourth-generation, a member of GKT, experienced similar. He uses the Indonesian language when conversing with his parents. He stated:

> *[Saya] pakai agak formal [Indonesia], karena bahasa Surabaya kan lebih agak bahasa gaul gitu. Jadi saya agak kurang enak kalau ngomong sama orang tua dengan bahasa Jawa.*
>
> *(*[I] use rather formal (Indonesian) language because my Surabayan Javanese language is somewhat colloquial. I feel it is not appropriate to use when conversing with parents)."[13]

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

The dynamics of Chinese language usage indicate that mastering the Chinese language is no longer a representation of ethnic identity. The importance of the Chinese language is related to globalization, not solely to ethnicity. Albeit, Chinese church services have been conducted in the Chinese language for almost a century; the younger generations are not motivated to master the language. They prefer to perfect English skills instead. English songs are sung in the youth services frequently. Thus, the languages that are used are a mixture of Chinese, Indonesian, and English. The need to learn Chinese

[12] Idem.

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

has risen when facing the need to use Chinese to communicate in the global community.

MONO-ETHNIC CHURCHES TO MULTI-ETHNIC CHURCHES

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

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

For first-generation Chinese, kinship matters because it helps them survive in a foreign land. Chinese Christian first-generations were helped by their families, who settled in Surabaya first. According to Steph Lawler (2014), the identity of the non-West is based on kinship ties. Consequently, a family name

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

is important for *totok* Chinese as it provides a sense of belonging and even passing down business is preferable to those who are related by blood. Lawler quotes David Schneider (2014) saying kinship can go through "the order by blood (children and parents, siblings, cousins)" or "the order by law (spouse, in-laws)."

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

Furthermore, the first-generation could have two family names, their father's family name and the given name belonging to the host who adopted them in the new land. During the Dutch rule many hosts accepted newly-arrived immigrants into their families to ease administrative requirements (Oei and Sari, 2012; Wu and Ngo, 2015). The kinship changed in a broader sense to how "people create similarity or difference between themselves and others" (Lawler, 2014) like the first-generation experienced.

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

The church leaders of GKT and GKA estimate their congregations and pastors are 90% from Chinese descent, and ten percent from various ethnicities, such as Batak, Javanese, Manado, Nias, and Sumbawa. The non-Chinese congregations joined the Chinese churches for pragmatic reasons- either living near the church buildings, working at the church, or with encouragement from their Chinese friends.

In Chinese churches, identification of similarity is not by ethnicity but by occupation and roles in the community. Chinese and non-Chinese Christians get along well when they have the same business or the same social status,

regardless of ethnicity.[15] Non-Chinese Christians, although their number is small, do not feel inferior. They can be accepted very well by the Chinese Christians, as stated by Yusuf (pseudonym), a 51-year old Manadonese.[16] Yusuf and his family were members of the Chinese church for more than ten years. A similar experience was shared by 48-year old Sumbawan Ruben (pseudonym)[17] who married a Chinese church member. Ruben experienced that acceptance into the Chinese Christian group is not by ethnicity, but by the same value of life, such as hard work, or politeness toward the elders.

CONCLUSION

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

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

There have been continuity and changes of Chinese Christian identities in the Chinese churches, namely the meaning of *totok* Chinese. These are seen from the way they carry out Chinese culture, the usage of Chinese language, and their originality of ethnicity. The meaning of *totok* Chinese is constantly changing, not identified by the place of birth in mainland China, the Chinese

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

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

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

language they speak daily, or a Chinese name, like Chinese in Manado. A person who knows their Chinese roots, and still has relations with their family in mainland China without a mixed-ethnic marriage, can be considered as *totok*. As an institution, the Chinese churches, though they conduct services in Mandarin, due to the mixed-ethnic congregations and some services usage fully of the Indonesian language, are more appropriately referred to as Mandarin-speaking churches or Chinese-speaking churches rather than the Chinese churches.

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

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

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